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TORONTO'S GAY VILLAGE:
Built-form as Container for Social Heritage[1]

> Paniz Moayeri

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Every year as Pride week approaches, the hustle that takes over Toronto's Church and Wellesley neighbourhood is palpable in every interaction. Rainbow flags proliferate over-night, bars operate on extended hours, roads close for pedestrian use, and Pride tourists who parade-hop from one city to the next populate the streets. As participants find themselves showered with water guns and colourful beads during the never-ending parade of organizations down the streets of Toronto, it is easy to forget the headlines that have taken over every local queer publication for the last two or three decades, the headlines that talk of this neighbourhood's slow demise.

The presence of gay and lesbian individuals in urban space is a highly discussed topic within the fields of geography and, more recently, planning. Beyond the focus on formation, histories, "physical boundaries, and social structures of such neighbourhoods,"[2] more recent emphasis has been placed on the slow disintegration and limitations of these spaces. While these neighbourhoods have provided safety and room for exploration, they have also been historically discriminatory to certain groups in the LGBTQ+[3] community.[4] Access has been limited or unavailable to lesbians, bisexuals, transgender, and non-binary folks. Gay villages have also often fallen short in the inclusion of racialized and/or otherwise disenfranchised individuals.[5]

In Toronto, the Church and Wellesley neighbourhood—roughly bound by Gerrard Street to the south, Yonge Street to the west, Charles Street to the north,

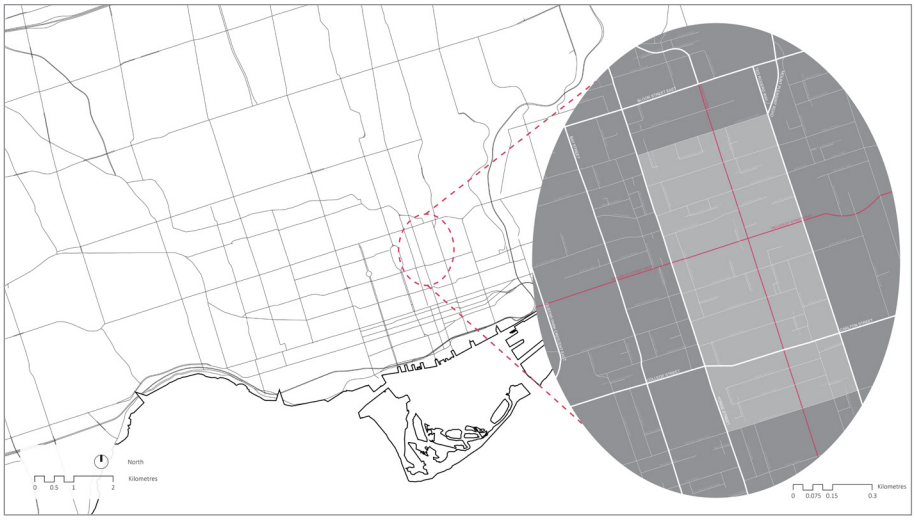

FIG. 1. CHURCH AND WELLESLEY VILLAGE IN TORONTO (BOUND BY GERRARD, YONGE, CHARLES, JARVIS). | MAP: PANIZ MOAYERI.

and Jarvis Street to the east,[6] with its main commercial artery running along Church—is the city's Gay Village (fig. 1). Similar to other gay villages in North America, recent gentrification has started to guide conversations around the disappearance of this formerly forgotten spot in the city.[7] This transformation, of course, goes hand in hand with significant cultural change, both around queer acceptance in larger society and relating to a difference in spatial need and use. As the culture shifts toward an increase in online interactions, and as cisgender gay individuals[8] (for whom these villages were safe homes) become more accepted in society, many queer individuals choose to live in more diverse areas of the city. In addition to many younger LGBTQ+ individuals getting priced out of these neighbourhoods,[9] the generational divide also contributes to a cultural shift. For example, according to geographer Catherine J. Nash in her 2012 paper "The Age of the 'Post-mo'? Toronto's Gay Village and a New Generation,"[10] many young LGBTQ+ individuals in Toronto, identify as "post-mo" (post-modern homosexuals).[11] They are less interested in living in the Gay Village and more interested in hipper, more diverse neighbourhoods like Parkdale or Leslieville.[12]

These changes are easy to spot on the ground. Spatial use has shifted from brick and mortar bars and bathhouses to apps like Grindr.[13] The annual Village fetish fest has been cancelled for more "family-oriented" activities.[14] New condominiums continually go up, rents soar, and more "straight" families continue to move into the neighbourhood. Meanwhile, commentators argue about whether the portrayal of our modern (and sometimes pink-washed)[15] Canadian homonationalism,[16] sexless and conformed to a straight audience's comfort level, will be the death of the Village, and of queer heritage along with it.

One question persists, however: what is this queer heritage we are so afraid of losing, and how might it be related to the physical spaces of the Village?

To answer this question, I will start by defining what I mean by "heritage," then I will look at this heritage through the lens of queer theory. Next, I will take a closer look at the Gay Village in Toronto to see how this queer heritage has been reflected in the building and maintenance of physical spaces and examine the patterns that have resulted in its preservation throughout the decades. Finally, I will speculate on how this heritage might be preserved in the Village.

HERITAGE

Practicing architects often encounter traditional definitions of heritage as observed through laws like the *Ontario Heritage Act* (first enacted in 1975). Many are also familiar with the old debates surrounding the merits of preservation versus conservation versus restoration versus renovation. Some of this debate is summarized and rationalized in Alois Riegl's formative 1903 text, *The Modern Cult of the Monument: Its Character and Its Origin*.[17] In it, he lays down a spectrum of approaches for tending to heritage-designated objects. He argues that our treatment of these objects must correlate with the reasons for which they are designated worthy of heritage preservation in the first place. He calls these reasons "values." For example, Riegl argues that seeking art value, which requires newness for appreciation of aesthetics, inherently opposes age value, which is a celebration of decay. As such, depending on what value we seek in an object (or building), our level of interference in its process of aging should differ accordingly.[18] But even Riegl's value system is still entirely preoccupied with the buildings' physical values and their physical preservation. Recent decades have seen a rise in critical heritage studies in which intangible cultural heritage has increasingly been addressed more sensitively. In many cases, however, we still tend to neglect designating the program of a building, or its cultural role in context, as heritage. What happens if we look at physical form and preservation only in relation to cultural heritage?

This cultural viewing of heritage brings to mind James Young's argument in his 1992 paper "The Counter-Monument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today," where he discusses memorials in postwar Germany.[19] Young suggests that in traditional memorials, the physical object of the monument becomes a container for memory, relieving the individuals of the responsibility of having to remember.[20] As such, he argues that in memorializing atrocity, the ultimate goal should not be building something grand, but rather to remember the events ourselves.[21] Young's example of the disappearing "Monument against Fascism" in Harburg symbolizes this transfer of memory from the object to the collective narrative as individuals write on it and as the monument disappears into the ground with time.[22] This means of depicting traumatic memory suggests a question when applied to the heritage preservation of gay villages: should queer heritage, with its history of trauma and oppression, be viewed and remembered in a similar way? Perhaps the heritage value of gay villages is in their inherent contestation against typical heteronormative space and not in their building forms. Perhaps architectural heritage for a gay village is not entirely about physical buildings, but about the memory of the buildings and the queer heritage they house.

But, what is queer heritage?

QUEER HERITAGE

Even though today we tend to hear the word "queer" used as an umbrella term for members of the LGBTQ+ community, queer theory has its roots in a post-structuralist desire to be critical of stabilized sexual identities. Emerging out of the AIDS crisis and anti-"gay" legislations of Margaret Thatcher's government in the United Kingdom, queer politics was a reactionary movement in the 1990s to critique the earlier impotent "gay politics" rooted in "white, middle-class assimilationist bias."[23] Reclaiming a former derogatory term—"queer"—was the movement's first radical action.[24] Moving away from the former gay/lesbian studies debates around natural and unnatural behaviours with respect to homosexuality, queer theory took an all-encompassing countercultural stance toward these identities. Its aim has been to move beyond labels and traditional binary definitions of gender and sexuality.[25] According to queer theory, identity is a grouping of multiple and shifting positions. Queer, as a category, is "radically inclusive" of "anyone who refuse[s] to play by the rules of heteropatriarchy."[26] Queer culture exists as a result of its *otherness* to the "dominant, normative culture."[27] When used, the term queer can be understood as an umbrella term for all practicing sexual deviancy from the normative culture,[28] as a transgressive, subversive verb that "queers" normative spaces and actions, or a term used to erase boundaries through acknowledging the problematic nature of static labels. With that in mind, defining queer heritage brings up two main challenges: homogenizing members of the queer community under one heritage, and glamourizing the closet.

First, as attested to by the growing number of letters on the list of LGBTQ2IA+,[29] queer heritage cannot be homogenous.

A

B

FIG. 2. TWO OF THE HISTORICALLY NOTORIOUS SPOTS FOR CRUISING IN TORONTO, OPERATING AS A HIDDEN LAYER IN THE CITY.

A. ALLAN GARDENS – PALM HOUSE, SEPTEMBER 15, 1913.
CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES, FONDS 200, SERIES 372, SUBSERIES 52, ITEM 101: PUBLIC DOMAIN.

B. PHILOSOPHER'S WALK, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO CAMPUS, MAY 18, 1959.
CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES, FONDS 1526, FILE 81, ITEM 6: CITY OF TORONTO.

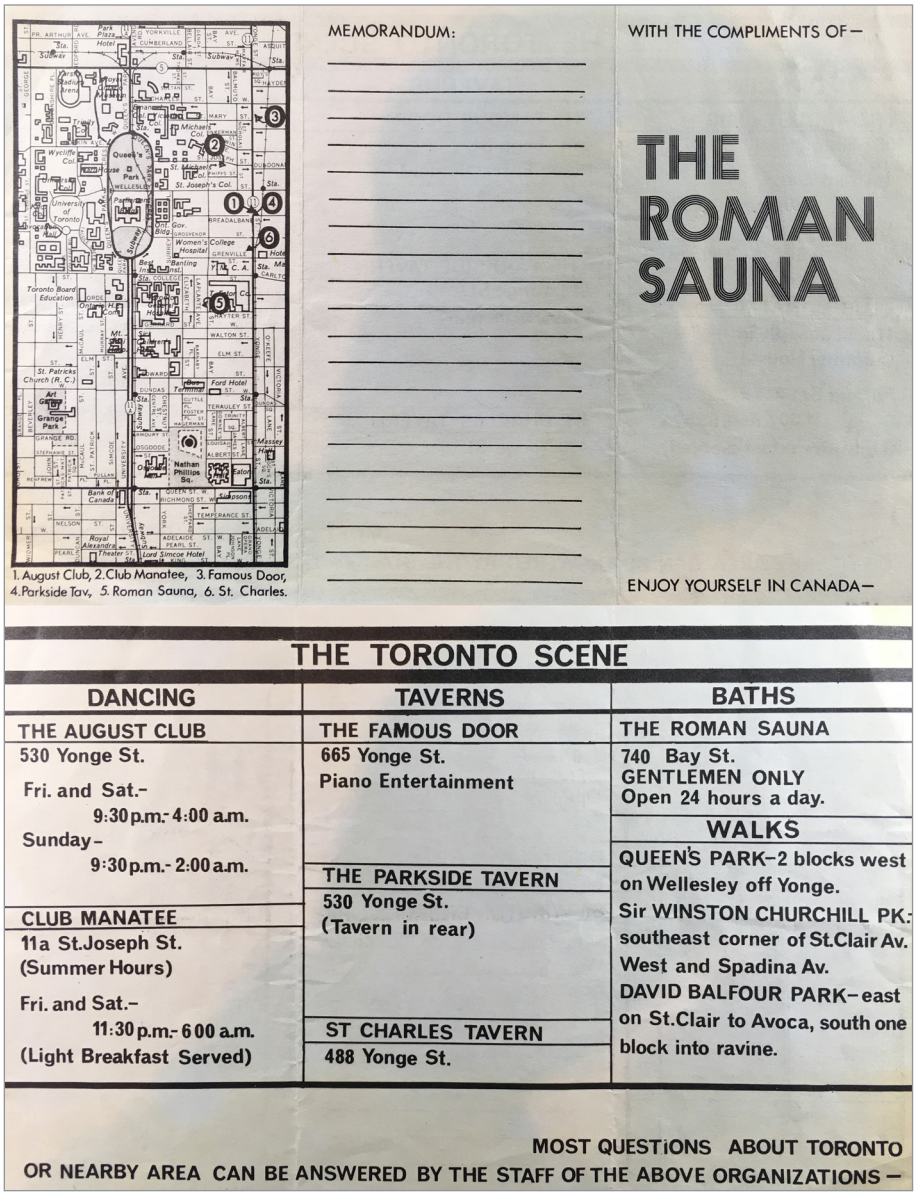

FIG. 3. THE ROMAN SAUNA BATHS' TOURIST PAMPHLET DEPICTING POPULAR GAY DESTINATIONS IN THE CITY FOR VISITORS, 1970S OR 1980S. THE ROMAN SAUNA BATHS (RENAMED THE ROMANS II HEALTH AND RECREATION SPA IN 1977) WAS A POPULAR BATHHOUSE IN TORONTO'S GAY COMMUNITY BETWEEN 1964 AND 1989. IT WAS ONE OF THE FOUR BATHHOUSES RAIDED BY METROPOLITAN TORONTO POLICE ON FEBRUARY 5, 1981, DURING OPERATION SOAP. | COURTESY OF THE ARQUIVES.

Queer theorists like Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick argue that we can never be sure to what extent one can take liberty in grouping individuals, based merely on the nature of their marginalization due to sexual orientation or gender identity,[30] factors also affected by other social markers such as race, class, and education levels. Individuals in each of these groups experience different levels of acceptance and discrimination both within the queer community as in wider society.[31] Oppression has an interwoven systematic structure,[32] one that makes a clear-cut binary form of oppression hard to pinpoint. Sedgwick argues that a "person who is disabled through one set of oppressions may by the same positioning be enabled through others."[33] By grouping individuals together under one set of experiences, we might actually be moving away from the ideals of queer theory. As such, we cannot paint everyone with the same heritage, queer or otherwise.

Even if there were one collective and inclusive queer heritage, it would inherently be a paradoxical one. Our second challenge arises when we try to relate queer heritage to space. Sedgwick argues that gay existence has been defined by its relationship to the private, closeted life. While this closet has given gay culture and identity a level of consistency, one must remember that by focusing too much on the "continuity and the centrality of the closet" over history, we forget the problems with the closet and begin to glamourize it. For example, in the precedent setting American court cases of the 1980s during which boundaries were broken for gay liberation rights, the ideas discussed revolved around privacy and public disclosure. In cases such as 1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick* in the United States, the accusations had been about the *lack* of disclosure (the accused not having disclosed being active in gay circles) and the main line of defence remained the accused's right to privacy. The defence argued for the return of "the police back to the streets" and away from matters of the bedroom.[34] While this strategy was affective in many legal battles, it ironically perpetuated the closet's role. The closet, as such, was (and continues to be) the tool of the oppressor.[35] In other words, even though society's historical "othering" and the consequential closeting of LGBTQ+ individuals has given birth to the unique Western queer culture we know—even admire—today, we

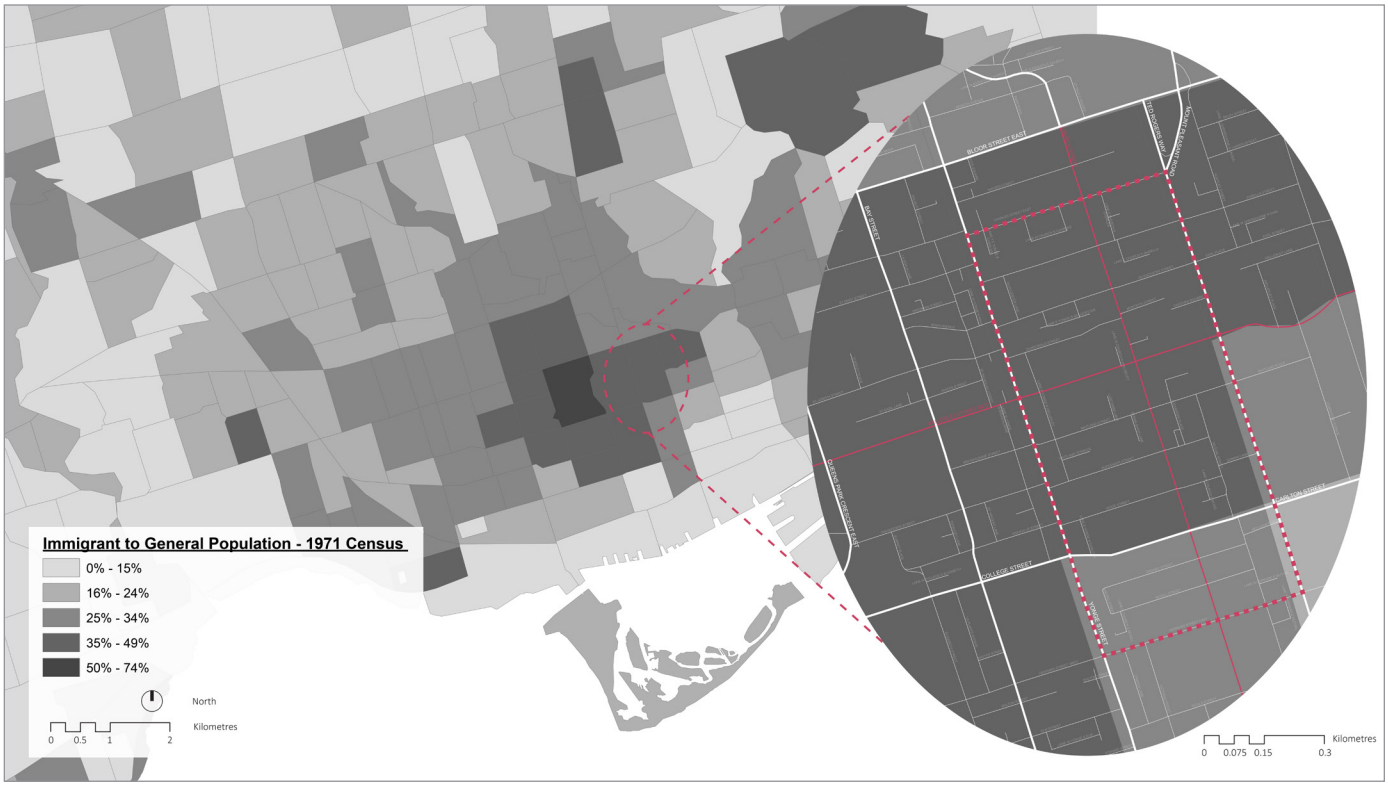

FIG. 4. IMMIGRANT TO GENERAL POPULATION RATIO. BASED ON THE 1971 NATIONAL CENSUS. | MAP: PANIZ MOAYERI.

can never celebrate or condone the act of hiding identity, or the marginalized existence that has given birth to this culture.[36] We need to be utopian about the desire and action to rid society of the closet.[37]

Are places like gay villages a direct manifestation of the societal closet, or are they proud, nonconformist acts of "queering space"? For many decades, gay villages were the open secrets of our societies, a second layer to our cities no one saw (fig. 2). What went on in the hidden bars and bathhouses of these villages was meant to happen behind closed doors, with sounds and smells prisoned inside.[38] Secrets of gay life were kept in these villages—these collective closets—where knowledge was safeguarded against mainstream society (fig. 3).[39] Only those equally afraid of being ousted were confided in with their peers' secrets. Today, gay villages are well-known destinations, arguably successful examples of "queering space"—the creation of queer space through queer presence. The arrival of queer bodies into the spaces of the city highlights the city as having been "produced (ambiently) heterosexual, heterosexist, and heteronormative."[40] This is a product of time, formed through consistent "heterosexing" of spaces.[41] The presence of queer individuals can do the opposite by "queering space."[42] Pride parades, protests, marches, and other anti-heteronormative acts all create queer space through active participation—a performance through being. In fact, understanding queer spaces through theatricality and performance is a well-articulated notion in literature around queer space.[43] Today, for example, most average citizens are aware of queer presence in the Castro district in San Francisco, the Greenwich Village in New York, and the Church and Wellesley Village in Toronto. These are spaces that have arguably become queer through the consistent presence of queer individuals. If there is a cultural queer heritage to speak of, its preservation is undoubtedly tied to the persistent queer claiming of space. However, this "queering" of space still does not settle the paradoxical issues with the closeted origins of these spaces.

If the gay village is the physical manifestation of the closet, then must we not let it take its "natural" turn as Reigl's cult of "age value" would suggest? Should we not allow "natural" gentrification to take its toll on these neighbourhoods, which themselves took form through gentrification?[44] Would this not free us of the Village's ghettoization in a world where LGBTQ+ individuals are increasingly more accepted by mainstream society?

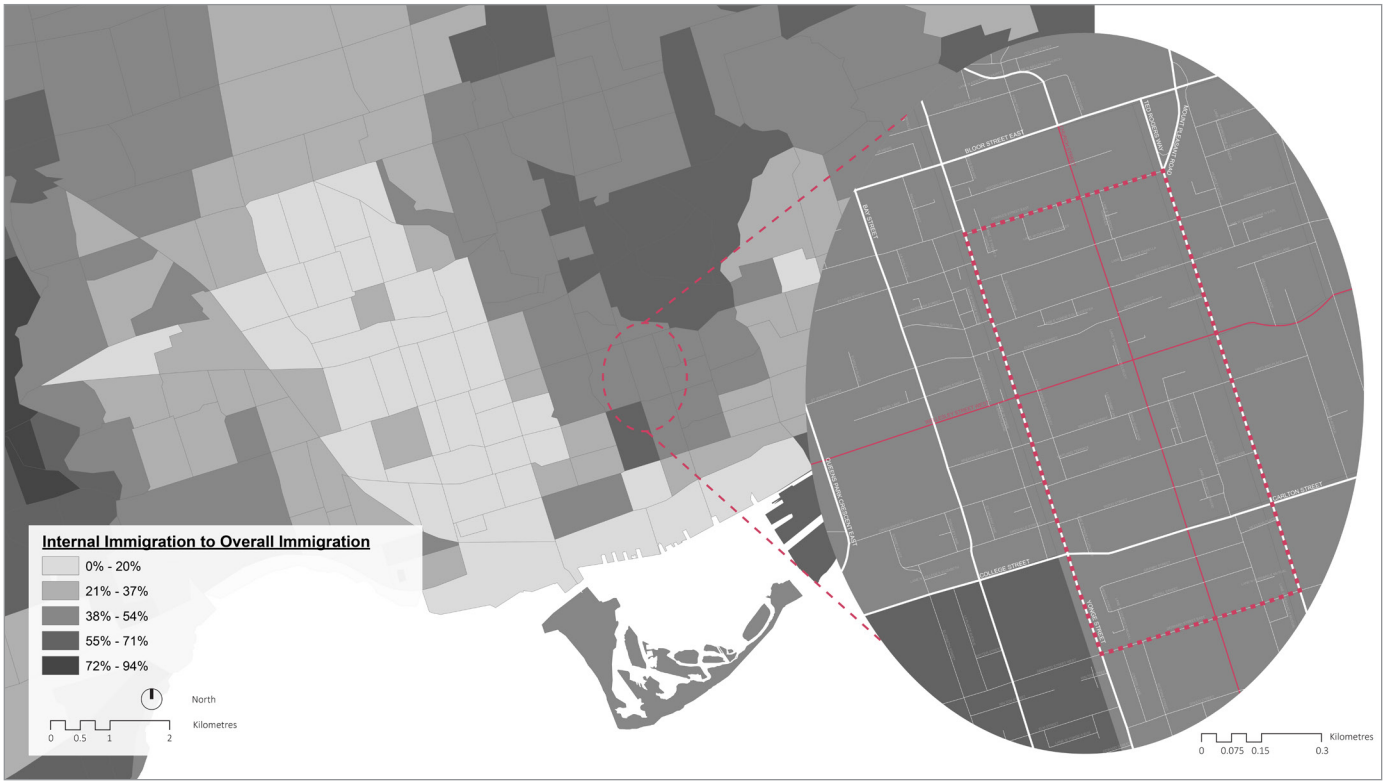

FIG. 5. INTERNAL IMMIGRATION TO OVERALL IMMIGRATION RATIO. INTERNAL IMMIGRATION COMBINES IMMIGRANTS FROM OTHER PROVINCES AND OTHER MUNICIPALITIES IN ONTARIO. BASED ON THE 1971 NATIONAL CENSUS. | MAP: PANIZ MOAYERI.

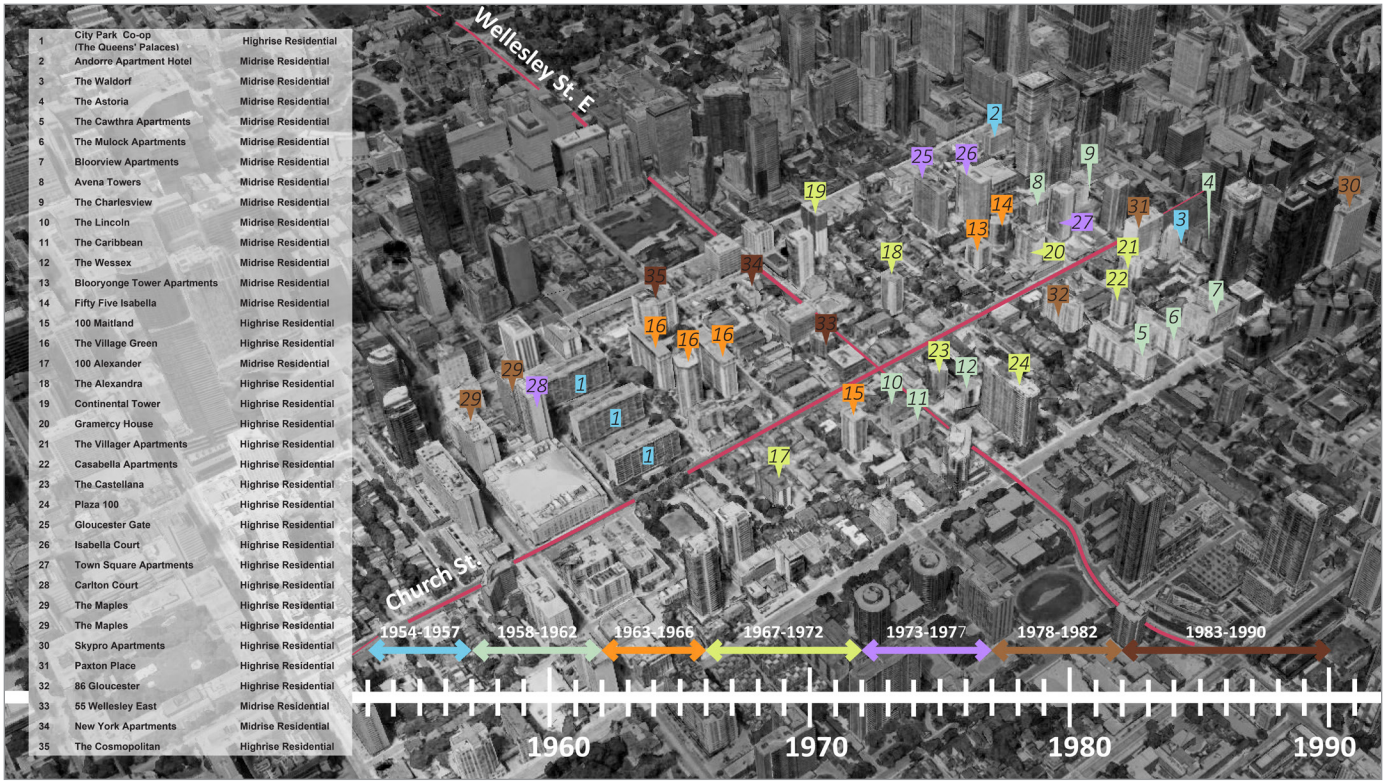

FIG. 6. MAJOR RESIDENTIAL PROJECTS, 1954-1990. THESE PLAYED A BIG PART IN THE FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE. INFORMATION FROM BÉBOUT, RICK, 1997, "MORE ON CHURCH & WELLESLEY," TORONTO, *CANADIAN LESBIAN AND GAY ARCHIVES*, [HTTPS://WEB.ARCHIVE.ORG/WEB/20090613002929/HTTP://WWW.CLGA.CA/MATERIAL/RECORDS/DOCS/TORONTO/MORECW.HTM], ACCESSED APRIL 19, 2017. | MAP: PANIZ MOAYERI (FROM GOOGLE EARTH).

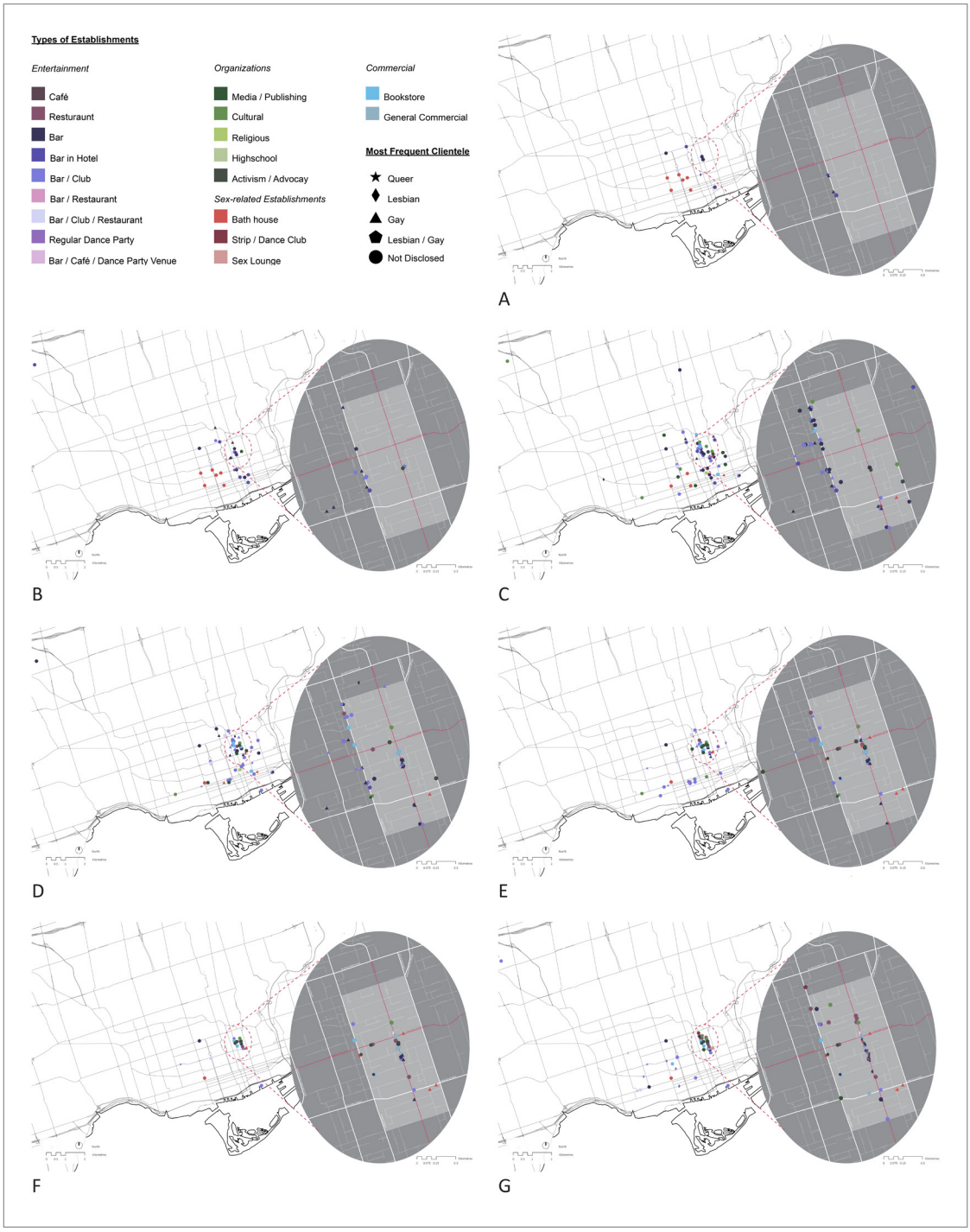

FIG. 7. THE EVOLUTION OF TORONTO'S GAY VILLAGE. | MAP: PANIZ MOAYERI.

A. 1800S-1959: NO REAL VILLAGE, ESTABLISHMENTS ARE OPEN-SECRETS;
B. 1960-1969: THE VILLAGE STARTS TO FORM;
C. 1970-1979: THE ESTABLISHMENTS START TO BECOME LEGITIMATE AND LEGAL;
D. 1980-1989: MAIN ARTERY STARTS TO SHIFT TO CHURCH ST.;
E. 1990-1999: CHURCH IS ESTABLISHED AS MAIN ARTERY, BUT NUMBERS OF ORGANIZATIONS BEGIN TO DWINDLE;
F. 2000-2009: THE DECLINE CONTINUES;
G. 2010-2017: NEW LOCATIONS OUTSIDE THE VILLAGE AND NEW MODELS FOR ENTERTAINMENT GET ESTABLISHED.

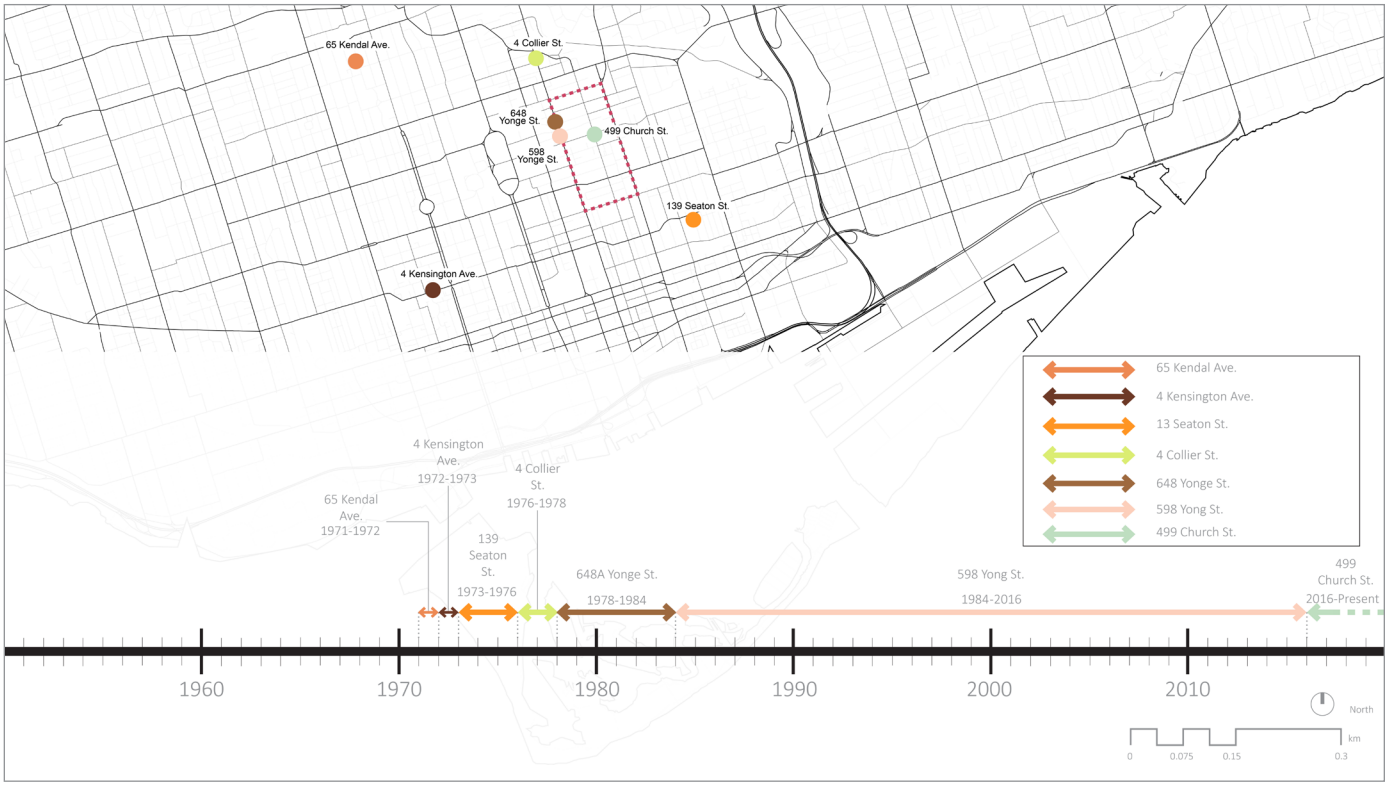

FIG. 8. RELOCATING ESTABLISHMENTS. EXAMPLE USED IS GLAD DAY BOOKSHOP WITH 7 MOVES. | MAP: PANIZ MOAYERI.

To understand the role Toronto's Church and Wellesley Village has played in queer life and whether or not this role should continue to be maintained, we must first understand how the Village in question has been built and maintained through its history.

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

In Toronto, the history of the Gay Village signifies the city's seismic shift from a conservative Protestant town in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to a globally recognized queer haven today.[45] While the area known today as the Village had long been rumoured to have gay associations in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries as a result of Alexander Wood's legacy[46] and persistent queer presence at Allen Gardens,[47] one cannot claim any continuity of gay heritage dating back that far.[48] What did, however, start to distinguish the area as a gay neighbourhood was a shift in the *zeitgeist* of the 1960s and 1970s, new construction, and fresh arrivals to the neighbourhood.

Starting in the 1960s, Toronto began to distinguish itself from its imperial foundations. Viljo Revell's new city hall (opened in 1965) and the sleek black Toronto Dominion Centre tower by Mies Van der Rohe (opened in 1969) started to crowd the city's skyline. These new buildings competed with old-fashioned landmarks like the once-dominant chateau of Royal York,[49] the city's railway hotel, a symbol of imperialist and colonial nation-building. This signified a bigger shift. Immigration from Europe, the United States, and from within Canada was changing the demographics of the city. The European post-war immigrants rushing to Toronto were no longer just "good British stock" and Central Europeans.[50] Toronto was now attracting Jewish, Italian, Greek, and Slavic immigrants who settled in urban Toronto.[51] By the 1971 census, more than 33% of the Metropolitan area was foreign born, putting Toronto on track to what the United Nations would declare the world's most culturally and linguistically diverse metropolis two decades later[52] (fig. 4). Another immigration surge from the United States accompanied European migration to the city. Three quarters of draft-dodgers and deserters of the Vietnam war settled in Toronto.[53] Looking at the 1971 census in and around "tract 63" (which would become Toronto's Gay Village), an internal trend of immigration from other provinces and municipalities within Canada is also evident (fig. 5).[54]

In tract 63, many of these arrivals settled in the new modernist residential high-rises

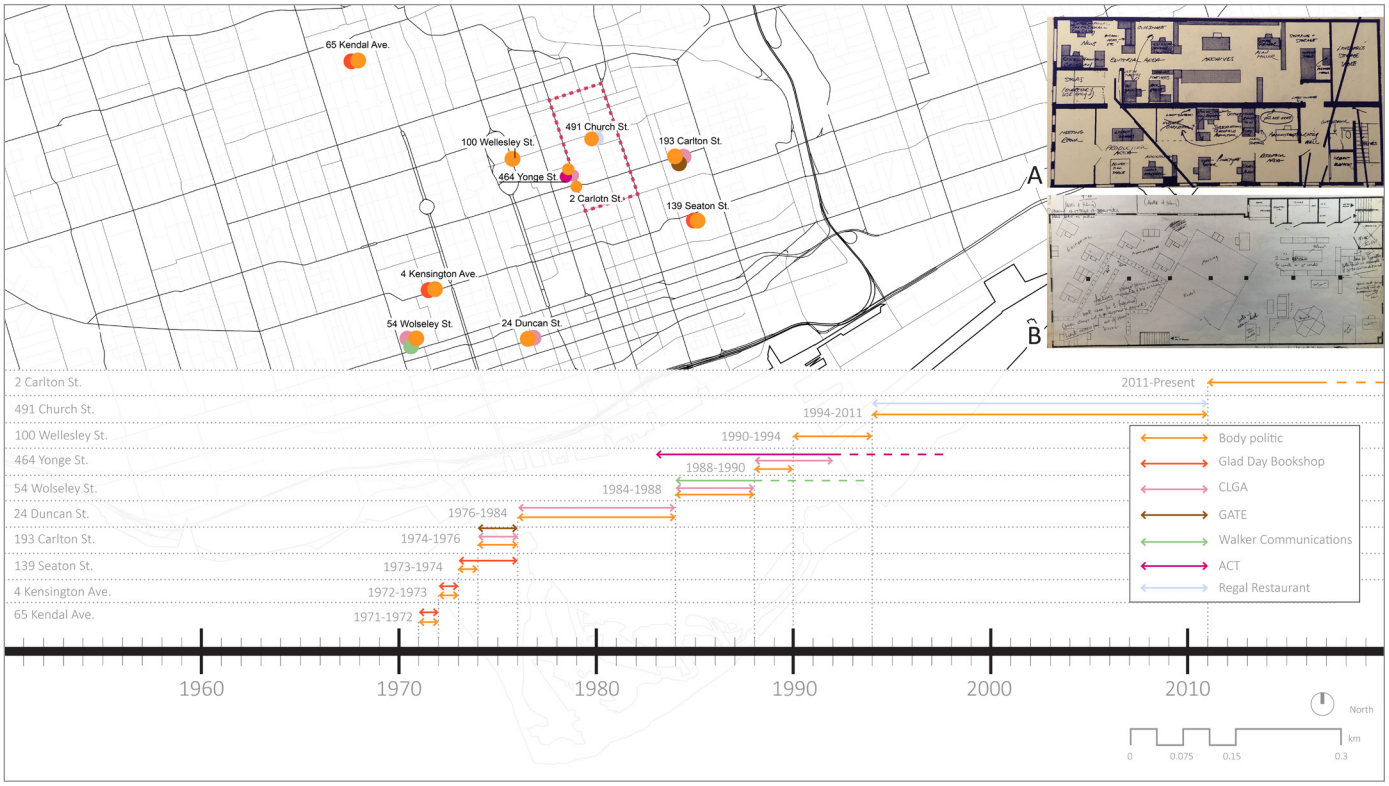

FIG.9 ESTABLISHMENTS SHARING SPACE. EXAMPLE USED IS *THE BODY POLITIC.* | MAP: PANIZ MOAYERI.

A. PLAN OF THE 24 DUNCAN ST. OFFICES BY RICK BÉBOUT. | ARQUIVES, COURTESY OF ALAN MILLER, EXECUTOR OF RICK BÉBOUT'S ESTATE.
B. PLAN OF THE 54 WOLSELEY ST. OFFICES BY RICK BÉBOUT. | ARQUIVES, COURTESY OF ALAN MILLER, EXECUTOR OF RICK BÉBOUT'S ESTATE.

in the area (fig. 6). These towers were some of the first in the city to include studio and one-bedroom apartments, catering perfectly to another trend emerging in the neighbourhood: the individuals moving to the area were mainly young single men between the ages of 20 to 39, living alone, in childless households.[55] Many did not have a car.[56] The central location of the new residences, with close proximity to the first subway line from Union to Eglinton Stations (opened in 1954), in addition to the presence of the CBC headquarters on Jarvis Street,[57] which provided a steady source of employment in the neighbourhood,[58] created a point of congregation for these young men. To echo Rick Bébout in "Time and Place: Toronto, 1971," while the census questionnaire did not inquire about sexual orientation, all the evidence points to a large gay population.[59] The opportunities the newly developed area of tract 63 offered to the latest arrivals in Toronto laid the ground work for the beginnings of the city's Gay Village.[60]

MAPPING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAGE

To understand how the Village was maintained, I have started a mapping project of queer[61] establishments and organizations in Toronto from the mid-1800s until today (fig. 7). These are heavily informed by Donald W. McLeod's annotated chronologies of Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada,[62] as well as through literature[63] and archival research. The archival research was conducted in person at the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (since renamed The ArQuives) in Toronto, and online, through The ArQuives' digital collection, as well as on archived pages of newspapers and online services.[64]

Through these drawings, certain patterns appear. Before the 1960s and 1970s, a lot of the spaces catering to gay or lesbian clientele were not exclusively labelled as such. Rather, there was often an open-secret understanding that the indicated spaces catered to these groups.[65] These establishments were scattered mainly outside the boundaries of what became the Village.

From the 1960s and 1970s onward, exclusively (but not always openly) gay or lesbian establishments started to form, now located mostly within the area that became the Village. This shift occurred in parallel with the wave of demographic changes in the neighbourhood described earlier. As time passed, the establishments became legitimate, licensed spaces, and later the main artery of the Village shifted from Yonge Street to Church Street.

FIG. 10. SPACES CHANGING HANDS. EXAMPLE USED IS 488 YONGE ST., HOME TO ST. CHARLES TAVERN. | MAP: PANIZ MOAYERI.

A. ST. CHARLES TAVERN MENU | COURTESY OF THE ARQUIVES.
B. 488 YONGE ST IN 2017. | PHOTO: PANIZ MOAYERI.

Starting in the late 1990s into the 2000s, however, the concentration of gay establishments in the area started to dwindle. Once again queer establishments appeared outside of the Village, as the population moved to less central areas of the city. For example, many lesbian establishments found themselves east of the downtown core, in the Pape and Leslieville areas. In the Village, with the rents going up, chain cooperations started to move in.

Today, Starbucks and David's Tea have replaced local businesses. Even the biggest bathhouse, Steamworks, is now an American chain entity.[66] The remaining spaces have also gone back to being less defined by their explicitly LGBT[67] programming. Unlike the 1950s, however, this signifies a more open society as opposed to a closeted culture. The word "queer" has started to be used when describing venues (the starred locations on the maps). As well, a new model less dependent on permanent traditional venues for gatherings has emerged. Instead of paying rent for brick and mortar clubs, today, regular party events take place at pre-designated queer-friendly (but not always exclusively queer) venues. Individuals who no longer live downtown now travel to attend these parties. The remaining relic bars, stores, clubs, and bathhouses of the past almost seem buried in this new landscape.[68]

PATTERNS THAT SUSTAINED THE VILLAGE

With the trends mentioned above in mind, I argue that the Village has been preserved as predominantly gay through four main patterns: establishments relocating periodically, establishments sharing spaces, venues changing hands internally within the community, and the passing down of collective memory between generations.

First, there is a pattern of establishments that continually relocated to survive. Examples include the Glad Day Bookshop (the world's oldest surviving queer bookstore), which has occupied seven different spaces since its birth in 1973 (fig. 8). The same trend is also evident among restaurants, bars, and bathhouses, often caused by minor legal violations (lack of a liquor license, for example) or financial issues. Crews & Tango's, a popular drag bar, is an example of this. Zelda's, a popular restaurant in the neighbourhood, also had three reincarnations in its fifteen years before finally closing down for good in 2012. This pattern has allowed for individual businesses to last longer than they would have, had they been frozen in one location. This form of cultural preservation in the Village is not tied to specific

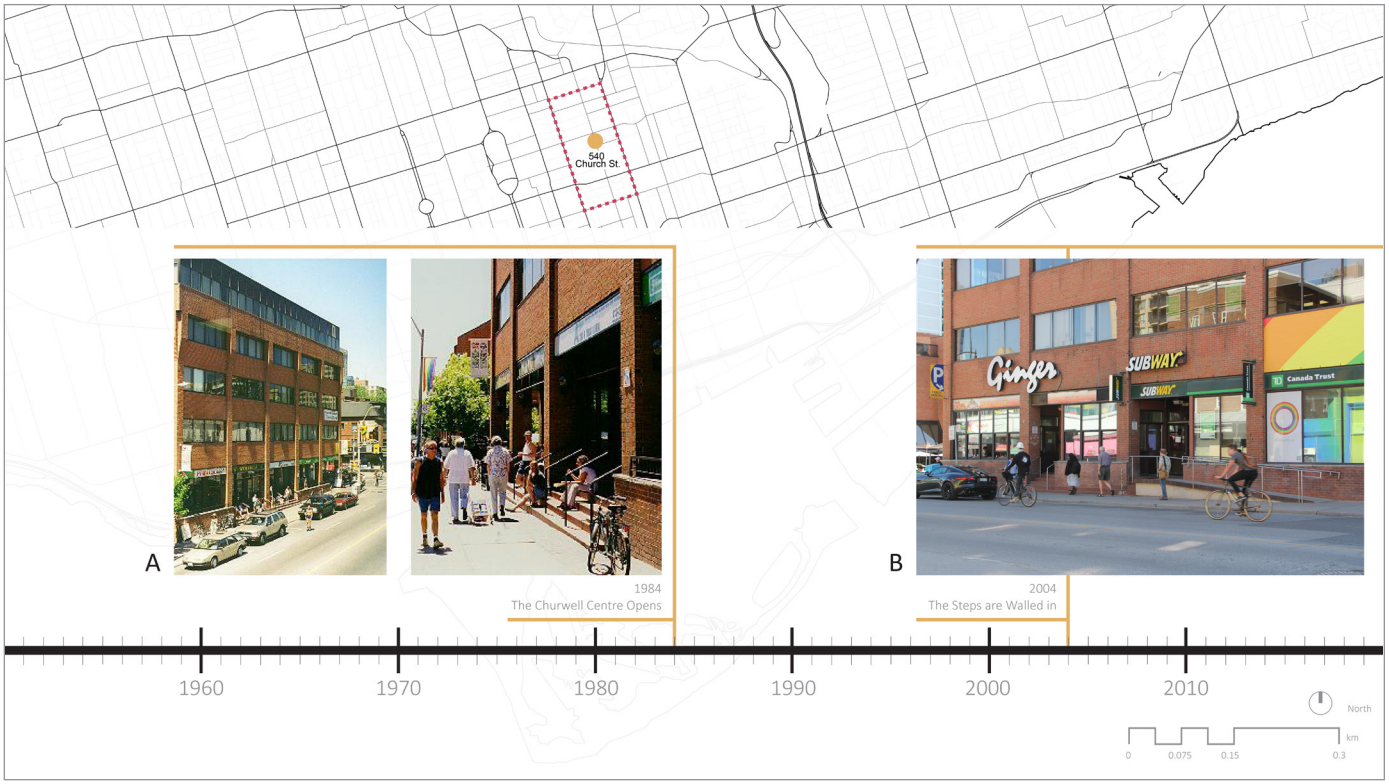

FIG. 11. PASSING ON OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY. EXAMPLE USED IS THE STEPS. | MAP: PANIZ MOAYERI.

A. THE STEPS, *C.* 1997. PHOTOS BY RICK BÉBOUT, ACCESSED IN APRIL 2017 FROM [HTTPS://WEB.ARCHIVE.ORG/WEB/20090814122550/HTTP://WWW.CLGA.CA/MATERIAL/RECORDS/DOCS/TORONTO/CWCC.HTM]. | COURTESY OF ALAN MILLER, EXECUTOR OF RICK BÉBOUT'S ESTATE.
B. WHAT REMAINS OF THE STEPS TODAY. | PHOTO: PANIZ MOAYERI.

buildings. Intangible heritage was preserved with the survival of each of the mentioned establishments, regardless of their physical locations.

Second, the sharing of space between multiple queer organizations has proven itself a financial means of survival. *The Body Politic*[69] and its publishing company, Pink Triangle Press,[70] spent years sharing space with the Glad Day Bookshop, the Canadian Gay Archives (now The ArQuives), the Gay Alliance Toward Equality, Walker Communications, and the AIDS Committee of Toronto at different stages of their lives[71] (fig. 9). I suspect the ability to rely on help with rent would be a benefit of this approach, especially given the uncertainty of profit margins for a publication like *The Body Politic* which spent much of its income battling court cases in its later years.[72] This pattern allowed for different organizations to support one another and grow together, slowly forming the basis of a community with a claim on space. This, again, established heritage preservation unbound to specific buildings or locations.

Third, locations changed hands between different owners or establishments within the community. While establishments closed, those that opened in their place still catered to the queer community through services offered and employment opportunities. Short-lived establishments are common through the history of the Village, as are the ones that frequently move around. The building at 83 Granby Street, for example, started off in the 1970s as La Cavalier restaurant, became Jo-Jo's Bar and Disco (1976-1977), followed by The Barn/Stables—one of Toronto's most notorious gay bars—which opened in 1977. Once The Barn/Stables finally closed in 2012, The Marquis replaced it and operates as a pub to this day. Of that list, The Marquis is the only business since Jo-Jo's that (while queer-friendly) is not an exclusively queer establishment. The home to St. Charles Tavern, 488 Yonge Street—one of Toronto's oldest gay establishments from 1951 to 1987—is another address with this pattern (fig. 10). The building housed Club Triangle in the 1970s and Charley's Disco into the early 1980s, as well as Maygay Dance Club until 1977, followed by Y-Not and later Empire Dance Bar. While this third pattern appears as the by-product of many businesses' closures, it does nonetheless allow for the continuity of queer presence in the Village, overall. While establishments close, those that open in their place still cater to the queer community through services and employment opportunities that would otherwise be lost. Through the maintenance of queer presence, this third pattern aids with cultural queer heritage preservation in the Village.

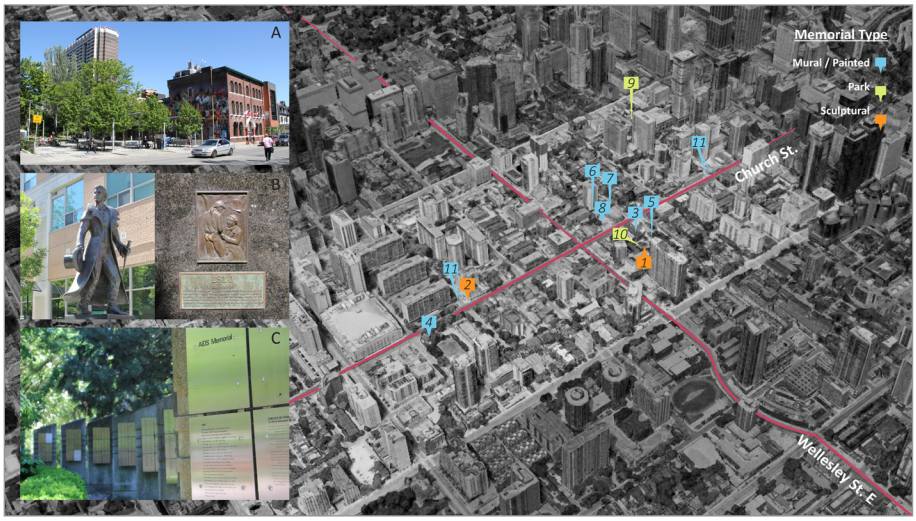

FIG. 12. MONUMENTS IN THE VILLAGE. | MAP: PANIZ MOAYERI (BASE FROM GOOGLE EARTH).

A. WORLD PRIDE MURAL ON THE 519 (#3) AND BARBARA HALL PARK (#10). | PHOTO: PANIZ MOAYERI.
B. ALEXANDER WOOD SCULPTURE (#2). | PHOTO: PANIZ MOAYERI.
C. THE AIDS MEMORIAL AT BARBARA HALL PARK (#1). | PHOTO: PANIZ MOAYERI.

Finally, the last means of survival for the Village has been the passing on of collective memory through intergenerational interactions. The Village has always been a location for congregation, resulting in the sharing of oral histories. An example of the intergenerational passing of spatial heritage is Zelda's. While its last incarnation closed in 2012, it is still referred to by some as a landmark when describing addresses in the neighbourhood.[73] Similarly, The Steps, which was once the entrance to the first Second Cup location in the Village at the Churwell Centre (now the Village Centre), lives on past its demolition in 2004 (fig. 11). The Steps were the inspiration for the famous "Kids in the Hall" sketches that to this day remain alive in the collective memory of Torontonians. Grief over the loss of The Steps still comes up at neighbourhood planning consultation meetings.[74]

In many cases a combination of more than one pattern mentioned above has sustained certain establishments. As well, there are, of course, exceptions to these four patterns. Woody's, one of Toronto's most famous gay bars, has been at 467 Church Street since 1989. Similarly, the Club Baths at 231 Mutual Street was a popular destination from 1973 to 2010, at which point the historic building went to Oasis Aqualounge, a sex lounge catering mainly to cisgender, straight clientele.[75] As a whole, however, the four patterns summarize the trajectories for many of the organizations and establishments in the neighbourhood.

Presently, however, it is not possible to rely on these four patterns to naturally occur in the Village. If high rent leads an establishment to move out of the Village, it would, most likely, never be able to return. If a building is purchased, chances are it will become a condominium tower, or best case scenario, a new establishment, not exclusively queer, but with a rainbow flag in the window. As well, new "city zoning bylaws introduced a decade ago make it impossible to open new dance clubs outside the Entertainment District, generally south of Queen Street."[76] Clubs like Fly (later renamed Fly 2.0) had been grandfathered into the zoning bylaw.[77] The intergenerational passing-on of memories is also challenged by the high rent that leaves new generations of queer arrivals outside of the Village.

HERITAGE PRESERVATION IN THE VILLAGE

The four patterns described above have enabled persistent queer presence in the neighbourhood. Without them, "queering space," an arguable act of heritage preservation, may cease to exist. Returning to the earlier definitions of heritage, it is possible to assess the means of heritage preservation in the Village and question its validity for the future.

Organizations like the Church-Wellesley Neighbourhood Association are very active in the work of heritage preservation in the traditional sense of preserving buildings and historical monuments.[78] What I believe is catering to the Village's persistent cultural heritage, however, is the work of organizations like The ArQuives,[79] the Buddies in Bad Times Theatre company,[80] The 519 Community Centre,[81] the Glad Day Bookshop,[82] and publications like *Xtra*.[83] These organizations make sure that new generations are cared for and are connected to the larger, invisible heritage in the Village. They openly participate in the "queering" of spaces in downtown Toronto by allowing nonconformist activities in Toronto's LGBTQ+ community.[84] Through their services, these organizations continue to activate the Village by bringing queer individuals into its space. They also allow for the inclusion of marginalized voices who do not always see their struggles reflected in the mainstream queer narrative, especially in a village historically biased toward white cisgender gay men.[85]

In this way, these organizations attempt to break away from defined categories of identity and move toward intersectional identities in the Village.

Beyond the presence of queer individuals in space, it becomes hard to pinpoint how the built environment of the Village physically manifests queer heritage. The monuments in the Village (the murals, the rainbow flag crossroads, the AIDS Memorial, and the Alexander Wood sculpture) can serve as possible examples of attempts at capturing this invisible heritage, this "queering of space" (fig. 12). But, while well-intentioned, these memorials still fail to address the core issues of why the Village is becoming obsolete. These monuments also do little to translate cultural queer heritage for contemporary users of the space. Their only answer for why a village is needed today remains in the nostalgia they capture from the past.

THE VILLAGE AS A REFUGE

To be more critical about the Village as a point of congregation for the queer community, a study commissioned by The 519 in anticipation of World Pride in 2014 is noteworthy. In it, a team of consultants, led by Planning Partnership, arranged for public engagement meetings to address the role of the Village in a modern, progressive city. The feedback from the study pointed to social interaction as the Village's most popular feature. This manifested itself in both the built environment (for example, the pedestrian scale of the streets), and in the culture of the Village. In fact, the Village was given most praise for the general sense of inclusion it provided in the community, its history in queer activism, and its role as an arrival point for LGBTQ+ newcomers to the city. Based on the responses, the Village underperformed when the built environment failed (due to age and/or lack of upkeep), when affordable housing and needed services were not provided, and when programming lacked for marginalized community members (for example, addressing the needs of its aging queer population). Overall, individuals expressed their desire to stay in the neighbourhood but wanted positive changes.[86]

In other words, while the Village is becoming mindful of an inclusive queer heritage, it still needs well-designed environments to help it become resilient. Thus, it is evident that Reigl's cult of "age value" cannot be cited for sitting back and allowing "nature" to take its toll on the Village. The disappearing of the Village cannot entirely be attributed to progress in an inclusive age. Moreover, James Young's model of remembrance cannot yet be fully relied on without any symbolic representation. The Village's contributions to society cannot be dismissed symbolically and practically. As proven by the sociopolitical environment, the work for queer progress is far from finished. Toronto remains a destination for queer migrants facing oppression both inside and outside of Canada. We need the Village to function both as a global and national symbol of queer pride, as well as a functional welcoming space for the queer newcomers to the city, as it always has been.

In my graduate research looking at spaces used by Iranian LGBTQ+ refugees in Canada, I was persistently faced with two facts. First, Toronto is a symbol of hope for many struggling under discrimination in other countries.[87] The pageantry of the rainbow flags and murals painted on the buildings in the Village have given and continue to give hope to LGBTQ+ refugees in transit who look at them on their digital devices. There is power in symbolism, even if it is not always realized in practice. Second, once they arrive, many of these refugees do not want to live within their "ethnic" enclaves. They feel safer in the Village.[88] They want to partake in a heritage they were previously denied.

I argue that the Village's historic role as a safe refuge has always been the crux of its worth. For decades, gay villages have been locations of refuge allowing for privacy, play, occupation, and habitation for people who had nowhere else to go. Families were created in these neighbourhoods, often for people who could no longer hold on to their biological families. As articulated by Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter in *Queers in Space*, "queer space enables people with marginalized (homo) sexualities and identities to survive and to gradually expand their influence and opportunities to live fully."[89] This happens through two means. On the one hand, "queering spaces" allows for the creation of classrooms within villages. Queer heritage can be passed down in these spaces through lessons on survival and struggle. On the other hand, these classrooms act as "homeplaces"[90] or sites of resistance where societal hegemony is questioned. Protests broke out and chants like "gay is good"[91] and "no more shit"[92] were first screamed when these sanctuaries were violated: in San Francisco at Compton's Cafeteria in 1966 (the first ever recorded civil uprising of the LGBTQ+ community in North America), in New York City at Stonewall Inn in 1969 (riots often seen as the birthplace of modern North American gay rights activism), and on the streets of Toronto after the bathhouse raids in 1981 (dubbed Canada's Stonewall). Such acts of outrage continue to this day when safe spaces within the queer community are violated. For example, thousands took to the streets of various cities in mourning and defiance after the shootings at Orlando's Pulse nightclub in June 2016.

Arguably, without illegal gay bars like Stonewall Inn, or without open-secret bathhouses in Toronto, we would not have had the riots that changed the narrative around the gay rights movement in North America. LGBTQ+ people and their allies went on the streets of cities like New York and Toronto to *demand* space. The built forms of today's gay villages, as such, are not just shelters for protection in which queer heritage can be passed down in secret. These spaces have continually *shaped* this heritage and have inherently *defined* the growth of their communities.

Toronto's Church and Wellesley Village might have at one point helped conceal, but today, it is not a closet at all. It might have once been a tool for segregation, but it has always acted more like a place of coming together: from its early days when it housed scared young boys from the Prairies, to when it sheltered its sick members, dying of AIDS,[93] to now, when it welcomes queer refugees from places like Iran and Uganda. Since its early days in the 1970s to today, Toronto's Gay Village has always been a destination for LGBTQ+ migrants looking for a home. The only difference is that now, its scope of operation has grown to a global scale.

If the Village is not a closet, then its slow demise cannot solely be attributed to a more accepting society. Its disappearance is affected by external forces of capital, zoning laws, and ultimately, poor environmental design. The Church and Wellesley Village was started and maintained through use, secrets, and memories. Architecture was a container for its heritage. Almost half a century later, however, the Village now deserves to be better served, strengthened, and maintained through architecture, planning, and urban design. That is how its heritage will be preserved.

We must acknowledge that given the historic restrictions on access to gay villages, these spaces need to move toward a *less static* definition of queer space today. The delayed (and initially inadequate) attention of police to the disappearance of Bruce McArthur's victims (all but one were queer men of colour)[94] shows how safe spaces are still necessary, and how the organizations and structures in place need to catch up for these safe spaces to help *everyone* in the community. The debate around whether the Village needs to be preserved or transformed into a new larger *heterotopia* is legitimate. It is also clear that there is no one applicable model for its redevelopments. Regardless, the role of the Village must be remembered as a historic safe space of coming together. Whatever the Village transforms into in the future, this neighbourhood must retain this ability to survive and serve future generations. To that end, it is essential to stop viewing the spaces of the Village through their origins in a closeted past, catering predominantly to white gay men. Instead, the focus today should be on an inclusive "queering space."

If we believe that, ultimately, we must fight for the closet's eradication, then we also need to realize the responsibility this fight leaves us with: Young's burden of remembering.[95] To create truly inclusive queer spaces where identities are not simply labelled, and intersectional multiplicities are acknowledged, for the gay villages of yesterday to become queer villages of tomorrow, we need to take ownership of these spaces and their heritage as a society. This makes it our job as designers to see this heritage catered to and maintained through well-designed environments.

NOTES

1. This paper includes excerpts from my graduate thesis (supervised by Anne Bordeleau) revised and edited for this publication. Paniz Moayeri, 2019, *Your Passport Doesn't Work Here: Asylum, Space, and Iranian Queer Heritage*, UWSpace, [http://hdl.handle.net/10012/14401].
2. Reed, Christopher, 1996, "Imminent Domain: Queer Space in the Built Environment," *Art Journal*, vol. 55, no. 4, p. 66.
3. Stands for Lesbian (a homosexual woman), Gay (a homosexual, especially a man), Bisexual (people who experience sexual, romantic, physical, and/or spiritual attraction to people of their own gender as well as another gender), Transgender (denoting or relating to a person whose self-identity does not conform unambiguously to conventional notions of male or female gender), and Queer (historically, a derogatory slang term used to identify LGBTQ+ people but now embraced and reclaimed by the LGBTQ+ community as a symbol of pride, representing all individuals who fall out of gender and sexuality norms) or sometimes for Questioning (individuals exploring their own sexual orientation, investigating influences that may come from their family, religious upbringing, and internal motivations). The plus indicates an inclusion of all other identities belonging to the Marginalized Orientations, Gender identities, and Intersex (MOGAI) communities. I have made the decision to use the acronym LGBTQ+ to represent the MOGAI community in this paper since it is easily recognizable and decently inclusive, while still remaining manageable to include in text (some other acronyms can get very long). On one occasion, I use a longer acronym to ensure some other subgroups in the community are noted within the specific context I am discussing, and that most of the potential subsets of the group are noted by readers. On one other occasion, I use LGBT instead, since the term refers to establishments that see themselves more rigidly defined.
4. Doan, Petra L., 2015, "Why Plan for the LGBTQ Community?" in Petra L. Doan (ed.), *Planning and LGBTQ Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces*, New York, Routledge, p. 1-16, at p. 3.
5. *Id.*, p. 3-4.
6. The general boundaries of the Village have been defined by the Gay Toronto Tourism Guild.

7. Doan, "Why Plan for the LGBTQ Community?," *op. cit.*, p. 1-7.
8. This acceptance in society remains disproportionate between different marginalized groups. Acceptance is more accessible for white gay men since they carry more privileges in society overall.
9. Doan, "Why Plan for the LGBTQ Community?," *op. cit.*, p. 6.
10. Nash, Catherine J., 2013, "The Age of the 'Post-Mo'? Toronto's Gay Village and a New Generation," *Geoforum*, vol. 49, p. 243-252.
11. Doan, "Why Plan for the LGBTQ Community?," *op. cit.*, p. 6.
12. *Ibid*.
13. Grindr is a popular social networking mobile application geared toward men who have sex with men. The application uses geolocation to allow men to meet individuals in their area, often to engage in sexual activities.
14. Houston, Andrea, 2011, "Fetish Fair Drops the Fetish and Courts 'All Ages,'" *Xtra*, July 5, [https://www.dailyxtra.com/fetish-fair-drops-the-fetish-and-courts-all-ages-6743], accessed May 2017.
15. Modelled on the term white-wash, pink-washing describes marketing and political strategies in the promotion of products, countries, and people to appear queer-friendly. This is done in order to be seen as progressive and tolerant, often despite other oppressive or problematic policies the pink-washer might practice. Pink-washing is frequently used to argue for superiority over other entities deemed as inferior.
16. Coined by gender studies researcher Jasbir K. Puar in 2007, homonationalism is generally defined as the favourable association of nationalist ideology with queer rights, increasingly used politically among Western far-right parties. Puar defines homonationalism more specifically by the alignment of Western powers with the LGBTQ+ community in order to justify xenophobic positions, especially against Christianity and Islam. The implications often include claims that migrants are supposedly homophobic and that Western society is entirely egalitarian. For Canadian context refer to: Dryden, Omisoore H. and Suzanne Lenon, 2016, *Disrupting Queer Inclusion: Canadian Homonationalisms and the Politics of Belonging*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press; and McCaskell, Tim, 2016, *Queer Progress: From Homophobia to Homonationalism*, Toronto, Between the Lines.
17. Riegl, Alois, 1903, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development," published in Price, Nicholas Stanley, M. Kirby Talley, Jr., and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro (eds.), 1996, *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, Los Angeles, Getty Conservation Institute, p. 69-83.
18. *Ibid*.
19. Young, James E., 1992, "The Counter-Monument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today," *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 18, no. 2, p. 267-296.
20. *Id.*, p. 270-272.
21. *Id.*, p. 270-271.
22. *Id.*, p. 272-287.
23. Bell, David and Gill Valentine, 1995, "Introduction," in David Bell and Gill Valentine (eds.), *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*, New York, Routledge, p. 20-22.
24. *Id.*, p. 20.
25. *Id.*, p. 21.
26. *Ibid*.
27. Desert, Jean-Ulrick, 1997, "Queer Space," in Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter (eds.), *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Places, Sites of Resistance*, Seattle, Bay Press, p. 19.
28. This definition has resulted in the term "queer," itself becoming a label today for certain individuals who take it to mean "not straight." This is despite early claims like the following: "There are straight queers, bi-queers, tranny queers, lez queers, fag queers, SM queers, fisting queers in every single street in this apathetic country of ours," from the pamphlet *Queer Power Now* (quoted by Bell and Valentine, "Introduction," p. 21, who themselves were quoting from Smyth, 1992, p. 17).
29. In addition to LGBTQ+ defined in note 3, the meaning of the other letters is as follows: "2" is for two-spirit (a term traditionally used by some Indigenous peoples to recognize individuals who possess qualities or fulfill roles of both genders). "I" is for intersex (a person with a set of sexual anatomy that does not fit within the labels of female or male). "A" can either be asexual (a person who generally does not experience sexual attraction, or very little, to any group of people) or ally (a heterosexual/cisgender person who supports the LGBTQ2IA+ community). I have chosen to use this longer acronym in this instance to ensure other subgroups in the community are noted within the context I am discussing.
30. Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, 2008 [2nd ed.], *Epistemology of the Closet*, Berkeley, University of California Press, p. 36.
31. *Id.*, p. 32.
32. *Ibid*.
33. For example, a woman who uses her married name shows both her subordination as a woman as well as her privilege as a presumed heterosexual (*ibid.*).
34. Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
35. *Ibid*.
36. As Sedgwick points out, sexual orientation is the only marker of sexual desire that we, as a society, have decided to label and to "other." In a parallel universe, this can be seen as arbitrary as categorizing individuals who prefer red heads, or specific fetishes, in bed, as different. But over centuries, this disenfranchisement and "othering" from society has created a resilient LGBTQ+ culture that cannot be denied or erased and has every right to thrive in public today.

For example, while the reality competition television series *RuPaul's Drag Race* (where drag queens compete in weekly challenges for the title of "America's next drag superstar" with directions from host, mentor, and head judge, RuPaul) is a cultural phenomenon today, we need to acknowledge that had cross-dressing and non-heteronormative sexualities not been criminalized for centuries, the drag culture of such a show would have not been developed in the same way. Similarly, the angst and pain so detrimental to the works of individuals like Marcel Proust, Oscar Wilde, Virginia Woolf, and James Baldwin should not make us admire the social pressures of closeting for these individuals or others.

37. Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, *op. cit.*, p. 68-69.
38. These attitudes are evident in articles such as Cockerline, Danny, 1984, "Street Life Versus Sterility: The Battle for St. Joseph St.," *The Body Politic*, January, p. 8-9.
39. Sedgwick (*Epistemology of the Closet*, *op. cit.*) uses Foucault's understanding in the recognition of the connection between sexuality and knowledge to argue that the modern understanding of knowledge talks to sexual knowledge, and that desire speaks to sexual desire. As such, with the repression of sexuality (and same-sex sexuality more specifically) in the nineteenth century, that formula became about the refusal of sex and the

restriction of knowledge. If we use McKeon's argument in *The Secret History of Domesticity* (2007, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press) in seeing the separation of space as an indication for the division of knowledge between private and public, then the locations of gay villages remain as a closet of sorts, where sexual knowledge of the "abject" was kept.

40. Bell, and Valentine, "Introduction," *op. cit.*, p. 18.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. For examples of the discussion around theatricality and queering of space, look at: Betsky, Aaron, 1997, *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-sex Desire*, New York, William Morrow and Company; Lynda Johnson and Gill Valentine's 1995 work on lesbian identities in domestic environments: "Wherever I Lay my Girlfriend, That's My Home: The Performance and Surveillance of Lesbian Identities in Domestic Environments," in Bell and Valentine (eds.), *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*, *op. cit.*, p. 88-103; and Sally Munt's discussion of the lesbian *flâneur*: "The Lesbian *Flâneur*," also in Bell and Gill Valentine (eds.), *id.*, p. 104-114.
44. Desert, "Queer Space," *op. cit.*, p. 21.
45. Wong-Tam, Kristyn, 2017, "Foreword," in John Lorinc, Jane Farrow, Stephanie Chambers, Maureen FitzGerald, Tim McCaskell, Rebecca Sheffield, Tatum taylor, Rahim Thawer, and Ed Jackson (eds.), *Any Other Way: How Toronto Got Queer*, Toronto, Coach House Books, p. 9-10.
46. Alexander Wood was a Scottish merchant and magistrate in Upper Canada and the namesake of two streets in the neighbourhood. He was involved in a sex scandal (and charged with sodomy) in 1810, resulting in him leaving the country for two years. Upon return, he purchased 50 acres at today's Yonge and Carlton Streets, the majority of the area in the modern-day Village, referred to by others as "Molly Wood's Bush." Molly was a derogatory term for homosexuals at that time. In 2005, his statue was erected at the corner of Church and Alexander by the Church and Wellesley business association. In recent years similar acts have started to link Wood's legacy to that of modern Canadian queer identity. Jackson, Ed, 2017, "Alexander Wood: The Invention of a Legend," in Lorinc *et al.* (eds.), *Any other Way: How Toronto Got Queer*, *op. cit.*, p. 91-92.
47. The park has long been known as cruising grounds in the gay community. The morality squad targeted the lavatories in the park in 1921 to arrest a number of men involved in sexual activities. Later in the century the bushes at the gardens were trimmed to stop men from having sex in their shelter. In addition, Oscar Wilde gave a lecture at the park pavilion in 1882. Tatum, Taylor, 2017, "Wilde and Urban Wilderness: Defining Public Space in Allan Gardens," in Lorinc *et al.* (eds.), *Any other Way: How Toronto Got Queer*, *op. cit.*, p. 57-60. See also *Allan Gardens*, *Queerstory*, [http://www.queerstory.ca/project/allan-gardens/], accessed February, 2017.
48. First, we cannot project our contemporary understandings of sexuality and identity on people who lived before the idea of being gay as an identity had emerged. Second, regardless of these individuals' sexual orientations, their activities in what became the Village did not contribute in any way to the formation of Toronto's Gay Village in contemporary time. The word "queer" can arguably be used more freely to link these histories to our contemporary understandings of sexuality as an identity. Since queer theory inherently aims to break away from labels and confounding definitions of sexuality and gender, it can link sexual deviancies outside of heteronormative societal norms through time and create a linked heritage.
49. Bébout, Rick, 1996, "Time and Place: Toronto, 1971," Toronto, *Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives*, [https://web.archive.org/web/20090811120440/http:/www.clga.ca/Material/Records/docs/toronto/tor1971.htm], accessed April 19, 2017.
50. *Id.*
51. Statistics Canada, *Census of Population, Canada (1971)*, Statistics Canada's Key Socioeconomic Database (CANSIM), [http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/cansim/home-accueil?lang=eng.], accessed April, 2017.
52. Bébout, "Time and Place: Toronto, 1971," *op. cit.*
53. *Id.*
54. Statistics Canada, *Census of Population, Canada (1971)*, *op. cit.*
55. *Id.*
56. *Id.*
57. The building now belongs to the National Ballet School of Canada and the CBC has since moved to the Canadian Broadcasting Centre on Front St.
58. An old joke in the LGBTQ+ community of Toronto referred to the CBC as "Canada's biggest closet." *City Park Co-op*, *Queerstory*, [http://www.queerstory.ca/project/city-park-co-op/], accessed February, 2017.
59. Bébout, "Time and Place: Toronto 1971," *op. cit.*
60. *City Park Co-op*, *Queerstory*, *op. cit.*
61. Queer here is used as an umbrella term.
62. McLeod, Donald W., 1996, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964-1975*, Toronto, Homewood Books, [http://hdl.handle.net/1807/4397], accessed April, 2017; and McLeod, Donald W., 2014, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1976-1981*, Toronto, Homewood Books, [https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/74702], accessed April, 2017.
63. Mainly from the following sources: Bébout, Rick, 2003, *Promiscuous Affections*, Toronto, [http://www.rbebout.com/bar/intro.htm], accessed May 2017; Benson, Denise, 2015, *Then & Now: Toronto Nightlife History*, Toronto, Three OClock Press; *City Park Co-op, Queerstory*, *op. cit.*; Lorinc *et al.* (eds.), *Any other Way: How Toronto Got Queer*, *op. cit.*
64. Archived and/or old pages on Yelp, BlogTO, Google Maps, and *Xtra* were incredibly useful in this research.
65. Michael Brown makes a similar observation about early queer spaces in his 2007 book *Closet Space: Geographies of Metaphor from the Body to the Globe*, London, Routledge.
66. Steam Works Baths, [http://www.steamworks-baths.com/toronto/], accessed March 2017.
67. "Q" for queer is deliberately not used in this instance since old venues tended to be a lot more rigid in their description of identity and inclusion.
68. Please note that the concentration of establishments on certain maps is partially indicative of information availability at the time of this research. The map from 2000-2010 suffers from limited sources that speak to establishments during the first decade of this century.
69. One of North America's most influential gay publications started in Toronto in 1971.
70. Pink Triangle Press now runs *Xtra*, an LGBTQ2-focused digital publication based in Toronto.
71. Bébout, Rick, 1998, "Inventory of the Records of The Body Politic and Pink Triangle Press: Addresses and Neighbourhoods," *Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives*, January 9, [https://

web.archive.org/web/20101012163442/http://www.clga.ca/Material/Records/inven/tbp/appx6.htm], accessed May 10, 2017.

72. The history of the legal battles *The Body Politic* was involved in can be found in Jackson, Edward and Stan Persky (eds.), 1982, *Flaunting it!: A Decade of Gay Journalism from the Body Politic: An Anthology*, Vancouver, New Star Books.

73. Gallant, Paul, 2013, "Ready For a Renaissance," *IN Magazine*, June.

74. The 519 Board of Management, 2013, "The 519 Church Street Community Centre Board of Management Meeting Minutes (2012-2013 Meeting # 7)," The 519 Centre, April 29, [http://www.the519.org/], accessed April 2017.

75. This is an interesting case. Even though the new sex lounge is mainly geared toward a cisgender, straight clientele, an argument can be made for it as a queer space, since the activities taking place at this location are still subversive and countercultural in nature.

76. Salerno, Rob, 2014, "Fly Nightclub to Close After WorldPride," *Xtra*, April 29, [https://www.dailyxtra.com/fly-nightclub-to-close-after-worldpride-60193], accessed April, 2017.

77. *Id*. It is important to note that in the months leading to this publication, Fly 2.0 closed in June 2019 after 20 years in the Village. The owners could not afford the rent increase by the landlord. Shawn Riker (the club's owner) confirmed that the building will be demolished to make way for a new condominium tower. Reddekopp, Lorenda, 2019, "Much-loved Gay Club to Shut its Doors After 20 Years Near The Village," *CBC News Website*, June 1, [https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/much-loved-gay-club-to-shut-its-doors-after-20-years-near-the-village-1.5157730], accessed September 12, 2019.

78. Their Heritage Committee is engaged in "cataloguing heritage" (which they define as "historical buildings and those that possess unique architectural features"), "advocating for protection" (which usually means advocating for listing or designation of buildings as heritage), and "naming laneways" with historic names. They have also been involved with the designation of the Historic Yonge Heritage District, passed as city bylaw number 235 in 2016. ("Heritage," *Church Wellesley Neighbourhood Association*, [http://www.cwna.ca/heritage.html], accessed April 2017.) In its reduced footprint after it was passed, bylaw 235 covers Yonge St. as a heritage district from College St. to just a bit south of Bloor St., which overlaps with the west border of the Gay Village. Looking closer to the initiatives of the Heritage Committee, the preoccupation with the physical building is clear. The heritage designations they are involved with usually concern Victorian and Edwardian buildings, typical of Toronto. This type of heritage advocacy is needed, especially given the high land values that call for redevelopment. I would, however, argue that certain aspects of even this object-oriented traditional heritage designation are currently lacking from the model. Certain typologies, unique to the programs available at any gay village, are missing from these designations. A bathhouse typology, for example, is one worth considering as worthy of designation, despite its abject nature. Had this been considered, for example, we could perhaps still have had the Club Bath interiors on Mutual Street—the site of one the largest bathhouse raids in Canada—to refer back to. What sort of physical shell is worth preserving and to what extent must be reassessed.

79. The ArQuives (known as The Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives or CLGA before 2019) is the largest independent LGBTQ+ archives in the world. It is a non-profit organization open to researchers whose mandate is to be "a trusted guardian of LGBTQ+ histories now and for generations to come. See *The ArQuives*, [https://arquives.ca/], accessed January 2017.

80. Buddies in Bad Times is dedicated to "the promotion of queer theatrical expression." It attempts this through different programs, including its one- to three-year residency programs in which productions look into Canadian queer history and heritage and put it on stage for a new generation to see. See *Buddies in Bad Times Theatre*, [http://buddiesinbadtimes.com/], accessed January 2017.

81. The Village's main community centre. It takes on everything a community centre does, with a constant focus on queer concerns: from parenting workshops to support of new queer refugees, to community outreach programs, and hosting workshops on police violence and providing free space to different advocacy groups. See *The 519*, [http://www.the519.org/], accessed January 2017.

82. The world's oldest operating queer bookstore, now a major community venue with a café and bar. See *Glad Day Bookshop*, [http://www.gladdaybookshop.com/], accessed January 2017.

83. A Canadian online newspaper focusing on queer content, *Xtra* is published by The Pink Triangle Press (formerly the publishers of *The Body Politic*). See *XTRA*, [https://www.dailyxtra.com/], accessed January 2017.

84. These include providing venues for discussions to take place on sidelined topics such as sexual education and health for those with marginalized sexual orientations and gender identities, police brutality and safety in Toronto's LGBTQ+ community, missing and murdered individuals in the community, and more.

85. Over the years, many Pride events and the Village have become about gay men, often white and cisgender. In this packing order, other letters of LGBTQ2IA+ fall on a wide spectrum of how included they feel as they walk the streets around Church and Wellesley. Acknowledgements are starting to be made and attempts have started to address issues like the exclusion of people of colour in the community, police brutality against trans people of colour, and missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (LGBTQ+ or otherwise). Challenges like these are what will shape the future of queer advocacy in Canada (arguments made in both McCaskell's *Queer Progress: From Homophobia to Homonationalism*, *op. cit.* ; and Dryden and Lenon's *Disrupting Queer Inclusion: Canadian Homonationalisms and the Politics of Belonging*, *op. cit.*). Much of these conclusions have come out of conversations I have had with activists in the community, in specific, at a community conversation I attended at The 519 on March 12, 2017. The event was part of the series *Intersections*, curated by Myseum of Toronto. This particular event was one of the *NO MORE S#%&!* events done in collaboration with the Glad Day Bookshop, The 519 Community Centre, and the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives. The event focused on police brutality on the LGBTQ+ community of Toronto, with the events of the Bathhouse Raids in mind as a precedent.

86. Information in this paragraph is drawn from The 519 Board of Management, 2013.

87. There are some inherent flaws in that. Once again, the Occident is looked at as the saviour, the one with progressive values. This is despite the fact that in places like Iran, many modern homophobic attitudes were in part imported to the country through interactions with Europe (see Najmabadi, Afsaneh, 2010, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity*, Berkeley, University of California Press). Similarly, the laws making homosexuality (and more specifically sodomy) a crime in several Commonwealth countries

today are remaining relics from colonial British rule. Many former British colonies are in the process of fighting these colonial homophobic laws. Most recently (in 2019), India's Supreme Court overturned a nineteenth-century ban on homosexuality, an action seen by many as precedent setting for former British colonies. As well, it is commonly believed amongst queer activists that many Western evangelical, conservative Christian groups (often from North America) are today responsible for anti-gay propaganda in a number of countries, for example Jamaica and Uganda. In some cases (as in Uganda) these groups' influence has even contributed to dangerous homophobic legislations passed in recent decades.

88. It is important to mention that some people I have interviewed in the field (including Saghi Ghahraman, the former president of the Iranian Queer Organization) believe that the choice to only live in the Village is a new way of living closeted lives for individuals arriving from Iran as refugees. According to her, significant numbers of these individuals partake in gay life in the Village but continue to keep their queer identities secret to both family and friends in Iran, as well as new acquaintances in Canada. Ghahraman argues that the inability for these individuals to stand up to the Iranian community's homophobia in Toronto and their avoidance of "Terhranto" (the area of Toronto north of Sheppard, well into Richmond Hill along Yonge St., with a high Iranian population) stops understanding and progress for the Iranian community as a whole. She believes that given the freedom afforded to those who have made it to Canada, and with the protection provided here through laws, these individuals need to be more vocal about their lives. Her stance reminds me of campaigns run in the 1960s and 1970s in North America by people like Harvey Milk who advocated for LGBTQ+ community members, settled in the relative safety of big cities like San Francisco and New York City, to come out. In his now-famous 1978 Hope speech, Harvey said: "I cannot prevent anyone from getting angry, or mad, or frustrated. I can only hope that they'll turn that anger and frustration and madness into something positive, so that two, three, four, five hundred will step forward, so the gay doctors will come out, the gay lawyers, the gay judges, gay bankers, gay architects . . . I hope that every professional gay will say 'enough,' come forward and tell everybody, wear a sign, let the world know. Maybe that will help." Milk, as cited in Bertram, Corrine C., M. Sue Crowley, and Sean G. Massey, 2010, *Beyond Progress and Marginalization: LGBTQ Youth in Educational Contexts*, New York, Peter Lang, p. xiv.

89. Ingram, Gordon Brent, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter, 1997, "Lost in Space: Queer Theory and Community Activism at the Fin-de-Millénaire," in Ingram, Bouthillette, and Retter (eds.), *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Places, Sites of Resistance*, *op. cit.*, p. 3-16.

90. Term borrowed from bell hooks's essay, "Homeplace: A Site of Resistance" (in bell hooks, 1990, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*, New York, Routledge, p. 41-50), in which she talks about the domestic space as a site for resistance through learning, nurture, and care against the victimization and alienation in society for the African-American community.

91. Inspired by the Civil Rights Movement's battle-cry, "Black is Beautiful," "Gay is Good" was coined by activist Frank Kameny in 1968 during public protests. Burningham, Sara and Eric Marcus, 2016, "Episode 05 – Frank Kameny," *Making Gay History*, [http://makinggayhistory.com/podcast/episode-1-5/], accessed February 2017.

92. "No More Shit" was screamed on the streets of Toronto a day after "Operation Soap" (or the Bath House Raids), which took place on February 5, 1981. The battle cry has since become a famous slogan for Canadian gay rights advocacy.

93. This often happened in impromptu centres like the Caset or Barrett Houses in the early days of the epidemic.

94. The first known victims of McArthur disappeared between 2010 and 2012. Since then, there had been rumours in the Village of a serial killer. In the subsequent Project Houston investigations by Toronto Police, McArthur was even interviewed and let go as innocent while some in the queer community believed him to somehow be involved. It was not until the disappearance of Andrew Kinsman and Selim Esen in 2017 and subsequent activism from the queer community that the new Prism taskforce was created to further investigate the disappearances in relation to one another, ultimately leading to McArthur's arrest in 2018. There has since been much debate around racism (both within the police and the queer community) as a contributor to the delayed and inconsistent reactions to the disappearances. There have also been suggestions that McArthur was initially overlooked as a suspect because he is white. Earlier police theories had also assumed the killer to be a person of colour. There is a lot of detailed reporting on this case, but for an extensive, long-term look at the issue (where these debates are summarized effectively), I suggest the 2019 CBC podcast "Uncover Season 3 – The Village" by Justin Ling, *CBC Radio*, [https://www.cbc.ca/radio/uncover/uncover-season-3-the-village-1.5128216], accessed March 2019.

95. Young, "The Counter-Monument," p. 270-272.