

Trans Urban Activism as a Wave of Counter-Planning

Carmen Armignomette

Supervised by

Dr. Douglas Young

A Major Paper
submitted to the Faculty of Environmental and Urban Change
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Environmental Studies
York University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

July 29th, 2024

Abstract

My research paper examines the evolution of counter-planning practices, with a focus on the recent emergence of transgender-centred urban activism. Drawing on an interdisciplinary theoretical framework, the paper argues that we are now witnessing a "fifth wave" of counter-planning, one that centres the experiences and rights of transgender individuals in the built environment.

The paper traces the history of counter-planning, beginning with feminist disruptions of male-normative planning, followed by racial, LGBTQ+, and immigrant/migrant-focused waves. It then asserts that the current phase of counter-planning is distinguished by a prioritization of transgender identities, experiences, and claims to the city. Through an analysis of housing, public resources, and urban spaces, the paper explores how transgender activists are using planning mechanisms to challenge urban transphobia and advocate for transgender people's right to the city.

Grounded in an interdisciplinary framework that draws on urban theory, feminist theory, critical race theory, and queer theory, this research contributes to emerging scholarship on the intersections of transgender identities, urban planning, and spatial justice. By elevating transgender counter-planning practices, the paper aims to inform more inclusive and equitable approaches to the production of urban space.

Foreword

This major research paper fulfills the requirements of the MES planning degree through meeting two objectives of my learning component four: transformative planning through equity and social agency. Throughout my academic journey studying various methodologies with a focus on reaching the excluded 'others', I am always left to ponder the impact of the 'others' on planning and the broader urban society. I wondered what impact the excluded 'others' make on urbanism and the planning process. Thus, my MES planning degree serves as a space of exploration, and it is here where I spatialize the impact of marginalized communities on planning and urbanism.

Acknowledgement

With a background in Urban Studies and Environmental Studies, I have surveyed materials from countless writers, activists, and scholars. I have had the privilege of being taught by some of the field's most astute professionals, including Dr. Roger Keil on Political Economy and the urban. His teaching significantly shaped my understanding of the internationalized nature of cities like Toronto and New York City. Through our exploration of their global socio-political networks, I gained insights into how cities can produce or perpetuate issues like urban transphobia, with far-reaching effects.

My theorization is inspired by the influential works of scholars like Leonie Sandercock, David Harvey, and Henri Lefebvre, as well as Professors Douglas Young and Teresa Abbruzzese. Their frameworks have been instrumental in shaping my recognition of the inherent freedoms and access to urban spaces. I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to engage with these esteemed thinkers and the broader community of urban studies and planning scholars. Their insights, critiques, and pioneering ideas have been invaluable in guiding the development of this research.

I am also indebted to my graduate program advisor, Dr. Liette Gilbert, and my research supervisor, Dr. Douglas Young, for their unwavering guidance, support, and mentorship throughout this process.

Table of Contents

<i>Abstract</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Foreword</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Acknowledgement</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	1
1. Theoretical Framework	2
Recognizing equity in planning: ‘equity nodal theory’	3
2. Methods	4
3. First Four Waves of Counter-Planning	5
The First Wave: Feminist Movement	5
The Second Wave: Racialized ‘Black’ Movement	7
The Third Wave: Sexuality Gay/Lesbian Movement	10
The Fourth Wave: Immigrant/Migrant Movement	11
4. Fifth Wave of Counter-Planning	13
A. Urban conditions and experiences of transgender people.....	13
B. What are the scholars and activists saying?	18
C. Impact of the wave onto planning and the urban environment	23
<i>Conclusion</i>	25
<i>Directions for future research</i>	25
<i>Bibliography</i>	27

List of Figures

Figure 1: Example of the original 1938 HOLC “Residential Security” map of Atlanta with colour-coded gradation of neighbourhoods by risk level.....	8
Figure 2: Image of a freight train passing through Africville in 1965.	9

Introduction

In her book, *Towards Cosmopolis* and other work, planning scholar Leonie Sandercock argued for planning practices and planning ideas that would make the invisible, visible (Sandercock, 1998, p. 2). That is because as she believes, traditional planning had often been exclusionary, favouring the interests and perspectives of dominant social groups while marginalizing the needs of minority and underrepresented communities (Sandercock, 1998, pp. 1-2). Sandercock urged the development of insurgent or counter-planning. As a planning candidate, I understand my role to be in the service of the public interest, either in the role of a city planner, environmental planner, transportation planner, or in other urban-focused activities. I hope to actively work to dismantle those historical legacies of discrimination and centre the voices and experiences of those who have been excluded. In undertaking this Research Paper, I aim to do just that, to bring scholarly recognition to the marginalization, counter-movements, and impact of excluded folks like the transgender community.

This paper considers trans-urban activism as a form of counter-planning practice and explores the extent to which urban planning might challenge transphobia and support transgender persons' right to the city. In this paper I ask the question, can modern trans-urban activism be seen as a counter-planning practice, in which it uses urban planning mechanisms to challenge transphobia and support transgender persons' right to the city? I theorize that there have been four waves of counter-planning. Throughout these analyses, this research focuses on housing and access to public resources and urban spaces.

The first was a feminist wave that disrupted the male-normative dominance of planning. The second was a racial wave that disrupted the racial superiority, that was white-Eurocentric lives, of planning, to include the lived experience of racialized bodies inhabiting our urban spaces. The third Gay rights disrupted the heteronormative centrism of planning to mainly include gay and lesbian cisgender lived experiences of and within the urban spaces. Then with the advancement of the neoliberal agenda which spurred the migration of all labour as human capital, came the fourth wave of planning. This wave sought to champion rights for immigrants/migrants and expats within urban spaces to have their lived experiences represented in the planning process.

With the advancement of technology, medical science and social shifts came the exodus of transgender population from the shadows of society. Also, with the surfacing of transgender identities came oppression and limitation to their access to and experiences of urban spaces. This is demonstrated during the 2020 pandemic with discourses around transgender individuals accessing cisgender spaces such as bathrooms. Thus, I assert that we are now in the fifth wave of counter-planning.

I recognize that transgender individuals and movements were instrumental in the successes of the fourth wave, being part of the then LGBT community. Notwithstanding their earlier contributions, I make this assertion because those prominent debates and impacts on planning were 'sexual orientation/sexuality' in nature and not 'gender identity/expression'. A 'gay/lesbian' impact is contextually grounded in sexuality, whereas a transgender impact is contextually grounded in 'gender identity'. For instance, prominent debates of the fourth wave centred around equal access to and the right to the city to be inclusive of diverse sexual

orientations. These brought about provisions including gay marriages, adoption by gay and lesbian couples, and inclusionary housing policies on the grounds of sexuality. Gender identity and expression were not at the forefront of those debates especially not on the receiving end of those provisions. It is only now that we are making new provisioning on the grounds of diverse gender identity and expression. These include the legal changing of gender markers which dictate how a transgender person navigates and accesses the world, and laws around non-gender specific facilities or sports activities. Therefore, I argue that we are now in the fifth wave of counter-planning, specifically focused on transgender rights and representation.

1. Theoretical Framework

My research draws upon an interdisciplinary body of scholarship to construct a theoretical and conceptual framework for understanding the navigation experiences of transgender women and other marginalized groups in cis-hetero-normative urban environments. These diverse perspectives inform my analysis of the urban city, planning as a theory and practice, and the lived experiences of marginalized people.

The urban is conceptualized as a complex, multifaceted space that functions as a social-political centre, a capitalist hub, and a site of alternative micro-spaces (Fisker et al., 2018; Soja, 1996). Sgibnev (2020, pp. 282 – 283) subscribes to this “understanding of spaces as a social product, which is being explored and conquered, and seen as “means of control, and hence of domination, of power.” This understanding is informed by Lefebvre's (1991) trialectics of perceived, conceived, and lived space. Lefebvre conceptualized this multi-dimensional “trialectic of space” comprised of three distinct but interrelated dimensions. As outlined in Young's (2006) dissertation, perceived space refers to the material spatial practices of everyday life, such as commuting routes, while conceived space encompasses the abstract representations of space created by urban planners and developers, and the lived spaces - the imaginary and resistant spaces occupied by ordinary people (Merrifield, 2000, p. 175 in Young, 2006, p. 197). However, according to Young's analysis, the contradictions inherent in Lefebvre's spatial triad can also catalyze "moments of transcendence" where residents assert their own visions and appropriations of urban space (Gottdiener, 1994 in Young, 2006, p. 197-213, see also Schmid, 2001). Crucially, Lefebvre argues that in capitalist societies, these conceived spaces often "crush and vanquish" (Merrifield, 2000, p. 175 in Young, 2006, p. 197). This conceptualization frames my understanding of the production of urban space as intensely political, always in process, and open to indeterminacy and alternative possibilities. Feminist scholars like Dolores Hayden (1980), Jane Jacobs (1992), and Yasminah Beebeejaun (2017) highlight the gendered nature of urban planning and design, where the built environment has largely been conceived through the lens of a gender binary, privileging cisgender identities and rendering transgender and nonconforming individuals invisible or marginalized. They also argue the need to centre the perspectives of marginalized communities.

Marxist theorists such as Manuel Castells (1983), Henri Lefebvre (1991), and David Harvey (1981) provide crucial insights into the role of capitalism and uneven power dynamics in shaping the urban landscape. Queer scholars like Petra Doan (2007), Jeremy Kidd (2008), Marc Stein (2004), and others illuminate the experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals navigating heteronormative urban spaces. Additionally, critical race scholars such as Dantzler (2021) and

Hamilton (1973) underscore the racialized dimensions of urban development and the marginalization of communities of colour.

Embracing this interdisciplinary framework, I analyze the urban as a site of ongoing struggle, where marginalized groups actively navigate and resist dominant spatial logics (Fisker et al., 2018; Lubitow et al., 2016; Nelson, 2021). Alternative urban spaces, as conceptualized by Fisker et al. (2018), serve as counterpoints to prevailing capitalist modes of urbanization, offering radical solutions to contemporary challenges faced by transgender women and other marginalized communities.

As previously noted, the three trialectics of spaces are simultaneously in contradiction, where, as Young (2006, p. 213) highlights, “in the contradictions within the trialectic of space are possibilities of resistance to imposed conception of space.” These contradictions and their possibilities of resistance lie the potential for urban planning. Given my understanding of urban spaces as being socio-politically produced for exploration and power etc., I see urban planning as a system within resistance where three key actors, scholar-planners, professional-planners and ‘citizen-planners’, each operates within and among Lefebvre’s (1991) trialectic urban space in a constant contentious rhythm. That is, scholar-planners are the educational and scholarly side of urban planning conceptualizing and theorizing about the urban environment through their movement between three spaces. The professional-planners are products of a state-focused, institutionalized practice of planning where the state holds the authority and power to establish planning regulations and frameworks and to assign different rights and responsibilities for different actors (politicians, government planners, citizens) to develop plans to shape the built environment. Consequently, professional planners inhabit the conceived space of the urban. While the citizen-planners embody the experiences and agency of urban inhabitants where they transmute their lived experiences into a form of “everyday” planning that can inform the educational discourse and challenge established planning practices. These citizen-planners freely inhabits both the perceived and lived spaces. Thus, it is the interplay of these three planning actors within the urban, all with competing interests for some control of the urban, that collectively define the holistic process of urban planning. Hence, urban planning is a multifaceted process, a negotiation, occurring within the resistance of the contradictions of the three socio-political spaces of the urban, that sees the scholarly conceptualization of the urban environment, the institutionalized practices of the state, and the lived experiences of citizens unsystematically shape the development and use of the built environment. Examples of this negotiation are provided later throughout chapters four and five where I present the grassroots works that each wave did to counter their urban normative planning ideals.

Recognizing equity in planning: ‘equity nodal theory’

Recognizing the impacts of the five waves in planning practices, policies and theories requires a subordinate theory which I am calling ‘equity nodal theory’.

In this, I am theorizing that within planning practices, policies, and theories there should be visible identifiers or markers as a result of, or in the aftermath of each wave. These identifiers or markers are what I call equity nodes, i.e., points embedded within planning by counter-planning wave systems at which said point acts as amplitude of vibrations for its wave through the planning practice. For instance, after the feminism wave, planning practices, policies and theories should have clear feminism nodes embedded within them, and the same stands true for

the other waves. These nodes, if I may, can also be conceptualized through Henri Lefebvre's rhythm theory, as the point where the accumulation of internal rhythms, or lived rhythms, synchronizes. Rhythm is seen as a fundamental aspect of social and urban life, capturing the repetitive patterns and flows of everyday activities, while operating at multiple scales, from the individual body to the rhythms of the city as a whole (Goonewardena, 2008). Hence, paying attention to rhythms can reveal the underlying power structures and social inequalities embedded in urban spaces. Consequently, it is the revelation of social inequalities that makes my conceptualization of nodes as focal points of individual rhythms so pertinent.

The benefits of the nodes being present in planning can be realized through understanding the nature of society through the concept of reification, described by Marxist scholar Georg Lukács. Explaining Lukács' concept of reification, Goonewardena (2008: p. 119) writes:

If the key to the secret of capitalism lies in the commodity, argues Lukács, then no one is better placed to make sense of it than the thoroughly commodified worker, the concrete laborer turned into abstract labor power, because the worker's own "lived experience" best embodies—and therefore explains—the social order premised on the commodity: "The self-understanding of the proletariat is . . . simultaneously the objective understanding of the nature of society."

The lived experiences of individuals, those affected by and benefiting from our plans, make them best suited to inform the planning decision and thinking.

As demonstrated in the subsequent sections of this paper, I identify nodes from the 5 waves within various planning policies, practices and even theory.

2. Methods

Initially I propose to undertake research that would explore the lived experiences of trans women in Toronto. I ask how the navigation experiences of trans-women in the city counter or challenge traditional cis-normative urban planning, and how can diverse genders be better accommodated by urban planning policies and practices? To that end I secured ethics approval for my research.

I plan to conduct a comprehensive literature review, followed by one-on-one interviews with several transgender women within Toronto to map their daily existence and demonstrate how they actively attempt to reshape their city for their liveability. My initial email to prospective interviewees was received positively in all cases, however, when I followed up with an email to set a time and place for the interview, I receive a completely different response ranging from not interested to feeling over researched and even fear of their trans identity exposure.

Ultimately, I complete only one interview. In total I contacted approximately 20 individuals, trans-related organizations and LBGTQ Toronto politicians. Consequently, I made the difficult decision to abandon the idea of interview-based research and instead employ other qualitative methods. I decide to undertake a media scan of mainstream news media and literature review of scholarly materials. Through this, I conduct case studies on a few cities, Toronto, Halifax, New

York City and Chicago to draw specific case contexts to ground my theoretical arguments related to marginalized group-led urban intervention or planning processes.

I conduct a media content analysis on news coverage from the Toronto City News, Toronto Star, and Toronto Sun platforms ranging from January 2024 to June 2024 for all trans-related media. In total, I scan over 50 digital news articles. I perform a content analysis of dominant planning discourses and their marginalization of vulnerable populations. An emphasis was placed on counter-planning and the critique of exclusionary planning practices. I engage an interdisciplinary body of scholarship and media to build a theoretical and conceptual framework.

3. First Four Waves of Counter-Planning

In an attempt to demonstrate how the current transgender movement is part of a larger tradition of marginalized groups fighting back against mainstream planning, i.e., of making themselves visible and heard, I begin with a historical analysis. This historical analysis analyzes the first four movements and their impacts on urban planning, presenting them as monumental waves of inclusion that disrupted the hetero-cisgender-male-white normative form of planning. By this, I examine three facets of each historical event: (i) their then present-day socio-political urban conditions and experiences of said movement's marginalized group, (ii) the discourse of the day about the people's marginality and need for planning inclusion, and (iii) the resulting impact of the wave onto the planning of the day and its urban environment in the aftermath.

While I recognize that the impact of each activism on urbanism goes beyond its wave, for the sake of a concise analysis I speak of them as a snapshot in time when they are most impactful to urban planning and the urban environment. Hence, I must acknowledge that each of the following movements has had precursors across other socially constructed segments of society that predate the periods listed below. For instance, feminism has had up to three waves that are argued to have begun as early as the 1800s with thinkers like Jane Austen who were advocating for the equality and dignity of women. Notwithstanding their respective series of movements and due to the limitation of this paper, I present them in their influential period as it relates to urban planning.

The First Wave: Feminist Movement

Emerging out of an urban industrial, in some places liberal and in others socialist political environment, the feminist movement became a prominent phenomenon during a time when male perspectives and priorities heavily dominated urban planning. Mainstream planning of the time focused on large-scale infrastructure, zoning, and transportation that catered to the needs of the white, middle-class male commuter (Hayden, 1980). This overlooked the unique needs and experiences of women, racial minorities, the elderly, and other marginalized groups in the urban environment. The public spaces of the 19th century were strongly male spaces where women remained "the object of the male gaze" with a "weak public subjectivity" (Carrera & Castellaneta, 2023, pp. 1, 2). According to Carrera and Castellaneta (2023), women historically faced challenges in their interactions with urban environments and public spaces. These

difficulties stemmed from both socio-urbanistic influences and the continued dominance of male perspectives in the planning and administration of city spaces and schedules.

Feminist scholars and activists of the 1960s heavily criticized this male-centric approach to urban planning. Urban journalist and activist Jane Jacobs (1992) argues that planning focuses too much on grand schemes and ignores the nuanced everyday needs of diverse urban residents. Dolores Hayden (1980) highlights how traditional planning failed to account for women's domestic labour, childcare responsibilities, and safety concerns in public spaces. Hayden (1980) also highlights the gendered nature of urban environments demonstrating how urban planners had created gendered environments that were predominantly suited to the needs of men and the heteronormative family, rather than equally serving the needs of men and women (Beebeejaun, 2017). A 2012 UN Habitat report also acknowledges the male-dominated model of planning emerged in the Western World during the late 19th century. This was under the assumption that there were no differences in the interaction between men and women in communities and cities, and how they access urban services or the urban environment (Reeves, Parfitt, & Archer, 2012, p. 15). The idea that women were impacted by the city differently was never a considerable thought. Feminist scholars explored what alternative cities might look like and how they could be designed to be more equitable for both men and women.

In the aftermath of the feminist movement, some cities began to take steps towards more inclusive urban planning. For example, in the 1970s, the City of Vienna, Austria implemented "gender mainstreaming" policies that required planners to consider the needs of women, families, and other marginalized groups in all urban development projects (Fainstein & Servon, 2005). Similarly, the City of Toronto, Canada created "Women's Safety Audits" in the 1980s to identify and address safety concerns for women in public spaces (Whitzman, Shaw, Andrew, & Travers, 2009). In 1983, the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED) and the Center for Metropolitan Action at Queens College of the City University of New York (CMA) comprised the 'Inclusionary Zoning and Housing Trust Fund' proposal, which laid out the New York housing crisis of the day and proposed solutions that would make housing and other urban resources more accessible to families, low-income residents and women (Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED), 1983). Activists like the Women's City Club of New York advocated for more inclusive urban design. Among other things, they wanted the inclusion of playgrounds, public laundries, and accessible transit. They contributed to various initiatives including challenging the inadequacy of housing facilities; addressing housing's low proximity to vital services like low-cost shopping, clinics and public transit; and the completion of the Second Avenue subway in the 1970s (Women's City Club, n.d.). Overall, the feminist movements of the 1960s through 1970s were a crucial disruptive force that challenged the male-normative dominance of traditional urban planning. While the full impact is still being realized, this wave of activism helped bring greater awareness to the need for more inclusive, equitable, and people-centred approaches to shaping the built environment.

Just as past feminist movements have been described as 'waves,' I recognize that the contributions of marginalized groups to making cities more inclusive can also be seen as waves of counter-planning. The 2012 UN Habitat report written by (Reeves, Parfitt, & Archer, 2012, p. 15 states:

"the effect of urban planning on people's lives, well-being and quality of life is not sufficiently recognized by the majority in the women's movement. The link between urban planning, poverty reduction, economic empowerment of women, and ending violence against women is hardly understood by the drivers of gender equality and empowerment of women at local, national, regional, and international levels".

Just as this report attempts to increase awareness of gender issues in urban planning theory and practice, I too am attempting to use this paper to bring awareness to issues of gender, sexuality and race in the urban environments and their contribution to urban planning theory and practices. This is especially crucial because, as Carrera and Castellaneta (2023) point out, from a feminist viewpoint, the material conditions of urban areas can significantly hinder women's capabilities. Carrera and Castellaneta (2023) stress the importance of considering the design and management of the built environment, i.e., urban model, as well as the cultural and regulatory patterns that underlie these conditions. The report's feminist nodes are noteworthy, which indicates its equitable stands.

The Second Wave: Racialized 'Black' Movement

Building upon the earlier Civil Rights Movement, the 1970s onward saw many urban centres in North America grappling with the legacy of discriminatory housing policies, disinvestment in minority neighbourhoods, and the socioeconomic marginalization of communities of colour. However, to fully understand this, I must mention some notable events which set the scene planning grounds to marginalize people of colour, predominately Black people.

Many zoning laws enacted in the early 20th century deliberately racially discriminated against Black people which lead to cases like *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60 (1917) where the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the constitutionality of zoning laws that targeted Black Americans. Then, later in 1926 through the case of *Euclid v. Ambler* (1926) discriminatory zoning practices like the earlier ones became legally grounded. In this case, the Court concluded that banning apartments and multifamily homes from certain neighbourhoods was not only permissible but also a potential means to prevent area decline. The Court described an apartment building as "a mere parasite, constructed in order to take advantage of the open spaces and attractive surroundings created by the residential character of a neighbourhood" (*Euclid v. Ambler*, 1926). This decision came without acknowledging that it would exclude those who couldn't afford single-family homes from enjoying the same residential benefits deemed worthy of protection. After this came the notorious 'redlining', a practice established by the U.S.'s Federal Housing Administration (FHA)'s and the Home Owner's Loan Coalition (HOLC)'s federally funded program, under the Roosevelt administration, which was branded as a means of helping homeowners refinance their mortgages. The program colour coded neighbourhoods green, blue, yellow, or red, which make granting mortgages easier based on a set of predetermined assumptions. The colours assumed that persons living in the areas coloured green were "best" consisting of professional men lived, blue were "still desirable", yellow were "definitely declining" areas that bordered Black neighbourhoods, and red were "hazardous" neighbourhoods where infiltration had already occurred and mostly populated by Black residents (Mitchell & Franco, 2018). The image below is just one example that illustrates the sociopolitical urban conditions Black people found themselves in.

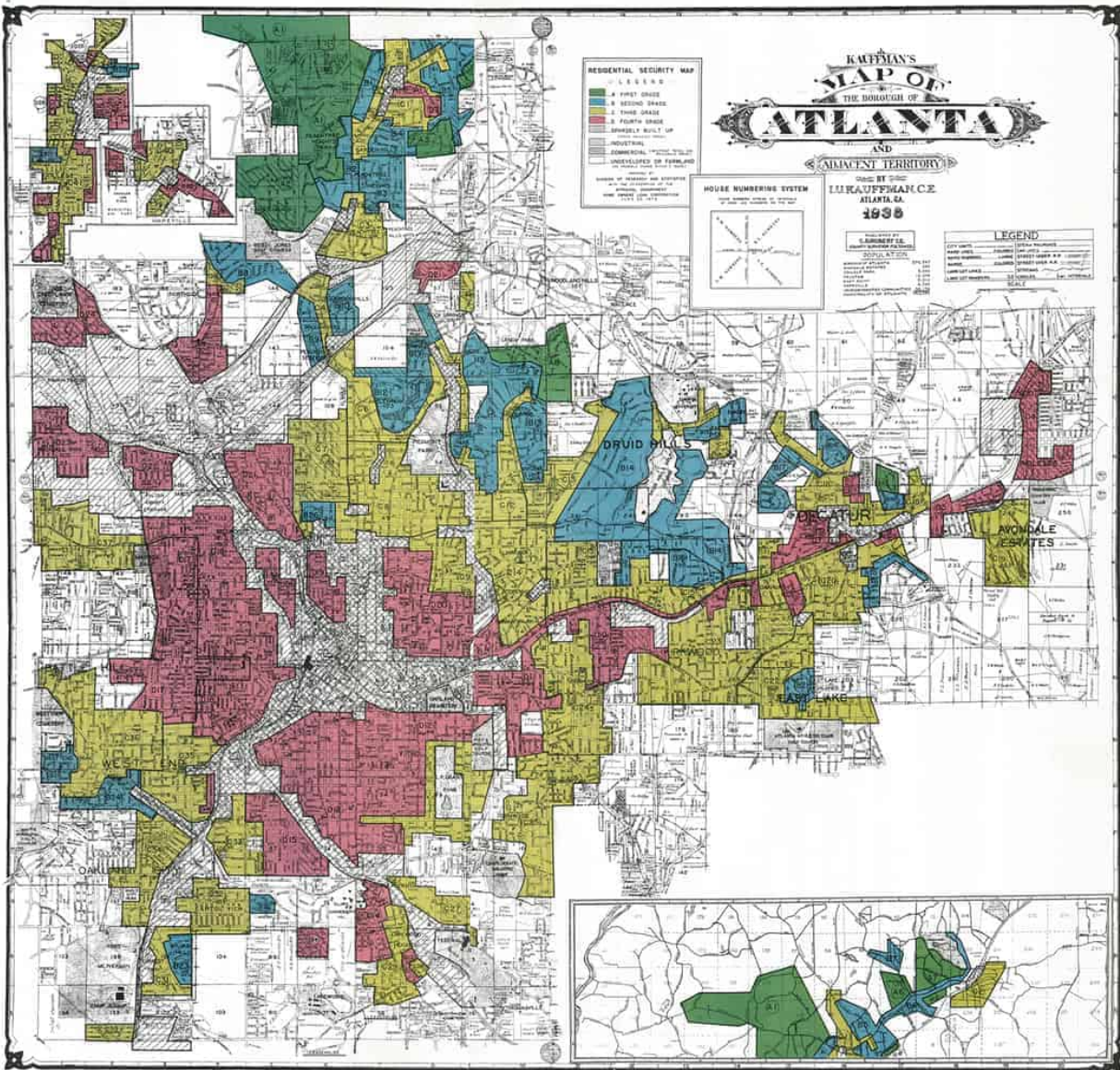


Figure 1: Example of the original 1938 HOLC “Residential Security” map of Atlanta with colour-coded gradation of neighbourhoods by risk level.

(Source: NCRC webpage <https://ncrc.org/holc/>, Original source: Mapping Inequality Project, University of Richmond).

Canada is not without its fault either. Even earlier, the 1940s to 1960s also saw the usage of planning policies to racially discriminate against Black Canadians in Halifax, Nova Scotia by the degradation of Africville. Already pushed to the margins of Nova Scotian society, the local Black population formed its own vibrant community. Due to disinvestment by the City of Halifax, despite Africville’s residents being tax-paying homeowners, and the City’s failure to provide basic infrastructure and municipal services such as water and sewer services or garbage collection, while denying residents home improvement permits, the small community succumbed to deterioration. The City implemented a planning policy called ‘planned redevelopment’, where the city noted that “the land which they now occupy will be required for further development of the City” (Nelson, 2000, p. 163). Further political planning tactics

employed by the city were the establishment of Rockhead Prison on Africville's overlooking hillside with the city's infectious disease hospital, the relocation of the city dump onto Africville's land 350 feet from its most western home, and an incinerator 50 yards of its south border (Nelson, 2000). The final blow to the residents was the 1940 expansion of the already bisecting train track that the city placed within the community, as shown in the image below (Clairmont & Magill, 1971, p. 53). This resulted in the dislocation and displacement of the Black residents from their land and community. These are just a few examples of the broader sociopolitical urban conditions Black people have faced across North America. Scholars such as Kenneth B. Clark, in his seminal work "Dark Ghetto" (1965), documented the severe neglect and oppression faced by Black residents in urban slums (Clark, 1965). Activist groups like the Black Panther Party also highlighted the substandard living conditions and lack of basic services in these neighbourhoods.



Figure 2: Image of a freight train passing through Africville in 1965.
(Source: The Canadian Encyclopedia <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/africville>.)

The civil rights and Black Power movements of the 1960s and 1970s heavily criticized mainstream urban planning for its role in perpetuating racial segregation and inequity. Jackson (1985) analyzes how government policies like redlining and the Federal Housing Administration's lending practices contributed to white flight and enabled patterns of racially segregated suburbs. In *Crabgrass Frontier*, Jackson (1985) asserts that these racialized suburban development trends drained resources and opportunities from inner-city neighbourhoods with

large Black populations. Jackson's (1985) analysis underscored how urban planning and housing market dynamics intersected to systematically disadvantage African Americans in cities across the United States. Stone and Sanders (1987) in *The Politics of Urban Development*, analyze how power dynamics and racial politics shaped urban planning and development decisions in major US cities during this era. Stone and Sanders (1987) argue that these decisions were heavily shaped by local power structures and the political influence of white business elites. They contend that this led to urban renewal projects that often prioritized the interests of white property owners and developers over the needs of Black residents. Stone and Sanders (1987) highlight how these dynamics undermined efforts by Black community organizations to have a meaningful voice in shaping the future of their neighbourhoods. Additionally, the writings of political scientist, urban theorist and civil rights leader, Charles V. Hamilton (1973), collected *The Black Experience in American Politics*, provide valuable insights into the intersection of race, politics, and urban policy during this time period. Hamilton (1973) criticizes how urban renewal and highway construction programs in the 1960s and 1970s displaced and disrupted many established Black communities. Hamilton (1973) argues these planning decisions reflected the persistent racism and lack of political power of African Americans in the urban policy realm. Hamilton (1973) calls for more community-based, bottom-up approaches to urban development to empower Black residents and address their social and economic needs. Activist organizations like the National Welfare Rights Organization and the Watts Summer Festival Committee advocated for more inclusive and community-driven planning processes.

The various Black movements saw nationwide impacts on planning policies and practices across North America. Actions taken up by individuals via cases like the *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917) produced case law which, along with community activism, later saw the enactment of laws like the U.S. Fair Housing Act of 1968. The City of Oakland, California, through the proactive initiative of a group of Berkeley law students, in 1988 created the East Bay Community Law Center to provide legal support and advocacy for low-income communities of colour affected by urban renewal (Silverstein, 2018). These efforts, while not without their limitations, represented a shift towards more equitable and participatory urban planning.

Today across Canada and the U.S. restrictive covenants and race-based zoning are illegal.

The Third Wave: Sexuality Gay/Lesbian Movement

Like the two previously discussed marginalized groups during their respective waves, gay, lesbian, and transgender individuals face widespread discrimination, social stigma, and limited legal protections, especially in urban areas. Queer people [a homogenous term now used in lieu] are more susceptible to housing insecurity, food insecurity, and issues accessing conventional financial avenues as their hetero counterparts, along with sheer urban violence and harassment perpetuated by both city residents and police. Stein's (2004) work *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves* documents the challenges faced by gay and lesbian communities in establishing safe spaces and community centres in cities like Philadelphia. Stein (2004) notes how police raids on gay and lesbian bars and community centres were an all-too-common occurrence in mid-20th century Philadelphia, one of many North American cities. Queer people live in constant fear of having their safe spaces violated and identities exposed to hostile authorities. In Ontario, discrimination based on sexual orientation in housing and employment was legal well into the 1980s (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2000, p. 6).

The Stonewall riot of 1969 remains a pivotal moment that galvanized the modern gay rights movement. Activists like Harvey Milk, in his speeches and writings, criticized urban planning for ignoring the needs and experiences of LGBTQ+ residents (Milk, 2013). Scholars such as Manuel Castells (1983) in *The City and the Grassroots* examine how LGBTQ+ communities built their urban infrastructure in response to exclusion from mainstream planning.

In the aftermath of the gay rights movement, some cities make efforts to be more inclusive in their planning practices. This situates the third wave between the 1970s and 1990s. For example, in the 1970s, San Francisco established the Mayor's Office of Community Development to address the needs of LGBTQ+ residents, leading to the creation of the city's first gay community centre (Armstrong, 2002). In the 1980s, New York City's Department of City Planning worked with LGBTQ+ organizations to develop the "Christopher Street Pier" as a designated public space for the gay community (Chauncey, 1994). Like the previous waves, these changes of the third wave contributed to the shift towards greater recognition of LGBTQ+ communities in urban planning. However, it is important to recognize that these changes favoured the sexual rights of cisgender men and women.

The Fourth Wave: Immigrant/Migrant Movement

Finally, we arrive at the last wave of marginality. Its significant impact on urban planning within the 20th century spans from the 1970s to the 1990s. The rise of neoliberal policies in the late 20th century has led to increased global migration and the treatment of labour as "human capital". In Canada migrants to the country have increasingly become racialized. This has created a large population of immigrants, migrants, and expats living in urban areas who faced marginalization, lack of political representation, and exclusion from the urban planning process. They grapple with issues like substandard housing, lack of access to services, and discrimination in employment and daily life. Bridge and Watson (2011: p. 7) note that,

"The economy of global cities themselves is increasingly bifurcated between highly paid professionals in the financial services sector and the poorly paid (often immigrant) labour forces that service the domestic, childcare, and consumption demand of the professional population: the two sides of the global city".

This housing issue became even more apparent in the recent influx of refugees and subsequent policy enacted by the city of Toronto, which as the Toronto Star covered, saw asylum seekers seeking shelter being referred away from the city shelter system and told to seek help from the federal government instead, leaving many sleeping rough on the streets as they were bounced between levels of government without any solution being provided (Gibson, 2023). Dantzer (2021) and Harvey (1981) offer several points on how capitalism inherently perpetuates inequality. They highlight how historical and contemporary processes within capitalism, such as redlining, gentrification, and evictions, result in the dispossession and displacement of certain communities (Harvey, 1981, p. 113). These actions often exacerbate social and economic inequalities, contributing to unequal distribution of resources and opportunities. Harvey (1981, pp. 125-126) points out that capitalism ideologically grounds inequitable urban development systems while Dantzer (2021, pp. 128-129) reminds us that capitalism and racism become dominant spatial logics within urbanization processes. These views suggest that the very systems driving urban development are rooted in structures that perpetuate inequality.

Collectively, scholars, activists, and media outlets during this period highlighted how mainstream urban planning often failed to account for the needs and experiences of immigrant, migrant, and expat communities. Magnusson and Sassen note the city as an important new political space where citizenship was being re-enacted and renegotiated by diverse groups, in contrast to the traditional focus on the nation-state (Siemiatycki & Isin, 1997, p. 74). This suggests that scholars and activists of the time were paying increasing attention to immigrant and minority groups' efforts to champion their rights within urban contexts. Nicholls discusses that before the mid-1990s, day labourers in urban areas were not yet organized as a distinct political group advocating for their rights (Nicholls, 2020). This suggests a lack of coordinated mobilization and collective identity among this population during this earlier period. Despite this, grassroots initiatives emerged through urban spaces to shift the paradigm. One example of this is noted by Nicholls (2020, pp. 87-88) when he writes,

“Through literacy classes, educators of La Escuela used Paolo Freire's popular-education methodology to draw on the common experiences of oppressed people and stimulate political consciousness. According to one of their documents, popular education 'incorporates the experiences and the world view of participants involved in the programs. Such a methodology assists participants in recognizing and analyzing the socio-economic conditions which prevent them from solving their own issues.’”

This demonstrates the political drive of the day by activists and scholars like those at La Escuela, who employ popular education approaches inspired by Paulo Freire to help urban immigrant/migrant communities recognize their shared experiences of oppression and develop collective political consciousness to address the systemic issues they face.

During the height of the fourth wave immigrant activism and immigration-focused scholarship placed pressure on cities to become more inclusive. Brookings (2009) notes that this challenge was seen through the restructuring of the U.S. economy and its cities. The decentralization process then led to the growth of suburbs as employment centres, which in turn saw increased immigrant settlement in these newer, more suburban metropolitan areas. While this shift away from traditional immigrant gateways in inner cities may have created challenges around affordable housing and long commutes in some contexts, in the case described by Brookings (2009), this was seen as a planning victory for immigrants, as the alternative would have been continued concentration in the urban core. Brookings (2009) highlights how the new geography of immigration resulted in many more states and municipalities having a stake in federal immigration reform, suggesting both benefits and challenges for immigrant communities in these emerging destinations.

4. Fifth Wave of Counter-Planning

In my analysis of the fifth wave, like the other waves, I begin by examining the current socio-political urban conditions and experiences of transgender people. Due to the lack of resources required for engaging transgender people themselves, I am left to infer based on media analysis and other secondary means. Then, I survey the current socio-political discourse among journalists, activists and scholars surrounding the topic. With this view of the current issues, I explore the current planning ideologies and thinking of major urban centres. Afterwards, I look at the movements and actions being initiated by the marginalized group and allies. Finally, I try to understand the ongoing impact of the fifth wave onto planning and the urban environment.

This analysis section is divided into 3 parts:

- A. Urban conditions and experiences of transgender people, the current marginalized group.
- B. What are the scholars and activists saying?
- C. Impact of the wave onto planning and the urban environment.

A. Urban conditions and experiences of transgender people.

Transgender individuals in urban areas around the world currently face significant challenges and discrimination, despite some progress in LGBTQ+ rights. Based on a review of news articles from various prominent media sources I am illustrating the conditions and experiences of transgender people in urban spaces and society today.

Discrimination

The most common experience of transgender people across the world seems to be discrimination, harassment, and lack of acceptance in many areas of life. In sports, transgender athletes like Veronica Garcia face hostility and jeers from spectators who refuse to acknowledge their gender identity (Bilicki, 2024). This suggests a pervasive lack of acceptance and outright discrimination towards transgender individuals in the athletic arena. Beyond sports, transgender people also face alarming levels of violence and discrimination in their daily urban lives, for instance in countries like Brazil where LGBTQ+ rights have been tenuous. One article notes a "surge" in violence and hostility directed at the LGBTQ+ community in recent years, indicating transgender individuals may live in constant fear of physical harm (The Associated Press, 2024). Even in accessing basic public facilities, transgender people encounter distrust, harassment, and potential discrimination. When a cisgender gym member called 911 over a transgender woman's presence in the women's locker room, it highlights the climate of suspicion and intolerance that transgender individuals must navigate (Chau, 2024). This discrimination extends to leadership positions as well. Lucy Clark, the first openly transgender manager in top-level women's soccer, has been subjected to "hate-fueled transphobia" and a "barrage of hate" following her appointment (Wilford, 2024). This demonstrates that even transgender people's professional success does not shield them from intense societal animus. Looking ahead, some concerns growing "US-style culture wars" and increasingly restrictive policies, like those recently enacted in Alberta (regarding access to health care by transgender youth), could further embolden transphobic attitudes and lead to heightened discrimination, marginalization, and even violence against transgender individuals (Benzie, 2024). Cray's (2024) "Transgender Catholics say new Vatican document shows no understanding of their

lives' article in the *Toronto Star* expresses fears that the Vatican's anti-transgender statement could 'fuel the hate' and trigger 'more oppressive laws.' This concern reflects an underlying dread of the dangers that the current sociopolitical climate poses for the global transgender community.

Violence and Death

The situation for transgender individuals is dire, with staggering rates of violence and even murder targeting this community. As previously mentioned, Brazil stands out in the media as an epicentre of this crisis, accounting for a shocking 31% of all reported murders of trans and gender diverse people worldwide in 2023 (The Associated Press, 2024). This heartbreaking statistic is part of a 16-year trend that has seen Brazil consistently lead these grim mortality figures, underscoring the grave dangers and constant threat of lethal violence that transgender Brazilians face in their daily lives. Beyond the raw numbers, the news article paints a picture of a broader hostile social environment that transgender people must navigate. Some concerns that proposed policies could make transgender individuals even more "targets for bullying and harassment", exacerbating the already severe discrimination and lack of acceptance they experience (Kilpatrick, 2024). This suggests that even transgender individuals living in urban spaces will face an endless barrage of hostility, verbal abuse, and the ever-present risk of physical harm simply for existing. The combination of sky-high murder rates, especially in Brazil, and the general climate of social intolerance creates an atmosphere of fear and vulnerability for transgender people. Their lives are constantly under threat, and they must contend with the ever-present specter of violence - whether from individuals, mobs when trying to access public spaces, or even the authorities tasked with protecting them.

Vulnerability

Another common experience of transgender people across the world is an overwhelming sense of vulnerability, which manifests in various forms. The first of these forms is social vulnerability, where transgender individuals are portrayed across the media as a "vulnerable minority" facing social marginalization and heightened mental health challenges, such as high suicide rates among transgender youth (Benzie, 2024). This suggests they may experience isolation, stigma, and a lack of acceptance within their broader social contexts. The next is vulnerability to violence. The framing of Dime Doe's murder in rural South Carolina as a "bias-motivated crime" highlights the heightened risks and dangers that transgender people face, especially transgender women of colour (Pollard, 2024). This implies a broader climate of hostility and violence directed towards the transgender community. Vulnerability and marginalization are also recurrent where articles depict transgender people as a small, vulnerable minority group (with figures like 0.33% of the population) who are being "targeted" and having their "rights and dignity" threatened by political attacks (Kilpatrick, 2024). This conveys a sense of transgender individuals feeling heightened vulnerability and marginalization, especially in urban spaces where they may be more visible. Then there is political vulnerability. Transgender issues are portrayed as being used as a political "punching bag" by the Conservative Party of Canada for political gain, rather than being addressed thoughtfully (Raj, 2024). This suggests transgender people may feel under attack or marginalized in the political sphere, with their rights and identities being used as a political tool. Finally, many articles focus on the vulnerability of youth. The impact on "transgender youth/children" suggests this demographic is seen as particularly vulnerable and in need of protection, likely due to the unique challenges they face, such as bullying, family rejection, and barriers to accessing affirming healthcare (McDonalrd, 2024; Weber, 2024).

Ideology

Transgender individuals worldwide frequently encounter ideological challenges, as their existence and rights are deeply entangled in polarized political and social debates. Political reclamation is evident in statements like those from transgender politician Erika Hilton, who speaks of "taking back our flag" and envisions Brazil as "queer, butch, transvestite" (The Associated Press, 2024). These remarks illustrate how transgender people are actively resisting the appropriation of national symbols by conservative, anti-LGBTQ+ factions, asserting their visibility and rights within urban public spaces and reclaiming these spaces as part of their political and cultural identity.

Divisive debates and polarization are highlighted in discussions about transgender participation in women's sports. Figures like J.K. Rowling argue that trans women are "robbing" cis-women of opportunities, while others counter that this perspective denies the validity of trans women as real women (Wilford, 2024). These debates reflect the highly polarized and divisive nature of conversations surrounding transgender rights and acceptance in society.

The lack of clarity around policies is another significant issue. For instance, one article notes that it is "not known whether Miller had identified himself as a transgender woman before entering the women's locker room," pointing to inconsistencies in the implementation of transgender inclusion policies (Chau, 2024). This uncertainty can lead to confusion, conflict, and insecurity for transgender individuals navigating public spaces. Tensions and polarization are further exemplified by an incident at another Planet Fitness location, where a woman was suspended for taking a photo of someone she claimed was "a man with a penis" in the women's area (Chau, 2024). This incident underscores the tense environment surrounding transgender issues in urban spaces, suggesting a climate of fear, insecurity, and distrust towards transgender people.

The ongoing societal debates indicate that significant divisions persist around transgender identities and rights. Transgender individuals must constantly navigate these ideological battles, with their very existence and validity being the subject of intense political and social contention.

The Law

Another common experience of transgender people across the world is that their identity and rights are often not fully recognized or protected by legal systems. Many countries' laws rejecting gender identity in favour of "biological sex" reflect a broader social and political climate that denies the validity of transgender people's lived experiences and sense of self, indicating that their fundamental identity is not respected or affirmed within legal frameworks. The need for legal protections is evident in cases where individuals must take legal action against institutions, such as the student who sued the school district at a Missouri appeals court (The Associated Press, 2024). This points to a lack of clear, comprehensive legal protections for transgender rights, suggesting that transgender people often must fight for recognition and inclusion through adversarial legal battles to assert their basic rights.

Continued policy battles over transgender rights highlighted across multiple news articles, particularly concerning access to healthcare and participation in sports, highlight that transgender individuals are still fighting for basic rights and protections (Weber, 2024). Their

existence and legitimacy are subject to constant legal and political contestation. Political regional disparities further complicate this struggle. The contrast between the federal government's stance and the Alberta government's policies suggests that the lived experiences and acceptance of transgender people can vary widely even across a country like Canada. This creates a patchwork of legal recognition and protections, with transgender individuals facing different realities depending on their geographic location. Barriers to legal gender recognition present additional challenges. Transgender and non-binary youth, for example, face legal and administrative hurdles in changing their official sex designation, such as the requirement to obtain a letter from a healthcare provider, which creates financial barriers and delays (MacDonald, 2024). This indicates systemic, bureaucratic challenges in having their gender identity officially recognized by the law.

Threats to rights and autonomy are also significant, with policies requiring parental consent for students to change names or pronouns pointing to broader limitations on the rights and self-determination of young transgender people. This suggests that even basic forms of legal gender recognition and expression are not guaranteed, with transgender people's autonomy and fundamental rights under constant threat.

Access

Access is another common experience of transgender people worldwide, as they often face significant barriers in accessing essential spaces, services, and resources. As previously mentioned, the Planet Fitness gym case highlights ongoing debates and policies around transgender individuals' access to gender-specific facilities. This demonstrates how transgender people face restrictions in accessing spaces aligned with their gender identity.

Access to healthcare is another critical issue. Ontario's policies allowing gender-affirming surgeries for transgender youth contrast with Alberta's more restrictive approach. Alberta's proposed policies that would limit transgender youths' access to necessary medical services could have serious mental health impacts, pointing to significant barriers in accessing appropriate healthcare, especially in certain jurisdictions (Kilpatrick, 2024). The importance of healthcare access is underscored by one article's defence of gender-affirming medical care as a "lifeline" for transgender people, suggesting that access to appropriate healthcare, which may be more available in urban centres, is critical for their well-being (Crary, 2024). However, concerns that transgender and non-binary youth may have difficulty finding sympathetic healthcare providers imply the unevenness of access.

In educational settings, transgender youth face challenges or need specific accommodations. Robert Benzie (2024) mentions policies around accommodating transgender students and the use of pronouns in schools, implying that transgender students encounter obstacles integrating into normal educational activities and experiences. One example is a student unable to fully participate in physical education and athletics due to discriminatory policies.

Visibility & Representation

Transgender people are in an ongoing fight for visibility and representation. The juror Dee Elder's comments about the need for "letting ourselves be known" suggest a significant lack of visibility and representation for transgender people, even in high-profile cases (Pollard, 2024). This points to a persistent erasure of the transgender experience in mainstream society, where their identities and stories are often invisible or overlooked.

Kilpatrick (2024) argues that policies targeting transgender people are being made without adequate consultation with the transgender community and relevant experts:

“I don’t understand why policies are being created or struck down without consultation from those directly supporting the transgender community, such as doctors, social workers, teachers, mental health professionals, and families” (Kilpatrick, 2024).

This statement implies a lack of meaningful inclusion and representation of transgender voices in urban policymaking and decision-making processes that profoundly impact their lives. The absence of any direct testimony or perspectives from transgender people themselves highlights a general lack of representation and amplification of their voices in mainstream media. Their lived experiences are filtered through the perspectives of others, usually cis-gender people, rather than being centred and uplifted.

Additionally, most of the news and popular journal articles lack direct quotes or perspectives from transgender people themselves, indicating their voices are absent from the sociopolitical debates affecting their lives. This suggests a troubling lack of representation in the corridors of power where decisions are made. The discussion is mediated through most authors’ analysis rather than including direct quotes or perspectives from transgender individuals themselves. This erasure of transgender narratives reflects a broader societal pattern of overlooking and sidelining their visibility and representation.

Agency, Liberation & Celebration

Finally, one significant experience of transgender people across the world that must be highlighted is their agency and self-liberation, despite the substantial challenges and discrimination they often face. The large annual pride parade in Sao Paulo, one of the biggest in the world, demonstrates the vibrant LGBTQ+ communities in Brazilian cities celebrating their identities openly (The Associated Press, 2024). However, the need to "reclaim" national symbols indicates an ongoing struggle for acceptance and the fight to assert their rightful place in society.

Despite facing hate and criticism, Lucy Clark positively responds saying that she is "living my best life" and focusing on her happiness and loving family rather than dwelling on negativity. This suggests that some transgender individuals can maintain a positive outlook and sense of self-worth, asserting their agency and right to live authentically, even in the face of discrimination.

Regarding the Missouri Appeals Court case, while not explicitly stated, the fact that the student prevailed on appeal suggests they may have had community, advocacy, or legal support networks to assist in the legal battle. This points to the existence of transgender-affirming communities and resources, even if access is still limited, which can empower transgender people to fight for their rights and liberation.

One article quotes transgender rights advocates like Celeste Trianon, who are "disappointed" by the Quebec court’s 2019 decision which found it necessary that transgender youth receive a physician, psychiatrist, sexologist, or social worker’s letter of declaration when changing their gender marker and argue the requirements pose "unreasonable hurdles for transgender youth

seeking sex designation change” (MacDonald, 2024). This indicates the presence of a transgender advocacy movement in urban areas, pushing back against policies and laws seen as discriminatory and working to advance the rights and visibility of transgender individuals.

The current socio-political urban conditions and experiences of transgender people, the present-day targeted marginality, are demonstrated through this media analysis that presents evidence of widespread discrimination, harassment, and lack of acceptance that transgender people face across various domains, from sports to public spaces to positions of leadership. They encounter systemic barriers and restrictions in accessing essential spaces, services, and resources, from healthcare to education to basic public facilities, and when navigating a legal landscape that often fails to fully recognize, protect, or affirm their identity and rights. Transgender individuals are forced to fight for basic recognition and inclusion through adversarial processes, facing regional disparities and systemic barriers in asserting their rightful place within the law. They have fought against an environment of political and social polarization, where their identities and rights are continuously contested, a climate of insecurity and fear is created, necessitating ongoing political and cultural reclamation of their rightful place in society. This pervasive intolerance threatens the safety, well-being, and fundamental rights of transgender individuals in their daily lives. Nevertheless, transgender people are also asserting their agency, finding community, and celebrating their identities, even as they continue to face systemic challenges and discrimination. This pushback, which I have alluded to but will further demonstrate in subsequent parts, produces tangible changes via case law in the legal system, urban policy changes and changes to the practice of planning. Despite the obstacles, there are signs of resilience, positivity, and a growing transgender rights movement working to secure greater acceptance, inclusion, and self-determination for the transgender community.

B. What are the scholars and activists saying?

The discourse surrounding urban transphobia draws from a rich array of scholarly and social activism works that shed light on the challenges faced by transgender individuals in these environments.

The Scholars: Trans Experiences, their Mobility in Cities and Global Hate Crimes

There are several arguments among scholars regarding trans experiences, their mobility in cities, and global hate crimes on the topic of urban transphobia. The first argument is that urban spaces are unsafe environments for trans individuals, where they face disproportionate discrimination and violence, especially mobility violence. Kidd (2007) explores global transgender hate crimes, framing their mistreatment as a form of genocide, highlighting how this pervasive violence impacts the freedom of movement and mobility of transgender individuals in urban environments. After exploring global transgender hate crimes, Kidd notes that transgender individuals experience high levels of violence and abuse, akin to around 439 incidents reported by only nine (9) participants they interviewed (Kidd, 2007, pp. 35, 38, 39).

Moreover, Lubitow et al. (2017) further accentuates this by highlighting the frequent harassment experienced by gender minorities on public transit, showcasing the varied and complex experiences faced by transgender individuals in urban mobility. They assert that gender minorities have unequal access to safe and accessible public transportation. Their research highlights the anxieties and fears of gender minorities while navigating public transit

(Lubitow et al., 2017). This emphasis on unequal access to safe transportation elucidates the systemic barriers impeding their freedom of movement and safety in public spaces.

The second is that even queer urban spaces can be both sanctuaries and sites of discrimination. The literature delves into the experiences of transgender individuals within urban queer spaces, revealing a dichotomy of protective potential and pervasive discrimination. Doan (2007) discusses the challenges faced by transgender individuals within urban queer spaces, asserting that while queer spaces might provide some sanctuary, they still harbour high levels of harassment and violence for transgender individuals. This elucidates the paradoxical nature of these spaces—often perceived as havens yet marred by gendered norms that perpetuate discrimination against those whose gender presentation deviates from societal standards. Doan (2007, p. 63) highlights the need for a re-visioning of gender within queer spaces. This sentiment is reinforced by Moradi et al. (2016) who assert that adding ‘T’ to the LGB acronym does not advance theory, research practice, training, or advocacy without substantive attention to trans people and issues.

Simultaneously, the discourse addresses the overarching issue of global transgender hate crimes and violence. Kidd (2007) and Longman et al. (2013) both articulate the pervasive nature of discrimination and violence faced by transgender individuals, framing it as a form of genocide (Kidd, 2007; Longman et al., 2013). The mistreatment faced by transgender individuals, starting from a young age and perpetuated by societal structures and individuals alike, informs their perception of risk in urban spaces. Kidd's (2007) comprehensive review of global transgender hate crimes underscores the lifelong exposure to abuse, and violence experienced by transgender individuals, contributing to a climate of fear and insecurity, particularly in urban settings.

These scholarly insights collectively underscore the urgent need for inclusive urban planning and policy frameworks that consider the safety concerns and unique experiences of transgender individuals. Transgender voices have been silenced in both academic, policy and feminist to lesbian community discourses. Most feminist and lesbian discourses exclude trans-women voices through the constructions of terms like “womyn-born-womyn” (Doan, 2007, p. 63). Substantive attention to trans people and issues in research should include careful planning and description of assessment methods, participant demographics, research design, and procedures (Moradi, et al., 2016, p. 978). Moradi argues that studies often lack demographic information, particularly regarding sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, and race or ethnicity (Moradi, et al., 2016, pp. 988 – 989). Moreover, Blackburn and McCready (2009) highlight the prevalence of homophobia and the failure of educational institutions to address abuse, underscoring the need for comprehensive approaches in urban settings to support queer youth.

The literature portrays the intersectional challenges faced by transgender individuals within urban environments, emphasizing the imperative for inclusive policies, safer public spaces, and broader societal shifts to combat urban transphobia and ensure the safety and well-being of transgender individuals. Collectively, this provides me with a theoretical framework for analyzing urban transphobia.

The Activists

The activism work, unlike scholarly work, illustrates a real-time picture of the conditions surrounding transgender people.

There are several commonalities found among Western activists on trans-issues.

1. First is a recognition that Transgender issues are divided within nations.

Transgender people feel that some opinions, even from other transgender individuals, can be transphobic. Activist Jessica Triff, a trans woman, views current trans activism as toxic and expresses her disgust with non-medically transitioned women using women's spaces like gender-specific bathrooms, prisons, and shelters when they are still physically present as male or masculine. Journalist Rosie DiManno voices their opinion of language changes in healthcare such as the shift from 'pregnant women' to 'pregnant people', calling out trans activism as "running amok" (Bellemare, Kolbegger, & Vermes, 2021, p. 4). To this, Christian Wright, the founder of the student advocacy group Rainbow Carleton in Ottawa, exclaims that even a trans woman can spew transphobic rhetoric. "Can gay people be homophobic? Yes. Can women be anti-feminist? Yes," (Bellemare, Kolbegger, & Vermes, 2021).

This division is also rooted in the debate around gender and its definition. Studies conducted in Canada between July 26th - 31st 2023 by Angus Reid Institute, a research non-profit, show that there is a divide in how Canadians view gender identity and the gender binary. Over half (56%) of Canadians believe people should be defined as either male or female, while one-third (34%) say this gender binary is "too limiting" and should be expanded to include other identities on a non-binary spectrum (Angus Reid Institute, 2023). To this effect, their study showed that there are differing perspectives on what defines a "woman", with 34% saying a woman is only someone who was born biologically female, 35% arguing that anyone who wants to can identify as a woman, and 18% saying that a woman is someone with female genitalia, whether they were born that way or received gender affirmation surgery (Angus Reid Institute, 2023). The discourse varies greatly along the "Canadian Culture Mindsets"¹ spectrum, with younger women more likely to view gender as a non-binary spectrum.

2. Trans people are discriminated against in key areas of their lives: Access to spaces, healthcare system, public accommodations, employment, housing, and education.

In public accommodations, Amnesty International (2024) emphasizes how excluding trans people from shelters and support services can exacerbate discrimination and inequity facing an already marginalized community. This discrimination was alerted as early as 2016 by the Movement Advancement Project (MAP) which noted that about 65% of transgender people in America often face discrimination when trying to access public bathrooms, restaurants, and other public spaces that align with their gender identity (Movement Advancement Project, 2016).

¹ The Canadian Culture Mindsets refer to distinct perspectives and views that Canadians hold on issues related to gender, transgender, and other cultural/societal matters. Angus Reid Institute's 2023 article indicates that there are divergent viewpoints within the Canadian population on these topics, with some holding more traditional binary definitions of gender, while others espouse more expansive and inclusive definitions. Canadians tend to fall into one of the five mindset groups: (i) zealous activists, (ii) quiet accommodators, (iii) worried traditionalists, (iv) uncertain middle, and (v) dismissive skeptics. The article suggests that these differing mindsets on the "culture wars" divide Canadians and lead to profound disagreements on these sensitive issues. The article implies that understanding an individual's placement on the "Canadian Culture Mindsets spectrum" can provide insight into their perspectives on gender, transgender, and related societal debates (Angus Reid Institute, 2023).

The healthcare system is no stranger to these figures. Canadian activist Jack Saddleback highlights the astronomical gap when it comes to trans health care in Canada:

“The healthcare system in Canada is designed around a "gender cis-normative binary", making it inaccessible and lacking in competency to serve the transgender community. Saddleback says "We need trans-competent health-care systems (Lavery, 2022).

Access to transgender-friendly healthcare varies greatly depending on where you live in Canada. Saddleback wants to see "more universal care across the nation" so that transgender individuals receive the same level of care no matter where they go. Ontario MPP Kristyn Wong-Tam says "Public health care in Canada has never worked for them. It has never, ever met them at their needs" (Lavery, 2022). They have tried to pass a bill to create a Gender Affirming Health Care Advisory Committee to improve accessibility, but it has faced resistance. Prominent advocates argue that the lack of transgender-competent healthcare is a matter of life or death for the community. As Wong-Tam states, "They recognize that their children's mental health will diminish if they don't help them to take action. Parents are doing everything they can to fight" (Lavery, 2022) for better healthcare access. Again, the Movement Advancement Project (MAP) notes this in its 2016 report. They state that transgender people often lack access to appropriate and affordable healthcare, with many facing outright refusal of service or having their healthcare needs ignored by providers. 19% postponed or avoided care due to mistreatment or discrimination from healthcare workers (Movement Advancement Project , 2016).

Activists found alarmingly high numbers in employment and education, where 90% of transgender people have experienced employment-related transphobia. That is, 78% experienced harassment, mistreatment, or discrimination on the job, up 13% and 47% were not hired or denied a promotion or experienced other adverse job outcomes such as being fired because of their gender identity or expression. While 78% of transgender students reported harassment, 35% were physically assaulted, and 12% were sexually assaulted (Movement Advancement Project , 2016).

In housing, transgender people frequently face housing discrimination, with 11% being evicted, one in five or 19% denied housing, 29% turned away from shelters, or forced to stay in unsafe living situations because of their gender identity. While, in the American criminal justice system, transgender individuals, especially transgender women of colour, face high rates of discrimination, harassment, and violence within the criminal justice system, including in jails and prisons with nearly 47% of Black transgender people having been incarcerated at some point (Movement Advancement Project , 2016).

While there are commonalities, there are polarizing issues among Western activists.

1. Political approaches to transgender issues are insufficient.

The first is that many activists criticize political leaders' approaches to transgender issues. For instance, some were critical of the Biden administration's approach to the Education Department's proposed rule in April of 2023, "Non-discrimination based on Sex in Education

Programs or Activities Receiving Federal Financial Assistance: Sex-Related Eligibility Criteria for Male and Female Athletic Teams”², regarding transgender athletes. These activists note that the administration could have done more to speed up anti-discrimination rules. Montana state Rep. Zoey Zephyr said the Biden team "missed the mark on the athlete rule and failed to recognize that compromising with anti-trans activists can embolden them" (Kornfield, 2023). While, Devon Ojeda, senior organizer for the National Center on Transgender Equality, rattled off a list of things the administration has not yet accomplished, such as reversing a Trump-era rule that stripped trans people of healthcare protections. More sentiments about the political approach, or the lack thereof include Cal Dobbs, a trans ultramarathon runner, who said "They're doing more than any administration. Still, he added, "That's a very low bar." (Kornfield, 2023). The article states the "administration's approach to transgender issues has sometimes been more cautious" and that Biden must "energize a progressive Democratic base that polls suggest is lukewarm toward him, while also peeling off centrist and conservative voters who may be skeptical of gender fluidity" (Kornfield, 2023).

2. The politicization of trans issues & various ideologies has increased transphobia, making transgender people a target in society and their lives worsen.

Whereas, other activists exclaim that the transgender issue has become too politicized, leading to adverse effects. This is demonstrated in the Canadian context with political leaders like Pierre Poilievre using an anti-transgender approach as a political platform. For instance, Poilievre commented that “trans women have no space in women’s bathrooms, changing rooms, shelters, sporting competitions and other services” (Amnesty International , 2024). Activists such as Elishma Knokhar condemned Poilievre's comments about excluding trans women from women's spaces as "shameful rhetoric" that "put trans and gender-diverse people at further risk" and "obscures the realities of gender-based violence in Canada” (Amnesty International , 2024). They noted how comments like his are a "dangerous distraction" that threatens the lives and rights of 2SLGBTQQIA+ people and diverts attention from the real systemic causes of gender-based violence. Comments like Poilievre’s serve the singular focus on biological sex, which a few activists call transphobic ideology. Travers (cited in Bellemare, Kolbegger and Vermes, 2021, p. 2) said:

"The climate for trans people has improved in the last decade very considerably, but we're definitely starting to feel some of those waves of anti-trans activism that have really taken hold in the United Kingdom and in the United States in recent years”.

This sentiment is supported by other members of the Transgender and non-binary communities in Canada who are seeing concerning signs that transphobic ideology is worsening. Trans woman and activist Anna Murphy from Calgary said, “We're exhausted from constantly having to debate our existence” (Bellemare, Kolbegger, & Vermes, 2021). It is felt that together, politics and mainstream media coverage including Canadian platforms like CTV News investigative program W5 and opinion columns published by the Toronto Star and CBC have played their part in pushing transphobic ideology and misrepresenting the dangers they face daily.

² The Department of Education proposed to amend Title IX regulations to establish a standard for when schools can use sex-related criteria to limit a student's participation on male or female athletic teams based on gender identity. Its aim, clarify Title IX's requirements around such criteria and the obligation for schools receiving federal funding to apply them consistently with Title IX's non-discrimination principles (U.S. Department of Education, 2023).

Collectively, both the voices of scholars and activists presented above highlight the current discourse about trans issues and prominent debates. This includes debates regarding access to gender-specific spaces.

C. Impact of the wave onto planning and the urban environment

The transgender movement, i.e., the Fifth Wave, has impacted urban planning substantially in recent years. These impacts have been felt in both the housing/ shelter area, and the public facilities area across North American cities.

Gender-neutral restrooms impact

In 2016, the City of Seattle passed legislation requiring all new or renovated public facilities to include gender-neutral restrooms. This was codified in the Seattle Municipal Code via Chapter 14.06 - 'Unfair Public Accommodations Practices'. The chapter reads,

“The general purposes of this chapter are to assure all persons equal opportunity to the full enjoyment of places of public accommodation, to eliminate and to prevent unlawful discrimination in places of public accommodation and to provide enforcement mechanisms for the accomplishment of such purposes” (City of Seattle, 2016, p. 14.06.010)

This is accompanied by Chapter 14.07 – ‘All-Gender Single-Occupant Restrooms Requirements’ which goes on to define the term ‘gender identity’ among other key terms, then specifically prohibits all restrooms within the city from restricting usage to a specific sex or gender identity, instead must be designated for use of any person “regardless of sex or gender identity” (City of Seattle, 2016, pp. 14.07.020 - .030). By March 9th of that year, this code quickly saw the release of the ‘All-gender Restroom Ordinance’ by the city which lays out a host of information for the public on restroom inclusion in the form of frequently ask questions. This ordinance explicitly used language like “transgender and gender nonconforming people” throughout it, with informative details on the stigma and barriers faced by this community. Finally, the ordinance lists multiple ways in which persons can report facilities that are in noncompliance with the new restroom code, including, tweeting, an emergency phone number to call, an email and an online portal to submit a written report with photo evidence of the incident. This is by far one of the most proactive forms of justice that I have seen from a city, towards the fifth wave.

In June of that same year, the City of Chicago updated its Human Rights Ordinance along those same lines of prohibiting the use of restrooms based on a single-sex or gender identity. It’s Human Rights Ordinance Section 2-160-070 'Discriminatory practices – Public accommodations' states,

“prohibits public accommodations from requiring patrons to show government issued identification upon request to access facilities that are private in nature—such as restrooms—based on a person's biological category, his or her gender identity, or both. And Public accommodations means a place, business, establishment, or agency that sells, leases, provides, or offers any product, facility, or service to the general public, regardless of ownership or operation (i) by a public body or agency; (ii) for or without

regard to profit; or (iii) for a fee or not for a fee” (City of Chicago Commission of Human Relations, 2016)

Also, like the City of Seattle, Chicago provides resources for persons to file complaints of non-compliance within 180 days of alleged discrimination where the violating party may be fined up to \$1,000 USD but no less than \$100 USD along with damages awarded to the complainant and business license discipline. Again, here we have a city placing actionable penalties behind the law to combat and discourage discrimination against transgender persons.

Housing and Shelter

The second impacted area is housing and shelter. In 2019 the City of New York Department of Homeless Service has passed a mandate that single-sex shelters must accommodate transgender and non-binary individuals based on their gender identity. Mayor Bill de Blasio signed into law Local law 954-A this mandate to “close service gaps for clients of all gender identities, with a focus on respectfully accommodating clients who identify as transgender, non-binary, and intersex” (Department of Homeless Services, 2019). Following this policy enactment, they released an Administrative Directive Memorandum to the Social Service Districts on how to equitably serve transgender, gender nonconforming and non-binary people experiencing homelessness in emergency shelters.

On the Canadian frontier, the city of Toronto’s Shelter, Support and Housing Administration has published its own Shelter Design & Technical Guidelines in 2021 on the development of new transitional housing projects. These guidelines mandate that all new transitional housing include gender-inclusive bedrooms and bathrooms. They also require policies prohibiting discrimination based on gender identity and expression. This initial guideline has been later updated in 2023 to include section 3 "Shelter Pre-Design", where subsection 3.2.3 'Embracing Gender Identity and Expression' requires the designing of shelter to purposefully "dismantle heteronormative approaches to foster an inclusive and dignified environment for 2SLGBTQ+ shelter-users" especially those related to gender expression and identity.

The transgender movement, or Fifth Wave, has had a significant impact on urban planning and the built environment in recent years. Two key areas are the access to gender-neutral public restrooms and the design and policies of housing and shelter facilities. Cities like Seattle and Chicago have passed legislation mandating that all new or renovated public facilities include gender-neutral restrooms, with clear enforcement mechanisms and avenues for reporting non-compliance. This helps create a more inclusive environment for transgender and gender non-conforming individuals. In the housing and shelter realm, policies in cities like New York and Toronto require that shelters and transitional housing accommodate residents based on their gender identity, rather than biological sex. Design guidelines also mandate the inclusion of gender-inclusive bedrooms and bathrooms. These measures aim to foster a more welcoming and dignified experience for 2SLGBTQ+ individuals facing homelessness. Overall, the Fifth Wave has driven significant changes in urban planning and policy, as cities work to create public spaces and housing options that are inclusive and affirming of diverse gender identities. These efforts represent an important step towards greater equity and accessibility for transgender and non-binary community members.

Conclusion

This research situates trans-urban activism within the broader theoretical and historical context of counter-planning practices. Drawing on the interdisciplinary frameworks outlined in Chapter 2, we can analyze how the transgender community's efforts to navigate and reshape the urban environment align with and extend previous waves of insurgent planning.

Applying Lefebvre's (1991) trialectics of perceived, conceived, and lived space, we can see how transgender individuals and activists challenge the cis-hetero-normative ways in which urban space has been envisioned and produced. The "conceived" space of the city has historically privileged cisgender, heterosexual identities, rendering transgender people invisible or actively marginalizing them. Trans activists seek to make their lived experiences and spatial needs visible, disrupting the dominant "conceived" space of urban planning.

Similar to the feminist, racial, LGBTQ+, and immigrant waves of counter-planning described in the introduction, the current trans-focused wave aims to centre the perspectives of a historically marginalized group and reclaim their "right to the city" (Harvey, 1981). Just as previous movements challenged the male normativity, racial exclusion, and heteronormativity of urban planning, the trans-urban activism documented in this research confronts the pervasive cisnormativity of the built environment.

The specific tactics employed by trans activists, such as advocating for gender-inclusive facilities, challenging discriminatory zoning and housing policies, and disrupting the gendered organization of public space, can be understood as a form of "insurgent planning" (Sandercock, 1998). These actions directly contest the hegemonic norms embedded in urban planning and design and work to create alternative spatial practices and representations that better reflect the diversity of gender identities and expressions.

Furthermore, the transgender community's mobilization around issues of housing, access to public resources, and the right to freely inhabit urban spaces aligns with the Marxist perspectives outlined in the theoretical framework. Trans urban activism can be seen as a response to the capitalist production of space that has marginalized and exploited non-conforming gender identities. By asserting their spatial claims, trans activists challenge the exclusionary logic of urban development and demand a more equitable, inclusive city.

In this way, the case of trans-urban activism as a counter-planning practice extends and builds upon the historical trajectories of feminist, racial, LGBTQ+, and immigrant movements. It represents the latest wave of insurgent planning, one that centres on the experiences of transgender individuals and works to dismantle the cis-normative foundations of the built environment.

Directions for future research

This research explores the potential for modern trans-urban activism to be understood as a form of counter-planning practice. Drawing on an interdisciplinary theoretical framework and historical analysis, the paper argues that the transgender community's efforts to navigate, reclaim, and reshape urban spaces align with and extend previous waves of insurgent planning.

The findings suggest that transgender activists, like their feminist, racial, LGBTQ+, and immigrant counterparts, are using a range of spatial tactics to challenge the dominant, cis-normative logic embedded in urban planning and design. By advocating for gender-inclusive facilities, confronting discriminatory housing and zoning policies, and disrupting the gendered organization of public space, trans individuals and movements are making their lived experiences visible and asserting their "right to the city."

This trans-focused wave of counter-planning can be seen as a direct response to the capitalist production of urban space that has historically marginalized non-conforming gender identities. In aligning their spatial claims with Marxist theories of the right to the city, transgender activists are demanding a more equitable, inclusive urban environment that better reflects the diversity of gender expressions.

While the transgender community is an integral part of previous LGBTQ+ movements, this research argues that the current wave of counter-planning is distinct in its focus on gender identity and expression, rather than solely sexual orientation. The legal and social changes around issues like gender marker changes and access to gendered spaces mark a new phase in the ongoing struggle for spatial justice and representation.

In conclusion, the case of trans urban activism provides a compelling example of how marginalized communities can leverage planning mechanisms and urban spaces to contest dominant power structures and advance their collective rights and visibility. As the planning field continues to grapple with its own legacy of exclusion, this research suggests that centering the perspectives and spatial claims of transgender individuals is a crucial step towards more equitable, inclusive, and just cities.

This theory of the five waves of counter-planning could be expanded upon in future research, especially by utilizing the equity nodal theory as a framework for examining the equity of planning processes and outcomes. I plan to pursue a PhD program where I hope to further develop this research on equity in urban planning, building upon the foundations laid in this paper.

Bibliography

- Amnesty International . (2024, 02 23). Pierre Poilievre's comments about trans women 'a dangerous distraction,' Amnesty International Canada says. <https://amnesty.ca/human-rights-news/pierre-poilievre-trans-comments-dangerous-distractio/>
- Angus Reid Institute. (2023, 09 19). Canada and the Culture Wars: On gender, more than half say a person is male or female, but one-third say that's 'too limiting'. <https://angusreid.org/canada-culture-wars-gender-and-trans-issues/>
- Armstrong, E. A. (2002). *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994*. University of Chicago Press.
- Beebejaun, Y. (2017). Gender, urban space, and the right to everyday life. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 39(3), 323-334.
- Bellemare, A., Kolbegger, K., & Vermes, J. (2021, 11 08). Anti-trans views are worryingly prevalent and disproportionately harmful, community and experts warn. *CBC News*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/anti-transgender-narratives-canada-1.6232947>
- Benzie, R. (2024, February 7). What Doug Ford insiders say about Danielle Smith's plan for transgender rights — and what means for Ontario. *Toronto Star*, https://www.thestar.com/politics/provincial/what-doug-ford-insiders-say-about-danielle-smiths-plan-for-transgender-rights-and-what-it/article_8c12fc38-c503-11ee-ba99-9330f15ddf32.html
- Bilicki, D. (2024, June 04). 'Expected Sportmanship': Transgender athlete upset about being booed after win. *Toronto Sun*: <https://torontosun.com/sports/other-sports/transgender-athlete-upset-about-being-booed-after-win>
- Blackburn, M. V., & McCready, L. T. (2009). Voices of Queer Youth in Urban Schools: Possibilities and Limitations. *Theory Into Practice*, 48(3), 222-230.
- Bridge, G., & Watson, S. (2011). Chapter 1: Reflections on Materialities. In G. Bridge, & S. Watson (Eds.), *The New Blackwell Companion to the City* (pp. 3-14). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Brookings. (2009). The New Geography of United States Immigration. Brookings Immigration Series, 3, 1-8.
- Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60 (1917), 33 (U.S. Supreme Court 11 05, 1917).
- Carrera, L., & Castellaneta, M. (2023, 05 25). Women and cities. The conquest of urban space. *Frontiers in Sociology*, 8, 1-9.
- Castells, M. (1983). *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. University of California Press.
- Chau, E. (2024, April 11). Planet Fitness member allegedly walked into female changeroom claiming to be woman. *Toronto Sun*, <https://torontosun.com/news/world/planet-fitness-member-allegedly-walked-into-female-changeroom-claiming-to-be-woman>
- Chauncey, G. (1994). *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*. Basic Books.
- City of Chicago Commission of Human Relations. (2016, June 22). Equal Access Consistent with a Person's Gender Identity. Chicago's Human Rights Ordinance Section 2-160-070 'Discriminatory practices – Public accommodations'. City of Chicago Commission of Human Relations.
- City of Seattle . (2016). Chapter 14.06 Unfair Public Accommodations Practices. Seattle Municipal Code: Title 14 - Human Rights: Chapter 14.06-14.07. Seattle: City of Seattle .

- Clairmont, D. H., & Magill, D. W. (1971). *Africville Relocation Report*. Dalhousie University. Institute of Public Affairs.
- Clark, K. B. (1965). *Dark ghetto : dilemmas of social power*. Harper & Row.
- Crary, D. (2024, April 8). Transgender Catholics say new Vatican document shows no understanding of their lives. *Toronto Star*, https://www.thestar.com/news/world/transgender-catholics-say-new-vatican-document-shows-no-understanding-of-their-lives/article_7aca691b-6821-5e28-a961-859ea071405b.html
- Dantzler, P. A. (2021). The urban process under racial capitalism: Race, anti-Blackness, and capital accumulation. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and the City*, 2(2), 113 - 134.
- Department of Homeless Services. (2019, July 15). DHS Policy on serving Transgender, non-binary and intersex clients. DHS-PB-2019-015. City of New York.
- Doan, P. L. (2007). Queers in the American City: Transgendered perceptions of urban space. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 14(1), 57 - 74.
- Fainstein, S. S., & Servon, L. J. (Eds.). (2005). *Gender and Planning*. Rutgers University Press.
- Gibson, V. (2023, 07 05). 'We are afraid.' Asylum seekers sleeping on the street amid tug of war between city and feds. *Toronto Star*, https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/we-are-afraid-asylum-seekers-sleeping-on-the-street-amid-tug-of-war-between-city/article_57d34e79-d57b-5a28-9723-c4292680f796.html
- Goonewardena, K. (2008). Chapter 7: Marxism and Everyday Life: On Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord, and some others. In K. Goonewardena, S. Kipfer, R. Milgrom, & C. Schmid (Eds.), *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (pp. 117-133). Routledge.
- Gullino, S., Cerulli, C., Seetzen, H., & Pacchi, C. (2018). Citizen-led micro-regeneration: Case studies of civic crowdfunding in London and Milan. In J. K. Fisker, L. Chiappini, L. Pugalis, & A. Bruzzese (Eds.), *The Production of Alternative Urban Spaces: An International Dialogue*. Routledge.
- Hamilton, C. V. (1973). *The Black Experience in American Politics*. Putnam.
- Harvey, D. (1981). The urban process under capitalism: a framework for analysis. In D. Harvey, *The urban process under capitalism: a framework for analysis* (1st ed., pp. 101 - 131). Routledge.
- Hayden, D. (1980). What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work. *Signs*, 5(3), 170-87.
- Jackson, K. T. (1985). *Crabgrass Frontier : The Suburbanization of the United States*. Oxford University Press.
- Jacobs, J. (1992). Chapter 22: The kind of problem a city is. In J. Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. (pp. 428-448). Vintage Books.
- Kidd, J. D. (2007). Transgender and Transsexual Identities: The Next Strange Fruit—Hate Crimes, Violence and Genocide Against the Global Trans-Communities. *Journal of Hate Studies*, 6(31), 31 - 63.
- Kilpatrick, S. (2024, March 9). While Canadians face financial hardships, our politicians attack our most vulnerable citizens. *Toronto Star*, https://www.thestar.com/opinion/letters-to-the-editor/while-canadians-face-financial-hardships-our-politicians-attack-our-most-vulnerable-citizens/article_62d8d7ce-db2a-11ee-ab5a-d389e41929f8.html
- Kornfield, M. (2023, 06 15). Biden's tricky path on trans issues: The president has been supportive of trans rights but also seeks to appeal to centrists. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2023/06/15/bidens-tricky-path-trans-issues-forceful-cautious/>

- Lavery, I. (2022, 11 21). Transgender community faces 'astronomical gap' in health-care system, advocates say. *Global News Canada*. Retrieved from <https://globalnews.ca/news/9293801/transgender-health-care-canada/>
- Longman, M. R., Scheim, A., Bauer, G., & Redman, N. (2013, March 07). Experiences of Transphobia among Trans Ontarians. *Trans PULSE e-Bulletin*, 3(2).
- Lubitow, A., Carathers, J., Kelly, M., & Abelson, M. (2017). Transmobilities: mobility, harassment, and violence experienced by transgender and gender nonconforming public transit riders in Portland, Oregon. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24(10), 1398-1418.
- MacDonald, T. (2024, MARCH 21). Quebec Court of Appeal upholds requirement for minors seeking sex designation change. *Toronto Star*, https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/quebec/quebec-court-of-appeal-upholds-requirement-for-minors-seeking-sex-designation-change/article_e5ee3739-b1d0-5a4c-9b75-9ab9f8c0d927.html
- Milk, H. (2013). *An Archive of Hope: Harvey Milk's Speeches and Writings*. (J. E. Black, & C. E. Morris, Eds.) University of California Press.
- Mitchell, B., & Franco, J. (2018). HOLC "Redlining" Maps: The persistent structure of segregation and economic inequality. NCRC.
- Moradi, B., Tebbe, E. A., Brewster, M. E., Budge, S. L., Lenzen, A., & Ege, E. (2016). A Content Analysis of Literature on Trans People and Issues: 2002–2012. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 44(7), 960– 995.
- Movement Advancement Project . (2016). Understanding Issues Facing Transgender Americans. Movement Advancement Project .
- Nelson, J. J. (2000). The Space of Africville: Creating, Regulating and Remembering the Urban Slum. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 15(2), 163-185.
- Nicholls, W. J. (2020). Chapter 4: Regionalizing the Fight for Immigrant Rights in Los Angeles. In W. J. Nicholls, *The Immigrant Rights Movement* (pp. 85-108). Stanford University Press.
- Ontario Human Rights Commission. (2000, 01 11). *Policy on discrimination and harassment because of sexual orientation* .
- Pollard, J. (2024, February 26). Deleted texts helped convince jurors man killed trans woman because of gender ID. *Toronto Sun*, <https://torontosun.com/news/world/deleted-texts-helped-convince-jurors-man-killed-trans-woman-because-of-gender-id>
- Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED). (1983). Inclusionary Zoning and Housing Trust Fund: A Proposal for Equitable Development in New York City. Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development.
- Raj, A. (2024, February 10). On transgender issues, Pierre Poilievre twists th truth and punches down. *Toronto Star*, https://www.thestar.com/politics/political-opinion/on-transgender-issues-pierre-poilievre-twists-the-truth-and-punches-down/article_e0e6c17e-c795-11ee-8f95-afcd632ed2e1.html
- Reeves, D., Parfitt, B., & Archer, C. (2012). Gender and Urban Planning: Issues and Trends. Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlements Programme.
- Sandercock, L. (1998). *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*. University of California Press.
- Sgibnev, W. (2020). Chapter 14 Mapping Khujand: The Governance of Spatial Representations in Post-Socialist Tajikistan. In L. B. Drummond, & D. Young (Eds.), *Socialist and Post-Socialist Urbanisms : Critical Reflections from a Global Perspective* (pp. 282-321). University of Toronto Press.

- Siemiatycki, M., & Isin, E. (1997). Immigration, Diversity and Urban Citizenship in Toronto. *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, 20(1,2), 73-107.
- Silverstein, G. E. (2018). Developing Lawyers: The East Bay Community Law Center's Impact on Law Students' Professional Identity Formation. *UC Hastings College of the Law*, 9(Online 5). Retrieved from https://repository.uclawsf.edu/faculty_scholarship/1744
- Stein, M. (2004). *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia*. Temple University Press.
- Stone, C. N., & Sanders, H. T. (Eds.). (1987). *The Politics of Urban Development*. University Press of Kansas.
- The Associated Press. (2024, June 2). Gay pride revelers in Sao Paulo reclaim Brazil's national symbols. *Toronto City News*, <https://toronto.citynews.ca/2024/06/02/gay-pride-revelers-in-sao-paulo-reclaim-brazils-national-symbols/>
- The Associated Press. (2024, June 5). Missouri appeals court sides with transgender student in bathroom, locker room discrimination case. *Toronto Star*, https://www.thestar.com/news/world/united-states/missouri-appeals-court-sides-with-transgender-student-in-bathroom-locker-room-discrimination-case/article_8f81ef81-b63d-5ec6-a4a5-9985a0487612.html
- U.S. Department of Education. (2023, April 13). Nondiscrimination on the Basis of Sex in Education Programs or Activities Receiving Federal Financial Assistance: Sex-Related Eligibility Criteria for Male and Female Athletic Teams. <https://www.regulations.gov/document/ED-2022-OCR-0143-0001>
- Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co., 272 U.S. 365 (1926), 31 (U.S. Supreme Court 11 22, 1926).
- Weber, B. (2024, February 2). 'Most anti-LGBT in the country': Justin Trudeau decries Alberta transgender policies. *Toronto Star*, https://www.thestar.com/politics/most-anti-lgbt-in-the-country-justin-trudeau-decries-alberta-transgender-policies/article_a5fbfc7c-c08b-5a87-97e9-b275f745990a.html
- Whitzman, C., Shaw, M., Andrew, C., & Travers, K. (2009, 05 18). The effectiveness of women's safety audits. *Security Journal*, 22, 205–218.
- Wilford, D. (2024, May 13). 'Straight, White, Middleaged Bloke': J.K. Rowling starts row with trans football manager. *Toronto Sun*, <https://torontosun.com/entertainment/celebrity/straight-white-middle-aged-bloke-j-k-rowling-starts-row-with-trans-football-manager>
- Women's City Club. (n.d.). Women Creating Change: History . Retrieved 06 2024, 14, from <https://wccny.org/about-wcc/history/>
- Young, D. (2006). *Rebuilding the Modern City after Modernism in Toronto and Berlin*. York University.