

Young, Queer, and On the Streets:
Homeless LGBTQ Youth in Toronto's Gay Village

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Abstract

With a rapidly expanding homeless population in Toronto, the question of if and how homeless lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and Two Spirit (LGBTQ2) youth locate community and support in the city's gay village of Church-Wellesley is of increasing concern. This dissertation examines the ways in which homeless LGBTQ2 youth experience social, cultural, and political relations, and negotiate forms of power, within and around Toronto's Church-Wellesley Village (CWV). The research in which this dissertation is based was conducted between September 2016 to October 2017, and employed various qualitative research methods with 29 youth, 11 employees from LGBTQ2 non-profit organizations in and around the village, and 11 employees from various municipal services. In this dissertation, I consider what it means to survive, and what strategies of survival are and are not enacted by homeless LGBTQ2 youth within the CWV. I place the experiences of youth participants as the central evidence from which I draw my analysis, using data from their interviews to dictate the direction of each chapter and how I engage with the other evidence gathered from interviews with adults. In doing so, this dissertation challenges the minimal consideration of homeless LGBTQ2 youth in scholarship within queer geography, critical urban studies, and youth geographies by centering their identities, lived experiences, and material conditions at the root of my research design and analysis. I explore the various actors that facilitate the social, cultural, and political landscapes of the CWV, and illustrate the ways in which village institutions cultivate a governable urban environment that targets homeless youth as sources of disorder. In spite of these dominating forces, some LGBTQ2 youth utilize consumer spaces within the village to foster kinship networks that aid in their strategies

for survival. As well, despite logics of anti-Blackness and settler colonialism rooted in the village, homeless Black and Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth resist expressions of queer racism through momentary and, often, individualized actions of refusal. I demonstrate how such actions express forms of urban subaltern citizenship that reframe how gay villages are valued and understood within popular and academic discourses, and articulate important expressions of urban queer belonging.

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List of Acronyms

BIA: Business Improvement Area

BLMTO: Black Lives Matter Toronto

CTYS: City of Toronto Youth Services

CWV: Church-Wellesley Village

CWVBIA: Church-Wellesley Village Business Improvement Area

EYO: Egale Youth OUTreach

LGBTQ: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer

LGBTQ2: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, Two Spirit

ODSP: Ontario Disability Support Program

OW: Ontario Works

QTPOC: Queer and Trans People of Colour

SOY: Supporting Our Youth

Introduction: The Queer Underbelly of Toronto's Church-Wellesley Village



Figure 1: Back door of Woody's, accessed in alleyway behind Church Street, by Rhys
(Interview – January 26, 2017)

On a cool, humid day in late January, I walk through an alley in Toronto's Church-Wellesley Village (CWV) with one of my youth participants, Rhys, who is taking photographs of places that hold significant meaning for him during our auto-photographic

walking interview. We approach the back door of Woody's, a popular gay club on Church Street, and notice writing on the inside of his previous sleeping location: adhesive letters set to a metal door that read, "Keep out/police will be called" (with the 'c' pulled off) (Figure 1). Upon closer inspection we find a handwritten note that says, "Police please check for vagrant here," with an arrow pointing toward the more hidden corner of the door frame. Rhys responds with mixed, but strong, emotions – frustration, disappointment, and worry – and I can tell that he is calculating one less familiar space in which he can spend time if, and perhaps when, he might again need shelter on the streets. Homelessness¹ exposes the gritty underbelly of the CWV, a surprising juxtaposition to a neighbourhood that buzzes with the vibrations of celebrated and recognized gayness². Behind its many gay clubs, the polished 519 Community Centre, manicured condominiums, and innumerable businesses that line Church and Wellesley Streets, an intersection recognized as the heart of the CWV, there are lesbian, gay, bisexual,

¹ Homelessness is a cyclical experience that can occur over a few weeks, several months, or a lifetime. When I use the term homeless or homelessness, I am describing those who experience housing instability and precarity over a range of time, including those who may currently be housed but do not have housing security in the near future.

² In this dissertation, the terms gay, lesbian, and queer are differentiated. Queer is used as an umbrella term for various sexual orientations. However, I use the terms gay or lesbian when referring to specific formations around those specific gendered and sexual identities, which have their own cultural, sexual, and political spatial practices and histories.

transgender³ (trans), queer, and Two Spirit⁴ (LGBTQ2⁵) people experiencing homelessness who are so frequently ignored, criminalized and unwanted, yet nonetheless are present and visible in the CWV, often around Barbara Hall Park next to the 519, and taking up space along the sidewalks of Church Street. While this presence is increasingly visible in the village, a detailed empirical investigation of homelessness in the gay village of a major city has not, until now, been undertaken within queer geographical scholarship. A small body of work exists about LGBTQ youth⁶ homelessness at the scale of the gay village within critical legal studies, history, education, and urban planning; of this scholarship, gay villages such as San Francisco's Castro, Chicago's Boystown, and New York's Greenwich Village have been found to be hostile toward homeless queer and trans youth, while also being meaningful for such youth in securing social networks and systems of support (Daniel-McCarter 2012; Hanhardt 2008; Irazábal and Huerta 2015;

³ Transgender, broadly, describes a person who does not identify with the gender they were assigned at birth. It is an umbrella term that encompasses a range of identities and experiences, and is a contentious and debated term amongst transgender, transsexual, non-binary, and gender-diverse individuals and communities (Cromwell 2002). I use the term transgender, or trans, in this dissertation to describe the diverse gendered experiences of youth participants, many of whom used the term trans to identify themselves.

⁴ Two Spirit is an Indigenous identity that encompasses non-heteronormative gender identities and sexual orientations. The term emerged in 1990 and encompasses traditional and historical identities that have been referred to with more specific language depending on the tribe, and "many Indigenous LGBTQ2 people define Two Spirit identity as at once a point of continuity with tribal traditions and a statement of contemporary intertribal identity and politics" (Driskill, Finley, Gilley and Morgensen 2011, 14), making it at once a queer and decolonial project.

⁵ Throughout this dissertation I utilize different acronyms, including LGBTQ and LGBTQ2. This is done in order to more accurately reflect the specific conditions I am referencing; for example, as the predominant work of queer geographical scholarship has yet to reflect Two Spirit and non-binary populations, I use the LGBTQ acronym to characterize the queer people reflected in such literature. Additionally, Two Spirit people are still minimally reflected in bodies of queer and trans scholarship, and it is important to identify this erasure by indicating that Two Spirit is not included in such work (hence, the lack of the abbreviation '2'). Lastly, I understand this acronym to be constantly in flux, and never entirely inclusive of all queer and trans identities.

⁶ It is generally understood that youth is defined as between 16 to 29/30 years of age (Jeffrey 2010).

Reck 2009; Rosenberg 2016). While Toronto is experiencing what has been described as a housing crisis with serious implications for its homeless population, and some research has emerged that examines the lived experiences and conditions of queer and trans youth⁷ in Toronto, the relationship between these youth and the space of the CWV has yet to be investigated (Advocacy Centre for Tenants Ontario 2018; Youth Shelter Interagency Network 2007). Such an inquiry is needed not only to add depth to the minimal literature that exists about homeless LGBTQ2 youth, but also to further complicate understandings of gay villages and the role that queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth play in the constitution of these queer urban commercial and residential enclaves.

In order to address these concerns, this dissertation focuses on the CWV to explore if and how it serves as a space within which homeless LGBTQ2 youth access and source forms of support. I draw upon research I conducted from September 2016 to October 2017 with 29 homeless LGBTQ2 youth, 11 employees from LGBTQ non-profit organizations in and around the CWV, and 11 employees for city services whose work intersects with the lives of homeless queer and trans youth. This research was operationalized through multiple qualitative research methods, used specifically with different groups of informants. Semi-structured interviews, unstructured auto-photographic walking interviews, and mental mapping were utilized in initial and follow-up interviews with youth; and semi-structured interviews were conducted with non-profit and City of Toronto employees. In addition, participant observation was undertaken for

⁷ At times, I use the term 'queer and trans' interchangeably with LGBTQ. I distinguish 'queer and trans' with my use of 'queer, trans, and Two Spirit', in order to reflect the specificity of engagement with Indigenous LGBTQ2 people.

eight months at Egale Youth OUTreach (EYO), an LGBTQ drop-in centre for youth experiencing mental health and housing crises. Both archival research and surveys were also used to supplement information from informants about the CWV, with specific interest in the role of the Church-Wellesley BIA (CWVBIA) in the neighbourhood. All interview transcriptions were coded and analyzed predominantly through the qualitative research software, NVivo. Categories and themes were developed as I transcribed my interviews, and were analyzed through these themes in NVivo.

The 29 youth whose lives and experiences formulate the basis of my dissertation are, predominantly, not located entirely in the margins. Youth were recruited through opportunistic sampling, primarily by advertising the research in posters (Figure 2) within different LGBTQ organizations located in and around the village, including Supporting Our Youth (SOY), the 519, and EYO, as well as other organizations in Toronto which attract homeless queer and trans youth: the Queen West Community Health Centre, CTYS (City of Toronto Youth Services), the Native Youth Resource Centre, Hassle Free Clinic and Children's Aid Society of Toronto, Sprott House, as well as the Facebook group "Homes for Queers Toronto".

Are you or anyone you know . . .

- CHANCE TO
EARN \$20**

YOU WILL BE GIVEN \$20 FOR APPROXIMATELY AN HOUR LONG INTERVIEW.



- * - eligible participants identify as LGBTQ2+, are homeless, and are between 18-28 years old
- participants will be provided with \$20 for approximately a one hour (60 minute) interview with drawing and map-making exercises
- study is queer and trans affirming and queer/trans-run

[illegible]

Given this type of recruitment, youth participants were more connected to support networks, whether through non-profit or city services. Of the 29 youth, 19 identify as people of colour while 10 are white; of the youth of colour, six are Indigenous, six are Black, two are Indigenous and Latinx, three are Brown, one is Latinx, and one is Asian and white (Table 1). Amongst participants' gender identities, 13 are cisgender⁸ (11 cis men and two cis women), while the remaining 16 are trans and/or non-binary. Two Indigenous youth describe themselves as Two Spirit as well as trans and cisgender, and

⁸ The term cisgender, or cis, describes those whose gender identity corresponds to the sex they were assigned at birth (i.e. a woman who was assigned female at birth).

of the youth who identify as trans and/or non-binary, four are trans women, five are trans men, and seven identify along a non-binary spectrum (Table 2). The ages of the youth who I interviewed are spread relatively evenly between the span of 18-29 (Table 3).

Table 1: Racial Identity amongst Youth Participants

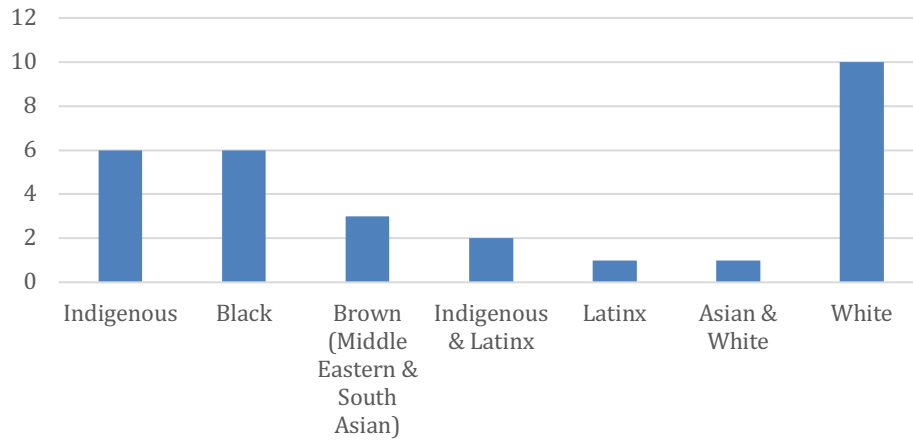
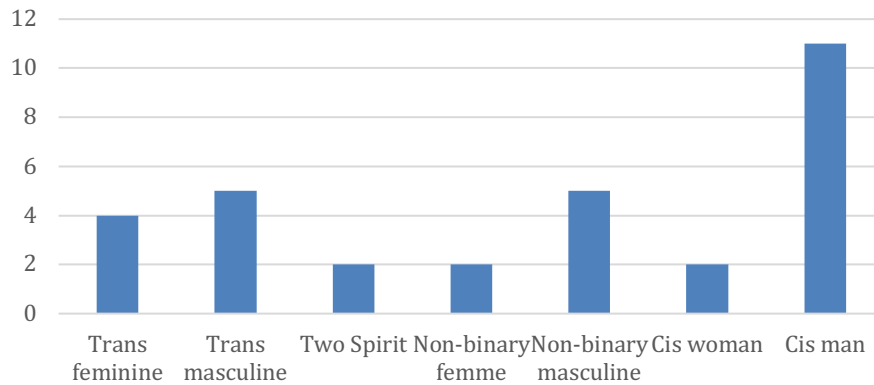
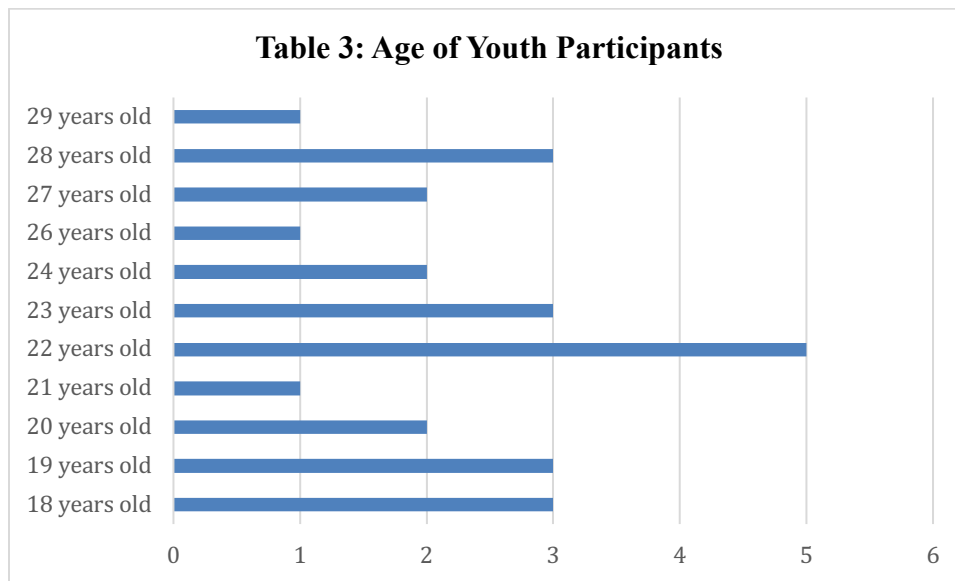


Table 2: Gender Identity amongst Youth Participants





Throughout this dissertation, I reference youth’s racial and gendered positionalities, as these particular markers of identity powerfully inform their movement through public spaces and, in particular, the neighbourhood of the CWV. This consequently informs my analysis of the social relations that manifest through and around their bodies, and serves as a reminder of how identity is inextricably bound to the material world and political consequences of bodies in space.

The names of youth in this dissertation are a mix of pseudonyms and real names; while some use more common names, others, like Chocolate Baby Daddy and Cheech, are playful with this task, providing names that arguably queer the linguistic politics of academic writing. While some youth do not disclose where they spent their childhood and adolescence before coming to Toronto, 11 have grown up in the Greater Toronto Area, while six have moved to Toronto from other locations in Ontario, three are from other provinces, and three are from outside of Canada. The majority of youth participants – 17 total – were living in transitional housing at the time of our interviews; three are

transient, primarily sleeping on couches; six are living in apartments; and four are in shelters. Youth participants' locations have also changed throughout the research process – for many, their housing shifted in between our initial and follow-up interviews, while I observed several others experiencing housing crises after our interviews during my participant observation at EYO.

My research yields evidence that covers a wide range of issues regarding homeless LGBTQ2 youth. As evidenced in the Appendix, youth were not only asked about their experiences in the CWV, but also questions to elucidate their navigation of the bureaucracies with which their lives intersect due to being homeless, trans, immigrants, struggling with mental health or substance use, poor, Indigenous, disabled, and/or people of colour. Additional information was gathered about non-profit organizational approaches to homelessness amongst LGBTQ2 youth, as well as how the City of Toronto understands and approaches queer and trans homelessness, whether in the parks and recreation department, or City of Toronto Housing Services. However, amongst this rich data, my dissertation maintains a focus on how homeless LGBTQ2 youth negotiate and experience social, spatial, and institutional relations within Toronto's gay village. The evidence I gathered about the CWV identifies how the village is variously defined and informed by different urban actors, including homeless LGBTQ2 youth, social service providers, businesses, and municipal planners and policymakers, with specific consequences for the legibility and (im)mobility of homeless LGBTQ2 youth. Data gathered from city and non-profit employees point toward the significant role played by businesses in the CWV, as well as the CWVBIA, in informing processes of social inclusion and social exclusion of particular queer bodies, and with specific

consequences for homeless LGBTQ2 youth when they spend time in the village. As noted earlier, I pay particular attention to the data identifying how homeless LGBTQ2 youth variously experience the CWV as a site of social, cultural, political, and economic support, (im)possibility, and socio-spatial marginalization. These experiences are heavily informed by other forms of discrimination, notably transmisogyny and racism, which can deepen the socio-spatial exclusion, illegibility, and (im)mobility of racialized and trans feminine homeless LGBTQ2 youth in the gay village.

The evidence I provide in this dissertation thus explores the multiple and complex negotiations around homelessness in the CWV, and illuminates the various unexpected forms of significance taken on by both visible and hidden spaces in the CWV. I can demonstrate, for example, the unanticipated and contentious use of Woody's back door from Rhys' earlier narration, the various actors that this involves – a homeless trans youth of colour, business owners and managers, police – and the complex personal reasons why Rhys holds a sense of belonging in somewhat obscured spaces in the CWV that relate to his experiences as a mixed race trans man. Such nuances are critical in order to appreciate that queer spaces are not monolithic, but rather assemblages caught within strongly differing and contested uses and meanings amongst LGBTQ2 people.

In this dissertation, I place different bodies of scholarship in conversation with each other – queer geographies, critical urban studies, trans studies, and queer of colour critique – in order to provide a foundation in which the material and affective conditions of living for homeless LGBTQ2 youth can be theorized. Queer geographies provides the foundation of my work, notably in its conceptualization of the social, cultural, and political relations that facilitate the emergence of queer space. Understanding how queer

placemaking occurs through embodiment, temporalities, and on micro and macro scales helps to understand how homeless LGBTQ2 youth experience placemaking and belonging within an already established queer urban neighbourhood, with its own particular history, politics, and cultures. However, as noted earlier and as will be discussed in later chapters, queer geographies minimally engages with concepts of youth and homelessness, and is limited in its ability to capture the ways in which such marginalized members of the LGBTQ2 community experience particular urban environments. As such, I incorporate critical urban studies, specifically work that discusses urban governance, political action, and citizenship, as this enables an analysis of the socio-political impacts of power embedded in the urban landscape, as well as resistance to this power, by marginalized urban dwellers – specifically, here, homeless and multiply marginalized LGBTQ2 youth in the queer spaces they occupy. Lastly, I integrate concepts from both trans studies and queer of colour critique to intervene in the ways queer geographical scholarship has predominantly theorized queer space as white and cis. These bodies of literature push queer geographies to center the experiences, materialities, and ontologies of trans people, and queer and trans people of colour (QTPOC), to look more closely at impacts and processes of settler colonialism, and to theorize queer space as intersectionally embedded in processes of cissexism and racism. This combination of bodies of literature provides an opportunity to address the gaps in understanding the multiple networks of power that capture homeless LGBTQ2 youth in queer urban spaces, the role of queer urban spaces in such power geometries, and the ways in which homeless LGBTQ2 youth do and do not produce forms of citizenship that are largely unconsidered within critical urban studies. These questions allow me to

explore more deeply how forms of exclusion manifest in queer urban spaces, and the roles that social identities carry in marking certain queer and/or trans bodies as fixtures of urban disorder. As well, addressing such questions illuminates how the CWV is at once a site of increasing control and governance, and also a geography in which queer defiance is performed through acts of citizenship and confrontations against structures of power that seek to dominate the urban unwanted.

The CWV has partially come into its disciplinary role through the dialectical relationship it has with certain organizations – for my purposes, LGBTQ-oriented institutions – located within and around its boundaries. This is apparent with particular organizations, including the CWVBIA and certain LGBTQ non-profit organizations, such as the 519 and EYO, for example. I choose to name these organizations, rather than anonymize them, as a political response to the oppressive cultures they reproduce, despite their positive impact, supportive programming, and dedicated staff. Queer non-profit organizations and institutions are spaces of intense contradiction, and the criticisms I provide in this dissertation do not serve as a means of singling them out. Rather, the critique I deliver points to a larger phenomenon occurring in other cities as well, where LGBTQ organizations are implicated and participatory in processes of exclusion and marginalization, while simultaneously providing sources of support for the same populations targeted by such measures (Beam 2018).

Throughout this dissertation I utilize the term ‘queer urban space’ to refer to gay villages. While not all queer urban spaces are gay villages, I intentionally name gay villages as queer urban spaces to disrupt the non-normative position that ‘queer’ has taken on in geographical theorizing. Broadly, ‘queer’ operates as a position that “emerges

from a set of politics that rejects both essentialist identities and mainstream gay political organising [*sic*] that foregrounds a politics of recognition at the expense of a radical critique of hetero-patriarchal systems of oppression” (Myrdahl 2013, 283). Geographical distinctions between gay villages and queer urban spaces have provided productive differentiations between place-making strategies that uphold or challenge gendered and sexual exclusions, predominantly along the lines of who falls into the communities, experiences, and cultures of gay men, and how this has dominated the spatial construction of gay villages. In this formation, the gay village signals exclusion and mainstream gay cultures/politics, while queer urban space elicits progressive anti-normative politics and community-building. What this dualism fails to capture, however, is the way in which queerness is increasingly institutionalized, mainstream, and participatory in structures of power and oppression, such as racism, settler colonialism, classism, ableism, transphobia, and nationalism. Distinguishing gay villages from queer urban space also erases the historical and current placemaking strategies that occur in gay villages amongst lesbian, bisexual, and transgender and gender non-conforming people, who also use environments rooted in gay culture to cultivate their specific queer communities. Additionally, positioning the two as distinctive presents a narrative of gay men’s experiences of community and placemaking as antithetical to queer, which ignores historical contexts with specific and often different understandings of queerness, and singularizes the subjectivities and cultures amongst gay men. I argue that while gay villages maintain exclusions around masculinity rooted in gay men’s culture, so do queer urban spaces, queer politics, and queer cultures. Referring to gay villages as also queer spaces forces us to question the ways in which queerness, and queer space, is complicit in

forms of exclusion – specifically, as I discuss in this dissertation, along the lines of race and trans-femininity.

In my use of the gay village throughout this dissertation, I follow the queer geographical understanding of gay villages as complex and heavily contested social, political, and economic spaces for various members of the LGBTQ2 community. Gay villages in the global North⁹ have historically developed through years of gay, white, cis male social networking and served as political hubs during the Canadian and American lesbian and gay rights movements (M. P. Brown 2000; Castells 1983; Knopp 1997; Podmore & M. P. Brown 2015). More recently, scholarship has identified the increase in commercial and economic investment in gay villages, with the effect of reducing their queer residential and political significance (Nash 2013b). Gay villages have become increasingly “caught up in broader neoliberal processes constituting cosmopolitan, consumer landscapes through their incorporation into post-industrial entrepreneurial cit[ies]” (Nash 2013b, 244), and are both officially recognized and delineated by municipalities, as well as informal and emergent from years of queer networking in particular locations. Importantly, scholars have explored the many ways in which gay villages serve as sites of contention, and the tension around race within gay villages is of particular concern throughout this dissertation. This is due to the current context in which

⁹ It is important to note that while my dissertation focuses on the development of gay and queer urban sites in cities within the global North, gay villages and queer urban spaces around the world have significantly different tales of emergence, many of which are situated in processes of globalization and complexities of post-colonial frameworks (Oswin 2014; Puar 2015; Ramdas 2013; Tucker 2009; Visser 2003).

the CWV is situated around recent activism by Black Lives Matter Toronto (BLMTO), which sheds light on the racist, specifically anti-Black, underpinnings of the village.

During the annual Pride Parade in June 2016, BLMTO interrupted the parade with a sit-in demonstration, preventing it from moving until Mathieu Chantelois, the executive director of Pride Toronto at the time, signed a document in agreement with a list of BLMTO's demands. BLMTO's requests included committing to increase the representation of Black transgender women and Indigenous people amongst Pride Toronto staff, holding public town halls between Pride Toronto and BLMTO, and no longer allowing police floats in the parade (Battersby 2016; CBC 2016). What caught the attention of the public and media was the request to ban police from marching in the parade, which received heavy criticism and debate amidst continued pushing and pulling between BLMTO, Pride Toronto, and Toronto Police, who continued to submit applications for the parades despite the bans issued for 2017 and 2018 (CBC News 2018; Draaisma 2018; Jones 2018; Gollom 2016; Rieti and Nasser 2016). As a result of staying firm on their decision to prevent police from marching in the parade, Pride Toronto was challenged by both police and some city councillors to withdraw municipal funding for annual Pride events if the organization did not agree to lift its ban (Howells 2017; Janus 2017; Smee and Fraser 2017). This exposed the frequently hidden racist logic that informs the cultures and politics of the CWV and the established gay institution of Pride Toronto, and how anti-racist activism is publicly viewed as antagonistic of, rather than aligned with, Toronto's gay community.

Such tension and disagreement about the recognition and respect of highly vulnerable and multiply marginalized members of the LGBTQ2 community exposes the

question of “who is excessive to, and whose removal is constitutive of, the Gay Village and other spaces designated as ‘gay,’ ‘queer,’ or ‘LGBT’” (Haritaworn, Moussa, Rodríguez, and Ware 2018, 9). It particularly raises several concerns about the ways in which such marginalized queer, trans, and Two Spirit people – for my interests, homeless youth – experience the CWV, its cultures, politics, and institutions, and the toxicities¹⁰ that both cultivate and emerge from racialized, classed, and gendered exclusions. How might harmful interactions, negative stereotypes, and biased discourses manifest in a queer environment like Toronto’s gay village, and create an intolerable landscape for LGBTQ2 youth experiencing homelessness? In Canada, it is estimated that approximately 20-40% of homeless youth identify as part of the LGBTQ2 community (Gaetz et al. 2016). Despite this overrepresentation compared to the general population, few shelters and services are designed to meet the specific needs of LGBTQ2 youth (Abramovich 2012; Shelton et al. 2017). In Toronto, homophobia and transphobia present significant issues within city shelters and transitional houses, as well as employment and social assistance services (Abramovich 2017). This makes such spaces unsafe for LGBTQ2 youth to access, and forces many into precarious circumstances like living temporarily on the streets or in bathhouses, or staying with strangers in exchange for sex, which render them more vulnerable to criminalization, predatory adults, substance use, and HIV (Auerswald and Eyre 2002; Benibgui 2011; Durso and Gates 2012; Grossman and D’Augelli 2007; Gwadz et al. 2009; Ray and Berger 2006; Tinglin and Wilson 2013;

¹⁰ Here I draw upon Mahtani’s (2014) intentional use of ‘toxicity’ to describe systems of power that poison and destroy those targeted by manifestations of discrimination and bias – specifically, in this example, people of colour, Indigenous people, and trans women.

Wellesley Institute 2008; Young 2003). In the face of such harsh conditions of survival, it is crucial to explore how, and if, homeless LGBTQ2 youth rely on queer spaces within Toronto, and retreat to its gay village, to find forms of emotional, physical, and institutional support. As noted earlier, research has yet to be conducted about the role of the CWV in the lives of homeless LGBTQ2 youth in Toronto, and my dissertation moves the crucial issue of queer and trans youth homelessness into the historical, contentious, and complex space of Toronto's infamous gay village.

In what follows, each chapter interweaves answers to the four sub-questions noted earlier. Chapter Two provides a conceptual framework which is rooted in questions of what it means to survive conditions of extreme marginalization and exclusion. I base this framework on Giorgio Agamben's notion of bare versus qualified life, and challenge the idea of what it means to live by incorporating concepts of urban political action and citizenship. This enables me to highlight, for example, the bareness of life for homeless youth who lack the basic fundamental needs for survival, as well as the urban political opportunities and limitations that manifest in relation to such livelihoods. Importantly, this framework allows me to build theory from the population with whom I conduct my research, and as such utilizes homeless LGBTQ2 youth experiences and actions as the means to intervene in, and construct new and more radical approaches to understanding, critical urban theory.

My methodological approach necessarily centralizes marginalized subjects. In Chapter Three, I explore what it might reveal when trans people, subjectivities, experiences, and bodies – so frequently ignored in feminist and queer methodologies – provide the basis for methodological inquiry. I propose the concept of *trans*

consciousness to illuminate the particularities that emerge during the research process for me, as a trans researcher, and how this intersects with the various participants in my research. This, of course, includes youth and the specific, messy realities of how identity and power interact during the research process; but it also accounts for the participants who wield more power than myself, and the ways in which transness both subverts and reaffirms power dynamics that emerge during fieldwork. I also utilize this perspective to critically reflect on the role that race plays in the research process, particularly in a settler colonial context and the ways in which my research intersects with Indigeneity.

With this emphasis on utilizing marginalized perspectives as the foundation from which critical theory can grow, the three body chapters of this dissertation focus on different elements of the CWV which emerge as important aspects of youth participants' experiences during my data analysis. Chapter Four focuses on forms of governance in the CWV that disproportionately impact homeless LGBTQ2 youth, to expose the role of institutions in shaping the politics and culture of the CWV. I explore the relationship between various institutions and the efforts underway to control forms and sources of urban disorder, and the impact this has on the environment of the CWV. Chapters Five and Six both emphasize different manifestations of exclusion in the CWV, notably commodification, transmisogyny, anti-Black racism, and settler colonialism. However, I challenge the ways in which these forms of oppression are understood by revealing the forms of resistance that homeless LGBTQ2 youth exert against such forms of power. Doing so untethers the concept that gay villages are merely locations in which homonormative politics take shape, and instead underscores how LGBTQ2 youth embodiment formulates acts of urban citizenship that push against such forms of power.

This dissertation foregrounds the “constitutive background figures, or absent presences, in discussions of queer space” (Haritaworn et al. 2018, 11). It explores how conditions of exclusion are built into Toronto’s infamous gay village, and, importantly, the meaning the village still holds in the lives of homeless LGBTQ2 youth through the ways they facilitate their own means of survival within its landscape. I center concepts of race and settler colonialism in order to expose the role of racism within the queer community and queer spaces. Doing so is particularly important for my dissertation, given that the majority of youth participants are Indigenous and non-Indigenous people of colour. Deploying queer of colour critiques in my dissertation raises concerns about the ways in which I, as a white trans researcher, may appropriate this scholarship. As a means of mitigating these concerns, throughout my writing process I have consistently evaluated what I write about in regards to homeless LGBTQ2 youth of colour and Indigenous youth, why I include it, and to what aim. By centering conversations of race, racism, and settler colonialism in this dissertation, I offer a crucial theoretical challenge to the ways in which whiteness is universalized and marked as originary, especially within queer scholarship (Frankenberg 1999; Haritaworn et al. 2018; Puwar 2004). Drawing from S. Ahmed (2007), this exercise unfixes whiteness as a central point of reference, and aims to orient readers of this dissertation away from whiteness. Within the field of geography, such a position challenges the objectification of people of colour, the use of people of colour in projects of settler colonialism, and the ways in which the experiences, bodies, and subjectivities of people of colour have been used to affirm whiteness as the marked centrality of geographic knowledge.

However, this reflection also reveals the ways in which racist geographic traditions remain undisturbed by this dissertation. While I push against queer presumptions that Indigenous people are “already disappeared from the modern and settled spaces where queer degenerates [are] found” (Morgensen 2010, 119) through attention to language, Indigenous histories, and current queer, trans, and Two Spirit Indigenous experiences of queer space, much work remains to be done with urban LGBTQ2 Indigenous populations that is more firmly rooted in the process of decolonization, and in collaboration with Indigenous peoples. Additionally, this dissertation retains a limited focus on American and Canadian genealogies of queer urbanity, which is increasingly challenged by queer geographers around the world. While the scope of this dissertation does not extend itself internationally, it is important to continue questioning how queer geographies participate in the logics of colonialism through the complacent centering of queerness as a phenomenon of the global North. It is with the spirit of this critical reflection that I hope those reading this dissertation approach the following chapters, which render those relegated as queer phantasms as crucial presences for the understanding of queer urban space.

Chapter 2: Geographies of Subaltern Survival: Theorizing Bare Life in the Contemporary City

Introduction

The majority of homeless youth struggle to secure the most basic of needs, such as food, clothing, shelter, and medical attention (Bucher 2008). When these needs are not met, and being resigned to the streets exerts physical and psychological harm upon homeless youth, it must be asked how such a life, and practices of survival, figure into understandings of how power manifests in and shapes urban landscapes. What does it mean to live barely, when needs are minimally or precariously met, and what does subject formation, existence, and modes of being look like in cities under such conditions? How does material and emotional survival relate to notions of urban political action and citizenship, and what are the limitations and possibilities of such a theoretical exploration? I reflect upon these questions throughout this chapter, as I place bodies of literature in conversation to consider the life, survival, and possibilities of urban citizenship with multiply marginalized communities and people.

In theorizing the right to the city and urban homelessness, Mitchell and Heynen (2009, 619) explain that, “people in poverty continue to activate their own geographies of survival, to construct pathways of survival through the urban landscape.” Exploring geographies of survival, particularly in relation to homelessness and food insecurity, places spatialized notions of survival in conversation with Lefebvre’s concept of the right to the city. For Mitchell and Heynen (2009, 615-616), such a dialogue illuminates that, “the right to ‘habitat’ (a place and an ability to make a life) and to ‘inhabit’ (to make that place one’s own [collectively], to dwell, to have a right *to be* in a place) are necessary,

not contingent. When these are not provided, people will, through their instincts of survival, create them.” In other words, when means of survival are not met, those who need to survive construct their own practices of living. This chapter centralizes the question of what it means to live and survive in order to consider, in the following chapters, the various modes and strategies of survival by homeless LGBTQ2 youth in Toronto, manifestations of conflicting or supportive politics and forms of embodiment, as well as stakeholder impingements and incursions on youth’s means of life. I consider what a theory might look like that centers such youth, who are rarely placed in theorizations of urban political action or citizenship, and the ways in which urban life and survival can be conceptualized in order to encompass their experiences. First, I discuss the relationship between the biopolitical, life and power, primarily through Agamben’s work on bare life, and how theorizing livability for homeless LGBTQ2 youth oscillates between considerations of life in the face of necropolitical realities. I then move to discuss how survival enters this equation and, crucially, the political significance of survival in conversation with critical urban theory, specifically Lefebvre’s concept of the right to the city and the geographies of survival. Finally, I incorporate a discussion of several forms of citizenship in order to explore how survival and life, specific to the experiences of homeless LGBTQ2 youth, can or cannot be politicized. By positioning the geographies of subaltern survival as the overarching framework of my dissertation, this chapter presents how mundane, less visible, and everyday forms of survival can serve as crucial practices of the right to the city, and facilitate urban political practices that are rooted in the bodies and material realities of multiply marginalized people.

Figurations of Life and Power: Agamben's Bare Life

The concept of life varies in definition, ranging from a biological to biographical matter (Benjamin 1968, Derrida 2004); physiological, affective, and social (Fassin 2010); natural and historical (Arendt 1958); or a stake of political techniques (Genel 2006). The latter is attributed particular significance in Foucault's work on biopower, which highlights the ways in which life secures the definition and workings of power, and has historically functioned as an investment of the sovereign. As Genel (2006, 47) explains of Foucault's theorizing, the sovereign's right over life and death performs a management over life, wherein power serves as "the right to intervene in order to make live." Within this biopolitical drive, individual bodies are linked to the reproduction of social and national bodies; the survivability of populations is marked as fundamental to a body's ability to promulgate the species, or to reproduce life. Genel (2006, 44) summarizes that, for Foucault, "sovereign power establishes itself and perpetuates itself by producing a 'biopolitical body' on which it is exercised." It is here where the sustainment of the human species – the most basic biological drive of life – collides with "the order of knowledge and power, [and enters] into the sphere of political techniques" (Foucault 1978, 142), and where governing bodies inherit their participation and intervention in the bodies of citizens.

Building upon the relationship between the sovereign and human life, Giorgio Agamben appropriates Foucault's biopower to understand the political significance of life, and conditions of the political subject, in modern 'Western'¹¹ politics. Agamben is

¹¹ Throughout this chapter, I place quotation marks around 'West' to follow the work of postcolonial studies to destabilize and question the category of 'the West'. 'The West' has multiple understandings,

concerned with how the human subject is continuously (re)defined through power and the figure of the sovereign, “attempting to find the bilateral connection that would unite the notion of political techniques and the technologies of the self, not on the side of the subject but on the side of power” (Genel 2006, 45). Agamben (2005) draws upon a figure in Roman law, *Homo sacer*, which functions as “a life destined to die with complete impunity” (Genel 2006, 51). In his theorizing of *Homo sacer*, Agamben (2005, 28) describes the legal terrain in which this figure exists as a state of exception, where the suspension of law, or *the iustitium* in Roman law, operates as a “‘juridical and constitutional’ measure that is realized in the production of new norms (or of a new juridical order),” in which certain life is excluded and, as such, produces a biopolitical body upon which sovereignty is exerted. In the state of exception, political logic is solely focused on life, “which is legible in the sovereign’s right over life and death, the moment in which power has taken control of life either by exploiting or by suspending its right to kill” (Genel 2006, 51). For Agamben, the state of exception emerges from the suspension of chaos from order, and inscribes life within modern political order.

Life and death, thus, play a crucial role in the state of exception, as the law both “binds and... abandons the living being into law” (Agamben 2005, 1). Abandoned life can also be theorized through Mbembe’s (2003) necropolitics, which offers a supplemental analysis of Foucault’s biopower through “a sustained focus on sovereign power as fundamentally concerned with death-making” (Haritaworn, Kuntsman, Posocco

including as an ideology, a historical figure, an imagined geography, a civilization, a function of values, an intellectual project, and a form of society (Amin 1989; Hall, Held, Hubert, and Thompson 1996; Huntington 1998; Lazarus 2002; Said 1979, 1995).

2013, 6). Necropolitics figures the ways in which subjects are directed toward death, and ultimately rendered “the status of living dead” within formulations of state power (Mbembe 2003, 40). As a framework that identifies how particular subjects and populations are institutionally neglected and regarded as disposable (Gilmore 2007; Mbembe 2003), scholars who engage with queer of colour critique and trans studies have taken up queer and trans necropolitics to “[interrogate] claims to queerness in the face(s) of death, both spectacular and banal” (Haritaworn et al. 2013, 2), specifically through the lens of state-sanctioned racism, colonialism, and cissexism. Such theoretical approaches to framing the lives of trans people, and queer and trans people of colour (QTPOC), points to the collaborative production of bio- and necro-politics (Puar 2007), as white queer (and, increasingly, trans) subjectivities are folded into life while racialized queer and trans bodies are relegated to death (Beam 2018; Aizura 2006, 2014; Lamble 2008, 2013). Queer and trans entry into life is made through constructions of race, with trans people and QTPOC routinely subject to productions of death, and marked as irredeemable and disposable, “disavowed subjectivities... [and] pathological bodies” (Haritaworn et al. 2013, 5) through the fluctuating structures of racism, colonialism, and neoliberalism.

Understanding this bio-necro collaboration centralizes race in conversations of queer and trans liveability, as well as within Agamben’s distinctions between two forms of life: *bios*, or a qualified life with individual, historical, and community significance; and that of *zoē*, which describes the fact of life that is commonly shared with all biological entities. Within the state of exception, bare life, or *zoē*, emerges as a life that is, as Ziarek (2008, 90) describes, “stripped of political significance and exposed to

murderous violence..., both the counterpart to and the target of sovereign violence,” and “wounded, expendable, and endangered.” Bare life is a condition of the state of exception, and it is in the state of exception that *zoē* is both central to the function of power while simultaneously, and necessarily, discarded from it. For Agamben, “sovereignty functions according to the logic of the exception, the privileged object of which is life, and constructs itself by producing a biopolitical body, which is to say by including bare life through its exclusion” (Genel 2006, 50). However, while *zoē* increasingly dominates *bios*, a subject experiencing qualified life, the two are nevertheless blended together and always, in some way, interwoven (Fassin 2010).

In the modern ‘Western’ polis, Agamben’s ideas of *bios* and *zoē* also come into contact with the necropolitical through his identification of bare life in the figures of the refugee and the Jew, which exemplify how logics of political power, or the sovereign, render particular lives extinguishable. As Fassin (2010, 87-88) explains of Agamben, “there is a hierarchical conception of lives (physical life being reduced to bare life) which is also a hierarchical conception of human beings (between those who only have their bare life left and those whose life is qualified).” In reflecting on such figures that are designated bare life, and whose lives are no longer worthy of more than *zoē*, Agamben looks to the Nazi concentration camp as a political space in which the state of exception, and thus sovereign power, is exhibited in its extremity, as this space functioned to both produce and exterminate bare life. As Genel (2006, 56) explains of Agamben, the camp “is a new and stable spatial order inhabited by a bare life which, increasingly, fails to appear within the system: in this way life is made the object of a radical capture by the sovereign.” In this political space, both life and the human are redefined, and for

Agamben, the camp exhibits how “power is above all a decision on life in the form of a qualification of life, a decision on its value and therefore also its nonvalue” (Genel 2006, 56). Within the polis, political power is exerted over the determination of life and death, and for Agamben, the matrix of the camp encapsulates modernity by its illustration that it is impossible for the human subject to distinguish a qualified life that exists beyond being a political subject; or, in other words, qualified life encapsulates the subjecthood of a political citizen recognized and adjudicated by the sovereign.

However, Haritaworn et al. (2013, 7) present recent moves within queer of colour critique to explore how “death-making is constitutive of the polis and directly connects to the everyday experience of those perhaps unremarkable... extreme and yet ordinary” forms of ‘slow death’ (Berlant 2007) which emerge outside of the state. This attention to mundane violences exposes the ordinary geographies of death that encapsulate the lives of trans people and QTPOC, and, importantly, point to the persistence of living that exists in spite of such deathscapes. This builds upon critiques that Agamben reduces political space to the exercise of power over the value of life, rather than opening room to theorize the possibility of life beyond considerations of sovereign power. For Genel (2006, 58), the matter of living is in itself resistance against “the processes of subjection at work in the technologies of power.” This turn toward life reflects recent hesitation amongst some trans studies scholars with necropolitical frameworks, arguing that theorizing trans experiences and subjectivities through necropolitics maintains racialized queer and trans lives as an impossibility, and “narrow[s] the whole range of social contestations over forms of life” (Martin 2007, 141; see also Aizura 2014, Cheah 2011, and Moten 2011). Instead, Aizura (2014, 143) urges a “realist call to honour the zones of alternative trans

being emerging under the duress of impossibility.” By attending to how disposable lives can be theorized through insisting upon living in the face of marked death, we can explore the potential blurring of the binary between bare and qualified life, in order to more deeply understand lives, bodies, and subjectivities with possibility as they are caught within necropolitical structures, and question both if and how bare life can be imbued with possibility.

For Agamben, the political possibility of bare life can only manifest in its move away from the political sphere. This illuminates a slippage in the meaning of bare life, as “its signification... oscillates between the polemical status of the production of power and a positive but ambiguous status of the center of a mode of political life” (Genel 2006, 61). In this double meaning, bare life is rendered ambivalent, and remains unclear as a means of theorizing how life can be considered political resistance, particularly in the ability for a subject to oscillate between conditions of *zoē* and *bios*. Yet if we follow the move of trans studies scholarship to understand how subjects oscillate between *zoē* and *bios* within the modern polis, we can approach ungrievable queer and trans lives, those marked by death and relegated to bare life, through the politics of living and survival. Such emotional, psychological, material, and geographical vulnerabilities to necropolitical conditions of bare life can be further traced through structures of politics, cultures, representations, and relations that manifest in the materialities of abandoned subjects. In what follows, I place bare life in conversation with theories of survival and politics within critical urban theory, engaging geographies of survival and Lefebvre’s right to the city to consider the nature of bare life in urban environments, and how those experiencing such circumstances survive and inform urban politics.

The Right to the City and Geographies of Survival

Agamben believes that political subjectivity is only recognized in the form of qualified life, and that *zoē*, or biological life, is only political in the sense of its subjection to sovereign power. However, when this theoretical limitation of Agamben's notion of bare life is met with concepts of survival and resistance, there is room to consider how *zoē* is maintained through survival and, though perhaps optimistic, can shift into moments of qualified life. Drawing on Derrida, Fassin (2010, 93) writes that, "survival... not only shifts lines that are too often hardened between biological and political lives: it opens an ethical space for reflection and action." In considering what it means to survive, particularly within the vulnerabilities to bare life, Fassin (2010, 90) suggests that survival "is the life that remains to be lived." This hopefulness of toggling between bare and qualified life can be read in the work of Lefebvre, particularly in his formulations of the right to the city. Lefebvre describes a right to urban life that centralizes difference and offers opportunities for communities to assert agency within urban space. A right to urban life encompasses strategies of survival, overt rights claims, and place-making strategies that are practiced in innumerable ways, as individuals and communities challenge hegemonic uses and functions of the city by powerful institutions, in both hyper-visible and subtle, often invisible ways. Lefebvre (1996, 129) argues that while the city is heavily influenced by the power of the state, "urban reality, at the very heart of its location, persists and becomes more dense." Through this density emerges an "ensemble of differences" (Lefebvre 1996, 109), a multiplicity of life that retains a spark of appropriation of the city by its inhabitants.

Many scholars have taken up the right to the city to argue that urban life produces contradictions and, consequently, instigates politicized contestation around identities and space. In these formulations, the city is often considered a repository of democratic actions and practices that manifest as political confrontation. Wood (2017, 8) explains that, “the city has been and remains emancipatory, where residents seize the opportunities that the diversity, anonymity, fluidity, and plasticity of the city also provide.” This emancipatory nature of the city is always in negotiation with daily, routinized forms of urban governance, which disproportionately target women, Black and Brown people, youth, the poor, and LGBTQ2 people (Wood 2017). According to Zukin (1999, 12), the spatial connectivity of people and communities who confront various sources of power in cities “mediate[s] the demands of cultural identity, state power, and capital accumulation.” Public urban spaces have been increasingly relegated to private markets in economic shifts, and as the private sector has grown and gained influence in public urban spaces, Zukin argues that structures of power have intensified and shifted public life away from city streets. This results in urban dwellers having to negotiate more asymmetrical power dynamics, as efforts to increase urban order are further implemented through urban planning, Business Improvement Areas, police, and other forms of urban securitization and governance.

While there are many ways in which urban spaces are subjected to power, “there are always countervailing tendencies” (Amin and Thrift 2002, 128) against structures of dominance by urban dwellers. As Zukin (1991, 16) writes, cities are both “landscape[s] of the powerful... and [of] the subordinate, resistant, or expressive vernacular of the powerless.” Urban dwellers continue to find ways to survive and negotiate assertions of

power in cities, and as such, urban life is inherently politicized, and its everydayness and ordinariness offer the potential to refuse and resist forms of power embedded in the city. Despite the ways in which the city can be experienced as dominating, powerful, and violent, everyday urban life is still full of various manifestations of political action. It is, consequently, crucial to pay significant attention to the politicization of urban life, of which critical urban scholarship has predominantly focused on large-scale political movements that challenge forms of power, and how such public and visible political demonstrations facilitate formations of urban citizenship (Amin and Thrift 2002; Amit-Talai and Lustiger-Thaler 1994; Brennan, Marcuse, and Mayer 2012; Burman 2006, 2010; Harvey 1973). As Fassin (2010, 93) reflects, “certainly, powers like the market and the state do act sometimes as if human beings could be reduced to ‘mere life,’ but democratic forces, including from within the structure of power, tend to produce alternative strategies that escape this reduction.” Thus, cities function as hubs of democratic action and offer opportunities to read political responses to bare life, increasingly as everyday forms of resistance through survival.

Cities provide political spaces in which the geographies of survival manifest in response to structures of power that produce and sustain forms of bare life. For Mitchell and Heynen (2009, 613-614), those who occupy some of the most vulnerable positions by lacking basic needs, such as housing, food, or job security, “invent new strategies for coping – strategies that sometimes directly confront the relations of power that structure everyday life, and at other times seek only to make life tolerable within them.” In their formulation, survival can be read as a means of coping with, and resisting against, conditions of bare life that manifest in the politicized spaces of cities, where increasing

legal impositions render life less qualified for people of colour, the urban poor, undocumented, Indigenous, queer, youth, and others caught within structures of power that dictate who is worthy of qualified life. Specifically, Mitchell and Heynen characterize the microgeographies of urban homeless survival as existing in ‘interstitial spaces’ – utilizing hidden areas such as dumpsters, doorways, bridges and alleyways – in order to manage the basic tasks of survival. The use of such interstitial spaces has become increasingly crucial for urban homeless populations, particularly as public spaces within cities, such as parks or public transit, are more heavily targeted by police and municipal courts for appropriate “logics of use” (Blomley 2007) in order to deter alternative behaviours in, and rights claims to, such spaces (see also Blomley 2003; D. Mitchell 2011, 2013, 2017). While scholarship has rightfully attended to the myriad of ways in which homeless survival strategies have become increasingly under attack, particularly within neoliberalizing cities, less work has been conducted about forms of survival by other marginalized communities, which I address later in this chapter through the notions of sexual and subaltern citizenship.

For youth who are homeless, survival strategies differ somewhat than those for homeless adults, as their struggle to live requires tremendous coping mechanisms to navigate stigmatization and criminalization, as well as adultist institutions (Bender et al. 2007; Rowe 1999). Cahill (2000) describes these skills amongst street-involved youth as “street literacy”, which characterizes practices and forms of knowledge that are used to navigate particular urban environments. Street literacy is an adaptation to “social structures and cultures of the street economy... [which] enable homeless youth to develop competencies to endure their daily existence” (Bender et al. 2007, 27). As a

means of enduring the harsh life conditions of homelessness, street literacy encompasses the skills to form street families and other intentional networking, the choice to carry weapons, guardedness about whom to trust, and the time and financial management to access varying services that are oriented toward youth (Auerswald and Eyre 2002; Bender et al. 2007; Jackson 2012; van Blerk 2005, 2013; Young 2003). This affirms Ruddick's (1996, 44) argument that homeless youth "engage in a complex and active struggle against becoming marginal" in the city, and exert forms of independence and agency, however fleeting and precarious. Facing conditions that barely meet the requirements for survival, such as secure shelter and access to food or water, homeless youth continue to "create heterotopias, [or] impossible life spaces which graft the subverted meaning of one activity onto the structure of another" (Ruddick 1996, 194). These practices comprise youth efforts to survive by propelling the biological fact of life from one day to the next; however, whether this extends beyond meeting the needs of a bare life is uncertain.

While securing the means to access food, water, and shelter are fundamental necessities to sustain life, scholarship on queer youth also emphasizes the importance of emotional care for the task of survival, as LGBTQ2 youth are not only forced to navigate the complex power geometries of race, gender, class, ability, sexuality, nationality, and migration status, but also the forces of constriction and regulation by adults, often with more intensity in regards to their sexual lives (Schroeder 2012; M. E. Thomas 2005). The topic of LGBTQ2 youth has only been minimally attended to in youth and queer geographies, and broader scholarship on LGBTQ youth predominantly describes this population through tropes of risk and vulnerability (Grossman and D'Augelli 2006;

Marshall 2010; Reisner et al. 2015; Toomey et al. 2010; Schroeder 2012). While it is crucial to represent the harsh conditions of life that lead to increased risk of suicide, homelessness, criminalization, and other forms of precarity amongst LGBTQ2 youth, this depiction also inadequately represents the “messy reality of uneven acceptance” (Schroeder 2015, 790-791) in the lives of LGBTQ2 youth and the spaces they inhabit. While places like the home or school present tremendous challenges for youth who identify as LGBTQ2, queer urban spaces themselves are also difficult for queer youth to navigate, as their consumer orientation renders them adultist and “obsess[ed] [with] youthfulness rather than... valuing of or advoca[ting] for queer youth” (Schroeder 2012, 636). Yet despite this, queer youth assert their agency through transgressive embodiments of gender fluidity (Regales 2008), anarchist and punk expressions (Halberstam 2005; Ritchie 2008; A. Wilson 2008), and intentional uses of ‘closet spaces’ (M. P. Brown 2000) as means of protection (Schroeder 2015). Trans youth in particular can explore and validate their gender identities in various ways, predominantly in more private spaces, which can encourage emotional, psychological, and even physical survival when dealing with threatening and toxic transphobic environments, interactions, and institutions (Browne 2004; Schroeder 2015). Importantly, then, homeless LGBTQ2 youth not only need to meet the fundamental physical needs of survival, but also the emotional and psychological care needed to persist through iterations of queerphobia/transphobia.

Such strategies of survival, and forms of embodiment and resistance, are minimally attended to by scholars who engage with Lefebvre’s concept of the right to the city, and there is much-needed inclusion of LGBTQ2 youth in understandings of urban political action. In what follows, I lay a foundation through which such an inclusion can

be executed by following Mitchell and Heynen's (2009, 616) charge to envision "things that make living possible" in the city, as well as Fassin's call for social scientific inquiry into how survival instigates a becoming *into* life. I pull the considerations of survival, and *zoē* and *bios* which I have thus far described, into conversation with citizenship studies, in order to further theorize what urban political action can encompass when subjects struggle to meet the needs of survival, and to what extent citizenship can work in such problematics. In the remaining pages, I consider the implications for citizens who are struggling to survive, and whose means of bodily and psychological survival may not register as productive or useful in the realm of the political.

Bare Life and Formulations of Urban and Sexual Citizenship

Genel (2006, 60) argues that the violence of bare life "must be thought at the heart of the problem of citizenship and sovereignty," and such considerations become more prominent when placed in conversation with the right to the city and the question of survival. Citizenship is understood as a conflictual relationship between the state and those who are governed (Wood 2013, 116-7), and is described as a "[necessarily] agonistic relationship between the governors and the governed" (Wood 2014, 138; see also Isin 2002; Isin and Wood 1999; Wyn and White 1997). Citizenship reveals forms of power within governing bodies, as well as normative cultural, political, and economic frameworks that designate subjects worthy of receiving both formal and informal political recognition, and subjects undeserving of, and illegible under, such forms of recognition. Citizenship is frequently understood within a lens of formal rights claims and strategies of governance that dictate who can access particular forms of recognized

statehood. The majority of citizenship studies analyzes social and collective movements as examples of political action, and infrequently looks at individualized, embodied, and subtle expressions of citizenship, which are more often enacted by people of colour, women and trans people, queer people, and youth. Wood (2017) critiques the reliance of citizenship studies on overt political action to define urban citizenship, arguing that such scholarship undermines less visible forms of resistance that cultivate urban citizenship within marginalized communities. For Wood (2017, 15), citizenship studies must seriously consider “a continuum of acts of resistance to suffering and exclusion, both private and public, that includes the less visible, less spectacular, in addition to mass mobilizations.” Such an approach to citizenship that draws on informal and embodied acts of citizenship invites everyday encounters such as walking, watching, talking, shopping, or the “ordinary performance in mixing people” (Jacobs 1961, 164) on the streets, to illuminate equally significant embodiments of urban citizenship that manifest against structures of power.

Within this framework, marginalized populations such as youth, Indigenous people, LGBTQ2 people, non-Indigenous people of colour, migrants, people with disabilities, and those who are homeless and/or low-income are framed as equally important urban actors alongside those who engage in more recognized forms of protest (Caulfield and Peake 1996; Holston 1999; Wood 2017). Yet given the small body of work that advocates for such inclusion, urban youth citizenship is still largely undertheorized, as the majority of literature addresses youth citizenship through digital, or online, means. Digital citizenship describes the role of the Internet and social media in formal citizenship practices, and how youth become engaged in traditional

understandings of political and civic participation such as voting, donation making, participating in political parties, and attending political meetings (Isin and Ruppert 2015; Lin, Cheong, Kim, and Jung 2010; Loader 2007). However, it remains unclear how digital versus offline youth participation differs in formal citizenship claims, and while this work offers a critical intervention that recognizes youth as political actors, it fails to capture informal everyday and embodied political action (Isin and Ruppert 2015).

Alternatively, sexual citizenship creates openings for embodied and everyday practices that produce claims to belonging, and links sexuality – both sexual identity and sexual practices – to the state, notions of morality, and capitalism (Aggleton et al. 2019; Evans 2013; Weeks 1998). Sexual citizenship, as described by Aggleton et al. (2019, 5), “contest[s] more traditional notions of citizenship that have relegated the sexual to the private and the domestic in favor of new possibilities,” understanding sexuality as it relates to the political sphere of ‘western’ democratic legal frameworks, civic engagement, and human rights discourses (i.e., marriage equality or reproductive legal protections). Within this framework, Boon-Kuo, Meiners, and Simpson (2019) illustrate how practices engaged by queer youth of colour through grassroots organizations, such as ‘know your rights’ campaigns and condom possession, which is a specific strategy used to criminalize queer youth of colour, serves as practices of citizenship and belonging in spite of the hostile carceral logics that disproportionately criminalize such youth, and their sexuality, in public spaces. While sexual citizenship offers this means of illustrating how the lives and practices of queer youth of colour are “politicized into protest and resistance” (Wood 2017, 15), the notion of sexual citizenship is also heavily criticized within the field of queer of colour critique for its function as a “deadly mechanism of

differentiated inclusion, which divides its subjects into grievable and ungrievable, worthy and unworthy of state protection, 'folded into life' [Puar 2007] or 'socially dead'" (Haritaworn et al. 2013, 446). As neoliberalism has "enable[d] self-governing subjects to become normal/responsible citizens who voluntarily comply with the interests and needs of the state" (Richardson 2005, 516), certain members of the LGBTQ population have begun to be incorporated into, and recognized by, the state through increased alignment with neoliberal values. The increased presence and power of normative forms of queer sexuality, and the seductions of state offerings of citizenship, have been characterized by a homonormative turn in which the process of becoming a recognizable queer subject "is concomitant with the production of racialized structures that connect whiteness to radical alterity, whilst positioning blackness as always already outside the 'legitimate' political economy of sexuality" (Haritaworn et al. 2013, 447). This is particularly due to the close relationship between homonationalism and state-strengthening projects that are always contingent on the racialization of enemy Others, and protecting the white subject of 'the West' (Agathangelou 2013; Agathangelou, Bassichis, and Spira 2008; E. A. Edelman 2014; Haritaworn et al. 2013; Lamble 2008, 2013; Puar 2015). Normative queerness has, consequently, come to be signified by whiteness while positioning people of colour as its antithesis. Thus, sexual citizenship in the context of homonationalism renders white queerness the signifier of "'legitimate', radical alterity... [while people of colour] are presumed imminently incapacious, never registering in the 'legitimate' global political economy of sex and sexuality as well as law" (Agathangelou 2013, 454-455). Sexual citizenship marks the uneven terrain of legal recognition amongst LGBTQ2 populations, such as participating in the military or gaining marriage equality, wherein whiteness

offers entry into the state – and, arguably, a qualified life – that is frequently denied to QTPOC.

As queer geographers have traced, homonormative offerings of citizenship have aligned with logics of commodification in queer space, particularly in large cities. Queer urban place-making is characterized as “a zero-sum game of identity and territoriality [wherein the] gains of some marginalized identities come at the exclusion, domination, or oppression of some other” (M. P. Brown 2013, 460). This is due to the saturation of capital and consumer markets in gay villages, which render them increasingly normalized and disciplinary (Bell and Binnie 2004; Binnie 2004; Doan and Higgins 2011; Oswin 2005a; Kanai 2014; Kanai and Kenttamaa-Squires 2014; Rushbrook 2002). Thus, queer urban spaces fall under the guise of a homonormative political agenda, which “promotes alignments and partnerships between capital and select LGBT actors, while simultaneously privileging corporatized and easily marketable kinds of queer spaces and subjects over others” (Kanai and Kenttamaa-Squires 2014, 389). Normalizable queer subjects, particularly white, gay, able-bodied cis men of a middle-to-high income bracket, are readily incorporated into homonormative politics, the practices of which have been secured in gay villages. Consequently, the racialized, classed, gendered, and sexualized bodies that fit within this narrow understanding of queerness are considered proper subjects that contribute to the order of such queer consumer environments, as they enhance the flow of capital and contribute to the enhancement of these particular urban queer neighbourhoods in the face of growing competition for urban entrepreneurialism (Kanai 2014).

As a consequence of this culture of commodification, the ability to participate in urban neighbourhood growth is a primary identifier of a person's eligibility to belong in queer urban space, cultivating a consumer sexual citizenship based in highly regulated sexual spaces (Greene 2014; Reck 2009). When capital becomes the principal means of granting belonging, "consumption...abets accessibility to and increased participation of urban denizens in to neighborhood-specific communities of interest" (Greene 2014, 100). In other words, consumer citizenship grants those who can partake in the exchange of commodities a politically empowered and valued position in such socio-political landscapes, rendering citizens as those who contribute to the circulation of capital. Within consumer sexual citizenship, then, such regulated spaces also carefully govern those queer bodies, subjectivities, or social positions that are not seen as valuable for the accumulation of capital and urban growth, which predominantly targets youth, trans people, low-income people, and people of colour (Daniel-McCarter 2012; Ghaziani 2014; Greene 2014; Hanhardt 2013; Irazábal and Huerta 2015; Reck 2009). As Nash (2013, 224) writes, "[t]hose not able to afford commodified gay Village experiences or who do not operate within accepted homonormative gendered and sexualized frameworks, often socialize and live in places beyond the Village." Consumer sexual citizenship dictates those who are considered (un)deserving of belonging in commodified spaces – in this case, gay villages which contribute to the homonormative structures of urban capital growth – based upon a person's ability to participate in, and contribute to, the circulation of capital (Binnie and Skeggs 2004; Nash 2013; Rushbrook 2002).

The lens of sexual citizenship offers partial entry into understandings of the intersections between critical urban studies and LGBTQ2 populations. However, its focus

on sexuality is limiting when trying to capture the complexities of oppression in the lives of multiply-marginalized LGBTQ2 people, and the nuances of identity that come to play in the politics of survival. By prioritizing sexuality, other intersecting identities – particularly race and gender – are rendered peripheral, and are thus inadequately approached or included in formulations of LGBTQ2 citizenship. As critiqued by Haritaworn et al. (2018, 6), the use of sexuality as an entry into citizenship imparts “narrow, identitarian notions of belonging” that inadequately encapsulates the multiple and nuanced networks of power in which QTPOC are situated. A lens of sexuality also fails to encompass the particularities of gender that profoundly impact how non-binary, trans, and gender non-conforming people experience and survive conditions of bare life. In other words, while sexual citizenship provides a useful approach to broadening the theoretical notions of citizenship, it does not fully encapsulate the complex intersectionality¹² that produces the conditions and structures of bare life, and strategies of surviving such realities, for multiply marginalized LGBTQ2 people. Given these limitations, an additional theoretical approach to citizenship must also be placed in conversation in order to encapsulate the question of how bare life is managed and challenged in the everyday and embodied realities of multiply marginalized LGBTQ2 people and communities. I, consequently, turn to subaltern citizenship in order to encompass multiple signifiers of identity simultaneously in the formations of LGBTQ2

¹² Intersectionality is a framework of analysis, theory and methodology that traces its origins to Black feminism, and a praxis which “helps [to] reveal how power works in diffuse and differentiated ways through the creation and deployment of overlapping identity categories” (Cho, Crenshaw and McCall 2013, 797; see also Choo and Ferree 2010; Chun, Lipsitz, and Shin 2013; Crenshaw 1991; McCall 2005; Puar 2011).

homeless youth experiences, negotiations, and challenges against governance in a highly controlled sexual environment like the Church-Wellesley Village.

Geographies of Subaltern Survival Within the Architectures of Bare Life

The subaltern subject describes “a relational position in a conceptualisation of power” (Pandey 2006, 4735) that emerged within subaltern studies in the 1980s, as a predominantly historical project to consider “South Asia outside the bounds of colonialist, elite nationalist, and Marxist frameworks” (Byrd and Rothberg 2011, 2). A crucial element of subaltern studies, particularly in earlier works, was to develop the figure of the colonial peasant alongside the working class and proletariat, rendering figures from the (post)colonial global South as produced within, and productive of, the context of the ‘modern’ West, rather than mere subjects of a history ‘elsewhere’ (Guha 1982). Importantly, a fundamental element of early scholarship in subaltern studies was “a distinction between ‘subjecthood’ and ‘citizenship’” (P. D. Thomas 2018, 15) in which citizenship was not a potential for, or condition of, colonial subalternity. This understanding of subalternity as against citizenship was furthered in Spivak’s (1998) critical intervention that the subaltern cannot speak, and is excluded from means of representation (see also Morris 2010). This positioned the category of subaltern as a means of problematizing positions of marginalization in colonial and postcolonial contexts (P. D. Thomas 2018). As such, the subaltern is still often understood “as a figure of exclusion, representing the specular opposite of the citizen” (P. D. Thomas 2018, 1). In these formulations, citizenship cannot be accessed, performed, or embodied by any person occupying a position of subalternity.

However, P. D. Thomas (2018, 4) notes that “Gramsci’s historical and cultural analyses emphasize the extent to which the subaltern continually makes its voice heard and its presence felt in contradictory and complex cultural, social and political forms.” In Gramsci’s use of the subaltern figure in *Prison Notebooks*, P. D. Thomas (2018, 4) explains that the subaltern figure is not opposed to the citizen, but is rather “a figure in which the contradictions of modern citizenship are intensely realized.” For Gramsci, the modern subaltern emerges in relation with hegemonic forces and, as such, is (re)constituted by state logics and mechanisms. As P. D. Thomas (2018, 11) explains, civil society is enclosed within the state; thus, rather than describing the subaltern through an inability to act, “political modernity, according to Gramsci, introduces a new form of relationality that mobilizes [the subaltern] as integral elements in an expansive system of social and political power” (see also Pandey 2006). With this turn toward the subaltern as a crucial element of political formation, a shift occurs in which subalternity can be understood in relation, rather than in opposition, to citizenship.

Through this understanding of subalternity, citizenship is reframed as necessarily imbricated in the subject position of the subaltern. Pairing subaltern with citizen intervenes with the myth that all ‘citizens’ are provided equal status, by emphasizing the political nature of subalternity, as well as its condition in negotiation and relation with dominance (Pandey 2006). As Pandey (2006, 4737) writes, citizenship is “written into the condition of subalternity.” This intervention of subalternity as necessarily political problematizes Agamben’s distinction between bare and qualified life, as their difference is measured through the lack or presence of politicized subjectivity. As explained earlier, bare life describes a physical reduction of life itself, stripped from political value,

whereas qualified life is encapsulated by a political citizenship that is recognized by the sovereign. Furthermore, the only possibility for bare life to enter a politicized position is, for Agamben, outside of the polis. Understanding subalternity as always necessarily imbued in the political thus disintegrates Agamben's distinctions between bare and qualified life as based on a (de)politicized subjectivity. The figure of the subaltern citizen is not, therefore, experiencing the conditions of bare life as a depoliticized subject; rather, the subaltern citizen points to an understanding of bare and qualified life as structures of living that encapsulate formal entry into, and legibility through, political (i.e. formal) citizenship. We can, consequently, trace the bio-necro collaboration of sovereign power through bare and qualified life as architectures that encapsulate the material realities of subaltern subjects, and dictate the limitations of recognition, agency, and survival. In formulating bare life as structure, significant visibility can be granted to, for example, the simultaneous political subjugation of Indigenous peoples through colonization in Canada, which serves as a structure informing conditions of bare life, while also making visible the political agency that Indigenous peoples have maintained and enacted within the exertion of colonial power.

Such a mediation of bare life illustrates how the concept of subaltern citizenship mobilizes subalternity to other settings and theorizations of marginality beyond the Global South and post-colonial studies. As such, the subaltern figure can be utilized in different contexts in order to cultivate critical scholarship that attends to concentrations of dominance, regulatory systems, and marginalization amongst various racialized, sexualized, gendered, and classed bodies. For example, McKittrick (2006, 7) utilizes subalternity in her groundbreaking work in Black geographies, writing that “the category

of ‘black geographies’ [addresses] subaltern or alternative geographic patterns that work alongside and beyond traditional geographies and site a terrain of struggle.” Similarly, Pandey (2006) applies the concept of subaltern citizen to the Civil Rights Movement in Atlanta, Georgia, and in post-Katrina New Orleans, in order to illustrate how different subaltern positions become hierarchized and contested over periods of time, creating structures of oppression around notions of difference amongst different subaltern figures.

This global travel of subaltern studies beyond contexts within the global South is not without its complications, as using subaltern studies in ‘Western’ or global North contexts can, arguably, re-center and fetishize ‘the West’ within a postcolonial framework, as well as perform an act of re-colonization through scholarship (Lazarus 2002; Mohanty 1994). Additionally, placing subaltern studies in conversation with subjects in a Canadian context, in which Indigenous lands are currently under colonial rule and settler occupation, the concept of postcolonial itself does not adequately capture the historical, legal, and cultural terrain of such a context. Postcolonial studies has been critiqued by Indigenous studies, primarily due to the failures of this framework to account for current and ongoing processes of colonialism. As Byrd and Rothenberg (2011, 4) note, scholars within Indigenous studies remain skeptical of postcolonial theory, largely due to the “misleading suggestion that colonialism is over” (see also McClintock 1992; Shohat 1992; Silva 2004; Womack, Weaver and Warrior 2006). They emphasize that in frameworks of subaltern citizenship, Indigenous political formations should be considered through Indigenous-specific knowledges and frameworks of the political, and outside of the bounds of settler state discourses that both strictly dictate and limit formal Indigenous citizenship. As Byrd and Rothenberg (2011, 10) argue, “proximity of

subaltern, intellectual and other bodies... does not betoken a translation into the incommensurable terms of the dominant, but into an indigenous cultural and intellectual space of possibility.” While it may appear that this call by Indigenous studies scholars stalls conversations about subalternity and citizenship, Pandey (2006, 4738) emphasizes that subaltern studies emphatically address “the histories of the underprivileged and disenfranchised: religious, ethnic and sexual minorities; marginal nationalities; dispossessed indigenous communities” as a means of continuing to provoke conversations about subjects that stretch traditional understandings of subalternity and ongoing colonialism. Furthermore, placing these bodies of literature in conversation further destabilizes the universality and stability of ‘the West’ as a concept, and disturbs the ideological distinctions between ‘the West’ and ‘the East’ (Mohanty 1994).

Within the framework of subaltern citizenship, we can extrapolate “the potential that the subaltern possesses (or the threat s/he poses) of becoming a full member of the community, the village, the neighbourhood and the polis” (Pandey 2006, 4735). In the formulation of the subaltern citizen, citizenship encompasses more than the granting of state rights to particular bodies and people by also including non-state forms of order and social arrangements between and amongst subaltern subjects. This, Wood (2017) argues, can include forms of suffering, momentary and semi-visible occupations of space, and refusing conditions of bare life as practices that reformulate what encompasses the political, and as such, visualizes citizenship as politics that are rooted in marginalized realities. Including such life conditions exposes the ways in which bare life is institutionalized in the social and political landscapes of cities, and illuminates the informal, and at times embodied, sources of political action that, while less visible and

temporary, nonetheless press against and expose normalized conditions of bare life. As I argue in the remaining pages of this chapter, these conditions are heavily racialized and increasingly gendered, and as such, illuminating forms of subaltern survival works against racialized tropes in predominantly white theorizing that simultaneously victimizes and erases the conditions of life and survival of people of colour.

While the approach of subaltern citizenship provides a crucial intervention in critical urban theory to broaden the subjects and populations typically considered in theorizations of citizenship and, more broadly, political action, it may also be overly optimistic to read the conditions and survival of bare life through this framework. While this may be the case, such an anti-racist, feminist, and trans/queer-centered analysis searches for possibilities of more-than-bare life in survival strategies engaged by marginalized communities, and in doing so offers political meaning to the “ways in which the subaltern self attends to and creates workable material and imaginary geographies” (McKittrick 2006, 56). Such actions inherently lend to survival amidst forces of domination, and illustrate how subaltern subjects challenge forms of political and social injustice. The concept of subaltern citizenship, then, positions the subaltern to “make unexpected openings... possible and engaging” (McKittrick 2006, 97), and challenge dominant temporalities that render particular subaltern positions as past, despite their roles in our present (Pandey 2006).

Subaltern Survival as Excess of Bare Life

Theorizing subaltern survival takes seriously the “necessity of complicating the dualistic models that oppose biological and political lives” (Fassin 2010, 93), particularly when

working with Agamben's framework. Agamben (2005, 2) argues that within the state of exception, "entire categories of citizens... cannot be integrated into the political system." As noted earlier, while Agamben suggests *possibility* in bare life, it is necessarily removed from the realm of the political. However, I argue that Agamben's strong distinction between *zoē* and *bios* becomes loosened when survival is understood as inclusive of the multiple ways in which subjects manage conditions of bare life. If *zoē* is no longer a container that holds the minimal qualifications of the simple biological fact of living, but instead also encompasses practices of survival that challenge and reinvent understandings of citizenship and how life is lived, bare life necessarily enters the polis. Throughout this chapter, I have illustrated how survival becomes political, and, however small or temporary, holds implications within the modern political sphere through the understandings of how survival manifests as citizenship. I have also presented the ways in which those who are frequently excluded from considerations of the political in critical urban studies – such as people of colour, women, LGBTQ2 people, and youth – provide significant theoretical challenges to consider everyday acts of survival as political provocations to citizenship and bare life, and challenge the notion of scale in theorizing structures of urban governance.

It is cautioned that studying governance and the concept of life often "disqualif[ies] as inferior the lives of individuals or groups that society appears to reduce to their condition of 'bare life': refugees, excluded, marginalized, sick" (Fassin 2010, 83). Agamben falls prey to this disservice in his minimal consideration of bare life beyond the concentration camp, and as such, his theorizing "conceals the actuality that the 'bare life' that is the innermost secret of 'Western' sovereignty has been racialized since the

violence of its originary constitution” (Thobani 2012, 6). Bare life is inherently racialized by the constitution of ‘Western’ law as a colonial and imperialist, and subsequently racist, order. As Ziarek (2008, 92) emphasizes, “since bare life is included within Western democracies as their hidden inner ground... modern politics is about the search for the new racialized and gendered targets of exclusion, for the new living dead.” In other words, bare life particularly functions to maintain racialized Others in a state of death-in-life, of socio-legal non-recognition, offering, according to Agamben, no possibilities for a qualified life. People of colour, and also, as E. A. Edelman (2014, 177) argues, gendered Others, thus live in “a state wherein value can only be found within death – occupying a subjectivity that promises neither death nor life.” Given this disproportionate impact of bare life, this chapter has considered what might occur when centering lost, wounded objects (J. E. Muñoz 1999) in conversation with Agamben, by locating the political interruptions of everyday, mundane, and embodied tasks of survival. Reading subaltern survival as an excess of bare life – that is, an assemblage of political formations, practices, subjectivities, and geographies that exist within and push back against the structure of bare life – rejuvenates an analysis that seeks the potential within subjects relegated to *zoē* to mobilize a life that is turning toward *bios*. Such a theoretical formulation works against reading the geographies of people of colour as merely “homogenous sites of dispossession” (McKittrick 2006, 4), and instead highlights the “palimpsestic prisms” (Haritaworn et al. 2018, 4) of surviving bare life as political formations that push the boundaries of how political action is understood.

Mitchell and Heynen (2009, 615) remind us that, “the concept of a geography of survival is not new,” although we must continue to push the question of how subjects of

bare life are inhabiting, being, and living in the city. Theorizing such subaltern survival and its political implications “imagine[s] futures beyond displacement and dispossession” (Haritaworn et al. 2018, 5), and is an exercise that is taken seriously in the following chapters of this dissertation. This chapter provides a roadmap to consider the meaning of survival, and the implications of survival for people who precariously straddle the bounds of citizenship. Such considerations do not throw away embodiments and actions that have otherwise been considered politically unproductive, but instead search non-productivity for signs of life that are perhaps already, maybe in the process of becoming, or cannot ever be fully realized as, qualified life. These considerations are of utmost importance when analyzing the geographies of subaltern survival amongst homeless LGBTQ2 youth, and are traced throughout the following chapters. Such a theoretical foundation writes trans, gender non-conforming, and QTPOC into the urban polis not as addenda, but instead as fundamental fixtures in historical and current formations of queer and trans rights to the city. Illuminating such “geographies of subaltern struggle” (McKittrick 2006, 135) considers the lived material conditions of multiply marginalized LGBTQ2 people, and emphasizes the “vibrant ‘elsewhereness’” (Dryden 2018, 63) of surviving, reimagining, and moving beyond conditions of bare life in modern urban politics that are at the centre of reality and daily struggle for homeless LGBTQ2 youth.

Chapter 3: Trans Consciousness as a Means of Methodological Analysis

The other day... I just broke down and I was like, I can't do this. Like, I was crying in the middle of the street... like, I can't do this. [...] it's so hard having gone and lived as female for so long, and then come here and get my stuff stolen and, like, not even have access to different clothing. [...] for me to actually get clothing, I need to wait for my OW [Ontario Works] and buy clothing with that, right? [...] (Interview – Sidney, April 3, 2017)

Introduction

In the above quotation, Sidney, a white trans woman who had been homeless since moving from Vancouver to Toronto in January of 2017, shares personal and intimate vulnerabilities relating to being trans. After being robbed at a shelter, she lost all of her clothing and health card, which meant that she no longer had feminine clothes and could not access hormones. She expresses the devastation with the regrowth of her facial hair, and the difficulties of managing bureaucracy to obtain a new health card, and having to find new clothing that fit her. During our interview, Sidney mentions that she does not know where she will be sleeping that night, and when I ask her about this after our interview she says that she will most likely use the social media app, Grindr, to find somewhere to sleep in exchange for sex. I leave this interview questioning myself as a researcher and activist. How can I let this participant leave without knowing where she will sleep that night, after an hour of connecting over mutually-understood feelings and experiences of our trans identities? What does it mean about my personal and political convictions that I do not do more to help this woman? As a researcher, would helping her violate ethics protocol, or be considered an (in)appropriate intervention? My inclinations as a trans advocate are deeply conflicted with my code of conduct as a researcher, and confusion, frustration, and despondence settles in as I board the subway to go home.

In this chapter I read methodology through a framework of trans consciousness, which can be understood as a perspective that centralizes trans subjectivities, bodies, and experiences. I do so in order to capture the particularities of my experiences as a trans researcher navigating fieldwork within the broader LGBTQ2 community. My understanding of, and maneuvering through, the world as a trans person renders unique social dynamics that are fundamental to conducting fieldwork. The reality of my body's multiple and complex history, cycles, and manifestations renders my relations with (non-)LGBTQ2 people, institutions, and spaces perpetually fraught with an anxiety and hyper-awareness of how I am perceived, treated, and placed. However, feminist and queer methodologies minimally attend to circumstances, challenges, or topics that arise when including trans people in research design and practices. This rupture around transness leaves gender binaries left largely unchallenged, and maintains discussions of trans people, experiences, and knowledges on the periphery, often as superficial additions to the LGB+ acronym.

I consequently position trans consciousness as methodology, as a distinct point of analytical inquiry from feminist and queer methodological scholarship. Trans consciousness provides an opportunity to destabilize concepts that have remained fixed and dichotomous in feminist and queer methodologies. As a methodological tool, trans consciousness situates the trans body as a centerpiece to understanding the ways in which power, politics, social relations, and spaces are negotiated and shift between and amongst subjects. I position trans consciousness in direct conversation with my research methods in order to allow for a more nuanced exploration of embodiment, power, and politics, and to make room for trans people to participate in methodological knowledge production. In

what follows, I describe the foundational work of feminist and queer methodologies and incorporate trans consciousness, which is structured upon the two concepts of trans embodiment and trans encounter, as a means of expanding the utility of this literature in trans-centered research. I then apply this framework to my research methods and fieldwork, attending first to the heightened emotional residue that manifests between research participants and myself, particularly through the affect generated by trans embodiment and encounter. Following this, I inquire about the intersections of power within my researcher-researched relationships, and the utility of transness when interacting with marginalized and more socially/politically powerful research participants. The chapter concludes with a critical exploration of race and settler colonialism alongside trans consciousness, emphasizing the need for more intersectional analyses of transness with other markers of difference.

Drawing From, and Moving Beyond, Feminist and Queer Methodologies

Feminist geographical methodologies emphasize “non-hierarchical interactions, understanding, and mutual learning, where close attention is paid to... unequal power relations between the researcher and research participants” (Sultana 2007, 375-376).

Feminist geographers have challenged understandings of fieldwork and research methods in order to confront masculinist-informed rationalism and positivism, which have historically devalued feminized forms of knowledge production and research practices in the social sciences (Rose 1993). Feminist methodologies have played a crucial role in strengthening the validity of ‘soft’ qualitative research methods, such as reflexive journaling and other forms of writing, as well as arts-based methods. Within feminist

methodologies, power dynamics and dualisms between research participants and researchers are sought to be undermined and disrupted. Knowledge is understood as situated, or always informed by a person's 'position' – their experiences and understandings of self in networks of power, which are informed by identities and lived experiences, such as race, gender, sexuality, economic status, ability, nationality, geographical location, and more (Rose 1997). Situated knowledge debunks the concept that knowledge is universal, and instead understands that knowledge is situated in a person's own perspectives, experiences of the world, and positions amongst various social, cultural, and power relations. Part of this understanding is enacted through practices of 'reflexivity' and 'positionality', in which researchers interrupt power relations in the research process by locating their social and political standings in relation to their research context (Katz 1994; McDowell 1992; Moser 2008; Rose 1997). Importantly, these explorations have informed the concept of mutuality and openness between researchers and their participants, and incorporated research participants as more active contributors to the research process and knowledge creation.

However, reflexivity and positionality are also critiqued as self-indulgent processes, where public intellectual engagement with the concepts "can even work actively to construct a sense of the other, to deny the reflexivity of others, and to emphasise the condition of detached alterity" (Kobayashi 2003, 348). Kobayashi urges scholars to consider the meaning of reflexivity more deeply within a larger political agenda that is focused on social justice, and questions whether reflexivity is an effective strategy for enacting social and political changes. Proudfoot (2015) concurs, emphasizing that reflexivity must move past the act of merely listing social positions as proof of a

researcher's awareness of power dynamics. Following these critiques, more inward, thoughtful, and politically intentional forms of positionality and reflexivity are urged to be taken up by scholars in order to better understand the complex socio-political negotiations that manifest during fieldwork and, importantly, connect us to larger dynamics in our broader worlds.

In addition to feminist scholarship, queer methodologies have emerged with an aim to dismantle normative structures of gender and sexuality that are present in research. Browne and Nash (2010, 7-8) argue that “keeping queer permanently unclear, unstable and ‘unfit’ to represent any particular sexual identity is the key to maintaining a non-normative queer position” in research. This fuzziness allows research to problematize narratives of coherence and practices in social scientific research, as well as avoid essentializing what queer methods and epistemologies look like. Rather than identifying queer methods themselves, there is an emphasis instead on queer approaches to designing and practicing research. For Gorman-Murray, Johnston, and Waitt (2010, 101), “a queer methodology must facilitate telling and interpreting narratives that do not inadvertently impose meanings rather than seeking to rework and create new narratives.” A queer methodology, then, is always turned toward new openings, playing with methods and the ways in which identity is (re)constituted for researchers and participants, and to the shifting of subject positions and forms of power throughout the research process (Gorman-Murray et al. 2010; Taylor 2010).

Despite the political positioning of these methodologies to dismantle and question social and systemic hierarchies, methodological knowledge production by, and for, trans people is undertheorized and under-considered. It remains that the majority of feminist

and queer methodologies “have not allowed for the rendering of gender and sexual categories as fluid embodied identities” (L. Muñoz 2010, 56), and have maintained gender binaries in the bulk of their work. L. Muñoz (2010, 58) challenges these limitations in considering queer of colour methodology, which “enable[s] us to reconfigure fluid racialised, sexualised [*sic*] and gendered methodological constructions in the field,” and allows for the writing of multiply marginalized queer and trans people from positions that are not rooted in homonormative scholarship (see also Haritaworn 2008). Following this impetus, I argue that cultivating trans consciousness as methodology centralizes trans subjectivities and materialities, prioritizes trans-centered literature, and creates opportunities for trans knowledge production to expand methodological scholarship.

Trans Consciousness: Embodiment and Encounter

The idea of trans consciousness emerges from work in trans studies, which “call[s] attention to the operations of normativity within and between gender/sexual identity categories, [and] raise[s] questions about the structuration of power along axes other than the homo/hetero and man/woman binaries” (Stryker 2008, 149). Trans studies critiques the ways in which the concept of ‘trans’ has been utilized within queer theory as tools to question and blur taken for granted notions of identity. Stryker (2008, 148) elaborates that, “‘T’ becomes a separate category to be appended... to [GLB] community formations. Trans thus conceived does not trouble the basis of the other categories - indeed, it becomes a containment mechanism for ‘gender trouble’ ... that works in tandem with assimilative gender-normative tendencies.” For Stryker, the category of

trans has been used predominantly in its relation to ‘homo’, which has ultimately foreclosed the use of transness to work on non-normative sexual and gendered subjectivities and, ultimately, to the topics of sexuality and gender. However, this minimizes the myriad of ways in which trans theory, politics, and knowledges can be mobilized, and ultimately limits the scope of what trans theories can do. If transness is treated as a modality rather than a category related to ‘homo’, the utility of trans knowledges can be understood as “rais[ing] questions about the structuration of power along axes other than the homo/hetero and man/woman binaries” (Stryker 2008, 149) and cultivating linkages between queer and trans activism to other struggles for social justice. In other words, trans knowledges and theories offer robust means to draw connections and expand areas of scholarship that extend beyond troubling gender categories, including cultural studies, critical legal studies, critical race theory, and more (Aizura 2006; Connell 2012; Enke 2012; Kunzel 2014; Serano 2007; Snorton and Haritaworn 2013; Stanley and Smith 2011).

Trans consciousness serves as an analytical act of reading and producing knowledge through the trans subject that builds upon two central ideas: trans embodiment and encounter. Trans *embodiment* is rooted in the profundity of the body in experiences of transness, and is critical in the production of trans knowledges. Drawing from trans scholars Rubin (1998) and Salamon (2010), bodies are central to fostering trans perspectives, as they interact with and relate to particular circumstances of material reality. Trans subjectivity is rooted in the body, through the ways in which the biological renders, precludes, and complicates self-actualization, whether through transition, scarring, living, or dying (Chu 2017; Lamble 2013). Trans embodiment, then, is the

complex politics of the biological and its manifestation in particular moments for trans subjects (Jacques 2015). These moments are also steeped in the relational, and necessitate the additional formulation of *encounter*. Through “embodied realit[ies]” of transness (A. Ahmed 2017, 14), trans subjects cultivate intricate and intimate kinships with others, as well as relationships to power and political entanglements. Embodied trans realities are, thus, based in encounter: maneuvering through landscapes and institutions, and rendered (in)visible in acts and moments of sight and speech. Trans encounter centralizes the emotional, narrative, and physical ways in which the trans body moves between and encounters ‘the home’, spaces and moments of social inclusion and exclusion, and the discursive and material landscapes of citizenship and rights (Aizura 2006; Prosser 1998). As consisting of trans consciousness, encounter is inextricably tied to embodiment in developing a conceptual framework for the ways in which trans bodily or conscious inhabitation informs trans people’s material existences.

Utilizing trans consciousness as a means of methodological analysis creates openings for trans materiality and feeling to emerge in the research process, as well as considerations of trans identities in relation to power and violence, resistance, space, and temporality. In this way, trans consciousness is not a total departure from feminist and queer methodological scholarship, as the body is also a focal point for feminist and queer scholars (Bain and Nash 2006; Longhurst, Ho and Johnston 2008). Catungal (2017), for example, understands the body as an important locale for the circulation of emotions and affect. Attending to the circulation of affect through and around the body illuminates the emotional entanglements for researchers during fieldwork, and allows us to reflect on the politics of our bodily and emotional relations (Laliberté and Schurr 2016). Thus, the body

serves methodological inquiry in a powerful way, offering entry into elements of research that continue to be opened in new, innovative ways. For trans people, the body is at once a site of departure and returning, embodiment and refusal, vulnerability and power, and the relations amongst these elements of trans corporeality manifest in unique and unexplored ways in the field. In other words, trans consciousness as methodology situates the complexly gendered and sexed body as the focal point to understanding the ways in which power, politics, social relations, actions, and spaces are negotiated and shift between and amongst subjects in the research process. Trans consciousness necessitates building trans bodies *into* methodological scholarship by allowing trans scholars and research participants to actively construct trans knowledge in the research process, rendering us no longer only subjects of study. For the remainder of this chapter I deploy trans consciousness as an analytical tool for various elements of my research, in order to explore the emotional residues that emerge around transness, and how this heightened affective circulation both challenges, and leaves undisturbed, certain power structures embedded in the research process.

Parameters of Mixed-method Fieldwork

Throughout my fieldwork from September 2016 to October 2017, I employed qualitative mixed methods including: semi-structured interviews, mental mapping, and unstructured auto-photographic walking interviews with youth; semi-structured interviews with city employees and officials, as well as non-profit employees; archival research at the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives; surveys with business members of the CWVBIA; and participant observation at EYO, a drop-in non-profit organization for LGBTQ2 youth

experiencing mental health and housing crises. York University ethics protocols were followed in the design of this methodological approach, primarily in the interview and participant observation research process. Given the possibility that youth may not have the reading skills to comprehend the bureaucratic language of the consent form, I verbally reviewed their rights and protections prior to every interview. While youth were provided a list of resources in the possibility that they would need support following our interview, almost every youth refused this sheet of paper, insisting that they did not want it or already knew the resources listed (Appendix). The only other ethics protocol that required approval was through the Sherbourne Health Center, which provided their own ethics application, and asked for copies of York University's ethics approval, in order to interview employees from SOY. My mixed methods approach was particularly useful when interviewing youth about potentially traumatic topics, and for making forms of communication more accessible (Guillemin 2004). In what follows, I provide detail about the various research methods I employed, and the ways in which my trans body as researcher relates to them as tools for gathering data.

Archives and Surveys for the Church-Wellesley Village Business Improvement Area

My archival research was conducted in September 2017 in order to gather supplemental information about the CWVBIA's role in the culture and politics of the neighbourhood. I looked through hard copies of material from a small file for the CWVBIA, however the majority of the material was not directly about the BIA itself, and instead concentrated on the broader neighbourhood. Relevant documents included flyers for events from the early 2000s, such as the Fetish Fair, Halloween Parade, and Pride festivals. The most useful

material was a copy of the CWVBIA's first five-year business plan from 2003, which I use in the next chapter. Additional research methods with the BIA – notably the surveys with business members – were extremely challenging, and resulted in unusable data. I brought short surveys to 38 businesses located on Church Street during July of 2017, including retail stores, restaurants, and entertainment venues (bars, clubs, and bathhouses). Of these businesses, 21 had been discussed by youth during interviews, while the others were randomly selected. The majority declined to participate in the survey immediately, some citing legal reasons, while a small number told me to come back but never completed the survey. In my field journal, I note that many business owners or managers appeared to find the survey daunting, stating that they did not have time now or later to complete it. Following these surveys, I questioned how my body or presentation could have impacted their success, with anxieties rooted in my trans body – would I have been taken more seriously if I appeared more normatively masculine with a slim and taller stature, and a more resounding and deep timbre? I followed up with businesses a total of four times over three weeks, often to the annoyance of business owners or managers, before I decided that continued pursuits would not be fruitful. In total, only three businesses completed the surveys.

Participant Observation

Participant observation involves an observer participating in “the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of the people being studied” (Dewalt, Dewalt and Wayland 2011, 260). For scholars who work with homeless youth, street and organizational participant observation is a common research practice (Auerswald and Eyre 2002; Tani 2014; Young

2003). I conducted participant observation at EYO from November of 2016 to July of 2017, volunteering during their drop-in program every Wednesday. I underwent training as a peer support volunteer, which tasked me to spend time casually interacting with youth who were using the services. For a few months, EYO moved some of my hours into another program, a voice group for trans masculine youth, which meant that I was spending only two hours a week at drop-in. However, participating in the voice group allowed me to observe trans youth who were not experiencing housing precarity and compare their conditions and behaviours to the youth in drop-in who were homeless. Several of my participants utilized EYO's drop-in services, which meant that I saw them semi-frequently. I let youth approach me and never discussed our interviews in order to maintain confidentiality, and the majority of them were friendly when seeing me. While EYO was aware that I was conducting research, they were never informed about which youth members participated in interviews.

Conducting participant observation provided an opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of, and familiarity with, homeless LGBTQ2 youth, as well as how a drop-in space operates, the services they provide, and what the relationships are like between organizations and youth members. EYO welcomed me into their space and was encouraging of my research, involving me in many aspects of the drop-in space including setting up and check-ins with staff once the space closed. EYO made me feel very welcome as a trans person; when I began my participant observation there were three trans employees, and the connections I made with them developed into meaningful relationships. My trans subjectivity also offered particular attunement to micro-aggressions occurring in the space, such as trans women being misgendered more often

than trans men. This research method was particularly fruitful and will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

Semi-Structured Interviews and Visual Methods

I interviewed a total of 51 people, including 29 youth, 11 city employees, and 11 non-profit employees. All 11 non-profit employees identified as members of the LGBTQ2 community, and of the 11 city employees, five disclosed their identity along the LGBTQ2 spectrum. City employees came from eight different city agencies, including City Hall, Turning Point and two other homeless shelters¹³, Toronto Community Housing Corporation, Parks and Recreation, CTYS, and the CWVBIA. The 11 non-profit employees came from five different non-profit organizations in and around the CWV, including the Native Canadian Centre, EYO, SOY, the 519, and Sprott House; one was also an original organizer of Blockorama, and another a Two Spirit elder who works for Seneca College, Dodem Kanonhsa', and York and Durham Region District School Boards. These interviews were essential to cultivating a context of the services that are available for homeless LGBTQ2 youth in Toronto, the barriers they face when accessing different forms of social and institutional services, as well as a history of the CWV from community members and activists. Conducting interviews with those whose work impacts the lives of homeless LGBTQ2 youth was also useful to place in dialogue with youth's voices. Doing so informed my interviews from the experiences of homeless LGBTQ2 youth, and revealed the complexities of carrying out institutional missions, as

¹³ Any identifying information has been removed by request of interviewees for confidentiality.

well as the nuances of appeasing various actors with differing investments in the operations of such institutions. The majority of city employees who did not identify as LGBTQ2 often expressed confusion about why they were being interviewed, and frequently lacked insight about LGBTQ2 concerns within their organization. As I illustrate later in the chapter, it often felt that as a researcher, my embodied queerness and, at times, my disclosure as trans, opened up certain connections and deeper conversations with city employees that otherwise may have remained closed.

Semi-structured interviews permit a degree of reciprocity between the researcher and research participant, emphasize the perspective of the research participant, and help to develop a rapport between the research participant and interviewer (Bryman 2012, 492). The flexible structure of the interviews allowed me to introduce information about myself to participants, which, as I discuss later, was helpful in making myself more vulnerable to youth. Half of my initial interviews with youth were conducted in one-on-one settings, while the remaining half were conducted in a group setting ranging between two to five youth. As noted earlier, youth were asked a variety of questions about their lives in Toronto (Appendix), and my questions were ordered in a way to ease them into talking about the CWV. Youth would almost always direct the flow of questions, which would be prompted by information and experiences they would share while answering the questions I had prepared. While I had anticipated youth to be reserved, I was surprised to find them very open and upfront about their experiences and answering my questions. Youth's voices were particularly insightful in comparison to Toronto city employees, the majority of whom illustrated minimal knowledge of issues pertaining to homeless queer and trans youth during our interviews – unless they, themselves, were

part of the LGBTQ2 community. Toronto city employees routinely spoke positively about municipal initiatives to aid LGBTQ2 youth experiencing homelessness, however, youth – as well as employees from LGBTQ2 non-profits and LGBTQ2 city employees – were overwhelmingly critical of the lack of queer and trans safety, positivity, and competency in city agencies. Interviews with employees from LGBTQ2 non-profit organizations also aided me in developing my questions for youth and city employees, as I spoke to several before beginning other interviews and, as such, was able to develop questions that were more relevant and productive.

Unstructured follow-up interviews were walking and photography-based and would entail meeting with a youth (or group of two if they preferred) at a pre-determined location in the CWV. Walking interviews emphasize the importance of place within the research process, and function as a means of cultivating collaborative knowledge with participants (Anderson 2004). Walking interviews are particularly useful in their ability to emphasize embodiment in the research process and spatial context of the ‘field site’ (T. Butler 2006; Hein, Evans and Jones 2008; Moles 2008). Additionally, this method provides rich narratives of place, and profoundly informs discussions about particular environments that occur during interviews (Evans and Jones 2011; Macpherson 2016).

I combined walking interviews with auto-photography, which emphasizes participants’ self-reflection about their everyday lives and environments, and reveals more personalized aspects of identity, embodiment, and self-understanding that could otherwise remain unnoticed. Auto-photographic walking interviews rely on the blend of walking and visual methods to “[evoke] multisensory, and thus an embodied, experience[s]” (Powell 2010, 539) in the research process. This method utilizes a more

introspective form of self-reflection that allows participants “the freedom to use their actual surroundings, to pick and choose the people who are important to their self-concepts, and to decide what issues and what objects are the most salient to their construction of self” (Noland 2006, para. 8). In addition, it serves to destabilize the power relations that emerge between researchers and research participants during the interview process by placing “‘the researched’ behind the camera” (Johnsen et al. 2008, 195; see also Latz 2017; Tani 2015). Participants were provided with an old cell phone to take their pictures, which were then easily uploaded directly to my computer and shared with the participant(s), if they wanted copies of their images. Participants took a range of photographs, the majority of which included the outside of buildings, parks, and street intersections. A few youth took me into alleys and small side streets, taking photographs of doorways and corners where they sleep, use substances, or have sex, as well as apartments and homes that they aspire to live in, or find aesthetically displeasing. Only three youth took pictures of themselves during our walking interview of the CWV, with one taking selfies the entire time. As participants took photographs, I would ask them what they were taking pictures of and why. These conversations added a tremendous amount of depth to the interview, as photographs would frequently inspire participants to provide details about the space of the CWV.

The auto-photographic walking interviews also initiated new conversations and elicited different insights, as taking pictures revealed more nuanced, emotional attachments that youth held for places in the CWV. For example, Jacob took me into Barbara Hall Park, adjacent to the 519, and stopped to take a picture of a planter next to the AIDS memorial. He (Interview – Jacob, February 24, 2017) explained,

So... the memory that I have is kind of an extremely negative memory. It's almost like I had a premonition. [...] It was the candlelight vigil. [...] And they were doing the prayers for people who have died from AIDS, and my heart just sunk into my stomach, and I was just like, oh, I know. I had never gone to one before and I just sat right at this corner and bawled. Just bawled. And then three and a half months later I found out that I was HIV positive.

Jacob had not discussed this profound emotional connection with Barbara Hall Park during our initial interview, and had also withheld his HIV status, perhaps because he had forgotten about this moment until the multi-sensory experience of standing in the park with a camera. However, during this follow-up interview Jacob was more comfortable sharing this personal and deeply emotional story, and, when our interview ended, expressed his surprise and gratitude, sharing that the interview had taken on more meaning than he had thought it would.

In addition to auto-photographic walking interviews, I utilized mental mapping as an exercise during my initial interviews with youth. Inspired by the work of urban planner Kevin Lynch and his book *The Image of the City* (1960), geographers have utilized mental mapping to communicate emotions, subjectivities, and experiences often alongside verbal methods (Giesecking 2013). A mental map is a cognitive representation of worlds, power-relations, and embodiments (Jung 2014, 989). As Giesecking (2013, 712) describes, “mental mapping affords a lens into the way people produce and experience space, forms of spatial intelligence, and dynamics of human-environment relations ranging from the minute experiences of everyday life to larger structural oppressions.” Mental maps have been found to be particularly useful for feminist geographers because they transmit multi-sensory representations of place in a form which

prioritizes reflexivity and positionality to understand the intersections of power, subjectivity, and experiences of place (Ley 2000, 499).

For these reasons, mental mapping seemed to be a helpful tool to complement my interviews with homeless queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth. I invited participants to draw a map of the CWV on a 9x12” blank notepad with a variety of coloured pens. The majority of youth participated in this activity, with only two declining because of their intensely negative feelings for the neighbourhood. Many participants spoke about their maps as they drew, and would often elaborate on them as we conversed during and after the exercise. For some youth participants, their mental maps demonstrated a profound familiarity with the space of the village, despite telling me that they do not spend much time in the area. Many youth marked the Wellesley subway station, businesses where they access food, places where they sleep or have been kicked out, and places where they spend time. Others took a more creative approach, drawing or writing words to indicate what they associate with the village, such as sex, money, or substance use.

Youth were compensated \$20 for each phase of the research they participated in. As there was a concern that participants would be more willing to risk their emotional wellbeing by participating in order to receive the \$20 incentive, I emphasized multiple times during the interview process that they would still be compensated if they decided to stop participating, and that they did not have to answer any questions they did not want to. I also read through the consent form verbally to ensure that youth participants understood their rights in the research process, in the event that there was a language barrier. Each youth participant was provided with a list of local support services at the end of the interview that could be accessed in a variety of ways, and at a range of times

throughout the day (Appendix). On average, each interview took an hour, and depending on the context, allowed for moments of emotional vulnerability. Such vulnerabilities often, but not always, occurred between myself and trans or non-binary participants, or around the topic of transness brought up by cis participants. For the remainder of this chapter I explore these instances within the framework of trans consciousness, and their implications for power dynamics that are present within the field.

Emotional Transmissions and Evocations of Power

Carr Paxton, Guentzel and Trombacco (2006) discuss the complexities of emotions within the research process amongst trans and cis researchers, with trans research participants, and the ways in which the data collection process is impacted by this trans encounter. For them, the researchers' own gendered subjectivities informed complex emotional dynamics between themselves and their trans research participants, in ways that moved them to re-design their research approach. A. Ahmed (2017) furthers this notion of intimate connections between trans researchers and trans research participants, describing the intimate relatability in her interactions with research participants, and arguing that shared transness fosters a closeness that has powerful impacts on her research. As A. Ahmed (2017, 17) explains,

Several participants, when discussing a transition-related experience, noted that we had shared it (Addie: 'I know you know'). ... The rapport and productive conversations I had with participants were due, in no small part, to the identity and experiences I shared with them. Some participants explicitly said they had more confidence in the project because I was involved.

For A. Ahmed, being trans offers crucial entry into conducting research with trans people in ways that promote mutuality between herself and participants, and a confidence in the

research for participants. Similar processes occurred in my interactions with other trans and non-binary youth participants. As indicated earlier in Figure 2, my trans identity was noted in the advertising flyer, and I outed myself as trans in the beginning of every youth interview. I felt that this was a necessary exchange of vulnerability, illustrating more than my affiliation with them as a queer and trans person, but also my appreciation of their vulnerability in meeting a stranger, in a position of power, to speak about sensitive and challenging topics. During interviews I often found myself referring youth to my health clinic, particularly if they shared that they were having trouble accessing hormones or trans-friendly doctors. I also suggested trans social workers I knew who could help participants with housing and job applications, and I frequently exchanged stories about surgeries or transphobic experiences with my family and friends. Conversations frequently looked like the following exchange between myself and Skylar (Interview – April 14, 2017), a Brown trans masculine participant:

Skylar: Um, I'm five weeks testosterone this week, so...

Rae: Congratulations! Wow!

Skylar: Like, I still have those same, like, I prepare everything and I'm just like, 'ok, I gotta do this.' It takes me, like, half an hour to an hour to actually do it [inject testosterone].

Rae: You just reminded me, I forgot to do my shot today!

During these conversations, my dynamic with participants felt less formally directed by the interview itself, and more informed by our shared notions of familiarity – in the case with Skylar, having similar experiences of injecting hormones, and his comfort in sharing an important milestone with me knowing that it would be received with respect and reciprocated excitement. Often, I found that these connections led to more frank and open conversations about emotionally difficult stories of family dynamics, or painful

recollections of transphobia experienced at home, in shelters, or by Toronto service providers that participants may not have shared as readily with a cis researcher. Such a dynamic was discernable during a group interview of three Black youth at Sprott House¹⁴ with Mikey (who identifies as non-binary), Yolanna (who identifies as a trans woman), and Jordan (who identifies as a gay cis man). Yolanna was noticeably more quiet and reserved than the other two, and allowed Mikey and Jordan to lead the conversation for the first ten minutes of us meeting. This dynamic continued until I gave my usual introduction, providing them with a bit of history about myself which included that I was trans. Immediately after providing this information, Yolanna's demeanor changed dramatically, as she moved closer to me and became more engaged in the conversation.

Yolanna (Interview – April 14, 2017) responded,

Yolanna: I can't even identify you as trans. Wow.

Rae: I've been on hormones for 6 years.

Yolanna: And how has that been for you?

Rae: Overall, it's been pretty good, I would say. I mean, up and down.

Mikey: [To Yolanna] Have you tried?

Yolanna: Well I haven't gone home as myself. I'm debating. I'm not debating to, but I'm thinking about going to, but I don't know what's happening with... But it's inspiring to hear that you have gone through hormones.

Relating to each other through shared subjectivities and experiences initiated a significant shift in the interview experience for Yolanna. In positioning her own questions toward me about my experiences of transitioning, Yolanna became more comfortable revealing aspects of herself in the group. She asked us questions about how and where to find a trans-friendly doctor, and started sharing vulnerable stories about her life including her

¹⁴ Sprott House is Toronto's first and only LGBTQ2 youth transitional housing, having first opened its doors in 2016 in Toronto's Annex neighbourhood.

mother's death, moving from Zimbabwe, and managing legal trouble as a trans woman. At the end of our interview, all three of the youth expressed how happy they were to have participated in the interview, emphasizing that it was therapeutic for them to have discussed their experiences as a group. This response stands in stark contrast to the hesitance and cautious approach that trans people often take to participating in research (A. Ahmed 2017; Halberstam 2005; Nash 2010). Comfort in shared experience, relief in being present in a dynamic where it feels safe to be vulnerable, and interacting with a person who can validate their identities and experiences breaks feelings of isolation, otherness, and tokenization that trans people may often feel in research settings.

In other instances, encounters with transness were more complex, intensified, and wounding. For example, when I began my interview with Evan, a white cis gay man, he began speaking immediately and left no moment for me to identify myself as trans, which was something I practiced in every youth interview. Shortly thereafter, he (Interview – Evan, January 30, 2017) moved into a very complex and unintentionally transphobic thought process, stating, “like with all of this pronouns and stuff, because I’m not used to it... When I have a transgender person in my face who is female and identifies as male, but you look female or your presence comes off as female or feminine, I can’t help but call you [she/her].” While Evan was acknowledging his unfamiliarity with pronouns and trans people, his statement revealed a loaded assertion about transness that centered his own needs as a cis person, which he may not have shared if he knew that I was trans. In this moment where my trans embodiment was hidden in trans encounter, I became distracted by the memories of similar experiences of being misgendered. Evan’s inadvertent, and most likely unintentional, cissexist ideas regarding trans people and

language blurred how power and identity manifested within the field. I questioned the appropriateness of my feelings because, as a researcher working with multiply marginalized youth, my vulnerability did not nearly compare to Evan's. I desperately attempted to rationalize my feelings in order to disentangle my own pain from the interview exchange, recognizing that this was not the place to question or challenge a research participant's transphobia.

Similar to my anxieties with Sidney's condition of homelessness which opens this chapter, trans embodiment and encounter provoke connections and dissonance, empowerment and disempowerment, which are all tightly bound within the researcher-researched relationship. The confines of fieldwork and ethics render my reactions particularly limited – for example, as a stranger with no social work background, my intervention in either of these circumstances could result in more negative than positive impacts on these youth. It is impossible to divorce the entanglements of guilt or hurt from hard moments in the field such as these, and the affective mess that accumulates within these trans encounters. However, in the face of the moral constraints that trans consciousness reveals with vulnerable research participants, there is also possibility within the dynamic of disclosure, particularly with participants who wield more power.

My disclosure as trans had equally powerful implications in my interviews with neighbourhood stakeholders who held more power and agency. For example, it was particularly difficult to gain entry into SOY and the 519. After several months of little movement with these organizations, I met with two trans people, one who worked at a non-profit and the other who worked for the city, and disclosed my trans identity in the beginning of our interviews. I was then connected very quickly to other trans people at

SOY and the 519 through their personal networks, rather than through organizational emails. In this case, being trans proved my ‘insider’ status to gatekeepers and provided granted me expedient access to participants, which had otherwise been proven difficult. However, navigating the status of insider and outsider was that of a fluid and shifting experience (Milligan 2016; see also Brayboy and Deyhle 2000; Dwyer and Buckle 2009), and a complex negotiation that, while at times allowed me to build bridges, could have also foreclosed connections prematurely based on the assumptions others might hold about trans people. For example, I did not identify myself as trans when meeting with people who did not share that they were straight allies or members of the LGBTQ2 community. This yielded fruitful results, as these individuals often assumed that my politics were more mainstream and, thus, were more forthcoming about their mainstream politics. Being assumed as in-between outside and insider (Milligan 2016) was particularly helpful when meeting members of the CWVBIA; after asking Grace Miller (Interview – October 5, 2017), the Chair of the CWVBIA, questions that were LGBTQ2 specific, she became irritated that I was not asking more questions about youth homelessness, and interrupted her colleague, Max Robbins, to request that I ask “more relevant” questions about my research. Grace and Max (Interview – October 5, 2017) also assumed that I shared their feelings in support of Toronto police, referring to recent BLMTO activism as “that thing that happened at Pride,” and openly expressing negative opinions about community members who are critical of their pro-police sentiment. Others, particularly employees of city housing services, became uncomfortable when I asked them questions about trans youth who use their organization. When asking a shelter supervisor at Turning Point Youth Services about what LGBTQ2 training their staff

receives, she (Interview – anonymous, December 15, 2016) responded, “Um, there is, I don’t know if you... [long pause] shelter standards? So, there’s actually, it was one of the, on the training matrix previously, but it is one of the mandatory training ones now. So Toronto Hostel Training Centres we’ve had, not *recently* recently, but the 519, I don’t know if they, they did training, community trainings.” While this staff member was unable to answer this and other questions relating to queer and trans youth who use Turning Point for shelter, other employees of various Toronto City Housing Services who knew I was trans had more specific information about the ineffectiveness of the LGBT online training module, and specific policies in regards to gender identity that places like Turning Point Youth Services fail to abide by. This may have been because they identified as allies or members of the LGBTQ2 community and were, thus, more in tune with these elements of their organization. In all of these various formations, I believe that disclosing my trans identity yielded specific results depending on who was being interviewed. If they were trans-identified or allies to trans people, interviewees tended to provide more information after discovering my insider status; however, if they were not, my covert status as outsider to the trans community allowed me access to information that most likely would have been kept from me during these interviews.

Confronting emotional vulnerability and intimacy in the field reveals the intimate ways in which power can shift or remain unchallenged within the research process. As Catungal (2017, 290) articulates, sitting with and exploring these embodied moments of feeling in the field allows us to “examin[e] institutional power relations, political commitments and identity struggles as felt parts of the knowledge production process.”

Building on this importance of embodiment, trans consciousness as a tool for

methodological analysis allows a more in-depth reflection on what trans embodiment and encounter reveal about the power dynamics, and ethical/political questions, in the researcher-researched relationship. In what follows, I offer a means of critically exploring trans consciousness as an analytical tool, particularly in its Western framing of transness in conversation with race and Indigeneity.

Transness, and?: Accounting for Colonialism in Trans Consciousness

As I have illustrated throughout this chapter, trans consciousness reveals the multiple political life forms that emerge and take place within research that centres trans bodies and subjectivities at the core of its operations. Yet, as DiPietro (2016) writes, when work about gender embodiment attends to race, it often further marginalizes *racialized* embodiment as an afterthought. To challenge this pattern, DiPietro practices trans methodologies through an epistemic disobedience that centres transness and decolonization as simultaneous and co-constitutive. In following this practice, I place trans consciousness in conversation with my position as a white settler researcher and the negotiations that took place around Indigeneity during my fieldwork.

I had not anticipated having such a high number of Indigenous youth participate in my research, and it became a challenge to rectify or dismantle the research to be a project in solidarity with Indigenous peoples in Toronto. Research has long been an extractive and violent tool in the lives of Indigenous peoples across the world, and recently debates have emerged about the ways in which research can be conducted *about* Indigenous peoples, *by* Indigenous peoples, as well as how – and if – settler researchers can conduct research about Indigenous peoples in a way that involves Indigenous

communities and nations as equal partners (Castellano 2004; Castleden, Garvin, and Huu-ay-aht First Nation 2008; Driskill et al. 2011; Tuck and Yang 2012). My concerns about these questions arose as more Indigenous youth approached me to participate in the research, particularly because Two Spiritedness is inseparable from Indigeneity, and as an identity it reminds us that constructions of sexuality and gender, “are negotiated in relation to colonially imposed gender binaries that set themselves up as neutral and universal” (Tallie 2014, 456; see also Driskill et al. 2011; Roen 2006). Western constructions of queerness and transness are rooted in colonial knowledge production that seeks to control and regulate Indigenous peoples, histories, knowledges, and cultures (Driskill, Justice, Miranda, and Tatonetti 2011). As such, I needed to be particularly mindful of my position as a white settler and the ways in which my research and interviews with Indigenous youth could reproduce colonial violence.

In order to mitigate the pattern of extracting knowledge from Indigenous people in research practices, and/or misrepresenting the Indigenous youth who I had met, I sought to meet with ODE, a small Toronto organization that almost every Indigenous youth discussed with me as being integral to their lives. My aim was to offer ODE a research report to aid in grant writing, in exchange for the knowledge their youth participants provided me. This idea was supported by the two trans-identified Indigenous adults who participated in my interviews, and they connected me to leaders at ODE through their personal networks after we met. Despite multiple emails from myself and both interviewees over a period of five months, I never heard back from any of the organizers at ODE. After seeking advice from several Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, I understood that ODE might not have been interested in meeting me, however

benevolent my intentions. My position as a white settler researcher could not be shaken, and retrospectively I should have approached ODE to co-partner in the design and implementation of a research plan that was informed by Indigenous methodologies and peoples. However, this would have been challenging to do at the outset of my research, because it was not designed with the intention of working with Indigenous youth specifically. While individual youth had been forthcoming with me, this did not mean that entry into the broader LGBTQ2 Indigenous community would be welcome or, conceivably, appropriate at this stage of the research.

Despite the lack of response from ODE, Indigenous youth – as well as youth of colour more broadly – were open to discussing intersections of their race alongside experiences of sexual and gender identity. To my surprise, youth were very receptive to questions about their experiences as LGBTQ2 people of colour and/or Indigenous people, particularly with me as a white researcher. I often asked more questions about race when youth brought it up as a topic in our interview, or if race and/or racism was prompted by one of their answers. Frequently, conversations about race were more energetic in group interviews, however the more questions I asked that included race, the more engaged individual youth became in discussing their feelings and experiences related to race. It is possible that youth's comfort with these conversations correlated more with their familiarity with conversations about race and racism, rather than about my power as a white researcher. Noticeably, youth who were temporarily housed in Sprott House, as well as those who attended EYO, ODE, and groups at SOY, were much more adept and amenable to navigating conversations about race as it intersects with homelessness, poverty, sexuality, and gender identity. Given the frequent contexts in which youth find

themselves engaging in such dialogues, my questions about race could have signaled familiar language and anti-racist politics that eased youth's concerns about my power, privilege, and ignorance as a white researcher.

Conti and O'Neil (2016, 67) explain that, "Conceptualizing power as simply hierarchical and rigidly determined by various systems of inequality in which people are objectively placed does not reveal the way that these systems are interlocking, nonadditive [*sic*] and often contradictory." The nature of how power manifests itself in the field, between multiple actors negotiating various social positions, necessitates a more complex appreciation of the ways in which power is negotiated, blurred, challenged and reiterated. As feminist and queer scholarship has illustrated, approaching power and politics through emotional and embodied frameworks reveals dynamic and complex negotiations for researchers during their fieldwork. In this chapter, I have argued that emphasizing the trans body, and the ways in which affect and emotions shift between trans, non-binary, and cis actors in the field, can illuminate the various forms of political value of research, and, perhaps more significantly, alter the meaning and impact of research not only for trans people but across LGBTQ2 communities. It is through embodied negotiations of identity, feeling, and power amongst trans research participants that my research took on a politically meaningful life that extended much further than the scope of my Ph.D., notably through the forms of connection, validation, and intimacy that was shared between these participants and myself.

However, its use as a political tool beyond the research was also limited, as anxious or wounding encounters foreclosed conversations or access to particular research topics. In addition, my limitations as a researcher left me in ethical dilemmas – for

example, my inclinations to pay for Sidney's housing for a night could have been considered a compromise of our future professional relationship and research dynamic, and thus could diminish the quality of the research data. However, this calls back to Kobayashi's (2003) crucial attention to how reflexivity must not merely serve as an act of intellectual verbosity, but instead contribute to our efforts for broader social and political change. I carry this moral conundrum throughout the next three chapters, by illuminating forms of spatial politics that make the CWV increasingly inhospitable for homeless LGBTQ2, and also re-envisioning understandings of urban political resistance by drawing further complexity into how marginalized LGBTQ2 youth are understood and written about in academic dialogue.

In this chapter I have argued that employing trans consciousness as methodology situates affect that circulates around the trans body and moments of encounter as a focal point for inquiry into the networks of power that emerge in research. Trans consciousness can be utilized as a means of analysis to critically approach the ways in which cis-centric understandings of gender have been maintained in feminist and queer methodologies, in order to build methodological theory and practices that properly address and include trans people and experiences. In doing so, it has revealed the limitations and frustrations of transness in working with cis individuals who wield certain political or institutional power over homeless LGBTQ2 youth and the CWV. Trans consciousness also illuminates the ways in which trans embodiment and encounter respond to cis-centrism and cis-sexism within the research process, and the ways in which this complicates power dynamics and data collection within the field, particularly when placed in conversation with intersectional analyses of identity and embodiment. Employing this methodological

analytical framework offers opportunities for trans people to become agents within the research process, and to cultivate trans knowledge as politically and academically meaningful for trans political and academic interests. Trans consciousness opens the complex layers and negotiations of power that materialize during the research process, as a way to shift transness from the periphery to the center of knowledge production. This embodied position offers an analysis of power and affect that is rooted in the trans body, yet necessarily also stretches to other areas of queer political advocacy. Enabling this visualization of power exposes the politically charged nature of research, particularly through the ways in which trans politics intersect with experiences of fieldwork.

Chapter 4: Micro-Spatialities of Governance: Fostering Urban Order in LGBTQ2 Urban Spaces

“...the gay village is *both* a space of freedom... *and* a dense network of regulation.”

(Valverde and Cirak 2003, 118)

Introduction

Gay villages are politically charged spaces with complex and competing arrangements of financial, institutional, state, community, and individual investments. These intricate dynamics push and pull against each other to foster unique socio-spatial relations which inevitably have distinct impacts on particular bodies and subjects, who must negotiate these urban spatial configurations. In this chapter, I chart the ways in which the space of the Church-Wellesley Village (CWV) is informed by multiple institutions – specifically, the CWV Business Improvement Area (CWVBIA) and two non-profit organizations in and around the area, the 519 and Egale Youth OUTreach (EYO) – and how they cultivate an environment within the CWV that presses upon homeless LGBTQ2 youth in specific ways. As noted earlier, my naming of these organizations does not serve to single them out, but rather to point to a larger phenomenon of the ways in which queer non-profit organizations and institutions provide support for some LGBTQ people, while also enhancing certain forms of exclusion (Beam 2018). Identifying the processes of marginalization occurring *within* the LGBTQ community, specifically by organizations that aim to provide support, is a necessary step in confronting such practices, and establishing ways to interrupt and prevent them from continuing.

In this chapter, I first provide the historical and current context of the CWV – its cultural and political emergence in Toronto, the multiple meanings it has carried over

time, contentions that have occurred within its space, and recent demographics. I argue that the ways in which these institutions operationalize different forms of governance incorporates homeless LGBTQ2 youth into discourses and urban imaginings of degenerate queers, and as such attempts to facilitate order of unruly subjects in the CWV (Mooney 1999). This chapter presents how the CWVBIA specifically facilitates actions to render the CWV disciplined, and in doing so, foster an environment where homeless youth's mechanisms for survival, and ways of practicing acts of citizenship, are increasingly challenged. Positioned differently than the BIA, the 519 and EYO attempt to ameliorate the conditions of survivability for homeless LGBTQ2 youth with their various organizational programming and services. However, the practices of governance by individual staff members and Executive Directors at these organizations impede the very strategies of youth survival they aim to support. I utilize the concept of governance, which describes "an evolving complex of ideas, institutions, and practices" (Enroth 2014, 61) with direct impacts on policy and broader social and political ideologies, as more than formal measures made by urban municipalities and institutions. For my purposes, governance also includes practices taken up by institutional actors in relation to the Othered subjectivities created in dialogues of urban disorder and criminality (Pile, Mooney and Brook 1999). Governance offers a foundation for considering the relationships between institutions and individuals, as well as mechanisms of policing, in response to concerns of safety and insecurity provoked by the presence and behaviours of individuals marked as Other (McLaughlin and Muncie 1999). This lens of governance provides a foundation from which I explore how the CWVBIA and non-profit organizations inform processes of social inclusion and social exclusion of homeless

LGBTQ2 youth in the village, the ways in which these forms of governance impact how service provision is provided to this marginalized population, and how this speaks to concerns of LGBTQ2 homeless youth managing the conditions of bare life.

In this chapter, I first engage with literature about governance at the national and provincial scales, and then relate it to smaller scales of the urban and organizational, particularly amongst non-profit organizations. I discuss the role of policing as a tool of governing urban disorder and populations considered to be disturbances to organized flows in city environments, and how policing strategies have targeted vulnerable populations, particularly youth, the homeless, people of colour, and people who use substances in various urban settings. I provide a brief history of Canadian non-profit organizations and their relationship to the state and private sources of funding, presenting how these relationships impact non-profit organizations and their ability to maintain their mandates, and the specific roles they play in cities and urban neighbourhoods. Following this, I detail the ways in which the CWVBIA exerts formal measures of urban securitization as a means of controlling individuals associated with criminality, and diminishing their presence in the village through discourses of safety and cleanliness. I illustrate how this implementation of urban governance emerges as an allied relationship between the CWVBIA and Toronto police, which consequently informs the BIA's antagonistic position against recent anti-police sentiment and activism amongst LGBTQ2 people, notably those who are politically aligned with Black Lives Matter Toronto (BLMTO) and the victims of accused serial killer Bruce McArthur. Through these examples, I demonstrate that such a BIA-police allyship produces a harsh landscape in which certain bodies are more vulnerable to increased police activity, and cultivates a

precarious environment for multiply-marginalized youth. Given this context, LGBTQ2 non-profit organizations play a vital role in maintaining spaces that vulnerable queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth can easily, comfortably, and safely access in and around the CWV. I discuss the ways in which the 519 and EYO both offer, and fail to provide, spaces in which homeless LGBTQ2 youth can express forms of subaltern citizenship. I examine practices of governance that are occurring in both of these non-profit organizations in ways that disproportionately impact trans feminine youth, and the implications of these practices on the institutions, the neighbourhood of the CWV more broadly, and the geographies of survival for homeless LGBTQ2 youth.

The Emergence and Current Formations of Toronto's Church-Wellesley Village

Toronto's CWV is situated in the heart of downtown Toronto, at the intersection of Church and Wellesley Streets (Figure 3). More specifically, Statistics Canada (2016) locates the CWV in the Church-Yonge Corridor, which stretches north-south from Bloor Street East to Front Street, and east-west from Yonge Street to Jarvis Street (Figure 4). The latest data regarding the Church-Yonge Corridor indicates a population size of 28,345 residents, with over half of residents between the ages of 25-54, 20% of the ages 55 and over, and 15% between 15-24 years of age (Statistics Canada 2016). The average family income in the neighbourhood is \$96,510, which is larger compared to Toronto's approximate \$70,000 average household income; however, poverty rates are higher in the Church-Yonge Corridor than compared to the broader city of Toronto (Statistics Canada 2016). The neighbourhood also has more families living without children or other

relatives than compared to rest of Toronto, and its ‘visible minority’ population is 41%, compared to 51.5% in the broader municipality.



Figure 3: Location of the Church-Wellesley Village within the city of Toronto



Figure 4: The Church-Yonge Corridor in downtown Toronto (Wellbeing Toronto 2019)

The city of Toronto recognizes the boundaries of the CWV as extending east-west from Yonge and Jarvis Streets, and north-south from Charles Street East to Gould Street, just south of Gerrard Street East (Figure 5). The CWVBIA boundaries, on the other hand, are much smaller; as illustrated in Figure 6, the BIA locates itself predominantly along the north-south block of Church Street, and marginally east and west on Alexander and Wood Streets.



Figure 5: Google Maps view of the CWV boundaries in pink, with the CWVBIA boundaries in blue

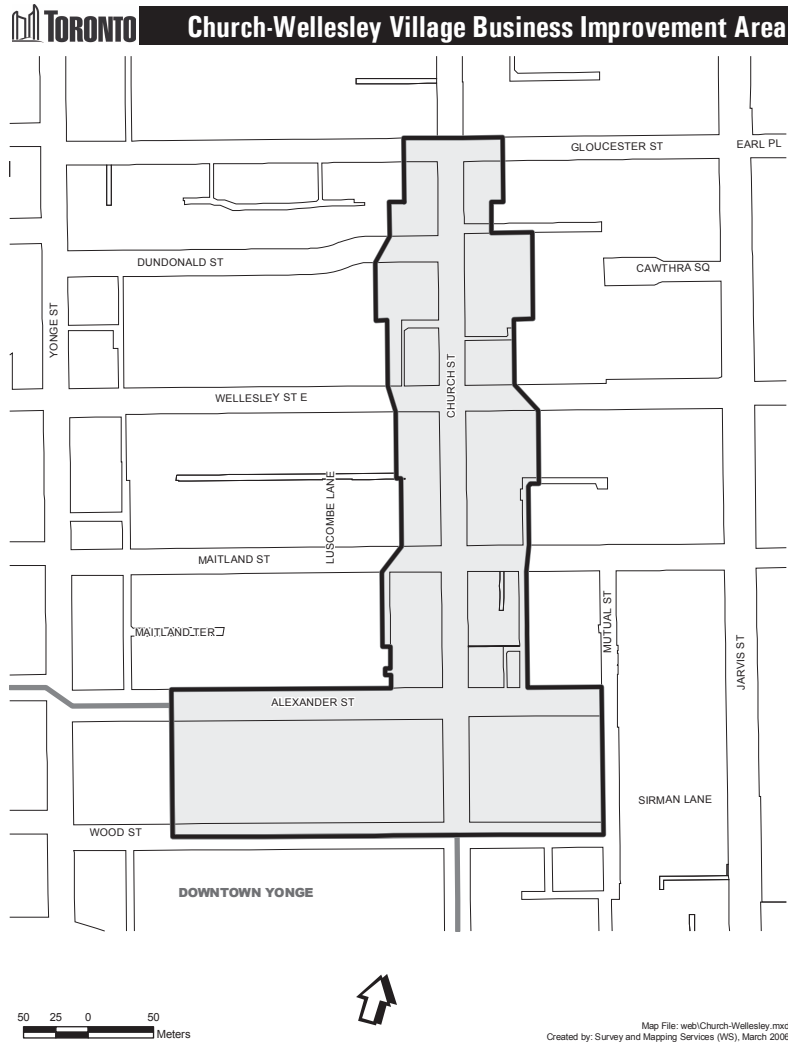


Figure 6: Close-up map of the CWVBIA boundaries (City of Toronto 2006)

The area's boundaries are playing a significant role in more recent, contentious debates around condominium development in the CWV. In September of 2018, a 47-storey was approved for development on Charles Street, along with several other planned

developments in the village (D. Brown 2018). Councillor Wong-Tam, an openly gay woman whose riding of Ward 27 includes the CWV, often holds a protective position regarding development in the neighbourhood; however, she tells reporters that this recent development was “approved because it was considered part of the Bloor-Yorkville area, not the Village” (D. Brown 2018). While this incident is very recent, contention around development in the CWV has been charted in public and academic discourses (Nash 2006), and as indicated from the soundtrack of construction captured in my recorded walking interviews, has been occurring for many years.

The CWV emerged out of decades of dispersed queer spaces across the city of Toronto, which can be traced to the 1950s. Dominant queer histories of Toronto describe the growth of queer spatial concentration in clubs, such as the Sapphire Tavern on Richmond and Victoria Streets, and on the street corners of Queen and Bay Streets (Maynard 2017; Nash 2006). During the 1950s and 1960s, Toronto’s gay clubs were “class stratified and often racially segregated” (Maynard 2017, 18), femmeophobic, and generally hostile toward queer people of colour (Nolan 2017). Such practices continued into the 1960s, during which racist queer clubs like the King Edward and Nile Room were “known to deny entry to men of colour and men who didn’t dress in conventional masculine fashion” (Maynard 2017, 16). While such gay clubs allowed spaces for white gay men’s sexuality to manifest and proliferate, recent historical investigation has illuminated how many of Toronto’s queer sites emerged in Black community spaces. According to Maynard (2017, 18), a significant queer presence grew from within Toronto’s “Black and racially mixed R&B clubs and dance halls,” as well as through the work of performers such as Jackie Shane, who carried queerness into straight clubs across

the city during her shows. Nolan (2017) describes the emergence of gay ‘discos’ – as named by white gay men – in Black soul clubs, such as the 511.

Beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, queer placemaking within the broader City of Toronto became more intimately linked with grassroots organizations and community groups, and political partnerships were formed across lines of sexuality between organizations like the “Black Action Defence Committee, Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter, Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights Ontario (now Queer Ontario), Egale Canada, and others... to build strength in numbers to resist police violence, institutional racism, and government oppression” (Wong-Tam 2017, 9). Many mainstream queer organizations in Toronto left people of colour feeling erased and invisibilized, leading to the growth of queer organizations specific to communities of colour that more openly critiqued whiteness and settler colonialism amongst queer community organizing (Catungal 2018). While queer histories tend to render Blackness as “external to LGBTQ organizing, politics and community making” (Dryden 2018, 63), Toronto’s queer history illustrates how Black queer organizing emerged through collective action such as Zami, Black Coalition for AIDS Prevention, Black Women’s Collective, Gay Asians Toronto, and Asian Community AIDS Services, which drew “inspiration and political energy not necessarily from the histories of mainstream gay liberation movements, but from the work of civil rights and feminist activist groups” (Catungal 2018, 49). Importantly, these organizations grew from smaller collective action in homes, restaurants, events, and community spaces such as the 519 and York Women’s Centre (Catungal 2018; Dryden 2018). Parks have also played a large role in Toronto’s

queer spatializing, from serving as sites for cruising to locations for lesbian and gay sports leagues (Webb 2017; Wong-Tam 2017).

As queer spaces began to accumulate throughout the city of Toronto, a concentrated queer neighbourhood was not viewed as important or necessary for the queer community until a series of anti-queer events between 1977 and 1981 (Burgess 2017). As Nash (2006, 3) explains, up until the early 1980s, “the gay ghetto was regarded as an obstacle rather than a benefit to the liberation of gays and lesbians—a space at odds with and constitutive of a diminished and apolitical homosexual identity.” Toronto’s gay village formed in a “messy and largely haphazard process” (Nash 2006, 4) due to conflicting interests between various gay political groups, and it was not until the growing acceptance of homosexuality when gay commercial establishments became more concentrated and visible in Toronto. Notably, when openly gay businesses began to emerge along Yonge and Church Streets in downtown Toronto, this was still linked to the construction of “an acceptable homosexual subject... in spaces easily recognizable and comfortable [for heterosexuals]” (Nash 2006, 9). Beginning in 1978, a series of police raids in Toronto bathhouses led to a politicization of Toronto’s LGBTQ community, “forc[ing] an uneasy alliance between gay movement liberationist organizations and the gay businessmen who owned and operated... gay commercial establishments” (Nash 2006, 10). This began with the 1978 raid of the Barracks Bathhouse, and culminated in the 1981 Toronto Bathhouse Raids, also known as Operation Soap, in which four more gay bathhouses were raided by Toronto Police, leading to the arrest of over 300 gay men. Sparking what is colloquially considered Canada’s version of the Stonewall Riots, the Bathhouse Raids incited a defense of the gay village “as the rightful home of a minority

group and as the foundation for political and economic strength and community building” (Nash 2006, 13). Following the early 1980s, the village became a concentrated space in which Toronto’s mainstream LGBTQ community emerged and grew, increasingly under the guise of consumption.

As the development of businesses and shopping continued to expand, appeals to LGBTQ people and, importantly, non-queer interests became anchored in the CWV, eventually leading to the establishment of the CWVBIA in the early 2000s (Osbaldeston 2017). Nash (2013a) describes that in addition to the growth of businesses in the area, substantial condominium development in the CWV occurred throughout the early 2000s, leading to increased rent, the loss and relocation of infamous village businesses, and an influx of larger chains and big businesses into the BIA (Nash 2013a, 197; see also Leong Feb 19 2011). This spatial anchoring of development was followed by waves of gentrification, which have led to the demolition of queer businesses and services such as Zippers, the Cellblock, and Maple Leaf Medical Clinic (Osbaldeston 2017). The most well-known example of these changes occurred in 2004 when the Steps, which existed at the Second Cup on Church Street since 1984, were demolished. As Burgess (2017, 61) explains, complaints began to emerge from Second Cup customers regarding an influx of “people described as drug dealers, the homeless, street youth, and sex workers occupying the space on the stairs.” In response, the Second Cup began to take action to remove such unwanted figures from the Steps by restricting its hours, installing bright lights, playing classical music, and hosing the Steps to prevent people from sitting. Such changes were motivated and encouraged by the CWVBIA, and in 2004 the landlord of the Second Cup removed the stairs by extending the building’s storefront.

Other instances of symbolic exclusion have occurred more recently in the village – for example, a trans memorial in Barbara Hall Park, which has been painted in the same location since 2014, was erased by the City of Toronto in November 2017, after hiring a company to remove graffiti in the park (Mann 2017). This was the second time the memorial was erased by the city, which occurred shortly after the memorial was first chalked onto the wall (Forani 2014). While Councillor Wong-Tam promised to bring a permanent trans memorial to the park after it was first erased in 2014, this has yet to occur.

Urban Governance and Measures of Securitization

Governance is understood as an assemblage of omnipresent forces that aim to “shape the parameters of socially sanctioned or normative conduct among individuals” (Kia, MacKinnon and Legge 2016, 807). These forces are cultivated through dominant discourses, or hidden networks of cultural codes that establish order through modes of being, which dictate conduct and behavioural standards by which social relations, groups of people, individuals, and spaces are organized (Foucault 1970; Kia, MacKinnon and Legge 2016; Walters 2012). As a means of control, governance is understood as an “explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations” (Foucault 1998, 140). Often, the state seeks means to simplify and standardize characteristics of society, such as knowledge or land, in order to manage society (Scott 1998). For Scott (1998), a crucial site in which state governance is enacted is the urban, where governance is exhibited through the uniformity and simplification of city architecture and design, with the intent of rendering cities, and

bodies inhabiting them, functional and ordered. Urban space is governed frequently through combined efforts of altering urban architecture, changing legal delineations of the meaning of public space, and increasing the use of surveillance and policing tactics to diminish the availability of public space for less desirable individuals, notably low-income communities, homeless individuals, people of colour, and queer people (Blomley 2007; Cowen 2005; Hubbard and Colosi 2013; D. Mitchell 1997, 2017; Németh and Hollander 2010). Public spaces within cities – parks, plazas, and streets themselves – are frequent locations in which state governance is enacted, notably in reaction to forms of political expression that emerge against mechanisms of state control (Cassegard 2014; Fraser 1990; Lefebvre 1991; D. Mitchell 2003; Németh and Hollander 2010; Rancière 2004; Wood 2017).

However, governance is also external to the state and develops different relationships with evolving strategies of control and sets of actors, such as individuals and communities, who instruct informal and formal modes of discipline (Foucault 1977; Haughton, Allmendinger, and Oosterlynck 2013). Since the 1980s, Business Improvement Areas (BIAs), also known as Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), have developed as sub-municipal structures of urban governance (Lippert 2012; Peyroux, Pütz and Glasze 2012). BIAs are considered to be urban phenomena that reflect neoliberal shifts in governance, relegating policy and action to private-public actors which facilitate urban development on a micro-scalar level (Lloyd et al. 2003; Peyroux et al. 2012; Ward 2005, 2006; D. Wilson 2004). The predominant aim of BIAs is to develop programs that enhance urban entrepreneurialism, elevating the allure and charm of neighbourhoods within a city in the face of increased global competitiveness (Peyroux et al. 2012; Ward

2005). Importantly, a significant amount of research has found BIA governance to play a significant role in intensified policing, which often results in enhanced processes of exclusion and discrimination that target youth, people who are homeless, and those who use illegal or criminalized substances in public space (Berg 2004; Eick 2007; Lippert 2009, 2012; D. Mitchell 2003; Morange and Didier 2008). As Peyroux et al. (2012, 114) describe, “Often considered as a prerequisite for the success of other activities, ‘clean and safe efforts’ have wider implications in terms not only of shaping public spaces but also of people’s behaviours and representations.” Forms of urban securitization and surveillance are utilized to control disorderly actions and bodies within cities, and have become increasingly technological and embedded in discourses of national security in a post-9/11 context (Chronopoulos 2011; Németh and Hollander 2010). This builds upon notions of cities as dangerous, fearful, and crime-ridden (McLaughlin and Muncie 1999), and cultivates socio-political discourses about risk, safety, and crime in association with particular activities and bodies. It is argued that BIAs contribute to the social construction of problematic people and behaviours that disrupt or interfere with the flow of services, consumption, and security (Lippert 2012), and in doing so exert a form of governance that functions as inseparable from policing.

In addition to the role that BIAs play in local governance, community based surveillance and policing also plays a part in the governance of behaviours and people in urban neighbourhoods, and has been traced in queer urban spaces for decades, ranging in tactics from small queer vigilante groups that take on the task of policing queer neighbourhoods, to community and police coalitions, to increased police presence and arrests, all with the shared impact of more heavily targeting and affecting queer youth

and transgender women, often who are racialized and low income (McCarter 2012; Hanhardt 2013; Spade 2011; Stewart-Winter 2015). However, it is argued that securitization in queer neighbourhoods more frequently “involv[es] the coercive policing of particular ‘problem’ individuals [and] is a much broader, not necessarily coercive, often unremarkable, everyday process” (Valverde and Cirak 2003, 102). Thus, while police may be involved in some elements of queer urban governance, it is more common for these processes to involve a combination of urban bureaucracy with non-government actors, who collectively identify ‘problem individuals’, or certain populations who become marked as the harbingers of chaos and decreased safety (Hubbard and Colosi 2013, 229). Importantly, this has also begun to be traced through LGBTQ non-profit organizations that are located in and around gay villages, which inform more subtle mechanisms of queer urban governance (McCarter 2012; Hanhardt 2013; Rosenberg 2017).

Non-Profits and the Shadow-State

Non-profit organizations, conceived by some as ‘shadow state’ institutions, are described as having an “obfuscated relationship to the state” through their blurry, complex, yet often present connections to the state (K. Mitchell 2001, 166). In the Canadian context, the federal government emerged following the Great Depression as the primary provider of social programming in what was known as the welfare state (Miller 1998; K. Mitchell 2001; Tarasuk and Davis 1996). However, Tarasuk and Davis (1996, 72) explain that a combination of “decreased government revenue, increased health and social program costs, large government deficits and accumulated debts, and questions about the

effectiveness of existing social programs” led to significant alterations of Canada’s welfare state beginning in the 1980s. The provision of social services from the federal government significantly declined and resulted in non-profit organizations providing the majority of these withdrawn social services (Chouinard and Crooks 2006; Miller 1998; K. Mitchell 2001; Tarasuk and Davis 1996). The majority of federal and provincial funding cuts disproportionately impacted environmental, women’s, homeless, mental health, and Indigenous services (Miller 1998). This resulted in more short-term contract and project-based funding managed by combinations of municipal, provincial, and federal funding, for competing organizations that serviced high-need and vulnerable populations. As Choinard and Crooks explain (2006, 174), Canada became “an increasingly competitive environment of service delivery in which nonprofits bid against each other and against private sector firms to deliver health and welfare services.” In light of this shifting reliance on more limited pools of government funding, private agencies have come to provide financial backing for direct welfare provisioning, solidifying a public-private relationship between Canadian non-profits, the state, and private foundations and companies (K. Mitchell 2001, 177).

Within Canadian cities, non-profit organizations are vital to the governance of neighbourhoods, residents, and urban affairs (Fraser and Kick 2014, 1447). Urban non-profit organizations play a profound role in urban dynamics, and as such are frequently conceptualized as “central institutions of civil society, often perceived as performing advocacy and cofunctioning [*sic*] on behalf of a wide variety of populations, many of whom are not connected to networks of resources and societal power” (Fraser and Kick 2014, 1447). Many non-profit organizations are noted to increasingly play pivotal roles in

urban revitalization efforts, as their funding from private and often politically and economically elite actors directs their decision making, which frequently conflicts with the interests of local communities (Fraser and Kick 2014, 1447). Importantly, Fraser and Kick (2014) explain that these organizations adopt initiatives to govern groups and individuals within certain neighbourhoods that align them with initiatives and goals of corporate businesses, often with the aim of capital expansion, program retention, and growth across urban landscapes.

This increased dependence upon corporations to secure funding can contribute to tensions between such private funding agencies and non-profit organizations, particularly those operating with grassroots aims and within activism-oriented communities and networks. As Trudeau (2008, 2808) writes, private and government funding often “limit[s] who is eligible to receive services and what types of activities non-profits can offer.” Often, financial goals overtake or outweigh measures to commit to an organization’s mandate and care of local communities in particular urban areas (Fraser and Kick 2014). Private funding leads to both openings and foreclosures in organizations, and although funding may be secured for a given time, “non-profits are obliged to prioritise *[sic]* rules created by government agencies with which they co-ordinate service delivery” (Trudeau 2008, 2807). The provision of services becomes increasingly standardized, as non-profit organizations have to answer and report to corporate bodies about how services are delivered (Trudeau 2008). It is further argued that as organizations partner with private and government bodies, the more political attention and legitimacy they receive; thus, the more power these organizations earn in the city over other non-profit organizations that may not be as well funded, due to their lack of

compliance with goals of private and state donors (Marin 2004, 395).

While the ability to receive private and government financing is often reliant upon alliances with private and government agencies' goals and projects, this does not necessarily exclude organizations whose mandates centre marginalized populations (Fraser and Kick 2014). As M. P. Brown (1997, 86) writes, grassroots LGBTQ organizations are also sites in which city and state politics manifest around "the edges of conventional locations around the state." In his historical analysis of AIDS activism in Vancouver, M. P. Brown (1997) presents how LGBTQ non-profit organizations are strongly implicated in this shadow-state relationship, and play a large role in constituting queer urban space, fostering linkages between queer communities and the state, while simultaneously offering a certain level of entry into forms of citizenship through political, grassroots, and community-based activism. While minimal literature explicitly analyzes the role of LGBTQ non-profit organizations in urban landscapes, some LGBTQ non-profits, such as Project FIERCE in New York City and various gay community and volunteer spaces during the AIDS crisis in Vancouver, are identified as empowering of marginalized LGBTQ people (M. P. Brown 1997; Irazábal and Huerta 2015). M. P. Brown (1997, 106) argues that such organizations extend sites of political activity and citizenship-making, "foster[ing] radical democracy by institutionalizing citizens' obligations toward one another and by affirming the equality and rights to which all members of a given political community are entitled." However, there are also costs and exclusions that can result from tying LGBTQ community organizing to the state. Amongst AIDS organizations in Vancouver, M. P. Brown (1997) also presents the other side of this shadow-state relationship, wherein the grassroots origins of gay AIDS

activism in the 1980s and 1990s was lost as these groups became increasingly bureaucratic and financially dependent upon the state. More recently, queer non-profit organizations have been found to be reinforcing exclusions within the broader queer community against LGBTQ people who are low-income, trans, and Black or Brown (Beam 2018; Daniel-McCarter 2012; Greene 2014; Hanhardt 2013; Rosenberg 2017). This is linked to the increasing reliance of LGBTQ non-profits on forms of private funding and donations in the face of large-scale funding cuts (Beam 2018; Daniel-McCarter 2012). The increased scarcity of financial resources renders funding more competitive and difficult to procure between similar organizations, leaving many small organizations without official non-profit status, and in turn limiting staff and organizational capacity, financial independence to secure bank accounts for donations or renting space, and increasing competition between LGBTQ organizations (Beam 2018; Smith 2005). As noted earlier, queer non-profit organizations are argued to increasingly wield community as a bio- and necro-political form of discipline, becoming “sites of the mediated and precarious reentry of *some* [queer people] into community, albeit according to racialized scripts of ‘deservingness’” (Beam 2018, 105). Beam (2018, 95) argues that these organizations anchor the bio-necro-political management of marginalized LGBTQ lives under the “‘promise project’ of homonormativity,” in which LGBTQ people of colour – and, particularly, youth – are sustained in narratives of victimhood in order to extract more state funding. In his observations of recent queer non-profit organizations in Chicago and Minneapolis, Beam (2018) presents how the bare life of homeless and otherwise vulnerable LGBTQ youth (often of colour) is temporarily incorporated into non-profit discourses to attract funding, both from the state as well as wealthy donors. In

such funding discourses, bare lives are absorbed and positioned outwardly through affects of hope and benevolence, communicating that such bare lives can be changed and, arguably, shift into that of a qualified life. Such queer projects, however, rarely invest back into the bare lives that secure such funding, and instead reincorporate such lives into disciplined and contained narratives tied to state investments that uphold scripts of whiteness as redeemable, and racialization as criminal. While this state incorporation of bare lives through LGBTQ non-profits renders marginalized queer and trans youth increasingly governed, forms of subaltern citizenship are still expressed. For example, Beam (2018) illustrates how homeless Black and Brown youth resisted and called out the use of their narratives by the Howard Brown Health Center in Chicago, and trans youth's leadership in the Trans Youth Support Network in Minneapolis. Thus, even within the queer shadow state, forms of subaltern citizenship amongst marginalized LGBTQ youth are able manifest, however briefly.

In what follows, I argue that a dense network of governance exists within the CWV in ways that entangle the lives of homeless LGBTQ2 youth, and inform the ways in which they move through and inhabit the neighbourhood. I first analyze the role of the CWVBIA, exploring its investment in securitization measures and how this impacts the experiences and negotiations of homeless youth in the neighbourhood. I then focus on forms of smaller-scale governance occurring within two out of three officially recognized LGBTQ2 non-profit organizations in and around the CWV, the 519 and EYO¹⁵. While

¹⁵ Supporting Our Youth (SOY) is an important LGBTQ2 non-profit organization adjacent to the village, where I interviewed four employees about the programs that the organization runs, and the youth populations they serve. However, my interviews with youth did not yield enough commentary on SOY to confidently comment on its role in the CWV. Instead, there was more information about

Supporting Our Youth (SOY) is another important LGBTQ2 non-profit organization adjacent to the village, my interviews with youth did not yield enough commentary on the organization to confidently comment on its role in the CWV. The majority of youth participants instead discussed the 519 and EYO, which offer similar diverse programs and services for LGBTQ2 youth. I identify forms of governance that are emerging in these two non-profit organizations, and illustrate the ways in which subtle, interpersonal mechanisms of control homeless youth who seek out these services in and around Toronto's gay village. Finally, I consider how such disciplinary processes inform and interact with bare and qualified life, in addition to forms of subaltern citizenship, as they pertain to homeless LGBTQ2 youth.

Commercial Governance in the Church-Wellesley Village

The CWVBIA emerged in 2002, with the intention of “preserving and improving [the area's] diverse urban community through high-energy promotion of the business district and civic engagement with a remembrance of a history rich in advocacy for sexual liberation, social justice and equality” (CWVBIA 5 Year Plan 2005). However, over 10 years later, many service providers at non-profit organizations and city services in and around the village comment about the ways in which the CWV is oriented away from its previous politicized queer culture because of the CWVBIA's strong consumer orientation and emphasis on attracting corporate investment. For example, John (Interview – January 25, 2017), who has worked at SOY for almost ten years, shares that, “there are fewer and

the programming from both youth and employees at the 519 and EYO. It is for these reasons that I focus on the 519 and EYO in this chapter.

fewer LGBTQ businesses open. It's much more likely to be a huge pizza chain, or huge burger chain, or coffee chain, that doesn't have any real community connection in the same way that a local independent business would maybe be run and managed by folks in the community." For John, the presence of large business chains troubles the sense of community by centralizing feelings of likeness around consumption rather than commonality based on identity. Jaene (Interview – December 16, 2016), who works at the Native Canadian Centre, echoes these feelings, explaining that, "I miss that comradery... like, you would sit on The Steps and you would have the gentrified gay hanging out with the homeless gay, you know? Even though it was more dangerous to be outwardly queer then, there was allyship. And I don't see that now." The criticism asserted by service providers like John, Jaene, and others is couched in more than mere nostalgia of a long-lost queer utopia, as they emphasize that the shift toward big business cultivates an increasingly unfriendly atmosphere in the village, particularly for marginalized LGBTQ2 people. For example, King (Interview – February 24, 2017) recounts how a Brown business owner was "bullied off Church Street. He closed the business, he had to leave. [...] I mean, Church Street is not even near what we used to call a village before. [...] It's no longer really a village, it's just a street of businesses." For King, as well as other service providers at SOY, EYO, Sprott House, and City of Toronto Youth Services, the area's emphasis on business is associated with increased discrimination, tension, and distance from a sense of community.

Grace and Max, the Executive Director and Vice Chair of the Board of the CWVBIA, are aware of the tensions between their organization, the broader queer community in Toronto, and LGBTQ2 residents in the area. Grace has been involved with

the BIA for five years, and Max has been involved with the BIA for over 10 years, with one of his roles as the Police Liaison, and has been a board member for four years. Max believes that the LGBTQ community is quick to unfairly label businesses as anti-LGBTQ, and sternly emphasizes that the village must also be a place for straight people to feel welcome. Their mission, they explain (Interview – Grace and Max, October 5, 2017), is different than how it was written in 2005, shifting away from the area’s history of social justice to “the stewardship of the area and fostering new and good business, and creating a destination.” While the CWVBIA has changed its direction, Grace and Max maintain that village residents still expect the CWVBIA to foster a community, notably through actions, statements, and positions that feel political, which Grace and Max believe is the role of organizations and residents to be engaged in, rather than that of the BIA. Their distance from this mission and the area’s history can be exemplified in their lack of attention to incorporating LGBTQ2 people into the BIA. While neither of them can answer if LGBTQ2 people own any businesses in the village, they tell me that they assume no business owners hold negative feelings toward the LGBTQ2 community because of the area’s “branding” as queer. The two express their discomfort with asking owners if they are part of the LGBTQ2 community, as Grace (Interview – October 5, 2017) emphasizes that doing so would be “tasteless” and that “you don’t have to show your gay card” to be a member, or part of the board, for the CWVBIA. The two acknowledge that although the sense of queer community could be enhanced if a certain proportion of the businesses in the area were owned by LGBTQ people, this is not central to the CWVBIA’s goal of cultivating a unique consumer-oriented environment within downtown Toronto.

In order to maintain their mission of fostering the CWV as a unique destination, the CWVBIA focuses the majority of its attention on improving the cleanliness and safety of the area, rather than getting involved in what they consider to be ‘political matters’ (they did not elaborate on what they consider to be political). For example, the CWVBIA participated in Community Safety Walks, which were organized by Councillor Wong-Tam¹⁶ in 2017 and involved the participation of multiple agencies and organizations, such as Streets to Homes, Toronto Public Health, Parks and Recreation, Toronto Hydro, and Toronto Police, as well as members of the public. Grace explains that these four walks identified ‘dangerous’ areas of the village, specifically locations where drug activity occurs, or areas that appear ‘unclean’ due to holes in fences, overgrown bushes, and minimal lighting. Following these walks, initiatives were taken to beautify these areas, such as trimming the cedar trees in Alexander Parkette or pruning the rose bushes at the AIDS memorial in Barbara Hall Park. Yet, according to Grace and Max, these changes to the neighbourhood’s physicality are often met with animosity and fraught with tension. For example, they (Interview – Grace and Max, October 5, 2017) mock the critical commentary made by community members, explaining that,

Max: ...the rose bushes at the AIDS memorial had not been properly pruned in, like, 4 or 5 years. They were so overgrown that they were giving cover to drug activity and weren’t what was intended around the AIDS memorial. A lot of people, when it got pruned, were like, “oh what happened, they came in and destroyed the place!” Well, no –

¹⁶ Toronto City Councillors are representatives of city wards, which account for geographical boundaries that cover multiple neighbourhoods. Their priorities as politicians concern matters within city hall as well as specific concerns of constituents within their ward, in addition to micro-scalar political concerns such as local infrastructure, concerns about safety and poverty, and social service delivery (Wong-Tam, March 15 2017). Councillor Wong-Tam has served two terms (eight years) as City Councillor for the ward in which the CWV is located, and is a member of the LGBTQ community.

Grace: Yeah, they were like, “they cut down all the rose bushes! The Police cut down all the rose bushes!” Like, [groaning] [...] things are so sensitive around here that people think the Police cut down all the rose bushes.

As multiple elements of urban bureaucracy operate in these beautification initiatives, governance clearly manifests through notions of safety that are pushed by the CWVBIA and the ward’s City Councillor. The city, as well as the CWVBIA, responds to discourses of danger, risk, and protection, particularly around the topic of drug activity, in order to effect mechanisms of governance.

Amongst these other actors, the CWVBIA sits in a particularly defensive position about the role of the Police in maintaining the safety of the CWV as an environment in which businesses can operate and people can visit. Grace (Interview – October 5, 2017) tells me that conversations about Police emerged after the first BLMTO protest at Pride 2016, and that “what came through all of that is we, Church-Wellesley Village, need to be a safe community, and it is not a safe community without Police. Therefore, we need Police in the community. [...] They’re a part of the safety, of the fabric, of the village.” The CWVBIA is heavily increasing its collaboration with Toronto police to enforce their position on safety in the CWV. According to Grace and Max, the CWVBIA’s members requested an increased Police presence to mitigate drug use in the neighbourhood during the summer of 2016. In the summer of 2017, Division 51 of Toronto Police provided increased, non-routine, walking patrol in the CWV from Friday to Sunday, for six weeks, to manage what Grace (Interview – October 5, 2017) describes as “really open, loud, in-your-face, brazen drug dealing.” According to Max, who is also the CWVBIA’s Police Liaison, this resulted in a tremendous volume of arrests and ticketing, which he quickly

differentiates from carding¹⁷. Grace and Max are optimistic and defiant about their collaboration with Police, and hopeful that their work with 51 Division will decrease the area's attraction of drugs, and subsequently sex work and homelessness (Interview – Grace and Max October 5, 2017).

The CWVBIA is not alone in their concern about drug use in the CWV – many youth discuss the ways in which the village feels unsafe because of the presence of drugs, and indicate the ways in which the intensified substance use impacts their comfort in the neighbourhood. The majority of youth participants feel that parks and parkettes in the CWV are 'sketchy' because their function appears to be primarily for drug and alcohol use. For example, when asked if there are any areas in the village that they avoid, Shaquil and Gabriel (Interview – December 14, 2016) comment,

Shaquil: Yeah, I try to avoid the 519... to be honest I try to avoid the park. I don't mind going inside the 519, but being at the park, there's a lot of drugs and stuff.

Gabriel: So true.

Shaquil: People you don't want to hang around with.

Another participant, Mak, echoes this sentiment, revealing that he has experienced so much trauma in Barbara Hall Park relating to substance use that he avoids going to any programming at the 519. On our walking interview, TOXCX, Joey, and Yumi point out many parks and parkettes in the CWV, telling me that they often spend time there together smoking weed. A few youth point out a playground behind the Church Street Jr. Public School where they often spend time drinking and doing drugs throughout the days and nights of Toronto's Pride festivities. Thus, for some, parks in the CWV serve as

¹⁷ Carding is a policing strategy used by Toronto Police that involves the questioning and documenting of targeted persons. Carding was banned by the Ontario government in 2016, notably due to the racial bias that disproportionately targeted Black men.

spaces for socializing while using substances (see Figure 7 for park and parkette locations in the CWV).

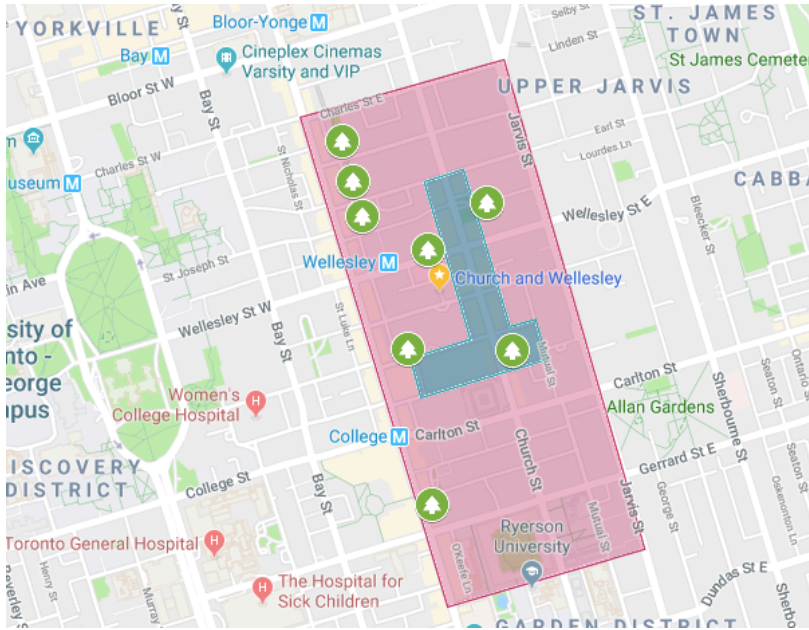


Figure 7: Google Maps view of parks and parkettes in the Church-Wellesley Village

However, most youth participants associate parks with substance use and subsequent feelings of vulnerability from youth who use parks for this purpose. In their mental mapping exercises, several youth illustrate explicit associations between drugs and the village, with some like Tyrell and Sidney writing ‘drugs’ or ‘substance use’ in their word-association mental maps, while others like Mak and Joey draw images that explicitly illustrate how prominent substance use feels for them in the village (Figures 8-11).

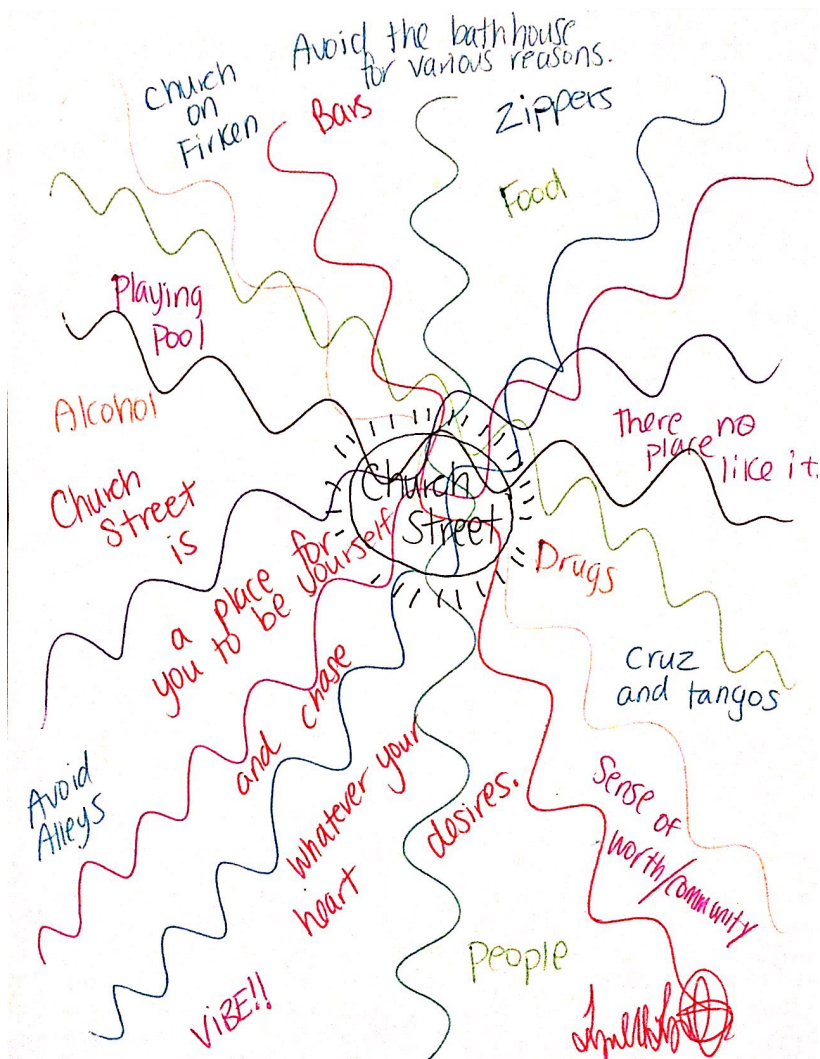


Figure 8: Tyrell's mental map of the Church-Wellesley Village illustrating substance use
(Interview – October 19, 2016)



Figure 9: Sidney's mental map of the Church-Wellesley Village, depicting substance use

(Interview – April 3, 2017)

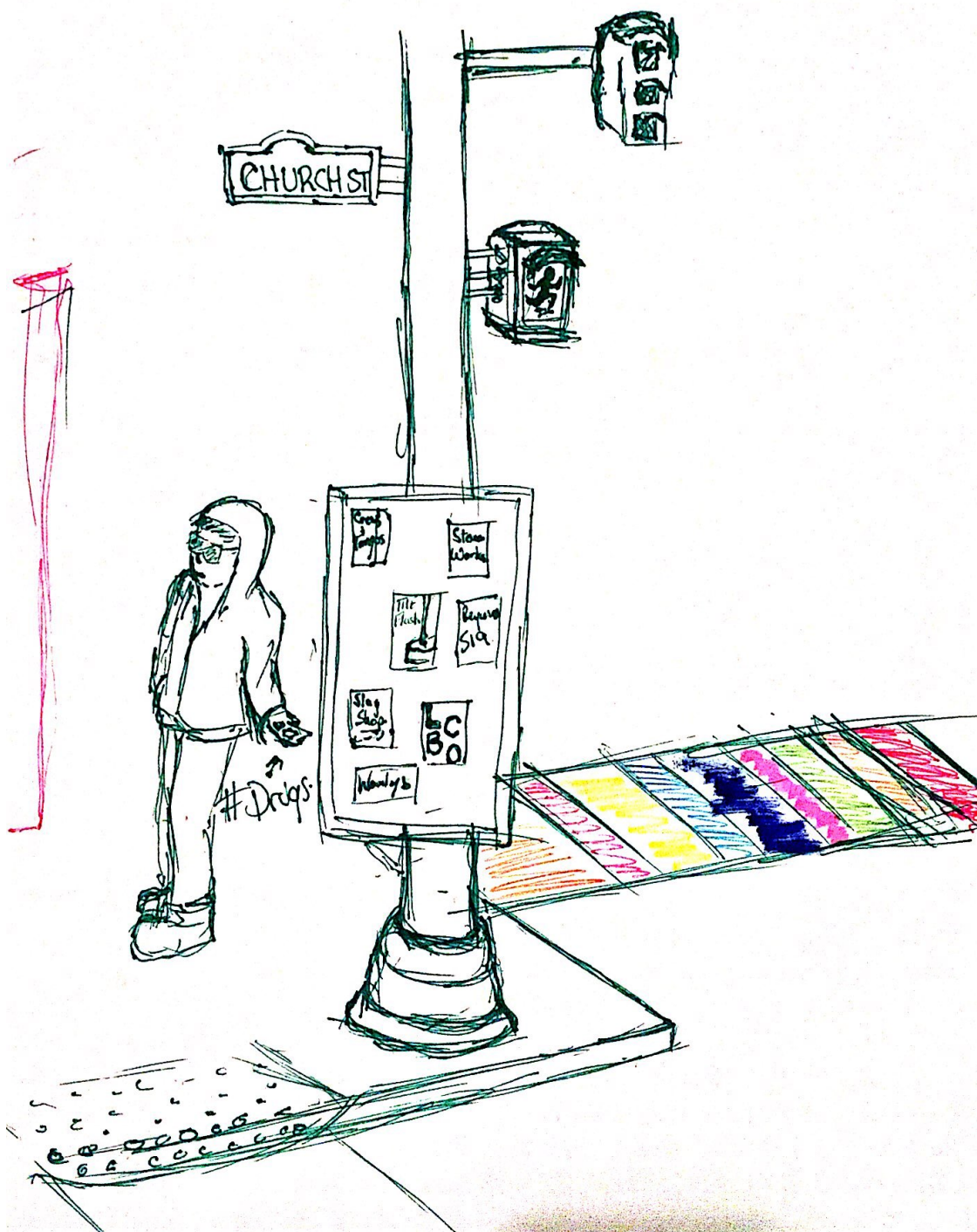


Figure 10: Mak's mental map of the Church-Wellesley Village depicting substance use
(Interview – December 14, 2016)

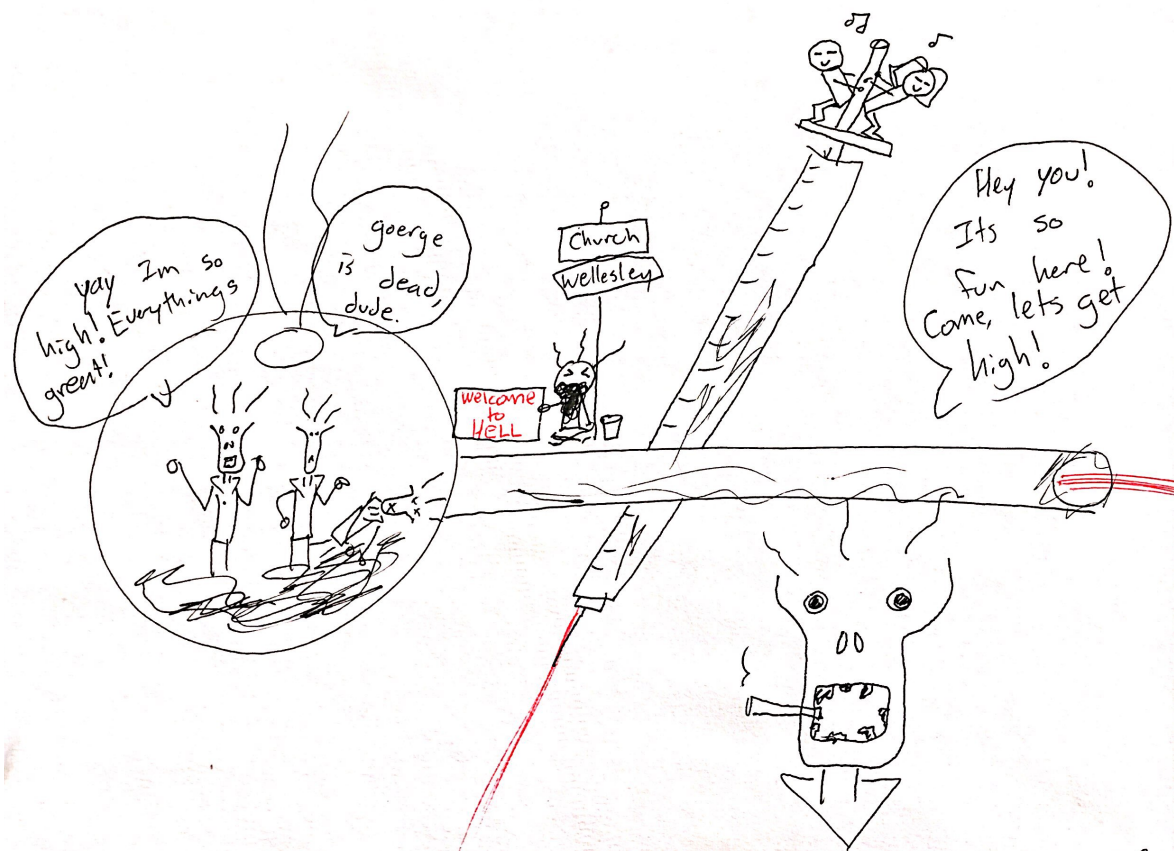


Figure 11: Joey's mental map of the Church-Wellesley Village that illustrates substance use (Interview – May 5, 2017)

These examples point to a shared concern about safety in regards to substance use in the village between both homeless LGBTQ2 youth and the CWVBIA. Despite this mutual concern, there has not been community dialogue around this issue outside of the Safety Walks and subsequent meetings held by Councillor Wong-Tam, and no outreach has been made to LGBTQ2 related programming or services in and around the neighbourhood¹⁸. When asked if they have held meetings with other organizations within

¹⁸ I cultivate some strategy recommendations for these safety concerns in the concluding chapter of my dissertation.

the CWV about their concerns regarding safety, Max (Interview – October 5, 2017) responds that, “There’s no point [for the BIA] to get involved in policy as an organization,” despite their current role in informing local governance.

While the presence and use of substances in the CWV is clearly a concern for multiple parties and holds negative associations for homeless youth, including those who use substances, what is of particular interest is the way in which the CWVBIA wields drugs as a means to control who has access to the built environment, and to insert a pro-Police sentiment in an area with tremendous tension around Police. Max explains that the need for Police is never a question amongst business owners, and that businesses’ needs for Police are irrelevant to the current political climate around anti-Black racism amongst Toronto Police and the criticism coming from members of the queer community. For Max (Interview – October 5, 2017), having Police intercept drug dealing with arrests would cut off “low-level runners” from “higher-level” dealers and, consequently, decrease the amount of drugs in the area. This would then decrease the amount of people using substances, as well as engaging in sex work, which Grace and Max feel is correlated and equally unappealing for the BIA. By increasing the amount of Police in the area, the CWVBIA can more tightly govern the bodies within the space of the village, and render it easier to push undesirable subjects out of its space. This mirrors similar processes in other North American villages, such as Greenwich Village in New York City or Boystown in Chicago, where various groups have policed low income LGBTQ people, and QTPOC, out of gay villages through charges of safety and decreasing crime (Daniel-McCarter 2012; Hanhardt 2013). As noted earlier, policing and securitization are common elements of BIA governance tactics to control sources of chaos that disrupt the

order and flow of goods in a commercialized urban space (Lippert 2009, 2012; Peyroux et al. 2012). This intensified policing is, thus, a routinized BIA approach to local urban governance; however, the pro-Police actions and sentiment of the CWVBIA is an even more contentious, and arguably antagonistic, performance of governance, as the BIA is situated in a community with traumatic histories, and tense current relationships, with Police. Rather than working with community members to bridge conversations around the topic of safety, the BIA alternatively imposes a more intense deployment of urban governance in reaction to community sentiment that is critical of the Toronto Police. Given the BIA's awareness of the tension between LGBTQ2 people and Police through Grace and Max's acknowledgement and judgment of community members' negative sentiment toward Police (i.e. speaking in mocking tones when representing others' opinions with whom they disagree), their employment of, and alliance with, Toronto Police communicates an intentional pushback against community anti-policing activism and sentiment within the CWV.

Increasing the presence of Police in the CWVBIA serves as a means of monitoring and controlling the kinds, and amount, of anxious encounter the BIA has with difference in the CWV. As a result of this local governance, the CWVBIA further contributes to the social construction of certain people and activities as disruptive or disorderly (Mooney 1999). These discourses collapse multiple groups of people as equal harbingers of urban disorder and danger, and ultimately aim to craft a neighbourhood void of such persons and activities. Thus, despite that youth participants do not feel safe themselves because of the drug activity within the CWV, they also become caught within these discourses of criminality and disturbance that emerge in heightened attention that

they receive from Police. Bradley (Interview – December 8, 2016), an Indigenous youth, recalls an experience from the summer of 2016 when Police served him and his friends an eviction notice for having “a little set up” for sleeping in a park. When asked for his thoughts on how Police treat homeless youth, a white youth named Evan (Interview – January 30, 2017) comments, “they give us a hard time with transit, with... weed, with going into restaurants and using the Wifi – it’s a problem no matter where you go.” Youth participants express the need to be hyper-vigilant about Police, such as Sidney’s (Interview – April 17, 2017) awareness of their movement in the village while soliciting clients as a trans sex worker. Youth express frustration about their treatment, particularly in the ways their criminalization intersects with homelessness and poverty. Evan (Interview – January 30, 2017) expresses frustration about police, stating, “you’re sitting here charging me [a] \$525.00 ticket. That is my whole ODSP [Ontario Disability Support Program] cheque. You expect me to sit here and pay that so I can’t live?” Similarly, in a group discussion at Sprott House about the ways in which Police target homeless youth for loitering and panhandling, Cheech (Interview – December 14, 2016), an Indigenous cis woman, summarizes, “you’re getting arrested, you’re getting charged, and now you’re a criminal. All because you were hungry?” As youth are incorporated into a system which renders them more impoverished, vulnerable, and with a criminal record, it is important to note that the majority of youth who comment on being targeted and fearful of Police are Black, Brown, and Indigenous – such as Bradley, Chocolate Baby Daddy, Cheech, Tyler, Shaquil, and Skylar – while only two out of 10 white youth discuss negative experiences with, or needing to be aware of, the Police in the village. Chocolate Baby Daddy (Interview – December 14, 2016), a Black non-binary/trans masculine

youth, reflects on how their Blackness is interpreted as threatening, and describes behaviours which could initiate phone calls to the Police, such as creating garbage or speaking to strangers. Skylar (Interview – May 5, 2017) also recalls a particularly frightful, however brief, moment with a Police Officer in CTYS as a Brown person, describing that, “as he saw me, he put his hand on his gun. [...] I feel like if I had put my hands in my pocket at that time, or retrieved my phone, or anything, he would have pulled out his gun. [...] And there’s always stuff like that.” This commentary signals how homeless LGBTQ2 youth are experiencing the mark of criminal deviance that is being upheld and enhanced by the CWVBIA’s association between youth and criminal activity in the village, and the organization’s simultaneous alliance with Toronto Police to minimize such activity. In addition, youth’s experiences with the police overwhelmingly signal the disproportionate criminalization of homeless Black, Brown, and Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth, and how such youth are brought increasingly close to necropolitical holdings that so frequently facilitate social death through incarceration (Rodriguez 2006).

Yet youth are also caught within discourses of disturbance that extend beyond interactions with Police or more formalized means of discipline from business institutions, as this is evident in the smaller-scale relations that emerge between non-profit organizations and youth participants. In the following pages I argue that while the CWVBIA instructs more formal methods of urban governance in the CWV, non-profit organizations also participate in modes of governance that impact youth’s experiences on the micro-scalar level of the body, how their lives become further imbued with that of bare life, and the foreclosures of entering formal citizenship. These forms of governance increasingly implicate youth as part of these disorderly and unwanted groups of people

who are not welcome in a CWV that is being carved as a destination for those beyond the LGBTQ2 community. I argue that while forms of surveillance serve as more overt means of control, the more mundane and small-scale forms of governance within non-profit organizations equally instruct institutional control over the space of the village.

Scaling Down Governance: The 519 and Egale Youth OUTreach

Through the course of my research, it became apparent that there is limited connection between the CWVBIA and the LGBTQ2 non-profit organizations located in and around the CWV. While no non-profit employees who I interviewed know of any contacts within the CWVBIA, or mention them in our conversations, Grace at the CWVBIA informs me that they operated out of the 519 for a number of years until January of 2017, and she and Max mention several organizations in and around the area that deal with addiction, mental illness, and homelessness – notably due to their concerns over safety. Grace explains that it was frustrating to work out of the 519 because people frequently confused the BIA as being part of the 519. Since having moved, the BIA does not regularly interact with the 519 or other organizations, other than in the safety meetings organized by Councillor Wong-Tam. Grace and Max compare the 519 to an organization across the street, Progress Place, which is a recovery centre for individuals with mental illness. Grace (Interview – October 5, 2017) draws a distinction between the clients at Progress Place who “don’t cause any problems,” to the 519’s clients who elicit safety concerns in the public spaces of the village. She and Max openly criticize the 519 for not managing their clients’ behaviour and actions outside of the organization, and they argue that the

519 should be more concerned about, and consequently controlling of, their clients' activities in the broader CWV.

The 519 is the only LGBTQ2-specific service provider in the CWV proper, and receives the bulk of its funding from the municipality of Toronto, the Provincial and Federal governments, The United Way, and donors. It was founded in 1975 and has remained in the same location on Church Street since its establishment (Micallef 2017). The first group to locate itself in the 519 was Huntley Youth Services in 1976, hosting gay youth meetings, and throughout the 1980s and 90s the 519 served as a central location for anti-queer bashing activism and support (Micallef 2017; Rae 2017). In the 1990s, this anti-queer bashing activism – rooted in the 519 – manifested as demands for Toronto Police to track and investigate reports of this violence, engage Police from 52 Division in sensitivity training, and initiate increased patrols of the area to deter queerphobic violence (Rae 2017). Currently, the 519 offers a tremendous range of programming for various members of the LGBTQ2 community, as well as spaces for smaller LGBTQ2 community groups to hold meetings and events. Two large, prominent plaques claim home to the main lobby of the 519, the first peppered with names and logos of organizations and foundations that provide monetary contributions to the 519 (Figure 12), and the second with companies listed alongside individuals with their monetary contributions (Figure 13). In the 2016/2017 fiscal year, the 519 fundraised \$4.44 for every \$1 of city funding (the 519 2016/17 Annual Report). Funds raised totaled almost \$200 million from fundraising events and individual donors, and several hundred thousand dollars were raised through the 519's corporate partnerships with companies such as BMO Financial Group, Delta Airlines, and TD Bank Group.

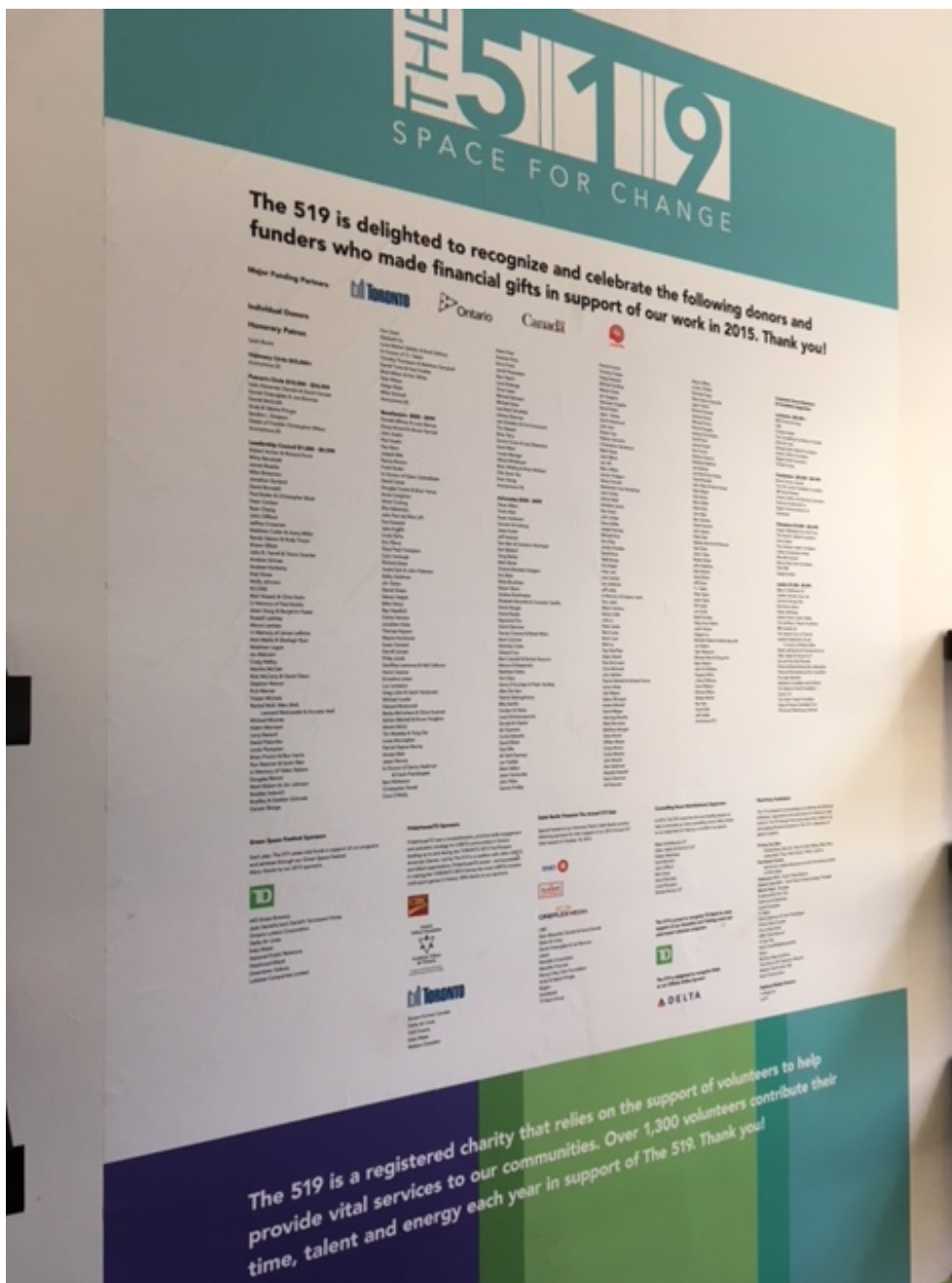


Figure 12: Sponsor sign at the 519 (by author 2017)



Figure 13: Sponsor sign at the 519 (by author 2017)

In my interviews with service providers, the 519 is overwhelmingly criticized as an unwelcoming environment for homeless youth, particularly for those who are trans and non-binary. Jesse (Interview – September 30, 2016), an employee at EYO, reflects that, “if you’re a trans person, you’re probably not using the 519... people feel not

comfortable there *[sic]*, and feel like the 519 is maybe for people who are, like, kind of the successful gays, but not really a person who's struggling." Youth support Jesse's assertion, speaking about the 519 as an unsupportive place for trans people. With the exception of some trans masculine youth who attend the Trans Masculine Support Group that is hosted at the 519, most trans youth do not feel comfortable entering the building. Sidney (Interview – April 3, 2017), a white trans woman, has been misgendered by staff at the 519, explaining that,

When I went to the 519, even they were like... how do you identify? ...I was like, "she," and [the employee] kept using he pronouns. And I was like, I kept correcting her, I was like, "it's she." "Oh, I'm so sorry, I'm so sorry." [...] And I'm like... how many times do I have to tell you that it's she? I identify as a female! She's like, "Oh, it's just because you don't look like a female." And I'm like, are you kidding?

In this experience, Sidney is not only misgendered, but also has her physical appearance pinned as the reason for this violence – in other words, she is to blame for the queer staff member's transphobia – while trying to receive support at an LGBTQ organization, cultivating a hostile and unsafe environment for trans women. Catherine (Interview – February 6, 2017), a white trans woman, asserts that the staff are not respectful of non-binary identities, and explains to me, "I mean, I've gone to the 519 at least once or twice, but that's about it. I'd rather go over to where Egale is at this point...." A trans masculine Indigenous and Latinx youth, Rhys (Interview – October 24, 2016), states that, "I refuse to use the 519 'cause I feel like it's not LGBT friendly. It's the LGB, but there's no T. [...] [And] I'm not the only one that has difficult experiences there." Despite that these youth have such negative experiences at the 519, the organization continues to offer a wide range of trans programming, including youth-specific services such as Ignite, Spark:

Trans Youth Sports, The Trans-Identified People of Colour Project, and the Trans Youth Mentorship Program. However, given their experiences or their friends' experiences, none of my trans participants utilize the 519's trans-related services.

Importantly, trans youth do not only experience disciplinary gender at the 519, but also exclusions based upon their perceived race and homelessness. Jennifer (Interview – April 14, 2017), an Indigenous and Latina trans woman, shares that she has been misgendered by receptionists at the 519, and tells me that, “initially I accessed the 519, though I haven't really had the best experience there. [...] I'm not sure if it's because [of]... like, my perceived race, or if it's because they don't really have as much trans training...” While Jennifer has been misgendered by staff at the 519's reception desk, she elaborates that the one time she did access a trans youth group, she felt outcast because of her race. As Jennifer (Interview – Jennifer, April 14, 2017) recalls, “everyone had their own circle, and I was pretty much an outsider. And at the time it felt like more of a racially, and, you know, identity specific in-group. Like, if you don't share these ideals, or if you don't, I guess, work out those aspects of femininity, then you're kind of, like, you shouldn't be a part of us.” Jennifer's experience encapsulates the becoming of racialized Other within a trans specific space, as she points to her race rendering her femininity outcast and socially unwelcome, signaling the “lingering specter of race” (Lamble 2008, 31) that is present within trans organizing in the 519. This calls attention to the production of racialized deathscapes for trans women of colour, as Jennifer's access to a trans youth support group is foreclosed because of how her race constructs improper trans femininity. Importantly, this maintains Jennifer's bare life, as her racial

Otherness obstructs entry into community, which could produce political meaning, and help to sustain life itself, through connections and support.

Yet as whiteness grants Sidney and Catherine more access to such groups than Jennifer, perceived homelessness also instructs a more immediate exclusion in the space of the 519. Sidney shares with me that she has been questioned by receptionists while sitting in the 519's main entrance using their wifi, making her feel that people who appear homeless are not welcome in the organization. As she (Interview – Sidney, April 3, 2017) criticizes, “there are some places that are supposed to be LGBT-oriented, but I think they’re a bit more, like, a bit more ostracizing around people that are homeless.” I have observed similar behavior by receptionists while waiting for interviews at the 519, with receptionists confronting youth sitting in the main entrance and asking them to leave if they do not have an appointment. As there are no signs dictating rules about loitering or sitting in the main lobby, this governance of the space of the 519 – and the bodies within it – is often at the mercy of a particular staff member at the front desk, and the way they individually maintain control over the organization's entrance.

While the 519 provides services catered to LGBTQ2 youth struggling with housing, very few youth participants are aware of these services or utilize them. As Bradley (Interview – December 8, 2016), an Indigenous Two Spirit youth, tells me, “I don’t really know of any programs or anything that goes on there... I just know it’s a community centre...” However, the 519's Youth Housing Support Services offer a broad range of support relating to housing issues, including eviction prevention, obtaining institutional financial aid from Ontario Works (OW) or ODSP, and managing mental illness in stressful living arrangements. Yet, the only youth participants who use these

services at the 519 are refugee youth, who also use the 519's newcomer and refugee programming, such as the Among Friends LGBTQ Refugee Support Group, Newcomer Youth Mentorship, and Newcomer Settlement Service. Tyler (Interview – October 19, 2016), the Housing Support Services Coordinator at the 519, explains that the majority of youth who use the 519's Housing Support Services “are LGBTQ refugee claimants.... [I]t's happened multiple times where someone will literally walk into the center with their luggage coming straight from the airport, and... they report the CBSA [Canadian Border Service Agency] officers will be like, ‘Oh it's an LGBTQ claim, here's the 519, go there.’” Refugee youth participants hold positive reflections about the 519, feeling that they would not have otherwise found support without the organization's services.

However, amongst youth participants, many identify the 519 on their mental map of the village regardless of their experiences there, illustrating the organization's powerful spatial marker within the CWV (Figures 14-17). This may be due to its prominence in the village and the popular events that it hosts, which are more frequently cited as reasons why youth go to the 519. For example, three Black youth – Yolanna, Jordan, and Mikey – express familiarity with the 519's beer tent during Pride celebrations. Some non-binary youth, such as Chocolate Baby Daddy and Seth, spend time at the 519 when they host Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDOR). As Seth (Interview – December 9, 2016) shares, “I've always been to TDOR. I'd always go to, like, they [the 519] usually have memorials for, like, December 6th and stuff like that.” Thus, the 519's place in Toronto's queer cultural sphere also position them as a known element of the CWV.



Figure 14: Anonymous mental map of the Church-Wellesley Village depicting the 519



Figure 15: Sherry's mental map of the Church-Wellesley Village, depicting the 519 as "LGBTQ Headquarters" (Interview – November 7, 2016)



Figure 16: Rhys' mental map of the Church-Wellesley Village depicting the 519

(Interview – October 24, 2016)

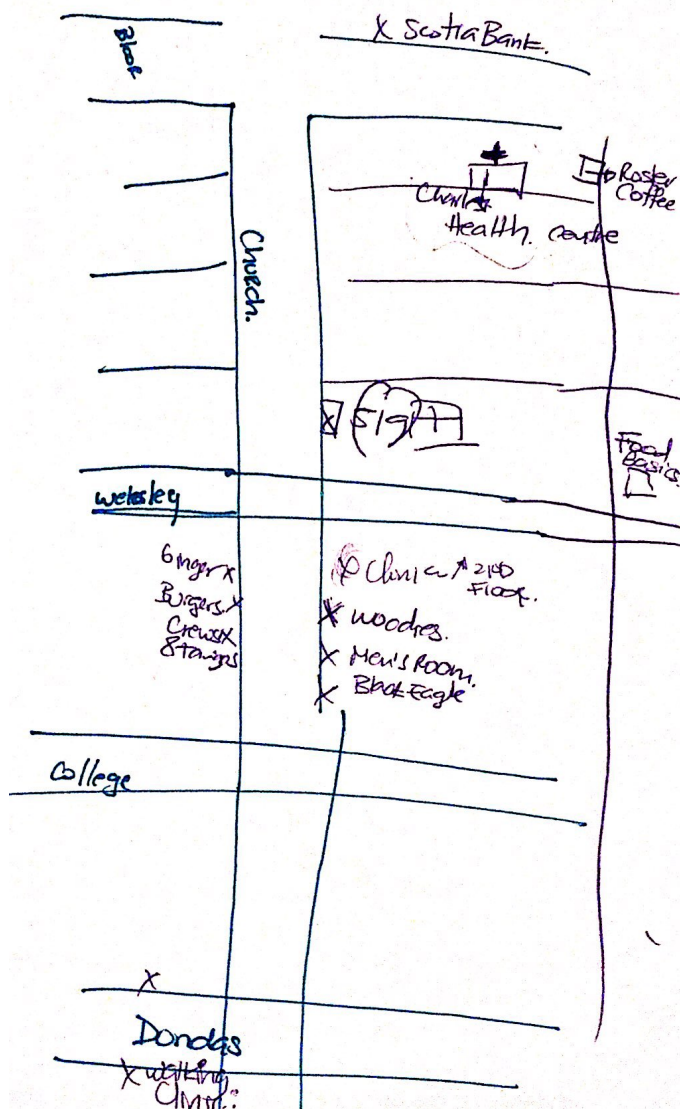


Figure 17: Daniel's mental map of the Church-Wellesley Village depicting the 519

(Interview – December 1, 2016)

Contrary to the 519, almost all youth participants use services at Egale Youth OUTreach (EYO). Tony (Interview – January 27, 2017), a Middle-Eastern cis gay youth, feels that EYO is calming, explaining that “it’s every day, and you can go for

counselling, drop-in, and they give you tokens, and it's just, they give you a lot, you know? ... there's enough support within a daily group and it's so nice.... I'm so grateful that there's an organization like that." Bradley also appreciates EYO because of its counselling services, as well as its proactive Indigenous inclusion. As he (Interview – Bradley, December 8, 2016) tells me, "I remember Egale tried to have some guest speakers come in, try to involve more of the Native youth. They tried to partner with ODE on certain things... like, just trying to get more involved... cause there were a lot of us Native youth going to Egale." Some trans youth also feel more comfortable using EYO's services – Rhys is there frequently, and Catherine (Interview – October 6, 2016) tells me that, "Egale is the location that I trust." She shares a story of when she left home in Pickering, a suburb directly east of Toronto, and her social worker called EYO to ask for any assistance in moving her to the city and securing her trans-friendly housing. Catherine (Interview – Catherine, October 6, 2016) explains that, "Egale helped me move my things, and it's one of those things that I was extremely grateful for because a moving van otherwise is, especially from Pickering to Toronto, is easily over \$100, \$100 that I don't have." As an organization so involved in the lives of its youth, EYO is the most frequently discussed organization amongst my youth interviews.

EYO is a subsidiary of Egale Canada Human Rights Trust, a federal non-profit organization that aims to promote and enhance equality for LGBTQ2 people in Canada. EYO opened its doors in downtown Toronto in 2014 as a mental health and housing crisis center for LGBTQ2 youth, and offers various programming and services for homeless LGBTQ2 youth. It is a small organization that offers daily drop-in hours from 2pm-8pm, and appointments with mental health counselors from 10am-7:30pm. The team

is comprised of two to three mental health counselors, peer resource workers, at least one student intern, and volunteers, and the organization's programming depends on different individuals and organizations who are partnering with EYO at a given time. Peer resource workers provide assistance in job and housing applications, navigating institutions such as OW or ODSP, obtaining new IDs, accessing clothing, contacting shelters or transitional housing, and helping to mitigate any employment or housing crises and stressors that are occurring when youth attend drop-in.

I conducted overt participant observation at EYO as a 'peer support volunteer' from November 2016 to July 2017. I attended drop-in from 3pm-7pm once a week, with the exception of four months when they moved half of my volunteer hours to facilitate a trans masculine voice group. My volunteer hours were spent engaging with participants, replenishing food, and at times operating the front desk. Youth became more comfortable talking to me as they became more familiar with my presence and who I am, and I had frequent individual and group conversations with youth about experiences of discrimination, tense relationships with family or society more broadly, and issues that were coming up in their housing. EYO employees are very engaged with regular clients and are present in events that are occurring in their lives, as they often see these clients multiple times a week.

The youth who use EYO span a very broad range of gender, racial, and sexual identities. Many are familiar with each other but are not necessarily friends, and each have specific routines when they access the space. For example, some youth spend the majority of their time using the computers when they are not in an appointment; others come in small groups or couples and watch television; others come to eat and sleep on the

couches. A significant majority of EYO's youth members are experiencing moderate to extreme mental illness. During my participant observation, there was one suicide and one drug overdose of two EYO youth members, as well as several suicide watches. It is, thus, quite common for drop-in to be emotionally intense and exhausting; as I highlight in my field journal (February 1, 2017), "last week someone was [here] with extreme mental illness, screaming, crying, laughing to herself... This week there was someone yelling a lot... and another person... talking about having suicidal thoughts." I note my extreme fatigue from those two weeks, as well as employee burnout and detachment from youth members because of their direct and regular involvement with such emotionally intense circumstances.

My participant observation began shortly after the organization restructured their operations and services due to a violent incident with a youth member in the previous spring. EYO's restructuring included moving to a larger space, adding a third counselor instead of their previous two, and requiring pre-booked appointments, meaning that youth could only access the space if they had an appointment with a mental health counselor, or peer resource worker. With these changes, the drop-in that characterized EYO and made it so appealing to youth was effectively terminated. Initially, EYO's Service Coordinator planned on re-opening the drop-in after the organization moved from their location just east of the CWV to their new location further away from the village. However, regulations around accessing drop-in only minimally loosened, and the Service Coordinator gently enforced the appointment rule by scheduling appointments before allowing youth to access drop-in. As a result of this appointment regulation, it became common practice to not provide youth their transit tokens unless they had an

appointment, which differed from before when any youth who came to EYO would receive two tokens. This change enacted a financial penalty for youth who used drop-in without an appointment, and successfully discouraged youth from coming if they did not have an appointment, as it would be a waste of their money. In our interviews, some youth express that they stopped using EYO because of this change to drop-in policy, as they felt that this intensified regulation made the organization feel less friendly. For example, Mak (Interview – December 14, 2016), an Indigenous cis bisexual youth, complains to me that EYO “kind of shut it down for outreach and made it more of a treatment place... I used to utilize that. It totally changed their policies and standards... you have to be doing counselling, but you can’t just be there to chill.” Others, like Tony and Rhys who had previously raved about the organization, stopped attending the drop-in as frequently, but began to reappear as the appointment regulation loosened.

The majority of EYO youth participants felt excited about the move to a new setting, and appreciated the new location’s modern design and separated areas within the open-concept layout, including a distinct computer area, a lounge area by the television with two large couches, a table by the food, a separate kitchen (although they were not allowed to use the kitchen because there were knives), a more private hallway with access to counseling rooms, and a private, enclosable room with a large table. This is entirely different than the previous location, which had one small room that all youth would have to spend time in together, lined with several computers and couches, and two counselling offices adjacent to the entrance. While youth responded positively to this move, the location is much more difficult to get to on public transit, making it more challenging for youth to attend drop-in between other various appointments during the

day. I noted in my field journal that youth turnover increased after the move in mid-February, and I was seeing less of the regular youth who had been consistently present since November.

Another key shift that impacted the nature of the space was the increased discipline toward educational requirements for employees, particularly peer resource workers and student interns. This direction came from their executive director, who initialized a new rule to hire employees with a minimum of a Bachelor's Degree in Social Work or related fields. Most staff members at EYO are employed on year-long contracts, with the potential for those contracts to be renewed. However, during my participant observation, staff or student interns without these educational requirements did not have their contracts renewed, and were not hired for other positions, after this shift in policy. Importantly, this disproportionately impacted trans employees, who had been working in social work positions since high school and without bachelor degrees because of the cost of education when compared to expensive trans-related medical needs. As a result, the makeup of peer resource workers and student interns shifted from being mostly people of colour and trans, to being mostly white and cis, with only trans masculine representation, when I completed my participant observation. Here, queer patriarchies and racisms are reinforced beyond the consumer market (Nast 2002) and into structures of localized governance, whereby bodies marked as orderly and respectable are more readily incorporated into the organizational structure of EYO, while those whose subjectivities are caught within the social discourses of urban anxiety and disturbance are slowly being distanced from the organization. In staff meetings, peer resource workers and counselors discuss the lack of representation of trans people and people of colour as a barrier to

providing effective youth support. There is a profound disjuncture between the lived experiences and bodily presentations of the staff working at EYO and the youth who access their services, which, in turn, has significant impacts on their youth membership. EYO's employees emphasize that trans youth, and youth of colour, do not feel as comfortable talking to cis or white people about gender- or race-related trauma. However, increasing the educational requirements in hiring practices has a direct, and negative, impact on EYO's ability to service their regular clientele. Many of EYO's youth members struggle with trauma around abandonment and loss, and have a difficult time developing trusting relationships with employees, only to often have them leave once that trust is established. As I note in my field journal, "[two employees] have both said that regular clients don't want to see new counselors, because they'd have to rehash everything and start building a new relationship" (February 16, 2017). As a result, youth often wait for the entirety of drop-in hours to see a counselor they know, and sometimes do not end up seeing a counselor at all. This is compounded when youth do not have the emotional energy to begin working with a new counselor who does not reflect their identity and lived experiences. As this change amongst staff representation occurs and there are less employees with whom youth identify, I notice less youth of colour and less trans feminine youth attending drop-in, and the remaining staff members become more frustrated with the circumstances.

Governing the Wretched

Both EYO and the 519 have dynamic, shifting relationships with the youth who participated in my research, which are characterized by multiple, charged negotiations. At

the 519, forms of governance have a noticeably disproportionate impact on trans feminine and non-binary youth, and intersect with the necropolitics of marking trans women of colour irredeemable subjects whose race renders them undeserving of support that could blur the structure of bare life with forms of qualified life. It is not coincidental that these youth in particular are experiencing acts of exclusion while the BIA doubles down on its measures to securitize the neighbourhood and, in the process, cultivates discourses that mark particular bodies as disorderly and criminal. There is a powerful geography of influence within the CWV, wherein the localized measures of urban governance that are facilitating measures of criminalization are impacting the cultures and styles of governance within local LGBTQ2 non-profit organizations. Of course, these spatial discourses of urban disorder are highly dependent on specific bodies in relation with each other, and are not clear cut. For example, on one hand, it is possible that the 519's Board of Directors is pushing back against efforts of direct or intensified policing that the BIA would prefer; as Grace and Max from the CWVBIA complained, the 519 is refusing to monitor its clients' behaviours beyond its walls, in the public spaces of the CWV. However, while this may be a push against policing measures from the top governing body at the 519, their front desk staff simultaneously police behaviours that are specifically associated with bodies that elicit urban anxieties of crime, including youth and people who are read as homeless. Perhaps the increasing concerns of disorder within the CWV, which I have argued collapse youth as sources of urban disturbance, are bleeding into places like the 519 through the micro-scalar negotiations of interpersonal governance. Yet the 519 is also functioning as many other LGBTQ non-profits do, wielding community as a biopolitical form of discipline "through which some queer

bodies are protected and folded into (national) life, while others are located outside of the life of the nation, a threat to it, and exposed to early death” (Beam 2018, 83). Maintaining whiteness as a redeemable quality for some trans youth mediates which subjects are provided tenuous offers into qualified life, and which others remain hinged to the holdings of bare life through a lack of access to support services that can aid their survival.

In contrast, EYO has been more resistant to policing behaviours, as many of their youth members have negative interactions with Police. For example, EYO annually anticipates that approximately one-fifth of its participants will be arrested during Pride for drunken or disorderly conduct. The organization and its employees are, consequently, critical of the disproportionate Police attention experienced by their clientele. It is, thus, not surprising that following the violent incident they experienced the previous spring, EYO did not incorporate any securitization measures like involving Toronto Police, installing security cameras, or hiring security officers. Instead, they restructured their programming to consider how they might be able to avoid similar situations in the future, rather than increasing security because of how powerfully that would alienate their youth members. Perhaps for these reasons, EYO feels like a more welcoming and accessible place for youth than the 519, which most youth participants associate with wealthier, white, and cis queer people. For youth participants, EYO serves as a place in which they can linger and not have their activities policed – it is a harm reduction space where they are able to use substances safely, they are allowed to fall asleep, and there are staff readily available to deal with intense crises if and when they arise.

However, EYO's recent policy shift which now requires appointments for youth to access their drop-in services signals a deviation from the organization's commitment to maintaining a space that welcomes, rather than estranges, youth. As EYO's governance begins to intensify, they are simultaneously experiencing an imposed regulation for hiring practices that has increased the representation of white and masculine queer and trans staff members. In the face of these changes, fewer youth of colour and trans feminine youth appear to be attending EYO's drop-in services. As EYO's representation of whiteness and masculinity increases, it is important to ask how this shift may begin to incite similar feelings of unbelonging that youth share with the 519, and how this may impact the ways in which EYO facilitates its mandate of supporting LGBTQ2 youth experiencing mental health and housing crises. It is clear that while the 519 and EYO attempt to mitigate conditions of bare life for homeless LGBTQ2 youth by integrating them into queer and trans communities, and providing mechanisms of extending their lives beyond basic survival through various programming, those youth who are disproportionately impacted by measures of governance are not utilizing such services. Instead, such disciplinary institutional conditions, and their disproportionate impact on predominantly trans feminine and racialized queer youth, renders it increasingly difficult to extend youth's lived conditions to that of beyond living barely.

This chapter has provided examples of institutional actors in and around the CWV that significantly inform the ways in which homeless LGBTQ2 youth experience queer spaces. I have illustrated the varying styles and scales of governance amongst these institutions, from the ways in which the CWVBIA employs formal policing of undesirable activities and bodies, to more subtle forms of governance at the 519 and EYO

that manifest through the management of services and people within non-profit organizations. Given these diverse structures of governance that are occurring within the CWV, it is becoming an increasingly risky landscape for homeless LGBTQ2 youth to inhabit. As the CWVBIA increases the amount of Police presence in the village, it encourages and reproduces anxious discourses about forms of urban disorder that implicate homeless youth as sources of criminality. As such, homeless LGBTQ2 youth are increasingly reluctant to spend time in the neighbourhood in order to avoid encounters with authority – particularly the Police. Both youth and service providers are aware of the growing concerns of Police in the neighbourhood; multiple service providers share that Black, Indigenous, and trans feminine youth of colour often speak to them about being carded, or having their bags searched by Police, in the village. Youth participants share innumerable stories with me of encounters with Police, experiences of intensified securitization targeting them in both businesses and public spaces within the CWV, and their negative feelings about being targeted by Police. While they often discuss Police more broadly in Toronto than the fixed point of the CWV, Austin draws a pig on their mental map of the village (Figure 18), explaining that, “this pig represents the piggy bank... and then also there’s Police officers here too, their presence. I definitely don’t think they’re... an ally.”

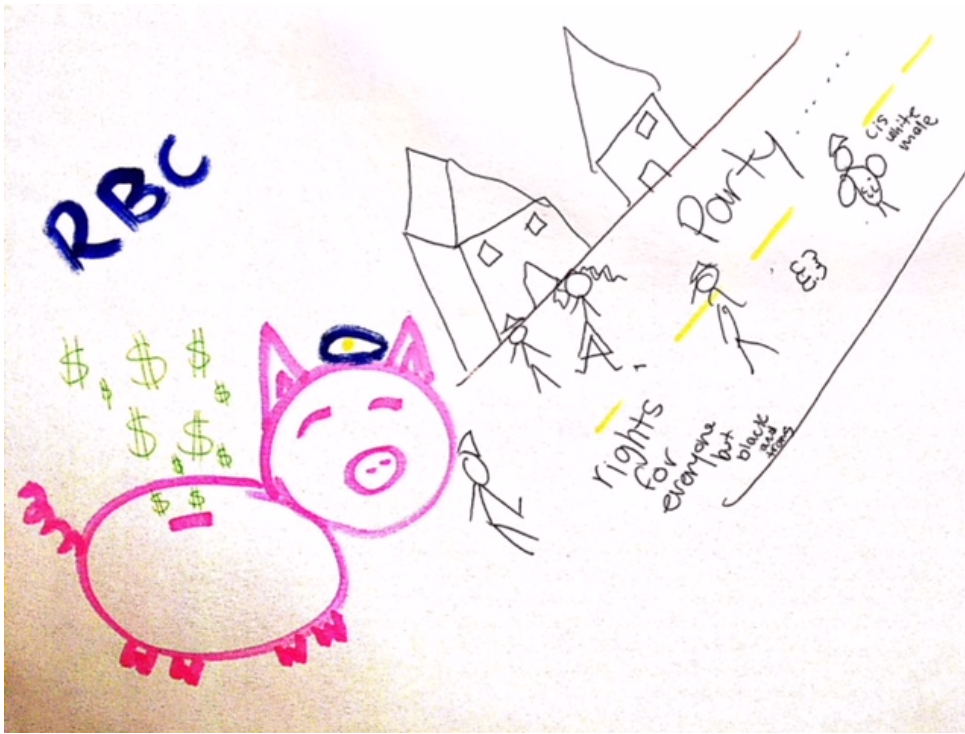


Figure 18: Austin's mental map of the Church-Wellesley Village depicting pigs as symbolism for businesses and Police (Interview – December 14, 2016)

In response to these increased encounters and feelings of disquiet when spending time in the CWV, programs at SOY, Sprott House, and EYO provide workshops and informal discussions for youth about their rights when Police approach to ask for their information, or threaten them with tickets or arrests. While this is a helpful strategy to educate youth about their rights when encountering Police, youth employ tactics of either completely avoiding the area – particularly during Pride – or finding less exposed places to hang out, including alleys and hidden areas in parks.

Yet, as noted earlier, areas such as parks or alleys are also understood as unsafe amongst homeless LGBTQ2 youth. These are simultaneously spaces of risk and spaces of concealment; while concealment can offer youth moments of reprieve, a sense of privacy,

and even some feelings of safety from exposure to predatory adults and Police, it is also their concealment that makes them more vulnerable to harassment, robbery and/or assault, and substance use, if that is something they are seeking to avoid. Inhabiting public spaces in the CWV is, thus, a negotiation of risk based on particular survival needs, assessing the multiple factors that may render a specific public space more threatening than others. This tension between safety and vulnerability, and the task of facilitating survival, renders the role of non-profit organizations even more crucial, as they offer alternative spaces where youth can spend time. However, the only organization centrally located in the area, the 519, has an air of exclusivity for homeless and trans youth, despite its breadth of programming. As a result, SOY, which is located adjacent to the CWV at Sherbourne and Carlton Streets, has been experiencing a steady increase in youth members – as John (Interview – January 25, 2017) describes, their Monday Night Drop-In program now sees between 45-60 youth every week – as well as an increase in trans youth accessing their services. While one can posit that perhaps because of the increased securitization of the CWV, and the lack of trust in entering the 519, homeless LGBTQ2 youth would more heavily rely upon other organizations like SOY to provide them with support and community. However, given the lack of commentary about SOY in my youth interviews, and the diminishing number of youth using EYO's services, it is not clear that this increased reliance is occurring amongst homeless LGBTQ2 youth. This begs the question: where else are they left to go when their own community spaces turn hostile, and what are the direct impacts on the geographies of survival employed by homeless LGBTQ2 youth when they are in the village?

Organizations like EYO are in a difficult position, having to meet shifting demands from its Executive Director that change the ways in which the organization implements policy, and governs its space and clientele. As organizations become increasingly bureaucratic, they become less appealing for youth, resulting in changes that impact who amongst LGBTQ2 youth continue to use their services, which is falling along the lines of whiteness and masculinity. Youth are not given opportunities to engage in formal entry into citizenship through, for example, any organizational decision making, as neither the 519 nor EYO have youth boards or leadership opportunities to involve youth members in the organization¹⁹. Furthermore, EYO's new location peripheral to the village comes with both costs and benefits. Youth may feel safer accessing EYO's services, as they are removed from the heightened Police presence and securitizing measures in the village.

As youth spend a decreased amount of time in the CWV, the less the neighbourhood is pressed with the difference of multiply-marginalized queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth. The intensified forms of urban governance which I have discussed throughout this chapter strengthen imaginaries that construct Otherness within queer urban space, crafting people who are homeless, use substances, and youth as sources of disorder that undermine the spatial ordering of consumption and urban development amongst global competition between cities. These discourses locate homeless LGBTQ2 youth in "fearful 'shadow' representations of the city" (McLaughlin and Muncie 1999), rendering them as the roots of crime and deserving of banishment. Such manifestations of

¹⁹ Similarly, the CWVBIA does not provide any youth services or leadership opportunities.

disciplinary community also render it increasingly difficult for forms of subaltern citizenship to emerge, as the few spaces where homeless LGBTQ2 youth can frequent and congregate – such as EYO – are less welcoming for multiply marginalized homeless queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth to inhabit. It is, furthermore, questionable how the structures of bare life may be altered by these organizations, despite their orientation toward enhancing the survivability of such youth. The geographies of subaltern survival are increasingly difficult to locate in the queer institutions of the CWV, abandoning homeless LGBTQ2 youth to the scripts of unworthiness as organizations turn toward structures of order. Lisa (Interview – October 19, 2016), Director of Operations at the 519, encapsulates the concern of erasing such survival spaces for homeless LGBTQ2 youth due to their collapse into queer discourses of disorder and crime:

I think there's this idea right now that the village is unsafe because there's a lot of people that use substances in the village. There's criminal activity happening. Like, we see people dealing on the streets, we see fights – things like that, happening every day. The folks I know who are doing those things *are also part of the LGBTQ community*, and I think that's often not seen. I think it's just seen as, "Oh, homeless people and substance users are coming in and taking over the village," without realizing that a lot of these folks are part of the community as well. (Author's emphasis)

Lisa's statement calls into question the differentiation of us versus them, good queers versus criminal queers, that is informing the changes and modes of governance occurring in the village. She reorients us to the ways in which a bio-necro collaboration is rooted within queer institutions and discourses in the CWV that target specific LGBTQ2 bodies, and relegate them as unworthy of community and, consequently, the support, validation, and life that emerges from such connections. Through these forms of governance, we are beginning to see the ways in which race and gender are increasingly dictating

geographies of subaltern survival, and the ways in which homeless trans feminine and queer and trans youth of colour are further relegated into the grasp of bare life. However, I aim to exercise a shift toward how such survival may continue to be enacted in the CWV through other spaces and means, and how youth may express an excess of bare life that could, perhaps, indicate a move toward qualified life. To draw from McLaughlin and Muncie (1999, 97) once more, “initiatives promising to banish disorder create new versions of dangerous people and dangerous places. The uncomfortable reality is that the complexities of urban life themselves generate multiple relations and practices of spatial domination and resistance.” As mechanisms of governance seek to eradicate sources of degeneracy in the village, there are also simultaneous ways in which targeted individuals insert themselves back into its space. In other words, while the institutional landscape of the village increasingly eradicates structures that could aid homeless LGBTQ2 youth in entering a qualified life, youth create alternative avenues within the space of the CWV through which the limitations of bare living are challenged through forms of subaltern survival. For, just as homeless LGBTQ2 youth are marked as deviant, wretched queers who interrupt and defile the orderly flow of competitive urban growth, so are they also imbued in the fleshy, erotic underbelly of encounter that sustains the village as a bastion of queerness, in relation with the consumers and residents whom these acts of governance seek to protect.

Chapter 5: Shades of Pink: Economies of Queer Kinship as Counter-Currency to the Pink Dollar

Introduction

Toronto's Church-Wellesley Village (CWV) has been experiencing ongoing commodification and rising tensions regarding mainstream(ing) gay culture, policing, and racial politics. Coupled with a dispersal of queer spaces and cultures across the city, some scholars and community members question the CWV's significance for Toronto's LGBTQ2 communities (Nash 2013a, b). Yet my youth interviews indicate a strong socio-spatial attachment for some participants to the CWV, for the ways in which it allows kinship networks to be nurtured through commercial spaces. In this chapter, I present the ways in which queer kinship reveals an alternative framework for understanding the value of the CWV, shedding light onto how youth's geographies of subaltern survival turn the village into a site of connection, intimacy, and support for some homeless LGBTQ2 youth. I understand kinship networks similar to the concept of chosen family, as intentional networks of support and survival centered around parental, avunculate, sibling, and child relationships amongst LGBTQ2 people (Sedgwick 1993). While the majority of literature identifies chosen family through claimed familial identities (i.e., mother, sister, and so on), I avoid familial language when discussing homeless LGBTQ2 youth participants because many have fraught and traumatic experiences with their birth or adoptive families, and do not use this language to refer to these relationships in their lives. Instead, I utilize the concept of kinship to illustrate the ways in which homeless LGBTQ2 youth foster relational social connections with their friends and communities that are foundational to creating a qualified life, that which harbours political and social

meaning, and to maintaining survival in an otherwise harsh and, increasingly, dominating landscape. I consider kinship as a form of subaltern citizenship, as it serves as an agentic means of fostering community and, as such, pushes the bounds of bare life. These emergences of queer kinship reveal the invisibilized geographies of survival that go undetected in the CWV, particularly amongst homeless Indigenous queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth, and enhance the likelihood of surviving through and beyond the conditions of bare life.

As homeless LGBTQ2 youth utilize their kinship networks for their own survival, they create forms of queer socio-spatial value that are rooted outside of capital, yet frequently manifest within consumer spaces. Queering understandings of consumer spaces complicates arguments of capital-based exclusion in gay villages, as some homeless LGBTQ2 research participants use commodified spaces to sustain and develop their queer kinship networks. In this chapter, I build on Oswin's (2005a, 582) assertion that commodification is "a site in which the political is played out; and in a more complex fashion than the supposition of a resistance/capitulation binary permits us to understand." I present the ways in which some kinship networks take root in these commodified sites and offer a queer cultural economy²⁰ of survival through queer familiarity and connectivity. As such, commodified spaces of mainstream queer culture

²⁰ The cultural economy has been predominantly understood through the creative economy, which analyzes the ways in which the economic and cultural are linked (Edensor et al. 2009; Flew 2010; Montgomery 2007). I understand queerness as its own cultural economy which mobilizes certain cultural and economic capital, and, as I illustrate in this chapter, has a plethora of cultural outputs that contribute to mainstream and alternative queer economies.

are imbued with politicized forms of value that remain predominantly unaccounted for in recent analyses of Toronto's village.

Yet not all youth experience this relatedness and access to commodified spaces within the CWV. While predominantly cis youth formulate these alternative economies of survival, my research reveals that trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive²¹ youth experience a geography of fear within the CWV, dictating patterns of avoidance of the area for their own safety and wellbeing. As a result, these youth not only spend considerably less time in the CWV, but also do not use commodified spaces to sustain their kinship networks. I argue that while kinship can be understood as counter-currency to the saturation of capital in the CWV through the alternative economies of survival that are fostered in consumer spaces by some homeless LGBTQ2 youth, it also invites a trans feminist critique into queer geography that reveals exclusions based upon trans-misogyny and cissexism. Ultimately, the transmisogynist and cissexist exclusions of trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth foreclose opportunities for these youth to participate in alternative queer economies of survival that are being fostered in the CWV, and identify a maintained necropolitical grip upon the lives of homeless trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth. This marginalizes trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth in multiple ways, by rendering them as outsider to the alternative political possibilities of the village, limiting their ability to utilize community as a means of entering a qualified life, and restraining

²¹ I use this term to describe youth who identify as femme but either not explicitly as non-binary or are exploring non-binary identities. Some of these youth cross-dress while others perform more in drag, and all of these youth were assigned male at birth.

the spaces in which they can foster techniques of subaltern survival. I conclude by positing that as the concept of kinship challenges some of the ways in which queer urban spaces are critically theorized, it simultaneously exposes transmisogynist and cissexist exclusions in the CWV, making room for trans feminist critique in queer geographies, and pushing scholarship to further explore the role of transmisogyny and cissexism in place.

Queer Consumer Citizenship and the Pink Dollar

In the initial development of gay villages during the 1940s and 1950s, “underground networks and institutions developed in places where ‘individual fulfillment’ was pursued in commodity form...such as clubs, baths, and bars” (Knopp 1992, 664). Queer networks were rooted in places which relied upon the circulation of capital, and as queer communities grew larger and more visible around these spaces, attention toward the profitability of gay cultures amplified, particularly under neoliberalism. As Duggan (2002, 188) writes, the cultural front of neoliberalism has led to a “privatizing gay politics and culture for the new neoliberal world order”. Neoliberalism ensures that certain elements of LGBTQ cultures and subjects are always becoming incorporated into capitalist networks, being assigned commodity values which have spread globally and become strongly linked with privatization and the building of state power (Binnie 2004; Puar 2006, 2007). Queer visibility is subsequently increasingly linked to exchange value and access to capital, “perpetuat[ing] a class-specific perspective that keeps invisible the capitalist divisions of labor that organize sexuality and in particular lesbian, gay, queer lives” (Hennessy 2000, 138). This increased alignment between modes of capital

accumulation and particular LGBTQ people, or the ‘pink economy’, “simultaneously privileg[es] corporatized and easily marketable kinds of queer spaces and subjects over others” (Kanai and Kenttamaa-Squires 2014, 4), cultivating a queer consumer citizenship that offers recognition and belonging to members of the LGBTQ community who can afford to participate in commodity exchange.

The “pink economy”, underwritten by the “pink dollar”, describes a lesbian and gay consumer market that is identified, cultivated, and branded by businesses and industries. As Ginder and Byun (2015, 822) explain, in recent decades the lesbian and gay consumer market has become of particular interest to large corporations and capital ventures; it is estimated that \$830 billion rests in this consumer market, “indicative of the market potential to be gained by companies open to embracing inclusivity.” Investment in the pink dollar is extremely diverse, ranging from LGBTQ tourism to international sporting and Pride events, however, research identifies a predominance of advertising for the queer market in fashion, travel, and entertainment industries (Ginder and Byun 2015, 825; see also Oswin 2005a; Kanai 2014). Currently, there is large-scale investment in the pink dollar, with companies offering “a variety of product types ranging from alcohol and apparel to commodities such as shampoo” (Ginder and Byun 2015, 837). Ginder and Byun’s (2015, 825) analysis of advertising studies for this market reveals an overwhelming representation of white men, which they argue “proliferates the myth of gay-whiteness, while the lack of female representation continues to propagate patriarchal dominance and a history of lesbian invisibility within the marketplace”. Thus, the pink dollar stands as a powerful influence on mainstream LGBTQ culture and representation,

and is argued to consequently limit the political possibilities within and around such a mainstream economy (Oswin 2005a).

Corporate exploitation of the pink dollar reveals how certain members of the LGBTQ community are more readily appropriated into networks of commodity exchange that are anchored in the environment of the gay village. This builds upon notions of homonormativity discussed earlier, and the ways in which racial and gendered privileges become spatialized in queer urban environments. Rather than analyzing homonormativity through the pink dollar, in this chapter I alternatively present how a more nuanced exploration of queer consumer landscapes reveals multifaceted social relations and power dynamics that exist amongst homeless LGBTQ2 youth within the CWV, and forms of queer value exchange that crosscut and re-imagine consumer spaces with the political power of queer kinship.

The Significance of Kinship for Queer Lives

Productive dialogue exists within queer theory about kinship formations and the family, situated primarily within psychoanalytic theory regarding the figures of ‘the Child’ and ‘the parent’ (most often the Mother and Father), as well as sexual fantasies within child-parent relations (Eng 2010; Sedgwick 1993). This queer theoretical attention to psychoanalysis interrogates and repositions heteronormative concepts of the family, and has particularly attended to the ways in which lesbians and gays inhabit procreative positions and behaviours, and thus come to stand in for, and stabilize, hegemonic heterosexuality (J. Butler 2000; L. Edelman 2004; Eng 2010; Halberstam 2005; Marvel 2015). In addition to these debates, Sedgwick (1993) offers insight into the potentiality of

reworking the family, building on the avunculate, or relationships built from the figure of the Aunt and Uncle, as a means of queering family relations. She posits that the avunculate position can “project into the future a vision of ‘family’ elastic enough to do justice to the depth and sometimes durability of nonmarital and/or nonprocreative bonds, same-sex bonds, nondyadic bonds, bonds not defined by genitality, ‘step’-bonds, adult sibling bonds, [and] nonbiological bonds across generations” (Sedgwick 1993, 71). In other words, queer potential exists in a broadened concept of family that extends into non-biogenetic and legal forms of kinship.

Queer social scientists also attend to concepts of queer kinship as parent-child and coupled relationships, exploring queer family structures and the psychological impacts of family relationships on LGBTQ couples, children, and parents (Mizielińska and Stasińska 2017, 1; see also Leckey 2015). Other attention along the lines of familial kinship is paid to anxieties around the body and technology for the purpose of reproduction for queer subjects (Luce 2010; Mamo 2007). As Marvel (2015, 71) writes, “rather than throwing out queer spawn with the heterosexual bathwater, we might instead look to question the opposition of ‘queer’ to ‘reproduction’ and explore the new intimacies being forged.” This recent intervention of queer scholarship consequently delves into the relational element of kinship and the possibilities that emerge through alternative familial connections.

Yet as earlier queer scholarship stresses, the webs of subjective interrelations that formulate bonds of kinship extend beyond the bio-legal family to create different understandings of the family (Pidduck 2009; Marvel 2015). According to Weston (1991, 117-118), queer kinship is not a replacement of severed ties between queer people and

their biological family; rather, queer kinship is an extension of the closeness and support derived by those who are considered a chosen rather than biological family. Language of queer kinship emerged in the 1950s and 1960s amongst gay men to describe non-sexual relationships, and by the 1970s the distinctions between friends and lovers came to be understood along a spectrum amongst queer people (Weston 1991, 120). Also known as chosen family, Weston (1991, 109) elaborates that queer kinship “consciously incorporate[s] symbolic demonstrations of love, shared history, material or emotional assistance, and other signs of enduring solidarity.” Kinship networks are intentionally fostered with the aim of centralizing close and supportive familial ties amongst non-biogenetic kin, and this “redemptive discourse of families of choice” (Pidduck 2009, 442) recognizes the possibilities of queer(ed) kinship practices. Choice is a profound and empowering act for queer and trans people, who are often rendered outsider to their biological families, because of the opportunity it offers to assert their autonomy in deciding to and from whom they provide and receive love, support, company, and companionship. Chosen family fosters the survival of particularly marginalized individuals against oppressive forces in their lives (Dewaele et al. 2011), and kinship structures amongst queer chosen family are “uncertain, flexible, provisional and relationally sited” (Marvel 2015, 47), moving beyond heteronormative formations and procreative functions of the family. However, chosen family is not only relevant in the lives of queer and trans people; the utility and presence of chosen family and non-biogenetic kinship are also present amongst people who are economically precarious – women, youth, immigrants, working class men, and various racialized and Indigenous communities (McCarthy et al. 2002; Weston 1991). For the purposes of this chapter, I

merge queer kinship with scholarship that considers the role of chosen family in the lives of street-involved youth in order to situate the experiences of homeless queer and trans youth amongst this literature.

At times, youth take on certain family identities as “adaptive responses to their new environment, developing cultural reactions that help them meet their needs” (Smith 2008, 759). However, kinship can include dynamics that exist outside of this familial identification but serve the same purpose for youth – aiding their survival by cultivating social capital and resources, security and protection, and connection with community. Also known as ‘street families,’ these kinship networks are formed by street-involved youth in order to help “generate social capital resources that provide greater access to an array of valued outcomes, including protection from physical harm” (Smith 2008, 760). Street families can emerge spontaneously, through particular events or discussions, or through shared personality traits or identities (McCarthy et al. 2002; Smith 2008). Street families provide validation and security for youth who are street-involved and “help fulfill the need for support and companionship, combat feelings of alienation and loneliness, and help mitigate the continuing demands of life on the streets” (Smith 2008, 765). Not only do street families foster emotional and psychological support to aid youth who are living in vulnerable and precarious circumstances, but they can also cultivate social and capital resources that youth may not have access to from legal or biological family (McCarthy et al. 2002, 837).

Just as street families offer means of survival for street-involved youth, queer kinship provides similar mechanisms for survival and care for vulnerable queer people. Arnold and Bailey (2009) illustrate this in their account of the ways in which Black queer

and trans people employ kinship as a mechanism for survival and advocacy for HIV/AIDS prevention in the ballroom community. Their work reveals a complex network which includes gendered roles of mothers, fathers, daughters, sons, and siblings within the ballroom community²². Mothers and fathers provide caregiving roles to their children and address the disproportionate vulnerability of Black trans women and queer men to HIV/AIDS through a range of culturally-relevant HIV prevention support. By appropriating kinship roles, the ballroom community provides unique forms of HIV/AIDS prevention that acknowledge the diversity of African American trans women and gay men, and work *with* the community in ways that organizational support services do not. Thus, queer kinship, much like street families, serves as a political intervention for people and communities that remain underserved, or difficult to access and maintain contact with. This function of kinship provides a vital role for these communities where people make the choice to participate in these networks and cultivate systems of support by their own formation.

While a diverse range of scholarship attends to the experiences of LGBTQ youth across the social sciences, explorations of chosen family with street-involved LGBTQ youth, as well as their relationships to queer urban space, remain under-theorized. In her work with homeless LGBTQ youth in San Francisco, Reck (2009) writes that the Castro

²² As described by Arnold and Bailey (2009, 174), ballroom culture is a “clandestine community consisting of African American and (in some locations like New York, Miami, and Los Angeles) Latino/a GLBTQ people.” Ballroom culture is recognizable by two features, “family-like structures, called houses, and the flamboyant competitive balls that they produce” (Arnold and Bailey 2009, 174). Ballroom culture was featured in Jennie Livingston’s (1990) seminal documentary, *Paris is Burning*, and more can be read in Bailey’s (2013) *Butch Queens Up in Pumps: Gender, Performance, and Ballroom Culture in Detroit*.

serves as an important site where youth can safely explore their identities as queer and trans; however, many youth in her study feel invisibilized in the Castro because of their age and gender. Despite this, Reck (2009, 232) states that, “hanging out in a gay space offers them safety as queer youth and the opportunity to form community with other young gay and transpeople [sic].” Reck (2009, 232) acknowledges the significance of kinship for LGBTQ homeless youth, explaining that for the trans women in her study, spending time with others who can relate to their particular experiences is critical for surviving homelessness. Notably, this is rooted in the Castro; as Reck (2009, 235) explains, one participant “became comfortable with her trans identity through being involved in her Castro clique” (Reck 2009, 235). This implies that queer urban space holds significance in its ability to cultivate queer and trans kinship (through Reck’s choice of ‘clique’²³ to describe these social networks), which in turn supports vulnerable LGBTQ people. For the remainder of this chapter I explore the ways in which queer kinship is both mobilized and foreclosed for homeless LGBTQ2 youth in Toronto’s CWV.

Mainstream Economy of the Church-Wellesley Village

The CWV is saturated with a diverse array of businesses, including bars, restaurants and cafes, retail, clubs, banks, interior decorating, legal services, and more (Nash 2013a). The

²³ The term clique implies a tight, closed, and exclusive circle of friends, which, as described earlier, can serve as a survival strategy for marginalized youth. These tightly bound communities can be particularly important for trans women, who experience disproportionate levels of discrimination and social/economic vulnerability (Aizura 2014). However, clique also holds a pejorative connotation, signaling feelings of exclusivity and judgment that are often associated with bullying in young peoples’ social groups. Consequently, I describe these networks as kinship, rather than cliques, to avoid the negative association of this term.

CWVBIA lists 108²⁴ active members on their website; of these businesses, five are identified as arts and culture, 22 are retail, 24 are food and dining, 45 are listed as services²⁵, and 12 are entertainment (bars and clubs). Recognizable chain franchises can be observed while walking along Church Street, as the village is home to six retail chains and nine dining chains; however, the majority of businesses are smaller and locally owned (Table 4). Of the 108 BIA members, only 36 (30%) have rainbow²⁶ decorations displayed as semblance of catering to the LGBTQ community and being part of the neighbourhood. This rainbow imagery varies tremendously, including differently sized flags hanging outside of buildings, rainbow imagery in business logos and window advertisements, small and large rainbow stickers of diverse designs, and rainbow paraphernalia in display windows (Table 5; Figures 19-21).

Table 4: Businesses in the Church-Wellesley Village (2018)	
Chains	Independent Businesses
Baskin Robbins	Church St. Garage Bar
Freshii	Fabarnak
Hero Certified Burgers	Fresh Burger on Church
North of Brooklyn Pizzeria	FUEL+
Pizza Nova	Fushimi
Pizza Pizza	Ghazale Restaurant
Second Cup	Ginger
Starbucks	Hair of the Dog
Subway	Indian Roti House

²⁴ This number is subject to change frequently, as I have personally observed several businesses close throughout my observations of the CWV.

²⁵ The category of services includes eye care, banks, non-profit organizations, hair salons, medical providers, schools, and city services. It is unclear whether or not all of those listed under this category are actual members of the BIA, as many of them are not businesses or for-profit ventures.

²⁶ The rainbow flag was designed in 1977 by Gilbert Baker, a gay activist and drag queen in the U.S. Originally the flag contained eight strips of colours; as Grovier (June 14 2016) explains, “A band of hot pink (representing sexuality) ran across the top of the flag in the original scheme, followed by red (which stood for life), then by orange (for healing), yellow (sunlight), green (nature), turquoise (magic), indigo (serenity), and violet (spirit) at the bottom.” The flag was first displayed in San Francisco in June of 1978, and became more widely used as a symbol of the LGBTQ community as gay activism in the U.S. grew.

The Beer Store	Juice Box
David's Tea	Kawa Sushi
Freedom Mobile	Kintaro Izakaya
Hasty Market	O'Grady's Restaurant
Love Shop	Pusateri Fruit
Ottway Herbs & Vitamins Inc.	Sambucas on Church
Rexall	Si Lom Thai Bistro
Stag Shop	Smith
The Body Shop	Tacorrito
The Men's Room	Dudley's Hardware Paint & Décor
The Churchmouse: A Firkin Pub	Eyes on Church Optical
Wine Rack	Feed Me More Pet Foods
	Glad Day Bookshop
	Ladybug Florist in the Village
	Maple Leaf Convenience Store
	Mr. Tobacconists
	Out on the Street Inc.
	The Shoe Loft
	Wellesley Convenience
	Akasha Art Projects Inc
	Buddies in Bad Times Theatre
	Canadian Sculpture Centre
	Black Eagle
	Boutique Bar
	Crews and Tangos
	Erotico
	Flash on Church
	The Lodge
	Pegasus Bar
	Steamworks Baths Toronto
	Woody's

Table 5: Rainbow Imagery Present in Businesses

Business	Chain (yes/no)	Rainbow Description
BMO	Yes	Very prominent rainbow stickers covering two large windows
Church Bella Variety	No	Medium-sized rainbow flag outside
Church Bistro 555	No	Logo designed with rainbow
Church Street Espresso	No	Small rainbow on one sign
Church Street Garage		Small rainbow in window
Downtown Animal Hospital	No	Rainbow flag outside

Feed Me More		Rainbow paraphernalia
Flash		Two large rainbow flags outside
Flight Centre		Sign in window with rainbow design
Fortune and Strength		Very subtle sign in window
Fox and Fiddle		2 medium-sized flags outside
Freshii	Yes	Rainbow stickers in shape of food
Glad Day Bookshop	No	Small rainbow sticker on front door
Hasty Market		Advertisements with rainbows
Hero Certified Burgers	Yes	Very prominent rainbow stickers along windows
Indian Roti		Rainbow on sign outside
Maple Leaf Convenience	No	Several rainbow stickers in windows
Meds Express Pharmacy		Rainbow paraphernalia in display window
Mr. Tobacco		Rainbow paraphernalia inside and outside
North of Brooklyn Pizzeria	Yes	Very subtle rainbow sticker on door
O'Grady's		Medium-sized rainbow flag outside
Ottway Herbalist	Yes	Large rainbow flag
Out on the Street	No	Logo designed with rainbow, large rainbow flag outside
Pizza Pizza	Yes	Very prominent rainbow painted on outside of building
Pusaterri		Small sticker with rainbow on it
RBC		Very prominent rainbow stickers along outside of building
Reserved Zip Car spots in Church Street parking lot	Yes	Logos designed with rainbow
Stag Shop	Yes	Logo designed with rainbow, large rainbow flag inside
Starbucks	Yes	Medium-sized rainbow flag outside
Tacorrito	No	Small rainbow sticker on front door
TD Bank	Yes	Rainbow art in display window
The Body Shop	Yes	Logo designed with rainbow
The New Leaf	No	Rainbow paraphernalia in display window
Vape to Vape		Small rainbow flag inside, rainbow painted on window
Village Pharmacy		Logo designed with rainbow
Well-good Pharmacy		Advertisements with rainbows
Wellesley Manor	No	Small flag hanging from window



Figure 19: Rainbow flag in Starbucks by Tony (Interview – January 27, 2017)



Figure 20: Rainbow symbology in the Bank of Montreal by Joey and Yumi (Interview – May 12, 2017)



Figure 21: Rainbow imagery at the Village Pharmacy by Skylar (Interview – May 5, 2017)

As described in the previous chapter, in my interview of Grace and Max, the Executive Director and Vice Chair of the CWVBIA Board, they emphasize that the role of the BIA is to sustain and generate new business in the area, rather than to be involved in local LGBTQ politics. Grace and Max explain that any business located in a commercial property within the BIA's limits is automatically enrolled into the BIA; thus, while there is no qualifier for a business to be LGBTQ-friendly, the CWVBIA assumes that owners, managers, and employees will be aligned with the LGBTQ community, based on their decision to be located in the area. It is, consequently, the choice of each business owner

to place rainbow imagery in/around their business, similar to other Toronto BIAs, such as West Queen West (Bain, Payne, and Isen 2015, 431). Additionally, the CWVBIA has no expectations for any businesses to visibly promote themselves as LGBTQ-friendly with the use of rainbow imagery. Apart from these businesses, Church Street is decorated with creative rainbow pillars and rainbow-marked street signs, lampposts with rainbow signs identifying the village, and rainbows painted on the street at the intersections of Church Street with Alexander and Isabella Streets (Figures 22-25).



Figure 22: Creative rainbow pillar on Church Street (by author 2018)



Figure 23: Rainbow signs affixed to lampposts along Church Street (by author 2018)



Figure 24: Rainbow street signs by Tyrell (Interview – June 20, 2017)



Figure 25: Rainbow intersection of Church and Alexander Streets (by author 2017)

Bain et al. (2015, 432) describe that in the queer(ing) West Queen West area of the city, branding queerness with rainbow markers is a strategic, informal means of “re-imagin[ing], re-narrat[ing] and re-territorializ[ing]” space into a queer neighbourhood. Similarly, in the CWV rainbow imagery visibly denotes the area’s queerness and queer friendliness, rendering it simultaneously distinct from spaces without this queer symbolism, and connected to other spaces and communities that claim queerness. While rainbow symbolism provides an illusory idyllic narrative of inclusion, it also invites alternative queer geographies and temporalities by enabling queerly marked spaces to exist as both timeless and of a certain era, as well as spatially present, yet geographically mobile. However, it is unclear whether this imagery is, perhaps, merely an illusory idyllic

narrative of inclusion, or as Bain et al. (2015) suggest more of a marketing strategy to attract business, as youth did not seem to hold any significant meaning of, or pay any attention to, rainbow symbolism.

When interviewing queer and trans employees of non-profit organizations in and around the CWV, many individuals reflected critically about the strong presence of consumerism in the area. Kusha (Interview – January 31, 2017), a Brown, trans masculine employee at SOY, explains,

[The village is] becoming more and more gentrified, and the landscape has turned into this richer white gay men [sic] who are basically able to afford those spaces there. And it used to be that you would see a lot of people of color, marginalized communities who are queer or trans in that space, and now it's changed. A lot of the businesses have changed and frankly not everyone in the queer community or trans community can afford those things...

For Kusha and many other service providers, the commodification of the area is strongly linked to whiteness and masculinity, and consequently the exclusions that class produces along racialized and gendered lines. Other social workers and service providers share Kusha's feelings that the commodification of the CWV serves as a barrier for queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth experiencing homelessness. As a lead service provider for LGBTQ2 homeless youth states, "I think that if they [homeless youth] know they're going out to a bar and they're going to spend money, then [the village] is a place they'll go. I think otherwise it's not a place for them to hang out because it has this spending money thing attached to it. Like, if they're going to go there, they're going to spend money, and they often don't have a lot of extra money" (Interview – Anonymous October 24, 2016). According to this service provider, the need to spend money in order to access and be present within spaces in the CWV can put these youth in further precarious

financial circumstances. Similarly, another employee (Interview – King, February 24, 2017) at SOY asserts that this cost of community effectively bankrupts low-income and homeless youth:

The problem is that it's all about money, so some of the youth who don't have a lot of money or any money find themselves not able to socialize in the ways that they'd like to. So the prices of things are a challenge. A big challenge. And then just having an income at all is a challenge, so when you do get money, you know, they're desperate to be involved socially with each other that they'll spend the rent money just to be out there, right?

Thus, the mainstream pink economy of the CWV is observed as harmful for youth by service providers, not only because it limits their ability to socialize in the built environment, but also because of the ways in which it maintains their poverty. Through this lens, the saturation of capital in the village positions spatialized queerness not as a means of support and community, but as a tool of sustaining the disenfranchisement of some of the most marginal members of the LGBTQ2 community. While this is certainly an element of consumer-based spaces, in the following section I provide evidence indicating that homeless LGBTQ2 youth are not merely disenfranchised through poverty in commodified queer urban spaces. Instead, by observing the kinship formations that are anchored and sustained in commercial spaces within the CWV, I illustrate that homeless LGBTQ2 youth use commodified queer urban spaces to circulate resources amongst themselves as alternative economies of survival, as well as the ways in which certain youth are further marginalized in these spaces based on gender.

Alternative Queer Economies of Kinship

Kinship networks that are fostered by youth are entirely dependent on their specific life circumstances and past experiences, such as substance use, means of earning money, where they stay for shelter, if they access group-oriented services, and their background. For youth who use substances, kinship networks are often larger and based on accessing and using substances with people who are trustworthy to not steal their belongings or pose a threat to their wellbeing while being high. Youth who have been living in Toronto for a longer period of time also have more expansive kinship networks, while youth who are new to the city primarily have smaller kinship networks. Apart from having long-term romantic relationships or ties with biological family, the majority of youth participants have difficulty maintaining kinship networks over extended periods of time due to their lack of stable housing, which determines how much time they spend in a particular area of the city, and how frequently they can access certain services or spaces where they can foster these kinship networks. Consequently, almost all of these networks are temporary and shifting, as they are based in unsettled moments in youths' lives. Despite this impermanence, many youth share experiences of reconnection with people who used to be more present in their social circles; as a result, some of their kinship networks span a period of years, while others are fairly new. For youth participants, kinship is insecure, malleable, and shifting, heavily dependent upon their current life circumstances and geographic location.

For many of the youth participants who spend time in the CWV, consumer-based spaces serve an important role in fostering the development of chosen kin. Of youth participants who frequent the CWV, they discuss how and why they use certain spaces within the village, and the ways in which they relate to consumer spaces such as bars,

clubs, and bathhouses. During our follow-up interview, Joey, a white gay cis man, shares that he was struggling with substance use at the time of his homelessness, and recounts emotionally painful memories of this time in front of The Beer Store. Despite this, The Beer Store retains a positive affect sustained by a memory of kinship that was fostered during his first night of being homeless. As Joey (Interview – May 12, 2017) tells me, “the first night I ever stayed in a shelter was in the village, and that night I went to The Beer Store with this new friend I made and then got blackout drunk. And it was a great night. And I really, I don’t know, even though it was a bad time in my life it was a really good night.” In spite of his struggle with substance use and the fresh sting of homelessness, which can often be plagued with feelings of isolation, purchasing beer and getting drunk with a new friend offered Joey temporary solace.

Many other youth struggle with the isolation of being homeless; while some are not in touch with their biological families because of traumatic experiences of trans/homophobia, others have minimal relationships with family members. During my walking interview with Jacob (Interview – February 24, 2017), another white gay cis man, he stops to take a picture of the Second Cup, which sits in the heart of the village on Church Street, just south of Wellesley Street, and recounts:

I used to go there because they had wifi. It was one of the only places on the street that had wifi that I could go inside and stay in contact with my family, and stay in contact with people that I had to stay in contact with. And it’s such a welcoming and positive environment, it’s a lot of the older generation that hang out there... So, it feels like a community there. It really does in comparison to a lot of the newer businesses.

As Jacob remembers, when he was homeless he felt welcomed in the Second Cup, and was able to maintain ties with immediate biological family by using their wifi without the

pressure of purchasing something. This was very important for Jacob during this time, not only because it combated the isolation he was experiencing while homeless, but also because it allowed him to retain independence from his family, who were not aware of his homelessness. Jacob was able to maintain ties with members of his family by utilizing a space that felt safe, supportive, and non-judgmental, and also allowed him to feel kinship ties with the broader gay community.

Other youth cultivate and develop kinship networks by using consumer spaces in the CWV. For example, at the time of our interview, Sherry was staying in a shelter very closely situated to the CWV. Sherry, a pansexual cis woman, had decided to stay in Toronto after visiting her brother on her way back to the Kehewin Cree Nation in Alberta. Her older brother, Cameron²⁷, was gay, struggling to find permanent housing, and had been living in Toronto for a longer period of time. In recalling a conversation with her brother, Sherry (Interview – January 31, 2017) tells me, “I think the first place I remember them talking about that Church street was, like, the ‘Gay Ave,’ and I was like, we have to go to Church street! [Laughing] So I go, oh my god, that’s like, the first place I went. I was like, yeah, I was like hitting up Pegasus and all the gay bars, I was like, I just felt so at home. I was like, I have to stay here.” Sherry’s social life and community ties are predominantly fixated in the village through the kinship networks made with her brother and the group ODE, a Two Spirit Indigenous youth group that at times operates

²⁷ Cameron had been interviewed for my research, however he revealed to me halfway through the interview that he was over the age of 30. As a result, his interview cannot be used as part of this study. Cameron passed away a few months after our interview, in March of 2017.

out of the 519. Sherry (Interview – January 31, 2017) speaks about ODE frequently, telling me,

With, you know, 519 and ODE, you know, it definitely made me a lot more comfortable. You know, I finally feel like I'm in a community where, you know, I don't have to be, like, scared or, you know, trying to fit in and trying to be something that I'm not. So, you know, like, yeah, I made a lot of friends there, I volunteer there, I cook during the day time for their events or whatnot. Yeah, so I just got along with everyone so well, they were so welcoming and everything.

For Indigenous queer and Two Spirit youth participants, ODE is an incredibly powerful resource that ties them to their Indigenous histories and identities. As Bradley (Interview – December 8, 2016) explains of the small organization, “you're with your own people... I mean, you're there with queer Native youth. So, you can relate to a lot of the issues that they're dealing with and whatnot, and they try to gear all their programming towards issues that we are dealing with.” Almost every Indigenous youth participant emphasizes that ODE plays a vital role in their lives, and some, such as Sherry and Tyrell, attend their meetings every Friday. Tyrell (Interview – October 19, 2016) tells me about an ODE initiative he is especially excited about where “you get paid to do a presentation for [the] 519... I wanna do mine about the history of the residential school and the Seven Grandfather Teachings.” In addition to creating a safe and validating environment in which Indigenous youth can explore important yet also traumatic topics, ODE serves the crucial role of connecting Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth with each other, fostering a close social circle which is used for emotional affirmation and support. ODE also provides Indigenous youth with Two Spirit history and knowledges – for example, Sherry (Interview – November 7, 2016) recalls that they “had a female elder come in who... identified as being gay, and she, like, sang songs for us and told us a little bit of history

about Two Spirits back in the day. I thought that was awesome.” This kind of connection is crucial for Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth, which Blu (Interview – February 25, 2017), a Métis Two Spirit Elder, argues helps them to “make those connections with people in the city, and... find other youth that are like themselves that are Indigenous, and... form their own support groups.” Such Indigenous-based kinship networks combat the necropolitical, colonial grasps that dictate a disproportionate rate of homelessness, substance use, and suicide amongst Indigenous youth, through the ways in which they help to facilitate the emotional, psychological, and material support of Indigenous youth. Furthermore, connecting Indigenous queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth to Two Spirit histories and cultures combats settler colonial erasure of Two Spiritedness, a consequence of genocidal necropolitical landscapes – or, as Barker (2018) calls, settler deathscapes – which relegated Two Spirit persons and knowledges as excessive and needing of eradication, both through the state (e.g. residential schools) and more mundane forms of violence (e.g. Christian values that demonized non-normative genders and sexualities). When I ask Jennifer (Interview – April 14, 2017) about what it means to have an organization where her transness and Indigeneity are appreciated together, she responds:

...not only does it unveil the questions I have about my own history, it also gives me an understanding on how traditionally my identity was viewed in the culture, which really gave me some insights. I wasn’t really... I guess the closest thing I could say was that I was a part of a white-washed family, so we didn’t really talk about. We didn’t really talk anything about our heritage or history. It was just talking about Christianity, type deal.

Indigenous queer, trans, and Two Spirit kinship combats the necropolitical structure of colonialism, working against the erasure, neglect, and isolation of bare life that has sought to encapsulate Indigenous peoples within Canada. Such kinship formations serve

as another example of the geographies of subaltern survival, as Indigenous queer, trans, and Two Spirit peoples assert themselves within the colonized environments of Toronto, the CWV, and various institutions.

While ODE is an LGBTQ2 organization, its location is not permanently fixed in the village, oscillating between the 519 and an undisclosed location on Front Street, which is not near the CWV. At times, ODE has also sponsored Indigenous-specific events at EYO and the 519, which, as noted in the previous chapter, make the space feel more inclusive and safe for Indigenous youth. Because of this, as well as ODE's limited availability on Friday evenings, some Indigenous youth, like Mak, spend more time in the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, which is also located in downtown Toronto. In addition to these organizations, some Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth like Sherry and Tyrell, who spend time in the village, are able to use the neighbourhood's consumer-based spaces to nurture these bonds and continue spending time together. Sherry and Tyrell both socialize in a bar called Pegasus, located on Church Street in the heart of the CWV (Figure 26).



Figure 26: Pegasus, by Sherry (Interview – January 31, 2017)

Sherry is there frequently with her brother and their friends from ODE, and when I ask her why Pegasus is special to her, she tells me that she always meets new people, and remarks on how friendly people are at that bar. As she (Interview – Sherry, November 7, 2016) emphasizes, “I actually really like going to that bar. Yeah, I usually get my brother, like if I’m not working I’m like, ‘Oh let’s just go play pool.’ People suggest other pool halls but I’m like, “No let’s go to Pegasus.”” The majority of Sherry’s social activity in the village takes place in Pegasus, playing pool and watching *RuPaul’s Drag Race* with her brother, friends, and strangers they meet. Sherry (Interview – November 7, 2016) recalls fond memories of Pegasus with me, sharing, “I witnessed my brother flirt with

[the bartender] a few times, and I thought that was hilarious. [...] And just the atmosphere... the guys there are just, like, oh they're so nice there... every single time I go in there I always end up meeting someone..." Sherry fosters connections in Pegasus, not only meeting new people who are openly queer and do not make assumptions or judgments about her sexual orientation, but also with her family and Indigenous community. Frequenting gay bars in the CWV with her brother Cameron expanded Sherry's social networks when she first moved to Toronto – as she explains, (Interview – Sherry, January 31, 2017), Cameron "[knew] almost everyone in the gay community as far as Two Spirited – as far as all the Native gay people go – so that's pretty much, those are pretty much just the people that I just happened to meet. I don't think I've actually met anyone on my own yet, cause I just kind of met everyone through my brother." By spending time with Cameron and his friends in Pegasus, Sherry has made her own friends, with whom she attends ODE, and reflects that if she had such spaces and communities in Alberta, she would have come out much sooner.

Youth utilize other spaces as well to cultivate important kinship networks that are necessary for their emotional and physical wellbeing. Joey and TOXCX, a couple, tell me about the many hours they used to spend in Steamworks together (Figure 27).



Figure 27: Steamworks, by Joey and Yumi (Interview – May 12, 2017)

They reflect about pooling their money together in order to use Steamworks as a place to shower and sleep, which allowed them to give each other more emotional care as they tried to decrease, and eventually end, their use of crystal methamphetamine. Crews and Tangos, a gay club on Church Street featuring drag shows and dancing, is also noted as a place where participants spend time together, cultivating a social life and feeling part of the larger community. Tony, a Brown cis gay man undertaking a refugee claim from Egypt, spoke about Crews and Tangos as “where a lot of refugee claimants and refugees come to hang out” (Interview – November 7, 2016). Tony also discusses how he and

other refugees take photographs at Crews and Tangos as evidence of their involvement in Toronto's LGBTQ community for their refugee applications, because Crews and Tangos is such a staple in the village and is visibly queer, due to the mural painted on its building (Figure 28).



Figure 28: Crews and Tangos, by Jordan and Mikey (Interview – April 19, 2017)

As well, Skylar and Chocolate Baby Daddy separately recount recent experiences of going to Crews and Tangos with other youth living at Sprott House, as it helps break the isolation of moving into a new environment. Thus, consumer spaces in the village help some homeless LGBTQ2 youth nourish and maintain kinship networks initialized at these different organizations.

No Femmes: Transmisogyny in the Church-Wellesley Village

While some youth find opportunities to build kinship in commodified spaces in the CWV, there are exceptions to this experience. As noted, several youth participants avoid the CWV altogether because of their struggle with substance use, however the lack of connection and kinship in consumer spaces also exists along the lines of gender, specifically amongst trans women and femme-identified gender expansive youth. Jennifer (Interview – April 14, 2017), an Indigenous and Latina trans woman, tells me that, “if you’re just trans or even forbid that you’re also homeless, um, basically you just get, you just get ignored with like a possible judgey stare on like, why you’re taking up space on the sidewalk type deal.” Seth and Bailey, two white non-binary youth, share with me that they do not fit in with the CWV because they are not gay cis men. Many other youth reflect on the ways in which cis gay masculinity is centered in the CWV; even Jacob (Interview – December 8, 2016), a cis white man, reflects that, “gay men is [*sic*] very upfront in this neighbourhood. I don’t see anything else, like I don’t see anything that represents other groups of people in the village in general. Like it’s very, like when I think anywhere in the village I think of gay men.” For almost every trans and non-binary youth participant, the lack of representation of any identity other than gay white cis men makes them feel out of place and isolated from the community.

Elements of the built environment of the CWV further these feelings of non-belonging. For example, Catherine brought me to the Church Street Mural Project – sponsored by the Bank of Montreal – with images of various buttons collected at the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (Figures 29-30). The mural faces west at the intersection of Church and Wellesley with an unobstructed view, so that many people walking from the Wellesley subway station will see it. This mural is photographed by

[illegible]

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Figure 30: Church Street Mural Project, by Catherine (Interview – February 6, 2017)

As explained by Trans Student Educational Resources, adding ‘ed’ to an unchanging adjective like transgender describes a temporary condition, turning this descriptor into a verb (Pan, <http://www.transstudent.org/gendergrammar>). For many within the trans community, this grammatical particularity has a history of being used by medical practitioners and psychologists to treat transgender people as suffering from medical and psychological conditions, and as such, it holds demeaning connotations for many trans people. Thus, although these images in the mural are representative of Toronto’s LGBTQ history, the only pin representing trans people has outdated and offensive language on it, rendering this entrance into the CWV an uncomfortable reminder of the trauma many trans people experience at the hands of family, friends, and medical professionals.

The mural touches on a more deeply rooted problem of the presence and force of transmisogyny in the CWV. Transmisogyny can be understood as the disproportionate ways in which trans women and trans feminine people are targeted by transphobia due to their unique position “at the intersection of multiple binary gender-based forms of prejudice: transphobia, cissexism, and misogyny” (Serano 2007, 12). Transmisogyny recognizes the rampant, widespread and readily accepted forms of transphobia targeting trans women not only through tremendous rates of violence against trans women and trans feminine people, but also the ways in which “our expressions of femininity and our desire to be female... become sensationalized, sexualized, and trivialized by others” (Serano 2007, 14). Alternatively, for trans men and trans masculine people it is not the desire to be male, but the act of breaking gender rules, that is more often the source of transphobia (Serano 2007). Transmisogyny exists on multiple socio-political scales, and through the experiences of my youth participants I argue that transmisogyny cannot be ignored as a fundamental element of the CWV.

Transmisogyny is exhibited amongst what both cis participants share with me, as well as the direct accounts of transphobia expressed by trans and gender expansive youth. Tyrell, a gay cis man, recounts a story of one of his trans feminine friends being assaulted in the CWV, and informs me that he started to spend less time there after his friend’s experience. On a walking interview with Austin (Interview – February 1, 2017), a youth who recently began exploring non-binary identity, they point to a storefront which used to be a small market, explaining that, “back in the day all the drag queens used to go in there, so we used to call it Tranny Mart, which is really, you know?” While they express shame at the offensive language they previously used to describe trans feminine people,

Austin's honesty reveals the subtle and pervasive forms of transmisogyny that exist within the LGBTQ community, and the particular ways in which non-trans youth are aware of transmisogyny in the CWV.

Trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth recount many transphobic experiences they have in the CWV, and hold strongly negative opinions about the neighbourhood. Gabriel (Interview – December 14, 2016), a brown, non-binary and femme-identified youth, reflects that, "It's like femininity in the queer culture is kind of like, devalued in a way, because it's not being seen as you being a man... it's really hard, especially because the oversexualizing, kind of predators and that experience, it doesn't do you well in the community." For Gabriel, not only do they feel that their femininity is not supported in the CWV, but also that it makes them more vulnerable to sexual harassment and stalking in that particular area of Toronto. Mikey (Interview – April 14, 2017), a Black, femme-identified non-binary youth, echoes these feelings, insisting to Yolanna, a Black trans woman in our group interview, that Steamworks "[is] not femme friendly, it's not femme friendly. Trust me, you don't want to go there, honey." When I prompt Mikey (Interview – April 14, 2017) further about this statement, they explain:

Yeah, no the village just needs to be more femme friendly... to be dressed as a girl in a gay club, or like anything femme is so unwelcomed in the village.... Almost anywhere in the village you can't really dress femme unless you're one of the drag queens or you're a superstar.... And then when that happens it's usually they try to proposition you, which is okay with some people, but certain times you just want to hang out and go to the club, you know?

Likewise, Sidney, a white trans woman, expresses that she does not feel comfortable in the village because of her trans femininity. As she shares (Interview – Sidney, April 3,

2017), “sometimes I just don’t, like when I was presenting as female, I don’t know, I just didn’t feel comfortable there... It’s like, when Church Street is predominantly gay and lesbian, you know, I don’t really belong there, right? Cause I don’t identify with either one of those...” Yet while trans feminine youth express anxiety about safety in general, as well as being harassed, stalked, and misgendered as drag queens in the CWV, only a few trans masculine youth reflect on transphobia in the village. Sidney shares with me that her trans masculine friends feel a stronger sense of belonging in the CWV because they are more desired, considered sexier, and generally ‘fit in’ in ways that offer them more safety in, and access to, cis gay culture. Skylar (Interview – April 14, 2017), a brown trans masculine youth, poignantly explains to me that, “...I’ve noticed that when I dress more masculine people don’t say anything, like, they see my chest and they see if I have facial hair or whatever.... But the one time I decided to dress feminine... and this guy like got on the street car with me, got off, he was staring at me the whole time, and he followed me all the way to CAMH [Center for Addiction and Mental Health].” Skylar’s reflection reveals the uneven ways in which gender privilege informs trans and gender expansive experiences in Toronto and the CWV; people who are perceived and read as masculine are questioned and harassed less frequently than those who are perceived and read as trans feminine.

The ways in which trans misogyny informs the exclusion of trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth is inherently linked to hegemonic masculinity embedded within the CWV, which affords masculine-presenting people a greater sense of belonging to that space by providing safety and recognition. As theorized by Connell (1995), hegemonic masculinity is the way in which masculinity is created and maintained

as a dominant force over femininity, dictating gendered practices and relations that inform a hierarchy of masculinity, with cultural direction about appropriate expressions of masculinity that constitute idealized masculine embodiment. Bain (2009, 487) summarizes that hegemonic masculinity establishes “rational, middle-class, and heterosexual masculinity [as] the normative standard or the dominant form of masculinity against which other forms of masculinity are subordinated.” Yet, hegemonic masculinity is not only informed by masculinity, and as such it is useful to apply Schippers’ (2007) logic of gender hegemony to further explore the elasticity of hegemonic masculinity. Schippers expands on Connell’s argument to discuss gender hegemony as a tool that incorporates femininity, in addition to masculinity, in order to develop and sustain masculine privilege. As Schippers (2007, 93) explains,

Masculinity and femininity... provide a rationale... for organizing social practice that, over time as recurring patterns of practice, become, produce, and legitimate male dominant interpersonal power relations, a gendered division of labor... and so on. Thus, masculinity and femininity are hegemonic precisely in the ideological work they do to legitimate and organize what men actually do to dominate women individually or as a group.

According to Schippers (2007, 93), hegemonic femininity and masculinity both hierarchize gender as it intersects with sexuality, race, class, ability, and other social markers; in other words, hegemonic gender is intersectional in its domination. Schippers (2007, 100) also emphasizes that a framework of gender hegemony allows for an analysis of how gendered inequality and power manifests in the lives of trans and gender-unintelligible people. I argue that in addition to this, a framework of hegemonic gender opens up possibilities of understanding how certain trans bodies are afforded partial entry into gendered hierarchies, in ways that (re)produce arenas of oppression and privilege.

Schippers (2007, 96) argues that “there are no masculine characteristics that are stigmatized as contaminating or as subordinate,” implying that all expressions of masculinity are afforded a superior position in gendered hierarchies. Importantly, this does not ignore the complex position that trans or female masculinities inhabit in this hierarchy, but rather recognizes the ever-expanding nature of hegemonic masculinity that will continue to accommodate more diverse forms of masculinity in order to sustain male and masculine dominance.

As such, it is not surprising that hegemonic masculinity expands to include forms of queer masculinity as part of a gendered hierarchy (Brewis and Jack 2010; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). While relationships between trans men and hegemonic masculinity have yet to be explored, Brewish and Jack (2010, 256) elaborate on Connell and Messerschmidt’s (2005) argument that certain gay male identities have been cultivated into a hegemonic homosexuality, which “‘cleanses’ the gay male identity of sexuality, pointing instead to their supposedly particular aesthetic, their professional occupations and their accomplished, urbane ‘knowingness’.” Brewish and Jack argue that this hegemonic homosexuality is visible in the imagery of hypermasculinity that is present throughout mainstream LGBTQ culture, reaffirming the power that symbols wield within communities. Symbols, as framed by Cohen (1985, 14), are understood to “give us the capacity to make meaning” and create cultures informed by combinations and arrays of discourses. As Cohen (1985) explains, these cultures then produce sets of norms, values, and codes, which become spatially internalized. Within the LGBTQ community, symbols of hegemonic masculinity are presented through the predominance of hypermasculine cis male bodies in both large-scale productions of queerness, such as Pride and Mardi Gras

parades, and smaller-scale manifestations of queerness, such as night clubs (Brewish and Jack 2010; Kates 2004). Consequently, these images and symbols of hegemonic masculinity create (mainstream) and homonormative queer cultural values, “reassert[ing] traditional roles which subordinate women to men” (Brewish and Jack 2010, 261) despite that queer masculinities may still be positioned as subordinate to heterosexual masculinities. In the built environment, then, hegemonic masculinities facilitate a symbolic and spatial recognition and inclusion of bodies that register under patriarchal values, while simultaneously erasing feminized bodies.

These symbols of hegemonic masculinity are certainly present in the CWV; for example, while the area’s bars and entertainment are not explicitly catered to men, the majority of these venues concentrate on attracting gay men, whether by emphasizing elements of gay culture such as drag queens (Figure 31), or featuring nude or scantily clad, muscled cis men in their advertising (Figures 32-33).



Figure 31: Advertising for drag queen-related events at Flash, by Skylar (Interview – May 5, 2017)

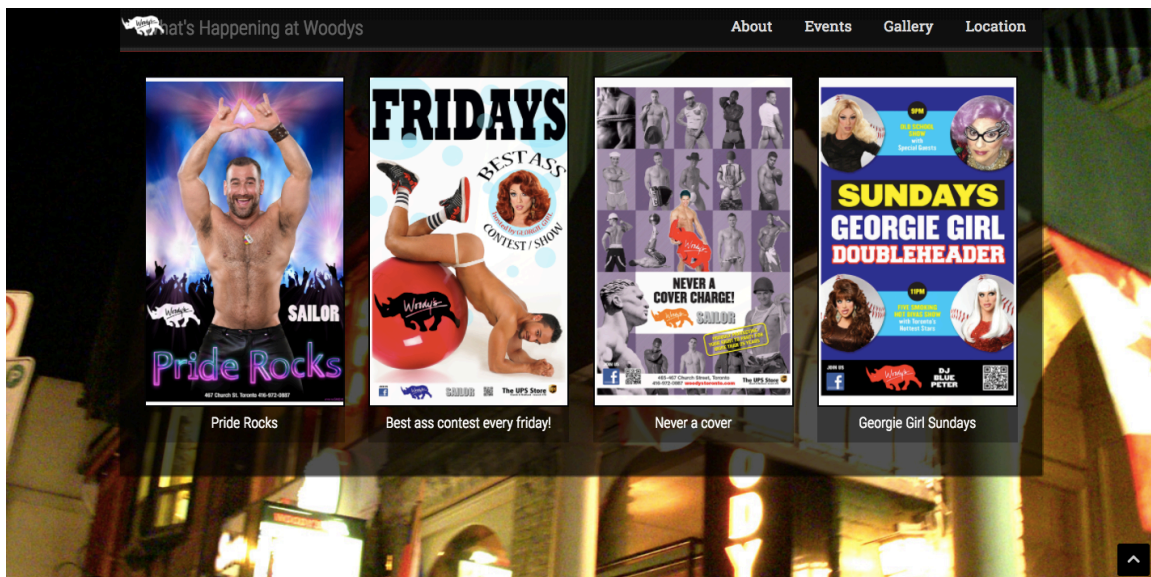


Figure 32: Events at Woody's, advertised on their website (2018)

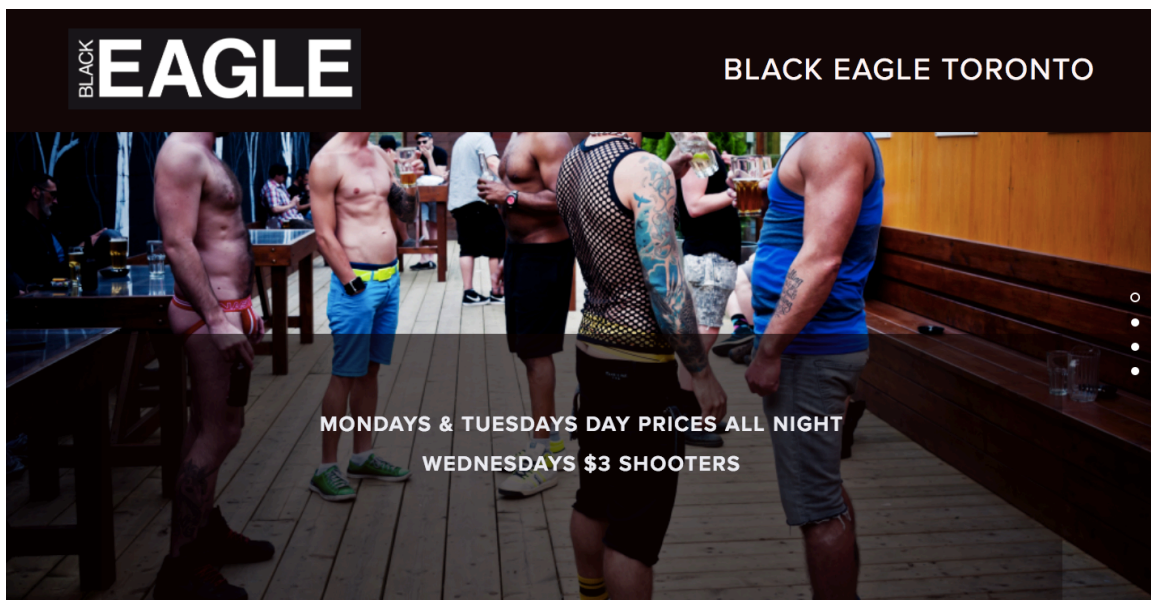


Figure 33: Homepage of Black Eagle's website (2018)

Other avenues for advertising, such as billboards on Church Street, do not often feature bodies. However, when advertisements do feature people – such as Steamworks' advertisement during Pride 2017 – they display nude, muscular, and masculine men (Figure 34). These forms of imagery (re)center and project masculine people as bodies

which rightfully inhabit the CWV, rendering them appropriate and ‘in place’ while invisibilizing elements of femininity or gender diversity.



Figure 34: Billboard ad for Steamworks on Church Street, by Tyrell (Interview – June 20, 2017)

Within the imagery of the village’s consumer-based spaces, femininity is predominantly represented through drag queens, which can repel trans women from these spaces due to historical tensions between gay men, drag queens, and trans women regarding transphobia within gay male optics of femininity and transness²⁸ (Moreman and McIntosh 2010; Namaste 1996; Valentine 2007). By representing femininity through drag queens, certain standards of feminine beauty and appearance are upheld that often come to be projected onto trans women in negative ways. Some trans feminine participants comment on this issue, sharing that they avoid the area because they can be

²⁸ There is also a rich history of community sharing between trans women and drag queens, however, that is beyond the scope of this chapter.

misgendered as drag queens, and feel that they will be outright rejected as trans women while drag queens are hailed as celebrities in the village.

There are, however, alternative forms of representation in the built environment of the CWV. Several murals in the area depict a tremendously diverse image of the queer community, projected visibly on the north and south sides of the 519, exposed walls of a few bars and restaurants, and one other tucked in an alley behind The Beer Store (Figures 35-36). The artwork of these murals presents women, femme-presenting people, and feminized body parts (e.g., polished nails) as not only part of the LGBTQ community, but as necessarily embedded within the spatialized queer community of the CWV. Almost every auto-photographic walking interview yielded at least one photograph of one of these murals, most frequently those in Figures 37 and 38. These murals offset the predominance of hypermasculine imagery by pressing feminine symbolism into the built environment, serving to counterbalance the symbolic influence of hegemonic masculinity into that space.



Figure 35: Mural behind The Beer Store on Church Street, by Rhys (Interview – January 26, 2017)



Figure 36: Mikey standing in front of a mural on the north side of Hair of the Dog, on the corner of Church Street and Wood Street, by Jordan (Interview – April 19, 2017)



Figure 37: Mural on the north side of the 519, by Jordan and Mikey (Interview – April 19, 2017)



Figure 38: Mural on the south side of the 519 (by author 2017)

The most femme-centered of these murals is located behind The Beer Store (Figure 35), depicting a colourful, festive queer moment of drinking and socializing, where the side of the bar reads “The Manatee,” a gay male dance club that existed in the 1970s. Yet despite these symbols of femininity, the experiences of trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive participants indicate that they still do not feel a sense of belonging in the CWV, and that this iconic queer space in Toronto is not intended for them. Perhaps the state of this particular mural is representative of masculinity’s hold on the CWV, with its chipped paint, images obscured by graffiti, and its desertion in the alleyway behind The Beer Store where few observe it. As the mural depicting the largest number of

women and femmes in the CWV, its neglect is startling when compared to the attention and presence of the other murals.

This nagging non-belonging for trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth necessitates a larger inquiry into feminized perceptions and experiences of (little) safety within queer urban spaces. The relationship between women and safety is of interest for feminist geographers, who debate understandings of safety and fear of crime within urban space, and illustrate the complex relationships between safety and fear, and power and identity. As Pain (2001, 911) argues, approaches to fear and safety in the city require an intersectional approach in order to disrupt dichotomies of victim/offender or fearful/feared, in particular to dissect the entanglements of race, class, and gender in notions of safety and fear (see also Bondi and Rose 2003). More research is needed into the reasons why trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth do not feel safe, and experience isolation, in the CWV. While the symbolic forms of hegemonic masculinity in the CWV are being minimally challenged, it is not enough to overhaul the tremendous forms of trans- and femme-phobia that play out in the village. As my participants make clear, trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth cannot find home in the CWV, nor do they feel safe or welcome enough to nurture kinship networks in that space. Thus, feeling unsafe directly impacts the ways in which trans feminine and femme youth cultivate and establish kinship by maintaining isolation from their queer and trans counterparts, and sustaining their already harsh separateness from the broader LGBTQ community.

As kinship is vital to the strategies of subaltern survival of homeless youth, trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth are being severely

disenfranchised by the unrelenting transmisogyny in Toronto's most iconic queer space. Making spaces more welcoming and safe for trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth should be of concern to the broader Toronto community, and more must be done within Toronto's queer environments to represent, include, and affirm trans femininities and femme identities within the city's urban fabric, both symbolically and practically. It is possible that trans feminine inclusivity may be dependent upon the area's non-profit organizations, rather than market-oriented businesses, to explicitly address transphobia and trans-misogyny within the neighbourhood more broadly. One white trans woman, Catherine, cites programming at the Sherbourne Health Center – which houses SOY – as a means of facilitating kinship with the trans community. As she explains (Interview – Catherine, October 6, 2016), “[the] Sherbourne Health Centre allowed me to... meet up with other trans-identified youth who ended up showing me these other resources that I had never been made aware of prior. And once I found them, I started making friends at those locations....” Feeling safe enough to spend time in an organizational space rooted in trans inclusivity allows for Catherine to build her kinship networks, and simultaneously maintain a net of resources, a geography of subaltern survival, she uses to survive. However, it is also important to consider the political power of representation to foster social inclusion; for example, how might it impact trans feminine and femme youth and their feelings of inclusion in the CWV if a femme-centered mural, like in Figure 35, was more visibly present in the village? Or, perhaps, if there was more representation of diverse expressions of femininity that extended beyond drag queen performances? Hall (1997, 249) reminds us of the “regime of representation” and the role of power in how imagery can pathologize, fetishize, and fragment Othered

communities. As representation profoundly dictates boundaries and exclusions for marginalized peoples, these forms of trans feminine representation must be seriously considered in the prospect of cultivating geographies of subaltern survival for trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth that extend beyond the individual, to a collective responsibility amongst LGBTQ2 communities to dismantle and eradicate transmisogyny from queer spaces.

Political Possibilities of Consumer Spaces and Alternative Economies of Survival

Given the character of the CWV's mainstream economy, it is striking to see some LGBTQ2 youth utilizing consumer spaces and the ways in which they extend queer kinship into the realm of capital. Nurturing kinship in these spaces contradicts scholarship that primarily describes queer urban spaces as solely exclusive of youth based on age, low income and/or homelessness, gender, and race (Irazábal and Huerta 2015; Reck 2009). However, as capitalism induces its own contradictions, it is not surprising that consumer spaces are also used to foster conditions outside of a drive for consumption. Drawing on Harvey, Knopp (1992, 661) explains that spatial politics are "on the one hand more subservient to and dependent upon money and exchange relations than ever before, and at the same time '[allow] all kinds of otherness to take on an independent existence and to survive' [Harvey, 1990, page 33]." Late stage capitalism requires these alternative use values to emerge in capitalist spaces in order for exchange value to be preserved and enhanced (Harvey 1989). As a result, room exists within these commodified queer spaces for queer social reproduction to manifest in the shape of kinship, which, as articulated earlier and through my research, serves as a critical survival

strategy in combating alienation and aiding the emotional and physical wellbeing of homeless queer and trans youth.

J. K. Gibson-Graham (2006) remind us that the queering of capitalism requires that capitalism be re-theorized, and in doing so, reveals a politics of possibility by illuminating the alternative economies that exist within, and interact with, capitalism. As they write, there is a “tendency to constitute ‘the’ economy as a singular capitalist system or space rather than as a zone of cohabitation and contestation among multiple economic forms...” (Gibson-Graham 2006, xxi). This inclination forecloses the possibilities that already exist within capitalism to foster alternative economies, ways of living, and co-opting of capitalism for alternative goals. However, if we theorize capitalism differently, a political imaginary emerges that re-imagines the role of place as a site of becoming, and cultivates subjects who can imagine and enact new economies and politics beyond capitalism. Through this lens, nurturing kinship networks – friends and community who become family through the process of likeness and mutual support – in commodified spaces allows for queer kinship economies to emerge as forms of survival that are specific to individual youth. By re-theorizing consumer-based places and practices through Gibson-Graham’s framework, it is possible to witness these queer kinship economies as not only a geography of subaltern survival, but also as alternatives to singular visions of how capitalism operates in queer urban spaces.

Viewing these queer kinship networks as political acts of subaltern survival also expands notions of queer urban citizenship, allowing us to consider how nurturing kinship in unexpected places is a political act that reclaims, and ultimately changes the value of, urban space. I have provided examples of Indigenous youth cultivating

Indigenous-specific social and emotional resources within particular spaces in the CWV, such as Pegasus, and refugee queer youth fostering politically-relevant social and emotional resources in Crews and Tangos. The kinship amongst Indigenous queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth in particular alters the spatial value of the CWV by investing Indigenous emotional, cultural, and material resources into a capitalist and settler space. This combats a sustained violence of colonial necropolitics, specifically the erasure of Indigenous cultures, histories, and identities, by reproducing culture as a shared resource, and providing holistic support while struggling with homelessness, queer/transphobia, and other hardships in the city. While maintaining culture is a crucial element to sustaining Indigenous peoples, lives, and communities (Cardinal 2006), Blu (Interview – February 25, 2017) explains to me that queer, Two Spirit, and trans Indigenous young people are particularly vulnerable to being isolated from their Indigeneity due to the complexity of colonialism, Christianity, and homophobia/transphobia. Thus, Indigenous queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth enact subaltern citizenship through their kinship, reclaiming the urban as Indigenous and actively pushing against the urban as a Settler space. This Indigenous queer urban citizenship repurposes consumer-based queer urban space as a means to sustain connection to Indigenous cultures and heritage, while also affirming queer and Two Spirit identities. It also contributes to mounting excesses of bare life, through the cultivation of political and agentic subjectivities that are manifesting their own qualified lives in the face of sustained colonial necropolitics. In these ways, this politics of possibility also provides openings for a continued legacy of resistance against colonialism by Indigenous youth (Burman 2016; Friedel 2011). More generally, youth alter the spatial value of the CWV through their unique social positions and needs by

investing emotional, cultural, and material resources into capitalist spaces. Cultivating these kinship economies allows for homeless queer youth to build their own sources of knowledge, resource sharing, and networks of survival in a space that centralizes their own experiences and needs.

However, there are also explicit ways in which this politics of possibility and geography of survival, grounded in commodified spaces of the CWV, is foreclosed to femme-identified gender expansive and trans feminine youth. Youth who feel an affinity with these consumer spaces, and the CWV more generally, include cis women, cis men, and some trans men, while trans women, some non-binary and trans men, and femme-identified gender expansive youth feel unsafe, hyper-visible, and Othered from the community. Given the ways in which gay masculinity is found to isolate and exclude cis women (Ghaziani 2014; Podmore 2006; Podmore and Chamberland 2015), it is surprising to find that Sherry, a young, Indigenous, queer cis woman, was more readily constructing kinship in places that cater to gay men. While this may signify a shift in community openness to cis women's presence in predominantly cis gay men's spaces, one can also posit that Sherry is more comfortable in those spaces because her kinship network is all entirely made of gay cis men and rooted in her brother's already-established connections within the gay community. This could offer her easier entry into, and comfort in, gay cis men's spaces, and simultaneously render gay cis men more comfortable with her presence than if she is with other women or non-binary people. It is difficult to make conclusions about cis women's uses of the CWV because of the small amount of cis women youth participants. However, the higher number of trans feminine

and femme-identified gender expansive youth participants, and the stark contrast between their and all other youth participants' experiences, reveals the deeply rooted forms of transmisogyny and cissexism in the CWV, and subsequently the toxic and precarious environment they create for trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth.

The CWV exists as a place of fear that is unique to trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth experiencing homelessness, turning it into an environment that they either avoid entirely or only utilize if they are presenting as masculine. For these youth, the CWV does not afford any more protection than in the broader City of Toronto, and as such does not provide the means for trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth to cultivate their own kinship networks in spaces within the village. The lack of presence of trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth in the CWV is not a consensual refusal of queer consumerism; rather, it is a forcible exclusion based upon experiences of Othering, harassment, and assault, the threat of which can result in severe emotional and physical harm, and often death. Trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth have yet to be provided fair opportunities to refuse consumer-based spaces in the CWV, and/or to cultivate alternative economies of kinship within them. These barriers are reminiscent of other multiply-marginalized trans women's experiences of queer urban space – as Reck (2009, 236) finds, her trans feminine participants “faced abuse from community members, who threw objects, yelled at them, and regularly called police” while gay men do not face similar treatment. While trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth participants do not experience criminalization or surveillance in the CWV because of their gender expression, they face a queer necropolitical landscape with

threats of alienation and violence in the neighbourhood by members of their own community. Consequently, while the CWV harbours great significance for some homeless LGBTQ2 youth as a place to assemble alternative economies of survival through kinship, the political possibilities are contingent upon embodiments of masculinity and cis femininity, and trans women are made increasingly vulnerable to the neglect of disposability.

The political possibilities of subaltern survival strategies based in queer consumer spaces are subsequently foreclosed to trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive homeless youth, as the lack of safety and support are perpetuated by other members of the LGBTQ community. Such a barrier further precludes homeless trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth from participating as agents of social, cultural, and political change in the CWV, as other queer and trans youth do through their use of kinship as a survival strategy within in consumer spaces in the village. Attending to such transmisogynist exclusions raises larger questions about whether subaltern queer citizenship and geographies of survival themselves require a certain level of access that may not be attainable based upon the fissures of exclusion within the CWV. In other words, if a particular environment like the CWV is so hostile to trans feminine youth that they minimally enter its boundaries, such youth are automatically extracted from the possibility of cultivating excesses of bare life, and entering forms of qualified life, through the agentive, politicizing actions of rooting kinship networks in queer urban space. As alternative economies of kinship may lead to new openings within the village, what does it imply for the future of the CWV, and the dismantling of spatialized transmisogyny, if trans feminine people are excluded from

forming and participating in alternative political arrangements? Such conditions render homeless trans feminine youth that much further distanced from engaging in collective and community-based forms of resistance and expressions of subaltern citizenship. While trans feminine youth experiencing homelessness undoubtedly employ strategies to survive the multitude of ways their exclusion is built into public space, they are not able to enact subaltern political formation in queer urban spaces. This exposes the tremendous complexity of embodying acts of subaltern queer citizenship, and illustrates a need for further inquiry into the ways marginalized trans feminine people challenge structures of bare life and engage in geographies of survival.

Chapter 6: Queer Settler Multiculturalism and the Politics of Black Refusal

Introduction

Recent events centering anti-Black racism, queerness, and Police brutality have intensified the centrality of the Church-Wellesley Village (CWV) in conversations about racism in Toronto. Since 2016, Black Lives Matter Toronto (BLMTO) has staged large-scale protests at Toronto Pride, inciting cascading media attention about the relationship between Toronto's LGBTQ community and Police. These events have led to heated public debates about anti-Black racism in the city, and have revealed an ambivalence of many mainstream LGBTQ Torontonians to anti-Black violence, as well as general approval of, and alliance with, the Toronto Police. With the city's motto of "diversity our strength," these conversations about racism and Toronto's LGBTQ community have illuminated topics of (anti-)Blackness and racism within Toronto, Canada's multicultural hub, and within the LGBTQ community itself, unearthing the uncomfortable presence of queer racist leanings in a multicultural landscape. In this chapter, I analyze the CWV as a site of queer multiculturalism through the experiences of Indigenous and Black youth participants. I engage with critical literature on Canadian multiculturalism, which argues that multiculturalism operationalizes a de-politicized, sanitized notion of race and racial difference by rendering race as culture. Queer of colour critiques, amongst others, identify the ways in which whiteness proliferates through multiculturalism, and expose the role of multiculturalism within mainstream LGBTQ politics. Through this scholarship, I situate the CWV as a landscape that functions as part of the larger, national aim of commodifying diversity, and as such attempts to de-racialize its queer terrain under the guise of multicultural tolerance. In the face of a racialized queer landscape, I

analyze the potential for performances of subaltern citizenship, and the ways in which the structure of bare life – informed by the simultaneous racialized violence and negligence upheld by state and queer-moulded multiculturalism – can be challenged by homeless Indigenous and Black queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth.

Few scholarly analyses of the CWV attend to the production of race that occurs within and around its boundaries, despite the ways in which scholars have traced the role of racism – specifically settler colonialism and anti-Blackness – in Toronto’s LGBTQ communities (George et al. 2012; Giwa and Greensmith 2012; Greensmith 2015; Husbands et al. 2013; Seitz 2017; Walcott 2006; Ware 2017). In this chapter I work against notions of Indigeneity as non-urban, highly mobile, and historical (Wolfe 2006) by placing urban Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth in conversation with current socio-spatial relations in Toronto’s CWV. I position data from Indigenous participants to expose multicultural settler spatial formations that permit recognition of Indigenous peoples “insofar as this recognition does not throw into question the background of legal, political, and economic framework of the colonial relationship itself” (Coulthard 2014, 41). Specifically, I explore why the majority of Indigenous participants do not spend time in the CWV, and instead seek out Indigenous specific spaces that support their queerness and Indigeneity. I attribute the lack of Indigenous representation in the village to multicultural productions in the CWV that dislocate Indigenous peoples from the built (queer) urban environment. As the modern settler imperative is understood to subtly function by erasing “the histories and geographies that provide the foundation for Indigenous cultural identities and sense of self” (Alfred and Corntassel 2005, 598),

placing Indigenous peoples in conversation with settler spaces that explicitly ignore Indigeneity is an act that can destabilize the hold of settler colonial spatial logics.

In addition, I follow the important work of Black geographers who illuminate the textures of Blackness within the material, and push the boundaries of queer geographic scholarship, which has been criticized for rendering Blackness postscript in concepts of sexuality and space (Bailey and Shabazz 2014; Eaves 2017; Hamilton 2018; Isoke 2014; Nero 2005; Ramírez 2015; Tinsley 2008). This chapter builds on Bailey and Shabazz's (2014, 318) notion of anti-Black heterotopias as multiple everyday landscapes which "[bring] into focus the ways that so-called deviant subjects, ...as well as [their] hidden, placeless geographies... are suppressed and demeaned, even while they supply discursive, social, sexual labor for those who have social privilege." Black geographies present an intersectional spatial analysis that foregrounds race within conversations of variously sexual and gendered subjects and places, and as such offers a crucial intervention to queer geographies. In this chapter I explore the ways in which anti-Black racism emerges in the hyper-local context of the CWV, drawing on Fanon's work on the psychoanalysis of racism, in which Black fear is cultivated in a collective unconscious²⁹. Of particular use in this chapter is Fanon's concept of phobogenesis, or the process in which racialized (for Fanon, Black) bodies elicit racialized anxieties that manifest as erotic. I place Fanon's concept of phobogenic Black materiality in dialogue with the anti-

²⁹ Fanon (1967, 165) challenges Jung's notion of collective unconscious as an innate instinct that is common amongst all humans, arguing that it is instead an acquired, cultural element that exists across humanity. Fanon argues this by writing about racism as a form of collective unconscious within colonized countries, specifically as anti-Black racism operates collectively amongst the colonized and colonizers.

Black racism present in a multicultural CWV, arguing that the racialized negotiations in my interviews reveal a collective multicultural unconscious in the CWV. This collective queer multicultural unconscious informs how Black LGBTQ subjects are received and produced through erotic anxieties of racialized contact, in addition to maintaining a queer settler space that erases Indigenous LGBTQ2 people from the space of the CWV.

However, by embodying and performing J. E. Muñoz's concept of disidentification, Black queer and trans participants contend with this hostile landscape by cultivating a qualified life through the act of becoming a politicized and disruptive body, rather than a body for non-Black pleasure. Black qualified life becomes insisted upon and forced into this queer multicultural landscape, enhancing Black participants' survivability within the CWV.

I situate the material experiences of homeless Black queer and trans youth as fundamental to queer geographic analysis, and follow Gill's (2012, 33) assertion to utilize a "praxis of Black queer presence... to insistently foreground the material reality, quotidian experiences and cultural products of Black queer peoples." I aim to avoid the pitfall within queer and trans studies of using Blackness as a means of turning toward whiteness (Ellison et al. 2017, 162) and Black jouissance, and instead focus on illuminating the everyday acts of violence of anti-Black racism within the urban landscape of Toronto, a supposed municipal bastion of multicultural diversity. Given the distinct yet mutual entanglements and active political struggles that Indigenous and Black communities are facing in contemporary multicultural Canada (Simpson 2014), analyzing Indigenous and Black youth together offers a critique of multiculturalism that illustrates multiple ways in which the CWV (re)produces a culture of queer multiculturalism that

treats race in particular ways. In this chapter, I utilize initial and follow-up interviews with youth participants to explore the racialized nature of the CWV, including eight Indigenous, six Black, as well as mixed-race and white queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth. The topic of race and racial negotiations emerged with more frequency during second interviews, most likely because trust had been cultivated with my participants, and also because they held more control over the interview process. Thus, while I draw from initial interviews with youth that touch upon notions of Indigeneity and race, I build upon these references and discussions in initial interviews by exploring multiple second interviews in more depth. Consequently, I rely more heavily on a smaller number of rich follow-up interviews as the basis of this chapter, specifically with two Indigenous youth and four Black youth. This allows a substantial investigation of how agentic, politicized expressions articulate a breakage within the structure of bare life and, perhaps, shift hyper-marginalized LGBTQ2 subjects into a life-becoming-qualified.

Multicultural Canada

The 1971 Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, subsequently followed by the Multiculturalism Act in 1988, is a national policy that emerged in response to groups of European immigrants and the Québécois nationalist movement (Goonewardena and Kipfer 2005, 671). The concept of multiculturalism cultivates a uniquely Canadian social-political climate and discourse surrounding immigration, culture, and diversity (Y. Brown 2008), and as Goonewardena and Kipfer (2005, 671) explain, “now represents a key pillar of national citizenship policy, next to the super-ordinate policies on bilingualism — with its assumption of a two-nation state [England and France] — and

Aboriginal peoples — with its unmediated neo-colonial baggage.” Multiculturalism encompasses a vast collection of state policies and interventions, which have been critiqued by the political right and left about the ways in which it structures race and nation in the colonial Canadian state. As an ideology, multiculturalism is criticized for fragmenting ethnic communities, inhibiting political resistance, and operating as “a self-interested politics of domination” (Hage 2000, 246; see also Thobani 2007). Bannerji (2000, 42) argues that multiculturalism is founded on a homogenous, white, Canadian ‘we’ that becomes the subject and agent of Canadian nationalism, and “decides on the terms of multiculturalism and the degree to which multicultural others should be tolerated or accommodated.” As Bannerji (2000, 78) argues, multiculturalism is a “vehicle for racialization,” as well as a strategy to manage racial difference in Canada through the guise of whiteness.

A significant consequence of multiculturalism is that Canadian legal, judicial, and political frameworks only recognize white settlers as claimants to a Canadian identity and heritage, rendering Indigenous peoples like all other ‘ethnic groups’ that must stake justificatory claims to the government for representation and support. As Thobani (2007, 38) asserts, “In Canada, sovereign power institutionalized through the law an absolute alterity between different categories of human life, breathing juridical force into the category Canadian while draining it out of the category Indian, solidifying and fixing their identities as different kinds of subjects (and objects) of power”. This bilingual framework turns race into cultural difference, which systematically removes Indigenous peoples from legal jurisdiction in the Canadian nation. With this as one of the founding elements of multiculturalism, it is argued that multiculturalism inherently breeds an

amnesia that already negates its supposed purpose of recognizing and celebrating diversity. Difference is, thus, carefully removed and replaced with cultural diversity in order to simultaneously identify and contain racialized difference by diffusing its association with race and ethnicity (Y. Brown 2008; McLaren 1995). Instead, difference is marked through language and culture, “constructing a cultural mosaic based on celebrations of superficial aspects of diverse cultures” (Y. Brown 2008, 376). This, Haque (2012) argues, ensures that the contributions of people of colour to Canadian society are measured by cultural value, and that racialized communities are responsible to culturally integrate into Canada by modifying their cultural expressions to appropriately fit into notions of Canadianness. Marking race as culture limits the kinds of racialized difference that can emerge in multicultural Canada, and allows Canadian policy to monitor and control racial differences (Mackey 2002). As Mackey (2002, 66, original emphasis) writes, cultural difference is palatable insofar as those who fall under its category “*participate in and contribute to Canadian society and Canadian unity*.” Therefore, acceptable cultural diversity must buttress the project of nation building and national unity in Canada.” Thus, within multicultural Canada, racialized difference is permitted to emerge if it aligns itself with, and supports, Canadian nationalist projects.

Yep (2012, 973) asserts that multiculturalism, as a project of de-racialization, “masks existing structural inequalities and white privilege under the guise of celebration, inclusion and spectacle” that is based in culture. Importantly, this aligns whiteness with national projects and discourses, and prioritizes whiteness within communities through which multiculturalism is governed (O’Connell 2010). Several scholars identify the ways in which multiculturalism, whiteness, and nation-building are tied to Canadian LGBTQ

communities and politics. Wahab (2015, 44), for example, writes that it is through discourses of “deliberating tolerance” that “racialized, gendered others ‘come out’ and ‘come into’ Canadian citizenship through their compliance with the compulsory call to gender and sexual equality.” Canadianness-as-white is reiterated within mainstream queer political and discursive realms, particularly through the villainization of racialized communities as homophobic in Toronto’s queer nationalist contexts. This is charted through white LGBTQ people targeting refugees and Muslim women wearing niqabs as homophobic, and thus threatening to the Toronto queer community (Trevenen and Dgagne 2015; Wahab 2015); excluding queer activists of colour from Toronto Pride for expressing ‘anti-Canadian’ politics (Gentile and Kinsman 2015); and additionally, reinforcing settler colonialism through notions of belonging that are cultivated through homonationalism and pinkwashing (Dhoot 2015; Morgensen 2011).

As Toronto’s queer community participates in racist productions of queer nationalism, the CWV functions as a stage on which (mainstream) queer culture and politics perform global, national, and municipal interests, predominantly through Toronto’s Pride Parade, and more subtly through the social and political relations that occur within its landscape through non-profit organizations, social service agencies, and business owners. At Toronto Pride, onlookers observe political parties claiming stakes in the parade, marching with local politicians and supporters. In the 2016 and 2017 Pride Parades, the alliance between mainstream LGBTQ communities and Canadian politics was made spectacle when Prime Minister Justin Trudeau marched in the parades, walking alongside his family, former Liberal Party leader and Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne, current Liberal Toronto Mayor John Tory, and Assembly of First Nations Chief Perry

Bellegarde. As it is argued that Pride parades more frequently express a neoliberal queer politics (Gentile and Kinsman 2015), they cultivate a spatial-temporal circumstance where “homosexuality is not defined *against* nationalism but through and with it, presenting the prospect of rehabilitating exceptional citizens” (Awwad 2015, 33). Such an alignment between queerness and nationalism enforces cultures that impinge upon the livelihoods and survival strategies that homeless Indigenous and Black LGBTQ2 youth can secure in the gay village, the formations of which I explore in the following pages. In the remainder of this chapter I explore how spatial logics of queer multiculturalism inform experiences of erasure and fetishization for homeless Indigenous and Black LGBTQ2 youth in the CWV, and how these youth respond to such treatment in a queer nationalist landscape.

Settler Makings and Reiterations of Multiculturalism

From my initial interviews with youth participants, it is clear that there are prominent issues of racism within the broader LGBTQ community that are heightened in the CWV, a spatial microcosm in which racism is experienced more frequently and intensely. As Jordan (Interview – April 14, 2017) explains, “I feel like the most racism I experienced was in the village and my community... when I came down here [to Toronto] I was like, what the fuck. People are projecting onto me my race, and everything was racially charged. Every interaction that I had.” Similarly, Chocolate Baby Daddy (Interview – December 14, 2016) reflects that once after leaving Blockorama during Pride, “I looked down the street and I’m just like [laughing] this is not my street. This doesn’t belong to me. This is for white people.” Other youth of colour also echo this sentiment, reiterating

how whiteness informs their experiences and relations in the CWV. For example, Gabriel (Interview – December 14, 2016) shares that as someone who is South Asian and white, they observe that, “there’s a lot of value around white people” in the queer community, and that “it’s all about white people!” Another participant (Interview – Anonymous, December 14, 2016) who identifies as Asian and white expresses that, “I only go there [the village] if I have to see my doctor or if I’m going to somewhere like the 519, cause they’re both located there. Other than that, it’s mostly, like, a white man’s gay village.” This sentiment is shared amongst some white youth as well, like Catherine, Blaine, and Bailey, who intentionally spend less time in the village in solidarity with their friends of colour, who experience racism on the streets or at organizations in the CWV.

Notably, Indigeneity is mentioned infrequently in interviews with non-Indigenous youth, and I specifically prompt Indigenous queer youth about the intersections of Indigenous identity with the CWV. For example, when asking Bradley (December 8, 2016) about how he experiences his Indigeneity in the village, he emphasizes that it caters to white people, and as a result, “I just don’t want to go there.” Of the eight Indigenous youth who were interviewed, only Sherry and Tyrell spend time in the CWV because it offers spaces to form kinship, as detailed in the previous chapter. During our walking interview, Tyrell, for example, points out where all of the stages and tents are being erected during Toronto’s weekend Pride festival. He is particularly eager for the Pride Parade because, as he tells me, ODE has been invited to walk as an honoured group and as such will be compensated for their participation. Tyrell explains that ODE’s youth members are divided between those who want to walk in the parade and those who do not. He supports ODE’s participation in the parade because the youth will have free food,

and because the compensation can be used for a trip to Manitoulan Island³⁰ for its first ever Pride event. Tyrell describes that other youth want to attend either a Fort York powwow or a picnic with the organization 2 Spirited People of the 1st Nations, rather than walking in the Pride Parade. However, he feels that since ODE has already been to the powwow before, and because Pride only happens once a year, it is more logical to participate in the Pride Parade.

Thus, according to Tyrell, there is tension amongst the youth of ODE between participating in smaller, Indigenous-run community events, or in a larger, corporate event led by non-Indigenous people. As noted in the previous chapter, Tyrell and Sherry hold positive associations with the CWV and spend time there, mostly playing pool and socializing in Pegasus. Tyrell and Sherry did not grow up in or around Toronto, and both of them emphasize the dramatic difference in queer expression and community in Toronto that attracted them to the city. Despite the appeal of the village to Sherry, we spend little time on Church Street during her follow-up interview. Instead, Sherry takes me outside of the ‘parameters’ of the village to show me other places where she spends time, predominantly on Yonge Street, such as the YMCA Language Assessment and Referral Centre. While the CWV holds emotional significance for Sherry, she maintains that her experiences as Indigenous are not centered in many places within the CWV, but rather predominantly with ODE and the kinship networks she develops with other ODE youth members.

³⁰ Manitoulin Island is located in Ontario on Lake Huron, and is territory of the Métis, Odawa, Anishinabek, and Haudenosaunee Confederacy. It is home to the Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve and hosted its first pride events in June of 2017.

Of the other six Indigenous research participants who have all grown up in and around the Greater Toronto Area, none of them spend much time in the CWV. For example, Cheech is frequently at the Native Canadian Centre, while Rhys follows a busy daily schedule with various social service appointments around the CWV. However, Mak, Shaho, Jennifer, and Bradley actively avoid the area for several reasons: Mak and Bradley's substance use is often triggered whenever they are in the village, while Jennifer and Rhys find the area to be transphobic, and Shaho does not spend time there after transitioning because he is read more frequently as a straight man. While these individuals articulate different reasons for spending time in the CWV, they agree that their Indigenous identities and communities are not represented in that urban setting. This observation is rarely cast as a criticism, but rather as mere fact; if they want queer Indigenous community, they will go to Indigenous organizations and spaces.

The lack of Indigenous identity in the CWV is unsurprising. While some queer and Two Spirit Indigenous events are held at the 519, many Indigenous LGBTQ2 people experience the organization as a hostile and uncomfortable environment (Tanguay 2017). In the village more broadly, Indigeneity is still minimally represented at events held throughout the year, in clubs or bars, or on murals throughout the village, however, some events are beginning to include Indigenous-specific elements, such as the AIDS Vigil in 2018, which included an introduction and smudge by members of the Mohawk Nation. Yet Indigenous representation within the queer community still remains limited, particularly within non-profit organizations. For example, the Executive Director of Sprott House (Interview – October 24, 2016) reflects that, “Indigenous and First Nations youth... want to access specific cultural services because of the general lack of

representation of staff in the programs... [It's] just not sort of embedded into most programs to have that cultural competence.” While certain organizations like the 519, SOY, and Egale Youth OUTreach host Indigenous organizations for scheduled events, these are temporary and as such do not cultivate a sense of committed support of Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth by non-Indigenous queer organizations.

Displaying Indigeneity in mainstream LGBTQ culture, such as Pride, contributes to Morgensen's (2010, 118) notion of settler homonationalism, as these spectacles of queer nationalism reproduce understandings of Indigenous peoples “as already or inevitably gone.” LGBTQ settler spaces play a key role in a settler colonial logic of elimination (Wolfe 2006), which naturalizes Indigenous people as “already disappeared from the modern and settled spaces where queer degenerates [are] found” (Morgensen 2010, 119). Through a lack of Indigenous representation, organizing, and centering, the CWV cultivates a queer settler space that reaffirms the logic of elimination by mythologizing Indigenous LGBTQ2 peoples as past rather than present. As Dhoot (2015) argues, LGBTQ space territorializes Indigenous land through queer belonging and settlement, often through the processes of pinkwashing and homonationalism which directly contribute to Canadian multiculturalism. Yet, as noted earlier, multiculturalism renders Indigeneity legally invisible, and as such, Indigeneity is not readily present in a queer space regulated through multicultural logics. This directly feeds into a settler colonial logic of elimination, which “marks a return whereby the native repressed continues to structure settler-colonial society” (Wolfe 2006, 390). In other words, the trope of absent and hyper-mobile Native is central to the continuity of settler colonialism, and Indigenous absence is reinforced in the CWV by the lack of Indigenous-centered

services. As Two Spirit identity is directly linked to Indigeneity more than to LGBTQ identity (Driskill 2011; Tanguay 2017), multiculturalism's maintenance of rendering Indigeneity as an impossible presence in (queer) Canada is re-scaled to the micro-negotiations of a specific urbanity – the CWV. Maintaining Indigenous LGBTQ2 people as disconnected from queer space allows the CWV to perform the “dislocation from place” which further “undermine[s] Indigenous identities” (Barker and Pickerill 2012, 1712). In doing so, the village is reaffirmed as a settler, and properly multicultural, space. Importantly, however, this queer settler space is not needed for homeless Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth to construct versions of a qualified life or geographies of survival, as they do so by facilitating community and social networks through Indigenous organizing that primarily exists outside of the CWV. While the previous chapter illustrates how Indigenous queer kinship is cultivated in some consumer spaces within the village, the queerness of that space does not serve as a significant resource for the majority of homeless Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth to imbue their lives with community and political meaning. Instead, homeless Indigenous LGBTQ2 survival is secured more through Indigenous-specific places and networks, rather than queer-specific sites, which points to the impact of, and need to challenge, queer spaces that reproduce structures of settler colonialism.

Challenges with Representation: Anti-Blackness in the Church-Wellesley Village

In addition to Indigenous youth participants, a disproportionate number of Black youth participants avoid the CWV explicitly because of its overt whiteness, whereas other racialized participants still congregate there. Only one of six Black youth participants do

not intentionally avoid the CWV – Austin, who is mixed race, has lighter skin, and works as a dancer in the CWV during the summer Pride festival. As we walk to various locations in the CWV during our follow-up interview, Austin exhibits a familiarity with commercial venues they have either attended for Pride, or worked at over a number of years. Austin has many memories in the CWV, the majority of which are positive and associated with dancing, which they find emotionally fulfilling and financially lucrative. However, the remaining Black youth participants do not frequently spend time in the CWV. Some, like Shaquil and Yolana, never spend time in the village, and when prompted further as to why, Shaquil (Interview – December 14, 2016) asserts, “I just don’t want to be there.” King (Interview – February 24, 2017), a service provider with the group Black Queer Youth at SOY, reflects that, “the Black youth are the ones who struggle on Church Street. They’re either eroticized, or dehumanized, or overlooked. And I know that it’s a real struggle for them to feel like they fit into the queer community when they’re being ousted as different to begin with.” King’s points are reflected in participants’ experiences; for example, Austin capitalized on this sexualization by dancing at Flash to pay for their college tuition, while Mikey and Jordan avoid the area entirely because of how frequently they are harassed. McKittrick (2006, 5) reminds us that, “the material landscape itself, as it is produced by the black subject and mapped as unimaginably black, must be rewritten into black, and arguably human, existence on different terms.” Thus, as these reflections on the CWV predominantly characterize its terrain as largely uninhabitable for Black folks, I untangle the complex negotiations and possibilities that emerge in the follow-up interviews of three Black participants.

Chocolate Baby Daddy moved to Toronto in March of 2016 from Oshawa, leaving one transitional housing program for another at Sprott House. We begin our interview from the Starbucks at the intersection of Yonge Street and Wellesley Street, and Chocolate Baby Daddy shortly stops next to a parking lot on the south side of Wellesley Street. As they prepare to take a photograph of the parking lot (Figure 39), Chocolate Baby Daddy (Interview – February 17, 2017) explains that, “when it’s Pride, it’s like, really, there’s so many people, and then you see this long line of POCs [laughing]... I think that was one of the highlights of Pride for me, cause it was like, people call it the POC queer Christmas, cause it’s when we literally all get together and spend that time.”



Figure 39: Parking lot where Blocko took place in Pride 2016, by Chocolate Baby Daddy (Interview – February 17, 2017)

Chocolate Baby Daddy is referring to Blockorama, colloquially referred to as Blocko, an event that centers Blackness during Toronto’s annual Pride festivities. Blocko first

appeared at Toronto Pride in 1998, inspired by Caribbean block parties where people congregate to celebrate Caribbean cultures with food, music, and dancing in closed-off streets of urban areas (Lord and Zuberi 2017, 340). Blocko is founded in a movement called Blackness Yes – which emerged from a small group of Black queer people and, predominantly, lesbians – out of a desire for “a large presence of Black queer people visibly taking up and creating space for themselves” (Lord and Zuberi 2017, 341). Throughout the years, Toronto Pride has moved Blocko to various locations in the CWV – including a dog park – but recently places them in the original parking lot across from the Wellesley subway station (Interview – Christopher, July 17, 2017). The founder of Blocko, Jamea Zuberi, describes her strongest memory of the first Blocko as a feeling of wholeness: “I felt complete with my culture, family, friends, and sexuality all being in one space. We all came together as Black queer people to celebrate transforming Pride into a space for us” (Lord 2017, 341). This counters her everyday feelings of occupying multiple and distanced spaces in Toronto as a Black lesbian woman. Yet Lord and Zuberi (2017, 339) remind readers that “[Blocko] continues to represent a site of struggle for Black diasporic queers to mark out a space and place in Pride by challenging the de-racialization of Pride,” and the overwhelming whiteness that Toronto Pride continues to represent.

In our interview, Chocolate Baby Daddy echoes Jamea’s sentiment, explaining that when they attend Blocko and other events that center QTPOC, they feel a sense of kinship that they otherwise do not experience when in the CWV. As Chocolate Baby Daddy (Interview – February 17, 2017) states, “...when I went into Blocko, you hear the music before you even come out of the station, and I was just like, oh my gosh, that’s

like, me! That's mine!... It's like going to a carnival when you're a kid, it's like, ahhhhh! You're real! It was great. It was great. ... I just felt like I had a big family, you know?"

As we walk together and take photographs during our second interview, Chocolate Baby Daddy traces this experience of belonging in a racialized landscape where, as they describe it, feelings of belonging are rare. Chocolate Baby Daddy takes very few photographs during our interview, and they elaborate that they feel invisible in the CWV because its spaces and events are predominantly catered to white people. As Chocolate Baby Daddy (Interview – February 17, 2017) notes, "[the] majority of it is not for me, you know? It's not meant for me." While they feel invisibilized in the CWV because of their Blackness, Chocolate Baby Daddy elaborates that when they do feel visible, it is usually because of an over-emphasis on their Blackness as Other or exotic. For instance, they explain to me that white queers have twerked³¹ at them when meeting them in the CWV, making them feel overwhelmingly fetishized and Othered. In these toxic interactions with white queers in the CWV, overt racism is performed to articulate racial – read as cultural – recognition, and a benevolent multicultural tolerance of cultural (racial) difference. Yet in this moment, multicultural tolerance of cultural (racial) difference performs Blackness, by white queer bodies, through cultural appropriation and racial caricatures of Black histories, bodies, and diasporic cultural expression.

This performance of race-as-culture should not come as a surprise in the CWV. In his discussion of queer culture, Walcott (2007) writes that mainstream queer cultural

³¹ Twerking is the contemporary name of a style of dancing "linked to a centuries-old 'dance-drum' continuum rooted in African cultures" that has morphed and manifested amongst several ethnicities within Africa and throughout the African diaspora (Gaunt 2015, 245).

expression has historically been generated by Black queers, and reformulated as white. As Walcott (2007, 237) argues, “what often goes missing is the antecedent blackness of the [queer] style – it is reinvented as ‘white’.” For Walcott (2007, 238), Black queer people rest in contradictory spaces as both “tastemakers and outsiders” in mainstream (read white and multicultural) queer culture; in other words, while queer culture is generated from Black experiences and expressions, Black queer and trans people are once again Othered through the act of white consumption, and the reproduction of race as culture. Chocolate Baby Daddy’s example of white queers twerking at them embodies this contradiction; they are both rooted and isolated in this moment of racialized queer exchange in the village, where their Blackness is read and consumed by white queers in order to grant them cultural capital, delineating Chocolate Baby Daddy as a cultural commodity that becomes subsumed by the white queers twerking at them.

As noted earlier, Chocolate Baby Daddy rarely finds themselves in the village because of its unrelenting whiteness. Instead, they spend time in other places, such as SKETCH Working Arts, just north of West Queen West, and The Amy Project in Chinatown, where they participate in groups that intentionally center QTPOC. One experience they share is of the Fat Drag Musical, which is organized by Krafty Queers and performed at Tranzac Club, located near The Annex neighbourhood. The performance is predominantly organized by, and made up of, QTPOC, and Chocolate Baby Daddy (Interview – February 17, 2017) describes a scene they performed with a white woman, explaining that, “we’re at a concert and I’m in line and they come over and [they say to me], ‘Nesquick, just add milk, right? Well I’m here!’ And I was like, ‘my friends and I are lactose intolerant’.” Chocolate Baby Daddy uses this performance to not

only refuse whiteness but to reject the expectation of white queer consumption, and indeed the act of consumption itself. In this moment, Chocolate Baby Daddy prevents a white woman from consuming their Blackness in front of an audience, effectively preventing their Black trans body from becoming white desire, and instead insisting that Blackness is witnessed as a politics of refusal, as personhood and embodiment which can exist outside of, and beyond, white instruction and pleasure. In the following section I build on this politics of refusal and delve further into how benevolent multicultural tolerance is negotiated by some Black queer and trans homeless youth in the CWV.

Eroticized Encounter and the Collective Multicultural Unconscious

While Chocolate Baby Daddy expresses feelings of invisibility in the CWV, other youth participants, such as Jordan and Mikey, experience a profound hypervisibility – something I witnessed during our auto-photographic walking interview. I meet Jordan and Mikey in the Wellesley station and begin our walking interview, Mikey standing out with wing-tipped eyeliner, leopard print pants, a faux fur coat, and a glittery silver purse, while Jordan is clad in a more butch, sporty-chic outfit. Jordan and Mikey are surprisingly passionate about this walking interview – surprising, because neither of them have positive experiences or many fond memories of spending time in the CWV. Unlike others who do not spend time in the village, Jordan and Mikey take many photographs during our follow-up interview, not only posing in front of various locations but also in front of objects and people with whom they interact. Toward the end of our interview, Jordan and Mikey lead me onto a small side street that opens up to a plaza in front of a condominium. In front of the condominium is an art installation of metallic puzzle pieces,

on which Jordan and Mikey jump and have me take a series of photographs of them modeling with a fierce confidence, assuredness, and ownership of that space (Figures 40-41).



Figure 40: Jordan and Mikey posing on permanent art installation in front of condo (by author April 14, 2017)



Figure 41: Jordan and Mikey posing on permanent art installation in front of condo (by author April 14, 2017)

Jordan and Mikey are two of only three follow-up interviews where participants receive a large amount of public attention in the CWV³². Fifteen minutes into our interview, Jordan points out that a man has been following us since we left the subway station. Neither Jordan nor Mikey find this surprising – in fact, Mikey had told me in our first interview that they are followed frequently in the village. We brainstorm aloud why this man is following us, hoping he will overhear and leave, and Jordan and Mikey laugh when Mikey (Interview – April 19, 2017) comments, “I’m not even dressed like an escort right now... Look at why he’s following us around for. ... Probably picking up a delicious Black man.” We turn around so that we walk behind this man, and continue to discuss him while Jordan snaps his photograph (Figure 42).

³² The other was with Sidney, who ran into several people for whom she worked as an escort.



Figure 42: The man who followed myself, Jordan, and Mikey for approximately 25 minutes, by Jordan (Interview – April 14, 2017)

Shortly thereafter, a CBC reporter approaches us to ask for our opinions about a group of lesbian and gay Toronto Police officers who have responded to Pride’s removal of uniformed officers from the Pride Parade. As the reporter plays the recording of their letter being read from her phone, Mikey and I lean in and listen, while Jordan stands back and photographs us. Afterwards, the reporter begins to ask us questions, and while Mikey and I respond, Jordan remains silent. When the reporter asks for Jordan’s opinion, he (Interview – April 19, 2017) responds, “I’m tired of having the conversation. I think the points are obvious, that I don’t feel like stating them today.” The reporter pushes Jordan again about why he does not want to provide his thoughts, to which he reiterates that he does not want to give more attention to opinions with which he does not agree. Jordan is further probed about if he would say anything to the officers given an opportunity, to

which Jordan (Interview – April 19, 2017) replies, “I wouldn’t say anything. It’s not my place. Like I said, personally it’s not about me. I don’t feel like it’s about me, I feel like there’s a bigger picture and I’m not the person to speak to that bigger picture. I’m not the voice of the young nation. I’m not.” During this interaction with the CBC reporter, our stalker stops pursuing us, and Jordan is reprimanded by an older white man for standing too close to the entrance of a restaurant.

As Jordan and Mikey push themselves into the space of the CWV, they become what Fanon (1967, 129) describes as “phobogenic bodies”, or bodies which incite anxiety. Phobic objects are overdetermined, as the feared object always exists as possibility. Phobic processes, Fanon continues, are rooted in thought and affect that pre-date the event of contact with a feared object; however, anxiety always underlies the phobic subjectivity, and is consistently present through the possibility of being in contact with the feared subject. Fanon (1967, 129-130) describes the ways in which Black ‘objects’ are feared – and, hence, become phobogenic bodies – and in addition, exhibits the ways in which white fear of “black ‘phobogenesis’”, or contact with the phobic Black subject, is eroticized. In Fanon’s (1967, 154; 134-137) formulation, the phobogenic Black man becomes the phallus, rendered biological and representing “genital power out of reach of morals and taboos..., at the intangible gate leading to the realm of mystic rites and orgies, bacchanals and hallucinating sexual sensations,” which overwhelms the phobic white woman as a feared yet eroticized racial encounter. bell hooks (2001) also argues about the erotics of race, writing that race functions as a source of pleasure for white people by allowing white supremacy to persist through a sense of benign interest. To elaborate, hooks posits that white subjects experience pleasure through the act of

consuming the racialized Other, as it invokes imperialist nostalgia of becoming cultured, open-minded, and permanently altered by subsuming racialized subjects. Fantasies of desire, seduction, and power (hooks 2001, 369) allow white people to re-perform the violence of imperialism and colonization upon people of colour, while simultaneously masking this violence as benevolence. As she (hooks 2001, 377) writes, “it is by eating the Other... that [whiteness] asserts power and privilege.” Thus, the act of consumption sustains the narrative of race as white pleasure, and of white consumption as benign, enabling whites to momentarily embody and subsume the racialized Other while simultaneously denying the role and presence of racism and racial suffering.

While this eroticism is highly racialized, it is also highly gendered. For example, Chocolate Baby Daddy does not share the hyper-visibility that Jordan and Mikey experience in their follow-up interview. Mikey presents as femme and, depending on the person, may be read as a trans woman, a feminine-spectrum genderqueer person, or as a feminine gay man. On the contrary, Chocolate Baby Daddy presents as masculine, yet depending on the person may be read as a trans or cis man, a masculine woman, or a masculine-spectrum genderqueer person. It is difficult to ignore how these dynamics relate to commentary in the previous chapter about the ways in which trans feminine and femme-identified gender expansive youth experience discomfort and fear in the CWV, and how non-normative masculinities are received in a space heavily informed by cis white masculinity. While only a small number of trans and gender expansive youth in my research sample negotiate gender non-conformity in the CWV, their insights point to important distinctions in youth participants’ experiences around the treatment of non-normative masculinities (see, for example, Cooper 2002, Halberstam 2018, and Francis

2010 for discussions about the dilemmas stirred by ‘female’ masculinity). This plays an important role for Black youth, whose gender expressions – specifically, masculinity – are inextricably tied to their Blackness. Patricia Hill-Collins (2004) and Rashad Shabazz (2009) describe how Black masculinity is powerfully informed by specific geographies, such as poverty and carceral punishment. Building upon the spatial construction of Blackness as it relates to local histories of race and racism, Black masculinity in Toronto’s gay village is directly informed by the queer multicultural anxieties around Blackness and cis male sexuality. For example, while Jordan presents himself as very masculine, he also has very dark skin, queuing eroticized phobogenic encounters of Blackness as hypersexual in our follow-up interview. This does not happen as readily for Austin during our interview, despite their similarly masculine presentation. Similarly, trans and gender non-conforming femininity is also eroticized, as Mikey and other trans and femme-identified gender expansive youth share throughout their interviews.

Although it is less clear about the ways in which a more masculine presenting person like Chocolate Baby Daddy (Interview – December 14, 2016) might be read, it is possible that sexual expectations from onlookers are minimized because of misgendering: “it’s hard in those spaces because cis gay men don’t want to hang out with me. You know? That’s just the reality.... They don’t have to treat me like anything. They have their own group. I’m invisible to them.” Thus, different racialized masculinities and expressions of genderqueerness create distinct racially erotic landscapes of sexual intangibility and invisibility, and hypervisibility and fetishization, dependent upon the ways in which gender expressions are understood in a predominantly white cis gay landscape.

What is particularly crucial in Fanon's formulation is the way in which phobogenesis connects to the collective unconscious, which Fanon explains is cultural, acquired, and exists both nationally and regionally. In these particular circumstances, the eroticization of Blackness is arguably exacerbated in the space of the CWV, which maintains a sexually charged environment given the concentration of strip clubs, bathhouses, and bar events featuring scantily clad men. When the erotic, phobogenic encounter manifests in a space that aims to conceal race, a fear encounter emerges through the desire to consume or invisibilize Blackness, and in doing so exposes racial difference despite the multicultural logics that try to hide it. Thus, the CWV fosters a collective queer multicultural unconscious, or a spatial collective unconscious produced by the contemporary cultural and political logics that govern its particular urban landscape and the bodies within it. In a collective queer multicultural unconscious, erotic encounters manifest as more than sexual but also through the consumption of Blackness. In order for this consumption to occur, the process of eating the Other must be masked while the subsumed racialized Other is rendered submissive and palatable.

Given this need for submission, the ways in which Jordan and Mikey assert themselves in the CWV triggers anxieties about Blackness that exceed and undermine the desire of compliant and palatable Black queer embodiment, particularly in a space ripe with the tension exposed by Black political activism. In Jordan's dialogue with the reporter, he refuses the labour to represent Black queer voices. He refuses to become a representation of Black queerness in Toronto, and also refuses the reporter's entitlement to, and desire for, Black thought. Much like *Chocolate Baby Daddy's* performance, these refusals prevent the consumption of Jordan's Blackness. In these brief and micro-scalar

moments, the knowable and consumable Black subject is not submissive, but instead playfully and perversely interrupts and denies the desire of a collective multicultural unconscious to obscure race through continued Black palatability. These interruptions signal the effectiveness of disidentification, which J. E. Muñoz (1999, 6) describes as how minority subjects resist and negotiate “the conditions of (im)possibility that dominant culture generates.” Disidentification, according to J. E. Muñoz (1999, 12 and 31), “works to hold on to [a] lost object and invest it with new life,” reconceptualizing normative discourses “as raw material for representing a disempowered politics or positionality that has been rendered unthinkable by the dominant culture.” In these phobogenic exchanges, Jordan, Mikey, and Chocolate Baby Daddy disidentify from the broader queer public, and in doing so engage with the “phobic charges” (J. E. Muñoz 1999, 11) of dominant queer culture by re-working normative cultural texts that aim to render Blackness consumable. Through disidentification, dominant codes are recycled into “a disempowered politics or positionality that has been rendered unthinkable by the dominant culture” (J. E. Muñoz 1999, 31). In these specific instances, the impossibility of non-consumable and assertive Blackness materializes as a form of “cultural, material, and psychic survival” (J. E. Muñoz 1999, 161) that manages and negotiates the cultural and systemic violence that emerges in such interactions. Jordan, Mikey, and Chocolate Baby Daddy confront the dominance of queer multiculturalism as their identities-in-difference elicit phobogenic encounters, thus exposing the underlying anti-Blackness of this queer urban space, which aims to celebrate its location as “a gathering place for diverse communities” (www.churchwellesleyvillage.ca), and, thus, its multicultural leanings. In these moments of refused erotic encounter, the collective queer multicultural unconscious

anchored in the CWV is betrayed, as these Black subjectivities reveal the eroticized fear encounter and the ways in which Black bodies are still rendered exotic, birthed from colonial discourses (Fanon 1967), in multicultural queer spaces like the village. These emergences of subaltern queer citizenship also illustrate the importance of micro-moments – short, interruptive shocks to the normalcy of Black consumption and queer multiculturalism – in transforming bare lives to those which are qualified through politicized acts of refusal. Such bursts of subaltern citizenship politicize these youths’ subjectivities, creating an excess of bare life as subjects who become disruptive of the logics of a collective queer multicultural unconscious.

Possibilities of Refusal and Questions of Multicultural Futures

In this chapter I have illustrated the multicultural topographies of the CWV, and the ways in which a benevolent multicultural tolerance maps onto homeless Indigenous and Black LGBTQ2 youth who participated in my research. Through the simultaneous processes of Indigenous erasure and Black erotic encounter, we can observe a collective queer multicultural unconscious within the CWV, in which Blackness-as-only-biological overwhelms the queer multicultural subject with an eroticized fear of encounter, and settler colonialism is reinforced through the imagined non-existence of Indigenous queer and Two Spirit people. By observing Indigenous participants’ lack of identification and overwhelming avoidance of the CWV, I have argued that the village operates as a settler colonial space by furthering the elimination of Indigenous LGBTQ2 people from queer space. This furthers the function of multiculturalism to erase Indigenous peoples from Canadian socio-legal discourses, and reaffirms the settler colonial legacy of Canada.

However, the impacts on Indigenous LGBTQ2 strategies of survival are minimal, given the greater reliance on Indigenous organizing, and Indigenous-specific cultural sites, for cultivating networks that assist in forming more-than-bare lives. At the same time, Blackness in the CWV is experienced as corporeal and psychological anxiety, and control borne from a multicultural collective unconscious, that renders Blackness as outsider because it is too excessively racialized to be tolerated. Following Fanon (1967, 128), these interviews illustrate the “weight of melanin” on my research participants, the presence of their bodies eliciting a racialized restlessness, which subsequently produces racial negotiations where contact becomes a material anxiety for the spatialized collective multicultural unconscious. In a multicultural queer landscape that obfuscates race, these eroticized phobogenic encounters reveal a benevolence that masks anti-Black racism and feigns the disguise of a tolerant multicultural space. Here, benevolence emerges through reaching out to Black queers for their thoughts, feelings, and bodies, reinforcing their knowability and consumability to ensure the selling of tolerance for Toronto’s continued multicultural drive. However, homeless Black queer and trans youth impress a queer subaltern politics through the process of disidentification, reworking and interrupting the consumption of Blackness to instead assert Blackness as political rather than pleasurable in the CWV, effectively disrupting queer multicultural expectations and challenging notions of bare life.

McLaren argues that rather than liberal multiculturalism, critical multiculturalism recognizes, emphasizes, and sits within difference, rather than hiding it. In J. E. Muñoz’s (1999, 176) work, he draws from Lubiano’s work on radical multiculturalism “as a counterattack to systems of normalization, as a management of oppositional gestures...

that keeps political possibility in motion.” For J. E. Muñoz (1999, 161), radical multiculturalism provides the framework in which disidentification manifests, contributing to a counterpublic sphere that fosters “cultural, material, and psychic survival.” Having considered the ways in which multiculturalism perpetuates settler colonialism and anti-Black racism in the CWV, I now turn to the question and possibilities of a radical, or critical, multiculturalism, particularly through its theorization by Black studies scholars.

As noted earlier, while certain racialized communities have been embraced by Canada as enhancing the nation’s culture and contributing to celebrated ideas of Canadian tolerance, other communities of colour, such as Indigenous and Black peoples, are maintained as Other in this national discourse (McKittrick 2014; Simpson 2014; B. Thomas 2014). In response, scholars consider what reconceptualizing multiculturalism might reveal regarding the ways in which Indigenous and Black subjectivities and lives manifest in the Canadian context. For example, Burman (2016, 370) questions what the scale of the local might lend to re-theorizations of multiculturalism “beyond the liberal multicultural dynamic of tolerator and tolerated.” MacDonald (2014) proposes syncretic multiculturalism as a form of national alliance, which, as summarized by Burman (2016, 370), “would necessitate a binational relationship between two heterogeneous entities: settlers and other non-Indigenous Canadians, and Indigenous peoples.” In considering the possibilities that have not yet arrived, or as McKittrick (2014, 244) writes, “the politics of waiting for a justice that is yet to come,” it is necessary to question what more lies within the multicultural presents and futures in Canada, and to lean into imaginations of optimistic futures within Canada’s multicultural schema (Walcott 2016). Theorizing what

multiculturalism could become – or as McKittrick (2014, 247) suggests, thinking our multicultural futures differently – presents openings into these alternative futures. However, this must be done through a combined attention to both experiences of race as violence, as well as a persistent assuredness of something more (McKittrick 2014). I hesitate to nod toward a utopian vision of queer urban space, as multiculturalism in the CWV furthers processes of queer settler colonialism and anti-Black racism. However, the performances of refusal by Black youth of urban queer multicultural space offer glimpses into optimistic possibility, not necessarily in the built environment of the CWV in its current form but in the continued efforts of micro- and macro-acts of resistance. They gesture toward hopeful openings within the space of embodied politicization and Otherness, where difference exposes and undermines “multiculturalism’s feel-good promises” (Burman 2016, 370) by existing as provocative, political, and perverse.

Conclusion: Intolerable Queer Terrains and Figurations of Persistent Living

Claims over the right to the city consist of multiple meanings: the right to inhabit, the right to participate in making a city, and right to *be* in the city. These notions of inhabiting, participating, and being capture the essence of *bios*, a qualified life, one that is necessarily always in relation with the political realm. However, given that this dissertation centers subjects whose lives are primarily encapsulated by the task of meeting basic means of survival, it is necessary to revisit the concepts and distinctions charted in Chapter Two between *zoē* and *bios*, and consider how the concept of bare life may be modified by those living and experiencing its reality. In this conclusion, I place previous chapters in direct conversation with the concepts and questions posed in the conceptual framework of this dissertation, specifically around those of queer urban space, acts of citizenship and the right to the city, and the geographies of subaltern survival. My inquiry into the geographies of subaltern survival is the crux of this concluding chapter, as it centralizes the potential of subaltern subjects to enter various communities and political realms, and therefore citizenship, through means of surviving conditions of Agamben's bare life. For the purposes of this dissertation, subalternity has been crucial in its ability to theorize sexuality, gender, race, ability, class, migration status, and nationality as concurrent rather than hierarchical. In this closing argument, I reflect upon the concept of subaltern citizenship that has been woven throughout the previous chapters, and argue that although homeless LGBTQ2 youth claims to urban citizenship and political involvement are limited, the subtle, often invisible, fleeting, and embodied expressions and moments of their survival serve as figurations of persistent living that

challenge the forms of domination that so frequently render queer urban spaces intolerable terrain.

My research has centered queer and trans subjects who are conventionally multiply marginalized and peripheralized in urban political scholarship and public dialogue. Such a practice was emphasized first in Chapter Three, which detailed the methodological approach to conducting and analyzing my research. In particular, I contemplated what a methodological design and analysis might look like when centering the experiences, subjectivities, and bodies of trans people. I approached this task by theorizing trans consciousness as methodology, which builds upon trans studies scholarship to incorporate the concepts of trans embodiment and encounter in order to position trans subjectivities as the root of methodological exploration and knowledge production in the research process. This task wrote myself into the research, as a trans person and researcher, exploring how my own material and emotional experiences of being trans cultivated particular relationships with different research subjects. In addition to centering trans perspectives in academic discussions of research, trans consciousness as methodology offered another point of entry through which the emotional dimensions of qualitative research methods could be discussed. Such an approach provided the space within which I could reflect upon the possibilities and limitations of, as well as the fulfilling and challenging moments that emerged within, the research process as a trans person. This methodological framework pulled trans people into not only the research process, but also the process of knowledge production, and critically intervenes in queer and feminist methodological literature that has rarely involved trans people.

The multiple forms of qualitative research methods I employed allowed me to address my aim of examining the social, spatial, and institutional relations and negotiations experienced by homeless LGBTQ2 youth in Toronto's Church-Wellesley Village (CWV). Chapters Four through Six concentrated on highlighting different aspects of homeless LGBTQ2 youth's experiences of the CWV, and simultaneously shifted scholarly accounts of LGBTQ2 youth homelessness away from the trope of victimhood. In Chapter Four, I addressed the ways in which different urban actors inform the CWV, the role of businesses and non-profit organizations in processes of social inclusion and social exclusion, and what specific consequences these create for homeless LGBTQ2 youth. Chapter Four primarily concerned the ways in which homeless LGBTQ2 youth survival is both supported and impinged upon by different actors of urban governance in the CWV. Specifically, I traced how urban governance manifests in different CWV institutions, including the CWV Business Improvement Area (CWVBIA), and the non-profit organizations of the 519 and Egale Youth OUTreach (EYO). Discourses of safety and urban chaos construct youth as figures of risk and disorder, particularly around the topic of substance use, and the CWVBIA has partnered with District 51 Toronto Police to increase policing efforts in response to concerns over safety. While this mechanism of standardized urban governance takes shape primarily from the side of businesses in the CWV, additional governance efforts are manifesting within the 519 and EYO, which is where substantial support services and programming are offered for youth in, and adjacent to, the village. As this chapter illustrated, very few youth participants utilize services offered by the 519. Trans youth feel disproportionately unwelcome in the 519 due to misgendering by staff, while cis and non-binary youth also expressed that

appearing homeless would often lead to their behaviour and presence being more heavily monitored. While EYO is a more encouraging and supportive environment for homeless LGBTQ2 youth, changes at the institutional level to increase staff members' formal educational requirements have altered the makeup of the organization's employees to be increasingly white, cis, and masculine. As a result, EYO's staff do not reflect the majority of youth who utilize their services, and it appears that less youth of colour and trans women are using EYO's services. Thus, while these organizations are important for youth survival through the services, food, community, and temporary shelter they provide, the multiple bio-necro-political holds exerted through governance uphold architectures of bare life that alienate racialized and trans feminine homeless LGBTQ2 youth, and consequently render them increasingly vulnerable to the folds of negligence, violence, and death.

Given the implications of governance within the CWV, in Chapter Five I built upon the question of survival as not just material, but also as emotional. This chapter addressed my research question of how homeless LGBTQ2 youth experience the CWV as both a site of social, cultural, and economic support, (im)possibility, and marginalization, through an emphasis on kinship networks. I theorized the alternative economies that emerged through kinship, which complicates arguments about capital-based queer spaces by illustrating how businesses such as Crews and Tangos, Pegasus, and Steamworks also incubate geographies of subaltern survival, specifically by fostering the kinship networks of some homeless LGBTQ2 youth. Kinship serves as a strategy of subaltern survival, as such connections frequently include the benefits of shared resources such as food, income, as well as temporary housing. As evidenced in this chapter, such

kinship networks not only meet material needs, but they also facilitate a crucial foundation of emotional support that combats social isolation and shame that so frequently accompanies homelessness, aids youth in navigating and managing negative feelings and/or traumatic experiences related to their identities, and also enables further exploration of sexuality and gender in more encouraging and safe social circles. Kinship is an incredibly important tool for facilitating the geographies of subaltern survival amongst Indigenous youth participants, not only enhancing kinning between Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth but also connecting them to LGBTQ2 Elders and community leaders, Indigenous LGBTQ2 gatherings occurring within and outside of Toronto, and further linking them to Indigenous Two Spirit histories, knowledges, and cultures. Such examples of subaltern citizenship illustrate the intentional and active mapping of geographies of survival that resist the necro-political colonial logics of dismantling and erasing Indigenous LGBTQ2 people and communities.

However, these chosen geographies of survival are not accessible to all youth, as I illustrated with the ways in which trans women and femme-identified gender expansive youth are excluded from such commercial spaces where kinship networks are fostered. This is due to the persistent hold that hegemonic masculinity maintains over and within the CWV, and the ways in which this anchors transmisogyny, which in turn creates a toxic, unsafe, and invisibilizing environment for trans feminine people. Homeless trans women and femme-identified gender expansive youth are, thus, not only disproportionately vulnerable to forms of queer governance, but also to culturally accepted necropolitics of transmisogyny that impose the violence of invisibility, hypervisibility, and misgendering. Youth participants also illustrated how whiteness can

also offer brief entry into queer and trans community spaces, while trans women of colour and Indigenous trans women are further relegated to disposability. Inviting a trans feminist critique into queer geographic scholarship revealed the shortcomings of queer urban space for trans feminine geographies of survival, and illustrated the need for further work amongst this particular community to understand how trans women and femme-spectrum trans people survive within transmisogynist urban spaces. Further inquiry is needed into the role of race and racism in structuring conditions of bare life in which trans women of colour find themselves, particularly in Canadian queer spaces.

As I charted the pitfalls of the village in its lack of organizational support for trans feminine youth, in Chapter Six I highlighted the political and cultural climate of the CWV – specifically its function as a landscape of queer multiculturalism – and the consequent impingement upon Indigenous and Black LGBTQ2 youth livelihoods. This addressed my research question of how processes of racialization deepen the experiences of socio-spatial exclusion, illegibility, and (im)mobility for racialized homeless LGBTQ2 youth in the village. I argued that the CWV serves as a microcosm where racist violence is enacted, and as such it functions as an intolerable terrain for both Indigenous and Black homeless LGBTQ2 youth. Within the context of a queer multicultural landscape, a Canadian settler colonial logic of elimination functions to render Indigenous peoples absent and historical, and consequently undermines and erases Indigenous LGBTQ2 people, and reasserts the village as a settler space. Additionally, the village overemphasizes and fetishizes Blackness through acts of consumption, which allow for fantasies of racial power to be performed as pleasure. In this formulation, I drew from Fanon and hooks' arguments that Blackness, when consumed by non-Black bodies, is

rendered present only in its ability to produce the racialized pleasure of consuming the Other. For homeless Black LGBTQ youth, Blackness in the CWV manifests as a production of erotic and phobic racialized contact, which multicultural queer logics must seek to contain. However, this chapter also illustrated mechanisms of survival that counteract the violent logics of such a queer multicultural landscape. Similar to the earlier discussion of queer kinship, Indigenous youth heavily relied upon Indigenous-specific services and organizations to find community, and such networking feeds into the kinship arrangements they utilize in order to survive. As well, Black youth participants exhibited how temporary events such as Blockorama and Fat Drag Musical expose the often concealed forms of anti-Black racism and Black consumption, and in doing so refuse such consumption and bring Blackness into existence outside of non-Black racial desire and pleasure. These momentary refusals of racial consumption present bursts of subaltern citizenship that allow us to question how alternative (multicultural) futures can be envisioned through the geographies of subaltern survival exerted by homeless Black queer and trans youth.

These chapters offer alternative glimpses into the realities of LGBTQ2 youth homelessness as not experiences of lacking agency, but rather as politicized subaltern subjects negotiating complex formations of control in queer urban space. Thus, while these chapters have presented the institutional, political, and cultural forms of domination that display architectures of bare life and dictate how homeless LGBTQ2 youth can inhabit a particular environment, they also illustrate forms of subaltern citizenship that assert political and agentive subjectivities within the containment of bare life. In contrast to the ways in which LGBTQ2 youth have been invisibilized in youth geographies and

critical urban studies, these chapters push these literatures by illustrating that queer, trans and Two Spirit youth agency extends the utility of the CWV to serve their own needs, in spite of the tremendous challenges they face in the neighbourhood. These micro and everyday actions of subaltern citizenship are, certainly, limited in their scope of impact – while they may serve as momentary interruptions of daily structures of power, such as interpersonal forms of racism, they do not offer interventions on a macro level. Rather, these actions help to facilitate figurations of persistent living, excesses of bare life, in spite of conditions that increase the vulnerability of LGBTQ2 youth and their closeness to necropolitical structures of policing and incarceration. The examples of fostering kinship, and momentarily refusing racialized expectations of submissive palatability, illustrate the agency within the geographies of subaltern survival, asserting urban subaltern citizenship with smaller-scale results that are relegated to the body and smaller social groups, such as homeless Indigenous and Black LGBTQ2 youth. Considering micro- and macro-scales of citizenship as co-constitutive, urban social movements and individual political actions can be understood as mutually informed, rather than exclusive, and as assertions of qualified life that gradually build resistance to architectures of *zoē* that exist throughout various geographical scales of power, from the urban neighbourhood to the state. For example, while nurturing kinship amongst Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth may read as only productive on the scale of the individual or a small group of friends, it would be wrong to assume that such moments could not lead to larger LGBTQ2 Indigenous youth activism in the future. Such dynamic relations between micro- and macro-political action can also be seen in Black queer history in Toronto, which traces current, large-scale activism by groups like BLMT0 to more

micro-scale activist work such as Blackness Yes!, which was primarily organized in small groups, in homes, with impacts that minimally extended beyond the goal of finding and making Black queer community (Haritaworn et al. 2018). Understanding citizenship through multiple and differentiated subaltern figures reveals a spectrum of political actions and outcomes, which can hold varying formations of geographies of subaltern survival as commensurate in their significance. Such a spectrum also illuminates the numerous, divergent excesses of bare life – marvelous, however minute, assertions of *bios* that burst within architectures of bare life that exist along a continuum of temporal permanence and spatial significance. While some are more contained to the body, others stretch into networks of community that extend beyond the boundaries of the CWV, and even Toronto. These queered forms of politicized agency insist that we re-evaluate the rigidity of the bare versus qualified life binary, in order to visibilize how different subaltern geographies push back against assertions of bio-necro-power within the urban sphere.

In addition, featuring the ways in which dominance is subverted on a smaller scale can illuminate the intricate, dynamic, and everyday negotiations of power that occur between individuals, institutions, and specific urban environments, as well as the nuanced roles that neighbourhoods play in the lives of marginalized communities, which are often lost in analyses of large-scale resistance. Attending to micro-scalar action not only pushes the bounds of critical urban studies to account for more everyday and embodied forms of political action, but also extends debates about the utility of gay villages. These chapters have revealed how the CWV still serves an important function for vulnerable LGBTQ2 youth, which intervenes with dominant narratives of gay villages in queer geographical

work that have largely described the role of such neighbourhoods as contributors to homonormative politics. Certainly, the CWV is caught up within such dynamics, which I have illustrated through the neighbourhood's consumer-oriented landscape, formal and informal mechanisms of enacting urban governance, and its anchoring of Canadian multiculturalism. This confirms other work in queer geography, which has critically analyzed gay villages as sites of exclusion for QTPOC, trans people, women, and youth. In the CWV, youth are associated with disruption and disorder, which is necessarily entangled with discourses of anti-Blackness, anti-homelessness, and transphobia. This dictates limited acceptable behaviours, and disproportionate policing of such behaviour, specifically for Black and trans feminine homeless youth in the CWV. The village, thus, facilitates an environment that is necessarily isolating for and exclusive of Black and trans feminine youth, which largely results in such youth avoiding the neighbourhood and the services located within it. Such racist, classist, and transphobic logics impinge upon the "ensemble of differences" (Lefebvre 1996, 109) in this urban space, and threaten the oeuvre of urbanity that is made ripe with everydayness, difference, and encounter.

Yet, as Nash (2013, 250) makes clear, we must attend to the commentary amongst popular culture that has written the village as less meaningful for "a new generation of twentysomething men, arguably, white, middle class and technologically savvy," by continuing to explore its significance for those who do not fall within those same sexual, gendered, classed, and racialized experiences. I would argue that this myth also persists in queer geographical scholarship that fails to adequately consider some of the seemingly contradictory ways in which gay villages continue to embody significance for some marginalized members of the LGBTQ2 community, while also functioning as sites in

which queer resistance can emerge. In following this task throughout my writing, I have illustrated that, contrary to such assertions from within Toronto's gay community, the village remains a significant, although challenging, environment for many homeless LGBTQ2 youth. This combats the ways in which discourses of homonormativity have rendered gay villages as predominantly sites of oppression for those who are not included in the throws of queer marketability and consumption. For example, the use of consumer-based public spaces to facilitate chosen kinship networks, and impermanent moments that provide brief glances into alternative futures and politics beyond the stronghold of capital and whiteness, illustrate how gay villages also operate as places in which queer resistance can emerge. Such an analysis pushes back against the ways in which marginalized LGBTQ2 youth have been left unattended to in urban queer geographies, as centering such subjectivities in my research has unearthed the significance of queer urban space in the lives of homeless queer, trans, and Two Spirit youth. Illustrating the diverse ways in which LGBTQ2 youth come to value gay villages exposes how queer geographic scholarship has reproduced a false conception of young queer peoples' apathy toward such queer urban spaces, and the failure of homonormative critiques to consider the ways in which such landscapes are more than consumer spaces, but those in which subversion also continues to occur.

Another analytical strength of the micro and everyday actions of homeless LGBTQ2 youth is how they expand the notion of what it means to survive, and emphasize the importance of the emotional register in critical urban studies. While basic material needs are critical for the task of daily physical living – or the essential requirements to fulfill *zoē* – my analysis also illustrates the essential role of emotional

support in the ways homeless LGBTQ2 youth navigate their lived conditions. For youth who may not utilize city or non-profit services, the personal networks that they facilitate not only contribute to their emotional support, but also the physical necessities to fulfill a bare life by connecting them to sources of food, shelter, and income that are not through formal services within the city. As basic needs are increasingly taken care of through personal networks of support because of the failure of Toronto's services to provide adequately safe and affirming services, particularly for Indigenous and Black LGBTQ2 youth, and trans feminine youth, there is much room for research to further delve into the ways in which such youth construct informal means of survival in the face of these institutional limitations.

Attending to the emotional register throughout this dissertation has also called attention to the exclusionary nature of the CWV, specifically for Black and Indigenous LGBTQ2 youth, and trans feminine youth. As noted throughout Chapters Four, Five, and Six, trans feminine youth, as well as Indigenous and Black LGBTQ2 youth, predominantly avoid the village because of its transphobic and racist logics. Such avoidance is not surprising, given the ways in which the CWV has historically coalesced around cis gay men's cultural, political, sexual, and spatial practices, as well as its more recent role in discourses of Canadian nationalism (Nash 2006, 2013). Yet part of the theoretical exercise of this dissertation has been to question how such forms of power are re-inscribed into queer space through the reassertion of gay villages as only exclusionary, without considering that such spatial practices may be challenged. I want to believe that visualizing the significant role that the CWV plays in enhancing the survival of some homeless LGBTQ2 youth can push us to continue questioning the neighbourhood's

(re)productions of transphobia and racism³³, reveal the sources of such toxicities, and perhaps challenge them more brazenly. In considering the role of institutions in creating such hostile queer landscapes, it is unclear if, just as the neighbourhood has slowly influenced the institutions within it, the reverse can also occur in which institutions – the people who work for them and, importantly, use their services – can also create change within the neighbourhood. It is important to consider the possibility of altering the political and cultural environment of the village by creating change within institutions that provide services for homeless LGBTQ2 youth. If organizations like EYO, SOY, and even the 519 prioritize hiring and training practices that centre Indigenous LGBTQ2 people, non-Indigenous QTPOC, and trans women, might the resulting increased representation of such persons challenge the racism, transphobia, and settler colonialism present in the CWV? Perhaps an intentional increase in such underrepresented populations could offer a productive confrontation to offset the dominance of white masculinity in the gay village.

Such optimism feels perhaps unrealistic given the direction of CWV institutions and politics since conducting my research. For example, in October 2017 several local businesses became more vocal about crime in the neighbourhood, describing incidents as “thuggery” and posting flyers on business doors with the sentence “Church & Wellesley

³³ There are, of course, other areas of struggle that emerged in my work with youth participants, specifically the institutionalization of youth in Child and Welfare Services, the Canadian state and processes of obtaining refugee status, homophobia and transphobia within shelters and transitional housing, and more generally substance use. However, these were beyond the scope of my research and further investigating them would have necessitated a different research approach. These concerns indicate areas where further research is needed about the intersections of larger provincial and national institutions with LGBTQ2 youth homelessness.

under siege by thugs” (Ibrahim 2017). Shortly after this push for increased Police presence to mitigate such racialized and classed criminal activity, alleged serial killer Bruce McArthur was arrested in January 2018 following the investigation of a missing white gay man who lived in the village, Andrew Kinsman. Over the next months, outcry from Toronto’s gay community became more public over the lack of care from Police in investigating men who went missing from the village as far back as 2010 and 2012, the majority of whom were men of colour and recent migrants into Canada (Gibson 2017). One month after his arrest, this criticism was met by Toronto’s Chief of Police, Mark Saunders, who cited the LGBTQ community as the reason for the Police’s failure to identify McArthur more quickly (Ha 2018). While this intensified the tense relationship between Toronto Police and the city’s queer community, which has been growing since Police were told they could not march in the annual pride parade in 2016, Pride Toronto made a surprising decision in October 2018 to end its two-year agreement with BLMTQ to ban Toronto Police from marching in the parade (McLaughlin 2018). Thus, despite the mounting criticism of Police within Toronto’s LGBTQ2 community, village institutions are introducing more ways through which the Police can remain present and involved in the neighbourhood.

These actions indicate a dissonance between Toronto’s queer community and queer institutions; while the city’s queer community is increasingly disapproving of the (in)action of Toronto Police in matters of protecting and respecting LGBTQ2 people, village businesses and community organizations are demonstrating the opposite. Instead, these institutions are more concerned with security threats, couched in heavily racialized and classed logics of criminality, that would negatively impact businesses, funding

opportunities, and public images of the CWV beyond the city's queer community. Village businesses and community organizations are moving in a distinctly oppositional direction to the concerns of the queer public, and the impact of such contradictions remains to be seen. Such community dissonance calls into question what the future of the CWV may look like, as a space increasingly dominated by discourses of control and order, and how this may impact a community that is concerned about such displays of power. Thus, while this dissertation has illustrated the ways in which Toronto's CWV is complex and dynamic, and a space in which moments of resistance and difference still manifest, it goes without saying that tremendous shifts need to occur in order for anti-Blackness, settler colonialism and transmisogyny embedded in CWV institutions to be challenged. For example, policy could be implemented for a certain percentage of businesses and members of the CWVBIA to identify as part of the LGBTQ2 community, or to change hiring policies in queer non-profits to more accurately reflect youth who use certain services by increasing the amount of Indigenous, people of colour, and trans feminine employees. Or, perhaps as Haritaworn et al.'s (2018) collection illustrates, placemaking practices by QTPOC will increasingly take place in queer spaces outside of the CWV, where queer futures can be enacted with less incessant forms of queer racism that manifest in the village.

In the face of such a harsh material, cultural, and political landscape like the CWV, the question remains of the meaning of survival, and in particular, what it means for homeless LGBTQ2 youth to insist on living within conditions of bare life. While it is a tremendous task for homeless youth to access stable and safe shelter/housing, food, and income, the queerphobia and transphobia that homeless LGBTQ2 youth face in municipal

services and shelters makes the labour of surviving that much more onerous.

Consequently, we must ask if living persistently in the ways I have illustrated challenges the dichotomy of *zoē* versus *bios* by pushing subjects experiencing bare life into the polis.

The ways in which homeless LGBTQ2 youth form kinship, and momentarily embody and enact refusal, alter and interrupt the political circulations of capitalism and multiculturalism within the CWV, and offer informal entry into citizenship. Thus, the minimal fact of living becomes something more – it becomes *bios*, an emotionally and politically charged life that challenges the structure of *zoē* built into a politicized queer environment. The moments of tension that arise between queer urban governance, queer multiculturalism, and unapologetic queer and trans youth embodiment emphasize the power of such concealed and unrecognized acts of citizenship in theories of urban political agency. When notions of political action and participation are expanded to include such moments and subjectivities, we can begin to imagine how the meaning and function of urban space is altered. As argued earlier, while these actions may only come to impact singular or several bodies together in community, they may slowly evolve over time into larger anti-racist, trans-centred, and/or decolonial queer movements that then enact more large-scale and far-reaching urban change. Recognizing these subjectivities and embodied responses to the cultural, political, and material conditions of the CWV provides critical theoretical interventions into not only how we understand the role of gay villages, but also how we approach and understand urban LGBTQ2 livelihoods, subjectivities, and material conditions in the face of increasing investment in queer urban governance and homonationalism. While it is certainly challenging to envision queer futures in such bleak circumstances, centering homeless LGBTQ2 youth in such a

theoretical project has illustrated how survival persists, and can continue to endure the structures of power that facilitate intolerable queer landscapes.

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Appendix: Interview Documents

Phase 1 Interview Questions with Youth

Preliminary questions:

- 1) Tell me a bit about yourself (how do you identify? Age, pronouns, race)
- 2) How would you describe your housing situation? (currently or previously experienced homelessness or underhoused?)
- 3) How long have you experienced this housing situation for?
- 4) Have difficulties or challenges have you faced in your current situation because of your LGBTQ2+ identity? Any positives?
- 5) Where do you spend a lot of time? Areas of the city, places/organizations, businesses?
 - a. Are there any places/organizations/businesses you avoid?
- 6) Do you spend time in the gay village? Why do/don't you spend time there?

Mental-mapping prompts:

Take the next few minutes to draw a map of how you understand and use the Gay village based upon the impressions of this place that you carry around in your head and use to navigate the neighbourhood. For example, you could draw places where: you hang out alone or with friends; you work; you avoid; you've had positive or negative experiences, or where you access services.

- 1) Talk to me about this map. What did you put on it and why?
- 2) Can you tell me more about your movement around the village with this map?
- 3) Is there anything you didn't include on this map? Why?

Map-prompted questions:

- 1) How much time do you spend in the Village, if at all, in a week or month?
- 2) Where in the village do you spend the majority of your time?
- 3) What do you do when you're in the village?
- 4) Who do you hang out with when you're there?
- 5) Where in the village do you like to spend time? Why?
- 6) What are the places in the village that you avoid? Why?
- 7) Can you tell me more about places where you've had positive or negative experiences? What have they been about?
- 8) How do you move around the village? (e.g., Do you start at one place, end up at another, go to specific locations at different times during the day? What mode of transport do you use – walking, public transit, bicycle?)
- 9) What aspects of the village, if any, make you feel as if you belong and are welcome or supported?
- 10) What places or people, if any, in the village make you feel unsupported, unsafe, or unwelcome?
- 11) Are there any aspects of yourself/your identity that feel more visible or exposed when you're in the village?
 - a. Different or similar to when you're in other areas of the city?
- 12) If you're comfortable, have you ever experienced discrimination in the village? How did you address it or respond to it?

Concluding questions:

- 1) What organizations, if any, do you rely upon for support? In what ways are they helpful? In what ways are they unhelpful?
- 2) Can you tell me what a common experience might look like for you at support services or orgs for homeless youth?
- 3) Do you use any LGBTQ-oriented organizations for support? In what ways are they helpful? In what ways are they unhelpful?
- 4) Is there anything you think LGBTQ organizations can do to improve their support of homeless LGBTQ2 youth?
- 5) Are there any changes you'd like to see in the village that could improve your experiences of it, or make it a place that's more supportive of queer and trans youth who are homeless?
- 6) Are there any changes you'd like to see in the LGBTQ community that could improve the support you receive and your experiences of being homeless?

Support Services

LGBT Youth Line

(www.youthline.ca)

Services: Free, anonymous, confidential and supportive peer support for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, transgender, Two Spirit, queer and questioning youth in Ontario. Phone, text, online chat, and TTY Services available.

Hours:

Sunday-Friday, 4:00p.m. – 9:30p.m.

Contact:

Toll-free: 1-800-268-9688

Toronto: 416-962-9688

Text: 647-694-4275

Hassle Free Clinic

(www.hasslefreeclinic.org)

Services: Free medical and counselling services for anyone who is LGBTQ2+

Hours:

Tuesday, 5:00p.m. – 11:00p.m.

Every 1st and 3rd Sunday of the month, 1:00p.m. – 5:00p.m.

Contact:

416-922-0566

Location:

66 Gerrard Street East 2nd Floor

Sunday Drop-In

Services: Group counselling, harm reduction, and housing support for LGBTQ2+ people experiencing poverty

Hours:

Sundays, 10:30a.m. – 1:00p.m.

Location:

The 519, 519 Church Street

Consent Form: Public Officials and Non-Profit Employees

You are invited to participate in the study, “Young, Queer, and on the Streets: Homeless LGBTQ2 Youth in Toronto’s Gay Village”. Please read this form carefully and feel free to ask me any questions you have.

Researcher: Rae Rosenberg, Ph.D., Year 2

Address: [Removed for privacy]

Email: [Removed for privacy]

Project Goals: The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of queer and trans homeless/street-based youth (ages 18-28) in and around Toronto’s gay village. I want to gain an understanding of how the gay village supports and/or marginalizes queer and trans homeless/street-based youth, and the ways they assert themselves within the village. This project also asks how non-profit organizations located in and around the village impact the lives and experiences of LGBTQ2 homeless/street-based youth in Toronto.

What is Involved in Participating: Your participation will consist of a semi-structured interview for approximately 60 minutes, which will occur at a location of your choice or over the telephone. During this interview I will take hand-written notes, which will be accompanied by an audio recording of the interview. If you are not comfortable with an audio recording I will only take hand written notes. You may be contacted for a follow-up conversation after the interview for any clarification or further questions I may have that arise during my analysis of the research.

Your participation in the research is completely voluntary. You may decline to answer some questions or choose to withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason, without any penalty. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with me or York University, now or in the future. If you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Should you choose to participate, your comments may be used directly. If you prefer not to be named, you will indicate your preference to be referred to only as a representative of your department, institution, or organization. The data collected will be used as part of Rae Rosenberg’s dissertation, as well as in the publication of academic articles, presentations, and conferences, and possibly community publications and presentations.

I do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research. Individual information will not be shared with others. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. The results of this study will be securely stored by Rae Rosenberg on his computer and in a locked cabinet at York University for five years, after which all electronic files will be deleted from Rae Rosenberg’s hard drive, and hardcopy files will be shredded. If you have any questions or concerns about the research or your role in the study, please contact me, my Graduate Supervisor Dr. Alison Bain

(contact information removed for privacy), or the Geography graduate program office (contact information removed for privacy).

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the Manager for the Office of Research Ethics, (contact information removed for privacy).

Confidentiality:

You can choose to be anonymous in the written reports of this study.

1) Interview

_____ Yes, I want to be identified in reports or publications produced from this research.

_____ No, I do not want to be identified in reports or publications produced from this research.

Legal Rights and Signature:

I, _____, consent to participate in "Young, Queer, and on the Streets: Homeless LGBTQ2 Youth in the Gay Village", conducted by Rae Rosenberg. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Participant name

Participant signature

Date

Rae Rosenberg

Signature, Principal Investigator

Date

Interview 1 Consent Form: Youth

You are invited to participate in the study, “Young, Queer, and on the Streets: Homeless LGBTQ2 Youth in Toronto’s Gay Village”. Please read this form carefully and feel free to ask me any questions you have.

Researcher: Rae Rosenberg, Ph.D. year two
Address: [Removed for privacy]
Email: [Removed for privacy]

Project Goals: The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of LGBTQ2 (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, Two Spirit) homeless/street-based youth (18-28 years old) in and around Toronto’s gay village. I want to understand how organizations, business owners, and people who live in the gay village support or make life harder for queer and trans homeless youth. This project also asks how LGBTQ2 homeless youth make space for themselves in the village.

What is Involved in Participating: You will be asked to participate in an interview for about one hour (60 minutes), at a location of your choice, where you will be paid \$20.00 for your time at the end of the interview. The interview will be recorded with a digital recorder along with my hand-written notes. If you aren’t comfortable with an audio recording, only hand-written notes will be taken.

Your participation in the research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to answer some questions or choose to stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, without any consequences. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer any questions, will not affect your relationship with me or York University, now or in the future. If you withdraw from the study, all information associated with you will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. If you decide to stop participating, you will still receive the promised money for agreeing to be interviewed. If you withdraw from the study or choose not to answer some questions, you will still receive \$20.00 for your time.

If you choose to participate, your comments, drawings, and maps may be used directly by me in results of this study. If you prefer not to be named, you will say so at the bottom of this form and choose a nickname that I can use instead. The data collected will be used as part of my dissertation, as well as in the publication of academic articles, presentations, and conferences, and possibly community publications and presentations.

You may choose to participate in future interviews for this project. If you do, I will ask you to fill out a separate form with your contact information so I can be in touch to schedule an interview. This does not mean that you have to take part in an interview if you do not want to. This information will only be used by me to contact you for a follow-up interview and not for any other purpose.

Your contact details will be held securely in a locked cabinet, in my locked office at York University, for five years after this study. This information will not be provided to any other individual or agency. Your interviews will be password protected on my computer, and all information that could identify you will be removed.

I do not expect any physical risks from your participation in the research. We will be talking about some personal information, which may be emotionally challenging at times. I have provided you with a sheet of paper with support services you can access, for free, if your participation causes you any emotional discomfort. If it becomes too difficult you may ask to not answer that question or to stop the interview, with no consequences.

Your individual information will not be shared with others and will be kept confidential to the fullest extent possible by law. The results of this study will be stored electronically on my computer, and in a locked cabinet in my locked office at York University for five years. After five years all electronic files will be deleted from my hard drive, and hardcopy files will be shredded. If you have any questions or concerns about the research or your role in the study, please contact me, my Graduate Supervisor, Dr. Alison Bain (contact information removed for privacy), or the Geography graduate program office (contact information removed for privacy).

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the Manager for the Office of Research Ethics, (contact information removed for privacy).

Confidentiality:

You may choose to be anonymous in the written reports of this study.

1) Interview

_____ Yes, I want to be identified in reports or publications produced from this research.

_____ Use my real name

_____ Use this nickname instead of my real name:

_____ No, I do not want to be identified in reports or publications produced from this research.

2) Artwork

_____ Yes, I want to be identified in reports or publications produced from this research.

_____ Use my real name

_____ Use this nickname instead of my real name:

_____ No, I do not want to be identified in reports or publications produced from this research.

Legal Rights and Signature:

I, _____, consent to participate in “Young, Queer, and on the Streets: Homeless LGBTQ2 Youth in the Gay Village”, conducted by Rae Rosenberg. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Participant name

Participant signature

Date

Rae Rosenberg

Signature, Principal Investigator

Date

Interview 2 Consent Form: Youth

You are invited to participate in the study, “Young, Queer, and on the Streets: Homeless LGBTQ2 Youth in Toronto’s Gay Village”. Please read this form carefully and feel free to ask me any questions you have.

Researcher: Rae Rosenberg, Ph.D. year two
Address: [Removed for privacy]
Email: [Removed for privacy]

Project Goals: The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of LGBTQ2 (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, Two Spirit) homeless/street-based youth (18-28 years old) in and around Toronto’s gay village. I want to understand how organizations, business owners, and people who live in the gay village support or make life harder for queer and trans homeless youth. This project also asks how LGBTQ2 homeless youth make space for themselves in the village.

What is Involved in Participating: You will be asked to participate in an interview for about one hour (60 minutes), at a location of your choice, where you will be paid \$20.00 for your time at the end of the interview. The interview will be recorded with a digital recorder along with my hand-written notes. If you aren’t comfortable with an audio recording, only hand-written notes will be taken.

Your participation in the research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to answer some questions or choose to stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, without any consequences. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer any questions, will not affect your relationship with me or York University, now or in the future. If you withdraw from the study, all information associated with you will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. If you withdraw from the study or choose not to answer some questions, you will still receive \$20.00 for your time.

If you choose to participate, your comments, drawings, and maps may be used directly by me in results of this study. If you prefer not to be named, you will say so at the bottom of this form and choose a nickname that I can use instead. The data collected will be used as part of my dissertation, as well as in the publication of academic articles, presentations, and conferences, and possibly community publications and presentations.

You may choose to participate for a future photography/video project through Instagram. If I don’t already have your contact information, I will ask for it on a separate form so I can be in touch to schedule an interview. This does not mean that you have to take part in an interview if you do not want to. This information will only be used by me to contact you for a follow-up interview and not for any other purpose.

Your contact details will be held securely in a locked cabinet, in my locked office at York University, for five years after this study. This information will not be provided to any

other individual or agency. Your interviews will be password protected on my computer, and all information that could identify you will be removed.

I do not expect any physical risks from your participation in the research. We will be talking about some personal information, which may be emotionally challenging at times. I have provided you with a sheet of paper with support services you can access, for free, if your participation causes you any emotional discomfort. If it becomes too difficult you may ask to not answer that question or to stop the interview, with no consequences.

Your individual information will not be shared with others and will be kept confidential to the fullest extent possible by law. The results of this study will be stored electronically on my computer, and in a locked cabinet in my locked office at York University for five years. After five years all electronic files will be deleted from my hard drive, and hardcopy files will be shredded. If you have any questions or concerns about the research or your role in the study, please contact me, my Graduate Supervisor, Dr. Alison Bain (contact information removed for privacy), or the Geography graduate program office (contact information removed for privacy).

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the Manager for the Office of Research Ethics, (contact information removed for privacy).

Confidentiality:

You may choose to be anonymous in the written reports of this study.

1) Interview

_____ Yes, I want to be identified in reports or publications produced from this research.

_____ Use my real name

_____ Use this nickname instead of my real name:

_____ No, I do not want to be identified in reports or publications produced from this research.

2) Artwork

_____ Yes, I want to be identified in reports or publications produced from this research.

_____ Use my real name

_____ Use this nickname instead of my real name:

_____ No, I do not want to be identified in reports or publications produced from this research.

Legal Rights and Signature:

I, _____, consent to participate in “Young, Queer, and on the Streets: Homeless LGBTQ2 Youth in the Gay Village”, conducted by Rae Rosenberg. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Participant name

Participant signature

Date

Rae Rosenberg

Signature, Principal Investigator

Date