Should the Rainbow have Black and Brown Stripes?:

(Anti)-racism and coalitions in Toronto's rainbow community

By

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Abstract

My dissertation research undertakes an in-depth analysis of queer (anti)-racism in Toronto's rainbow community. My study is informed by ethnographic research methods, including semi-structured interviews with those who self-identify as part of the rainbow community, and my own observations at queer-focused events in Toronto such as the Greenspace Festival by the 519 and Pride Toronto's annual parade. My analysis and findings are presented in three publishable articles. This portfolio-style dissertation manuscript also includes photographic images from my field work, and the script from my stage production *We without You*, an original theatre project that I created to reflect, analyse and disseminate my ethnographic research.

In the first article I discuss how languages of capital accumulation, white (homo)nationalism and safety, are mobilized in order to produce race and racism in queer politics. Within contexts of intersectional tension I analyse how self-identified white participants conceptualize anti-racism allyship. In my second article I explore how conflict and confusion about appropriate allyship produced self-exclusion from anti-racism efforts. I found that allies experience tension as to their roles and potential responsibilities in relation to anti-racism, which often results in being uninformed about race-related issues and/or in their non-participation in anti-racism. With data and analysis from my first two articles I wrote and produced a stage production entitled *We without You.* The production is a knowledge mobilization project that addresses gaps in public knowledge and informs audiences about a range of experiences in the rainbow community shaped by intersections of race and queerness. My experiences writing and producing *We without You* and the role of performance as critical resistance against polarizing politics is the subject of my third article. I argue that performance as knowledge mobilization plays a crucial role in bridging academic work with public engagement by positioning sociological inquiry as an

important contributor to public life. As a whole, this dissertation explores how race is produced in the rainbow community, examines the tensions involved with anti-racism allyship, and demonstrates the power of performance as critical resistance.

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Chapter One

General Introduction: Why study queer anti-racism?

Recently a person I know well used the n-word in casual conversation and when challenged on his language use he replied that, although he is not black, his position as a gay man entitled him to use such language.[1] When pressed further to acknowledge that his language was inappropriate, he reaffirmed that as an oppressed person himself he understood the oppression of black people and that he should be able to use any words he liked in any context. His appropriation of the struggles of people of color illustrates a central fracture in queer social movements. Queer and anti-racism social organizing does not necessarily coalesce and scholars have shown that the two camps do not always understand each other (Douglas, Jivraj & Lamble, 2011; Petzen, 2012). As an example of queer social movements seizing issues related to structural racism, in 2008 "gay is the new black" was a prominent slogan for queer organizing (Kiesling, 2017). There is a history within queer social movements where the fight for queer rights and the fight for racial justice are treated with false equivalency (Bérubé, 2001; Morgensen, 2005; Towle & Morgan, 2002). However, by appropriating the struggles of people of color, queer movements efface the unique importance and impact of these struggles while implying that racial equality is no longer an issue. The voices of people of color are often subsumed by queer voices and queer struggles that are framed as white and, as Bérubé notes, "these practices do serious damage to real people whenever they mobilize the power and privileges of whiteness to protect and strengthen gayness – including the privileges of gay

[1] There is some debate about who should have access to particular language based on their race and/or ethnicity, which is not the focus of my dissertation. There is no scholarly debate that I am aware of that situates non-black people and/or queer people as having social approval to use racially insensitive language such as the n-word based on their identity.

whiteness—without using that power to fight racism—including gay white racism" (2001, p. 247).

There is prevalence among queer social movements to organize around single issues, such as being gay or lesbian, rather than intersectional issues, such as being trans gender, economically insecure, chronically ill, and racialized (Muñoz, 1999). This lack of attention to intersectionality has culturally coded queerness as white both within and outside of the rainbow community (Bérubé, 2001). Scholars have shown there is increased homophobia among some communities of color as a reaction against Western assimilation and colonialism; in these communities queerness is often viewed as originating with white people (Spurlin, 2001). It is important to note however, that colonialism erased existing forms of what we now understand as queer in the West through practices that include murder, violent enforcement of the gender binary, and disruption of indigenous social systems (Morgensen, 2005). When we analyze how queerness intersects with colonialism, we find that sexual and gender variance has rich histories and traditions, from which we have had to uncover modes of queerness and resistance. In particular, it is colonial practices and rediscovery of sexual and gender variance under a non-indigenous lens, such as men having sex with men in ancient Greek societies, that helps to culturally code queerness as a white phenomenon (Morgensen, 2005).[2] Queerness being coded as white contributes to racism and the erasure of people of color within queer politics, which negatively affects their safety and inhibits access to community support for queer people of color. Studying queer anti-racism helps scholars and community stakeholders understand and

[2] I am reminded of a meme from Decolonial Meme Queens that says, "White people should stop saying 'Be gay, do crimes!' When they were the ones who made everything we [people of color] do a crime anyways." (Appendix A) (see Hudson, Gay Star News, 2018). The phrase "Be gay do crimes!" refers to popular anti-capitalist and anti-state sentiments used by anti-assimilationist queer social movements.

address the unique needs and material realities of marginalized rainbow community members by making their concerns visible.

Anti-racism refers to beliefs, actions, policies, and principles that oppose racism. Queer anti-racism counters racism that intersects with queer social movements and scholarship. I study how peoples' experiences and material realities are shaped by their intersectional social locations of queerness, ethnicity, and race. Intersectional analysis of queer anti-racism can help to address the needs of marginalized rainbow community[3] members that are sometimes overlooked in favor of focusing on securing formal rights, such as marriage equality, and participation in capitalist expansion, such as rainbow branded merchandise (Rubin, 1984). When scholars, activists, community organizers, and community members overlook the importance of race in shaping material realities they risk reproducing oppressive social outcomes. For example, securing marriage equality does not address economic insecurity and it's intersections with race and ability. When the legal definition of spouse was changed to confer common law marriage onto those residing together for a six month period it resulted in more than 10,000 people losing their social assistance benefits, which entrenched economic insecurity for many disabled people (Mosher, Evans & Little, 2004). The struggle for formal rights and capitalist participation differentially empowers white, able-bodied, educated, and economically secure "model" queer subjects (Seidman, 1993; Smith, 1999; Rubin, 1984). Thus, it is crucial that scholars of queerness and social movements study intersections of race and ethnicity in queer politics in

[3] I refer to LGBTQQIP2SAA (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans*, queer, questioning, intersex, pansexual, two-spirit, asexual, and/or allies) collectively as the rainbow community or as queer people. While queer acronyms can be important for visibility and acceptance, these acronyms can distill what it means to be queer or gender variant into a potentially confining set of behaviors or appearances. I support the proliferation of queer languages to describe and affirm one's sexuality and gender; terms such as pansexual, demi-sexual, and asexual can be invaluable for articulating the self. However, recognizing sexual and gender fluidity is an important part of queer politics and using the term rainbow community in academic settings helps me communicate this idea. Politics of visibility are complex in the rainbow community, being visibly queer or trans can put people at increased risk of interpersonal and professional violence. The idea that we must be visible to be legitimate can be detrimental to our health, well-being, and ability to be safe.

order to better understand and address social justice issues. As a queer/pansexual scholar myself, I care deeply about the needs of the rainbow community. I am white person largely speaking to other white people, which positions me as someone who might be more easily "heard" by white people trying to navigate queerness, racism, and anti-racism. When I discuss allyship, resistance, and structural oppression my struggles of continuing to unlearn white supremacy, developing ownership of my queerness, and my commitments to naming and challenging oppression might be relatable and/or actionable to other white people. I aim to account for histories of structural oppression in relation to marginalized members of the community who experience compromised access to state and social supports, which I feel must be done by critiquing intersections of queerness, ethnicity, and race.

Why is it important to study queer anti-racism? According to scholars, the rainbow community and its unique intersections with race and ethnicity are underrepresented in academic study (Barnard, 2004; Bérubé, 2001; Manalansan, 1995). This can make it more difficult to develop community and policy strategies for meeting the needs of rainbow community members. In both scholarship and social movements, queer peoples are sometimes treated as a monolith that share the same experiences and material realities (Seidman, 1993). Academic research plays a role in universalizing queer experiences, which crystalizes the types of queerness that are socially acceptable and minimizes some of the nuance of queer experiences that intersect with social locations of race, gender, age, and ability (Caron, 2009). Studying queer anti-racism can help us understand and address the needs of marginalized peoples within the rainbow community.

I conceptualize whiteness not as something that is possessed and static but as a product of racialization that shifts over time (Nagel, 2003; Winant, 2000; Best, 2003). As Amy Best notes,

racial constructs are relationally and contextually situated (2003). Joanne Nagel writes that "the *extent* and *meaning* of ethnic differences are socially defined, historically and situationally changeable, and sexually loaded" (2003, p. 38). In queer politics whiteness often operates as a symbol for the entrenchment of ethnocentric ways of understanding sexuality, hegemony, exclusion, marginalization, and expendability (Muñoz, 1999). Whiteness in queer politics has contributed to erasing non-binary indigenous cultures while universalizing queer experiences within and across national borders in ways that are white-normed (Morgensen, 2011; Barnard, 2004; Bérubé, 2001; Manalansan, 1995).

Racial and queer intersections have taken on a sense of urgency in the wake of events that have thrust them into foreground of national discourse. In the summer of 2016, 49 people were killed in a mass shooting at a gay nightclub in Orlando on a night for Latinx patrons. The tragedy in Orlando is sometimes popularly discussed as only a queer issue than as a case of racialized violence against queer peoples, which scholars have argued contributes to existing Latinx exclusion in queer politics (Meyer, 2019). Weeks later, Black Lives Matter Toronto halted Toronto's Pride parade in an effort to demand that space and funding needs are met for queer people of color. Later in 2016, the executive director of Pride Toronto resigned amid allegations of racism, transphobia, and sexual harassment (Miller, Global News, 2016). In 2017, a new pride flag that incorporates a black stripe and a brown stripe in recognition of queer people of color was introduced in Philadelphia in order to counter racism and race-related tensions (Compton, NBC News, 2017). If left unchallenged, racism in the rainbow community can produce violent outcomes. In 2018 serial killer Bruce McArthur was arrested in Toronto. McArthur targeted vulnerable members of the rainbow community and six of his eight victims were immigrants of south Asian or Middle Eastern descent (Pazzano, Toronto Sun, 2019), and the disappearances of

several of the men were not reported to authorities due to their precarious immigration status (Graham, The Guardian, 2018). All of these events illustrate central tensions in queer politics that can make it more difficult for queer people of color to gain personal and economic security in relation to universalism, risk, and racial intersections.

Why study in Toronto?

Given its recent Black Lives Matter protests, changes in leadership at Pride Toronto, and Bruce McArthur's arrest, the city of Toronto continues to be an important epicenter of queer politics in Canada. Historically, Toronto has been the key site of the country's queer movement: in 1981, there were the bathhouse raids of Operation Soap that saw over two hundred men who have sex with men arrested. After the raids, thousands of people protested for queer rights and these protests are widely considered Canada's version of the Stonewall riots in New York.[4] In recognition of Toronto's importance in shaping queer politics, the city hosted World Pride in 2014. Toronto has some of the most robust queer-focused organizing in Canada. For example, the 519 community center in the Church and Wellesley area, commonly known as the Gay Village, is the largest center of its kind serving the rainbow community. Toronto is also home to the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, or the ArQuives as it is referred to colloquially, the largest independent queer archive in the world. In addition to Toronto's importance in queer social organizing, the city is one of the largest and most international cities in the world, making it an ideal place to study how queerness and anti-racism intersect.

In the summer of 2017, I lived in Toronto for six months in order to conduct my dissertation research. My study uses semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and qualitative content analysis in order to document and analyze queer anti-racism and the potential

[4] The Stonewall riots of 1969 were violent protests in response to police brutality and a lack of social and legal protections for queer peoples.

for anti-racism coalition in the rainbow community. I interviewed self-identified members of the rainbow community, including community organizers and those who work with queer-focused organizations (n 17). In addition to interviews, I used participant observation at queer focused events, such the Greenspace Festival by the 519 and Pride Toronto's annual parade. I also used qualitative content analysis of queer-focused materials, such as media reports and event advertising. My analysis and findings are presented in three publishable articles. This portfolio-style dissertation manuscript also includes photographic images from my field work, as well as the script from my stage production *We without You*, an original theatre project that I created to reflect, analyse, and disseminate my research. My dissertation is an in-depth analysis of the whiteness of queer cultures, barriers to anti-racism, and my work helps to address what anti-racism resistance might look like within the context of Toronto social organizing.

The first manuscript focuses on processes of racialization in the rainbow community that mobilize languages of capital accumulation, white (homo)nationalism, and safety in order to create and maintain barriers based on race, ability, and class. The second manuscript is about how self-identified white participants conceptualized anti-racism allyship. I discuss how perceptions of what it means to be a "good ally" and a "good white person" resulted in people being misinformed about race-related issues that ultimately negatively impacted their ability to engage in anti-racism efforts. The third manuscript addresses my experiences writing and producing *We without You* as a public sociology knowledge mobilization project that bridges academic and public work. I argue that the current political moment marked by increased polarization produces a need for public sociology projects that act as critical resistance against inaccessible knowledge production.

Research questions

My research questions are designed to assess racial and queer intersections in the rainbow community in Toronto. These questions are based on previous research that indicates race and ethnicity in queer communities is understudied, which contributes to queer being culturally coded as white and the needs of queer people of color being overlooked (Barnard, 2004; Bérubé, 2001; Manalansan, 1995; Morgensen, 2011; Seidman, 1993). In order to explore intersections of race and queerness I ask three key questions: (1) How is universalism enabled and inhibited in Toronto's rainbow community? (2) How are racial barriers in the rainbow community challenged and/or reinforced through forms of allyship? (3) How does playwriting mitigate some of the methodological and social challenges faced by contemporary sociologists?

My main research questions are further refined and explored in three articles where I present my answers and analyses. In the first article, "Producing race in the rainbow community: Capitalism, homonationalism, and safety," I focus on universalism and its effects in relation to race. In this article I ask: How is race and racial difference socially produced? In the second article, "Allyship through self-exclusion: How whiteness prevents liberation in the rainbow community," I explore how participants conceptualized allyship. In order to refine my analysis I examine: What might be the effects of this conceptualization of allyship on anti-racism efforts? The first two articles show gaps in public knowledge that led me to mobilize my research findings in the form of a stage production. For my third article, "Performance as critical resistance: Playwriting and public sociology," I analyze performance and playwriting as modes of knowledge mobilization. In this article I ask: How can people who do not work in the arts engage in playwriting and stage production? These questions direct my dissertation and, as a whole, my work explores how race is produced in the rainbow community, examines the

tensions involved with anti-racism allyship, and demonstrates the power of performance as critical resistance.

My research is designed to fill a significant gap in queer theory. There is currently a lack of critique focused on naming queer and racial intersections and analyzing how they shape peoples' material realities. According to scholars, queer theory often fails to recognize relations of power connected to queerness and race (Bérubé, 2001; Manalansan, 1995; Morgensen, 2005). For example, while people of color may be included in queer studies, race as a contributor to shaping queer experiences may go unexamined. When we overlook race in scholarship, we cannot assess the scope and depth of racism, and, therefore, are unable to formulate effective anti-racism practices that can help address the needs of marginalized peoples (Logie & Rwigema, 2014). Ian Barnard argues that all social mobilizations and academic theorizing based on queer categorizations that do not explicitly account for ethnicity are inherently white-normed (2004). Barnard further states that any social movement "that identifies itself in terms of gender and/or sexual orientation only…will be a white-centered and white-dominated politics, since only white people in this society can afford to see their race as unmarked, as an irrelevant or subordinate category of analysis" (2004, p. 4). Part of recognizing culturally and ethnically-specific forms of queerness is creating space for it in its own right than allowing these expressions to become absorbed by white-dominated processes that do not recognize these intersections (Spurlin, 2001). Many existing queer social movements, as a result of their lack of intersectionality, cannot be a source of anti-racist resistance because they are white-normed. Although other scholars raise similar questions in relation to racism, colonialism, and homonationalism within Toronto and beyond (Dhoot, 2017; Greensmith & Giwa, 2013;

McCaskell, 2018) my study is unique because of its focus on coalition, allyship, and knowledge mobilization through performance.

My research captures processes of racialization, shows barriers to allyship, and demonstrates the power of performance as effective knowledge mobilization. This work is important because it contributes to larger existing discussions on how whiteness operates in queer politics. In addition, my study can shape how queer social movements are understood and operationalized. As a result of my analyses, I worked with the 519 in Toronto in order to establish anti-racism programming, to which I contributed a performance of *We without You*; a socially engaged stage production about queer anti-racism. My research has been used in methodology workshops that aim to bridge academic work with public life. Future goals for this project include contributing to programming about anti-racism allyship and arts-based collaborations that make my work accessible to the public.

Chapter Two

Designing the study:

Theory, Methods, & Literature Review

In this chapter I elaborate on the theoretical framework, methods, and methodology of my research design. In the theory section I discuss queer theory, performativity and social production, intersectionality as well as anti-racism theory. After my in-depth discussion of the theories that inform my research, I describe the methods I used to accomplish data generation, which included interviews, sampling, and participant observation. I examine why each method of data generation is important to my research in the methodology section, including how the methods shape what kinds of data I able to analyze and why these methods are the best fit for my project. My study is informed by an in-depth literature review that follows my discussion of theory and methods. I provide an overview of past research related to my study at the end of the chapter. In the literature review the history of queer-focused social movements and sexual regulation and performativity is discussed.

Theoretical framework

Queer theory

My theoretical framework primarily draws on queer theory and performance/social production theory as articulated by key theorists Steven Seidman, Judith Butler, Elizabeth Morrish and Helen Sauntson but I also use intersectionality and anti-racism theory. Queer theory focuses on sexual subjects and subjectivities as a starting point for inquiry and analysis of the social world (Seidman, 1995). In addition to emphasizing sexuality as an important social mechanism, queer theory aims to challenge and disrupt social hegemony and power structures. Queer theory has roots in French poststructuralism and queer theorists "favor a de-centering or

deconstructive strategy that retreats from positive programmatic social and political proposals; they imagine the social as a text to be interpreted and criticized towards the aim of contesting dominant knowledges and social hierarchies" (Seidman, 1995, p. 125). Both poststructuralism and queer theory examines how sexuality is policed in political and productive ways. Queer theory is part of a politics of difference and it is "wedded to a social vision whose ultimate value lies in promoting individuality and tolerance of difference" (Seidman, 1995, p. 135). According to Seidman (1995), the goal of queer theory is to promote individualism and tolerance of difference. In this respect, queer theory is related to liberal notions of individualism, personal freedom, and liberty.

Queer theory tends to view historical persecution of queer peoples as an even process that unifies North American queer experiences; however, it is more likely that judicial punishments were only meted out to particular queer peoples. Although there is historical evidence of gay persecution through written laws and statements it is difficult to account for the actual enforcement of such laws and the types of sexual identities that those persecuted might have developed (Weeks, 1996). It is likely that only particular types of queer people and particular types of bodies were prosecuted (Weeks, 1996).

Performativity and social production

Social performance theories focus on the productive power of language and reiterated social performances to shape our understandings of ourselves and others (Bucholtz, & Hall, 2005; Butler, 2002). Here I make an important distinction between sexual identity and sexuality. Sexual identity and the ways in which we claim sexual identities are social constructions; these identities are culturally, socially, and temporally specific and dynamic (Foucault, 1979). Sexual identities can be multiple and applied according to one's social, economic, cultural, or political

needs. As Elizabeth Morrish and Helen Sauntson (2007) note "sexual identity, rather than being as essential, pre-existing property, may be produced in relation to particular material conditions, and particular relations of power between those at the margins of society and those whose interests are represented in structures such as government, culture, and commerce" (p. 4). Sexual performativity is the ways in which we make use of cultural and social codes to signify or legitimize our sexual identities. We might think of "the gay voice" or "the lesbian haircut" as signifiers of sexual identity. These codes are culturally, socially, historically specific, and most importantly they shift overtime in relation to contemporary ways of being. Sexuality refers to the ways in which we act on our desires which may or may not align with our conceptions of our sexual identities.

My study focuses on the production and performativity of queerness in relation to race and ethnicity in Toronto's rainbow community. Performance theories are anti-essentialist in that signifiers do not spring from a pre-existing condition, they are socially constructed as meaningful, and the performances themselves are productive—they do not merely describe reality, they create it (Sedgwick & Frank, 2003). My project uses performance theory to uncover the complex ways in which queer is signified and produced in Toronto through discourse, race, racialization, class, education, and gender in order to answer my research questions.

Intersectionality

I also draw from intersectional theory by studying how cultural practices intersect with race, gender, and sexuality. Intersectional theory argues that identities are lived and experienced through multiple social, cultural, economic, sexual, gendered, ethnic, and racial intersections. Some queer theorists view this paradigm as the primary way to theorize difference (Puar, 2013). Intersectional theory has been used to highlight social differences in order to make visible the

inequalities in social movements, particularly the position of black women in relation to white-dominated feminism (Collins, 1990; The Combahee River Collective, 1982).

Contemporary intersectional theory disrupts the notion that identities are monolithic and static by showing how social intersections affect identities and experiences (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983). For example, critical whiteness studies sometimes treats whiteness as a monolithic demarcation of privilege. However the outward appearance of whiteness can obfuscate how the effects of whiteness can be mitigated by other social locations (Levine-Rasky, 2016). Like any other racial category, whiteness is socially constructed in culturally, historically, and politically specific ways (Best, 2003; Levine-Rasky, 2016). Social categories that may be considered part of whiteness today, such as Irish or Italian, were not always perceived as white (Jacobson, 1999; Roediger, 2006). Cynthia Levine-Rasky's theorizing about whiteness shows how intersectionality can be used to prevent and disrupt the reification of identities as monolithic categories (2016). Levine-Rasky (2016) notes that contemporary intersectional theory aims to examine how difference is made meaningful in particular social contexts and that it embraces lived experiences that are complex, dynamic, and contradictory. As I am interested in how Toronto's rainbow community and the cultural practices linked to sexuality are homogenized, diversified, interrupted, and stabilized through the strategic use of race, gender, and class, intersectionality is important to this project in order to recognize that hegemony and oppression are created and perpetuated in relation to intersections of race, sexuality, gender, and class rather than contained solely within these categories (Dei, 1995; Levine-Rasky, 2016; Nakayama & Martin, 1999; Rummens, 2003).

Class struggles, in particular, are often framed as homogeneous and separate from other social justice issues, and collective identity has largely taken the place of class as the primary

source of political mobilization in some social movements (Alcoff, 2005; Fraser, 1968). It might be tempting to assume that queer struggles would unite people across class structure because sexuality is not bound by class and queerness does not have a distinct division of labor (Fraser, 1968); however, queer-focused organizations are the ones that often vocalize queer struggles and these organizations survive on fundraising. The price of fundraising events and the ability to donate money can be a barrier to promoting a racially diverse and cross-class membership, which shapes the composition of leadership and how organizations develop social movement strategies (Chasin, 2000). Valocchi (1999) argues that gay identity is communicated through middle class people, settings, and organizations that address middle class issues and that the link between class and queer social movements facilitates the creation of a collective gay identity.

Queer people were once defined as a diverse group with range of genders, sexual practices, and class statuses until sexual object choice emerged as a defining characteristic of homosexuality in middle class queer communities (Valocchi, 1999). Quantifying queer as middle class also helped to define it as white and male (Valocchi, 1999). Middle-class queer people fashioned themselves into a movement that harnessed power through class and gender by creating an image of queerness that was affluent and male. When queerness is coded as male it helps to reduce queer social organizing to single-issue concerns; for example, rainbow community members are asked not to hold feminist and queer concerns as they may contradict or dilute each other (Valocchi, 1999). Currently the term "gay," and for some people the term "queer," is culturally defined as—and inseparable from—white, affluent, able-bodied, and attractive masculinity (Avila-Saavedra, 2009). Thus, some queer cultures and social movements are closely linked to gender and class and it is important to study these intersections within emerging shifts in social organizing and identity.

Anti-racism theory

Anti-racism theorizing shows how social constructions of race operate and their effect on activism, representations, policies, and spaces. Without anti-racism queer critiques, the effects of race in queer politics are often ignored and whiteness becomes naturalized (Bérubé, 2001). Naturalization refers to something becoming natural, unquestioned, and supported as legitimate and innate. Anti-racism theorizing endeavors to make race and its effects visible, which is an important step to understanding how peoples' lives and life chances are shaped in relation to racial and queer intersections. Nakayama and Martin explain that "by interrogating the largely hidden ideology of white supremacy, the ways it continues to perpetuate a social order dominated by whites can be challenged" (1999, p. 23).When whiteness and its structures and effects are named it helps to challenge the naturalization of inequities based on race.

The current political moments produces an increased need for critiques informed by anti-racism. Scholars and community organizers are seeing the development of queer liberalism within a North American context of pronounced right-wing nationalist, or alt-right, politics. According to Lisa Duggan, the goal of queer liberalism is to place a transparent white subject at the center of queer studies; one that wants similar goals and privileges as white conservative heterosexuals (2002). In order to counter queer liberalism queer theorists must draw their intellectual inspiration from anti-racism studies rather than white queer studies (David, Halberstam, & Muñoz, 2005).

Anti-racism theorizing helps researchers understand how early queer theory relied on racist and classist assumptions, anti-racism critiques also help change and challenge the direction of current queer theorizing. In the last decade we have seen the rise of queer liberalism, which operates through normalizing queer politics and queer critique by organizing around particular

privileged subjects, standards of sexual conduct, and political and intellectual engagements (David, Halberstam, & Muñoz, 2005). The drive to normalize and restrict queer praxis puts queer theory at risk of losing its ability to deconstruct and challenge dominant systems and norms and "it is crucial to insist yet again on the capacity of queer studies to mobilize a broad social critique of race, gender, class, nationality, and religion, as well as sexuality" (David et al., 2005, p. 4).

Critiques of queer theory informed by anti-racism note that liberal individuality and freedom are linked to a history of power relations that privilege affluent white men and women who experience low social, economic, health, and personal risk (Rubin, 1984; Seidman, 1995). Those who are white, able-bodied, educated, and of high economic standing have disproportionate access to freedom of personal choice and they may be celebrated for their individuality. However, people of color and working class people are less likely to have access to liberal notions of freedom and attempts to enact queer forms of individuality often put them at increased social, economic, and personal risk (Sedgwick, 1993; Weeks, 1996). Anti-racist critique disrupts the notion of the unified and universal queer subject. Queer social justice struggles are often aimed at white, affluent, and able-bodied gay and lesbian "model" cases, which then act as justification for granting civil rights (Rubin, 1984). Those who do not fit the model description are asked to support such struggles although they are unlikely to benefit from them (Rubin, 1984).

Queer representations and identity constructions tend to focus on white people, which helps create a sense of homonationalist belonging for predominantly male white settler descendants in North American societies (Morgensen, 2011). As discussed above, queer being culturally coded as white effaces histories of non-white same-sex desire and supports the illusion that same-sex desire originates from white people (Spurlin, 2001). The homogenizing of queer

identities as white universalizes same-sex experiences and subordinates some racialized same-sex desire within and across national borders (Manalansan, 1995). I use a queer, poststructural, and anti-racist theoretical framework to interpret queer representation and experiences in Toronto in order to assess how race operates in queer social movements.

The prevalence for whiteness to shape society is maintained and naturalized through a range of discursive and social practices. Although media representations and gay "spokespeople" may give the impression that most gay men in North America are white, that is not so, and gay men of color struggle against the idea that white gay men are able to speak for all gay men. Allan Bérubé (2001) examines the whitening practices that maintain the whiteness of the social category "gay man," noting that gay white men are often not aware of these practices. One of the primary whitening practices consists of insulating oneself against conversations about race by mainly engaging with white people in white spaces or with gay people in queer spaces that are socially coded as white. By only engaging with other white gay or queer people in white spaces, it allows white gay men to believe that being gay is not about race (Bérubé, 2001). In addition, Bérubé notes that the whiteness of gay spaces is sometimes policed by policies that serve to exclude people of color, such as demanding multiple pieces of identification for patrons of color in order to grant access to a gay bar. A generic gay bar is one that is mostly white, it is unmarked by race thus allowing whiteness to become the basic template for gay bars. Social spaces, such as bars, are important for shaping queer politics and organizing; when gay bars are assumed to be white it helps to culturally code gay as a social category as white.

When white groups form unintentionally, they are freed from examining their whiteness and the whiteness of the group (Bérubé, 2001). In order for such membership to remain unintentional, however, the whiteness of the group must not be addressed, therefore ensuring that

race in general is not discussed in meaningful ways (lest it lead to questioning whiteness). Questioning whiteness can raise issues regarding racial intent, which may result in the exclusion of the person asking questions (Bérubé, 2001). For those who may have been ostracized by their families, schools, friends, sports teams, and other communities, the risk of jeopardizing their relationships in queer circles can cause one to ignore potential issues with the composition of queer organizing. A fear of losing social connections and capital may be responsible for a lack of anti-racism and queer critique in research; this is one of the reasons queerness stays white despite efforts to promote anti-racism.

Gay whiteness is a political and capitalist tool that serves both progay and antigay goals. Bérubé (2001) explains, "the marketing of gays as white and wealthy to make money and increase political capital, either to raise funds for campaigns (in both progay and antigay benefits, advertising, and direct-mail appeals) or to gain economic power (by promoting or appealing to a gay consumer market)" (p. 238). In addition, the image of the well-off white gay man is promoted by gay media because it makes queer figures and goals more likeable, fitting well with capitalist-oriented Western societies that respect whiteness, education, and attractive physical attributes.

One of the ways race has operated in queer politics is through analogies that equate queer struggles to the civil rights movement, racial segregation, and other struggles of people of color in order to gain credibility, acceptance, and integration (Bérubé, 2001). By appropriating the struggles of people of color, queer movements efface the unique importance and impact of these struggles while implying that racial equality is no longer an issue. The voices of people of color are subsumed by queer voices and queer struggles that are framed as white. Bérubé (2001) notes "these practices do serious damage to real people whenever they mobilize the power and

privileges of whiteness to protect and strengthen gayness—including the privileges of gay whiteness—without using that power to fight racism—including gay white racism" (p. 247).

Identification with social categories can be a difficult exercise for anyone, however, for people of color, it is often much more challenging. Jose Muñoz (1999) writes that "the fiction of identity is one that is accessed with relative ease for most majoritarian subjects. Minoritarian subjects need to interface with different subcultural fields to activate their own senses of self" (p. 5). Social and racial categories are constructed through multiple and sometimes conflicting sites of identification. Muñoz examines how queers of color engage in identities-in-difference at intersections of white, heteronormative, and homonormative Western society, which "emerge from a failed interpellation within the dominant public sphere. Their emergence is predicated on their ability to disidentify with the mass public and instead, through this disidentification, contribute to the function of a counterpublic sphere" (p. 7). Jack Halberstam (2011) expands on the notion that failure is an effective mode of resistance by stating "as a practice, failure recognizes that alternatives are embedded already in the dominant and that power is never total or consistent; indeed failure can exploit the unpredictability of ideology and its indeterminate qualities" (p. 88). Identification involves multiple processes of identifying *with* and identifying *against,* which can be especially arduous for those who have more than one minority identity because those outside of dominant cultures experience increased barriers to enacting identifications (Muñoz, 1999).

Disidentifications stems from the need to examine identifications in an intersectional and emergent way, one that does not separate race from queerness. "Normativizing protocols," such as those that culturally read queerness as whiteness, are substantial barriers that prevent minority subjects from accessing identities (Muñoz, 1999). In order to access multiple intersecting

identities that do not erase other identity components, then, minority subjects may engage in dissidentification as a way to create space in a counterpublic sphere. Acknowledging that queer people of color navigate identifications differently in relation to queerness and racial identities is important to my research as I use anti-racism theorizing to assess the potential for anti-racism coalitions in Toronto's rainbow community.

Research methods

This section outlines the specific methods I use to answer my research questions in each of the three articles for my dissertation. I spent six months living in Toronto's Harbor Front neighborhood conducting interviews in many areas of the city and attending queer-focused events, such as organizational meetings and drag performances. The three articles of my dissertation are informed by ethnographic research methods, including interview data, participant observation, and qualitative content analysis. I use these methods in order to assess and analyze how race and ethnicity operate in the rainbow community. Ethnography encompasses a range of methods, including interviews and participant observation (McNamara, 2009). I qualify an ethnographic approach as a set of qualitative open-ended research methods and an ethic of openness and reflexivity that may entail a transformation of wording, operationalization of concepts and/or a personal transformation of the researcher through the research process (Juris & Khasnabish, 2013). My research draws from studies that have examined social movements and identity politics using semi-structured interviews and participant observation (Kavoori & Joseph, 2011; McNamara, 2009; Srivastava, 2014). I engaged in qualitative content analysis of interview and field note data using an intersectional queer anti-racism interpretive lens.

Interviews

For my study of queer anti-racism potential in Toronto I interviewed people from two categories: those who self-identify as part of the rainbow community and those who work for queer-focused organizations in Toronto, such as Pride Toronto. The interview data from people in the first category directed the organizations examined in the second category. In total, I conducted 17 semi-structured interviews for my study. All 17 participants are part of the rainbow community and five participants had experience working with queer-focused organizations. Participants were asked to choose the interview location because people are usually more comfortable speaking in a place they with which they are familiar than going to a place chosen by the researcher (Agar, 1996). Almost all of the interviews took place in coffee shops in different locations in Toronto.

The interview guide for queer participants contains a range of open-ended questions that focus on location, identity, and race (Appendix B). Qualitative interviews require a high degree of reflexivity in the field, thus the interview guide was adjusted in the field in order to be more relevant to each participant (Agar, 1996). The questions related to being "post-GLB" or post-gay, lesbian, or bisexual refer to an earlier iteration of my research: when I began field work I wanted to specifically interview rainbow community members who understood their sexuality as fluid—this could be demisexual, pansexual, unlabeled, etc. in order to document whether or not identity categories were still a meaningful part of queer politics. However, upon starting interviews I found that some of my participants were monosexual, meaning that they experienced sexual attraction to only one gender. Rather than discard the interview data from monosexual participants I decided to include their contributions. Interview questions for queer participants include: what words do you use to describe your sexual identity? Have you attended any events

that focus on the intersections between race and sexual identifications? These questions attempt to document practices in the rainbow community in order to build an understanding of the diversity and social relations in Toronto. My interview questions are designed to capture the relationships between queer representation and practices in relational, internal, and community-based terms.

The interview guide for organizational representatives contains open-ended questions that focus on the organization's history, goals, and queer-focused events (Appendix C). Questions for organizational representatives include: What are your most common events? How and where are events advertised? Can you recall whether people of color generally attend your organizations' events? Does your organization hold any events or provide any services oriented toward queer people of color? These questions are designed to gather data on organizational practices and how they might support or exclude queer expressions and/or people of color. In addition to interviewing representatives from queer-focused organizations, I conducted participant observation at their queer-focused events. Interview questions about event attendance and research on who is present in leadership positions help to build an understanding of the diversity and social relations in the rainbow community.

Sampling

I invited people to participate in my study through public advertising and by recruiting at public events and organizational meetings. People who were aware of my research informed their friends and acquaintances, some of whom also participated. Thus, information about my project spread beyond initial recruitment sites. Word-of-mouth advertising through local networks of individuals helped with recruitment efforts, and working with local community members helped to establish trust with participants (Brotman, Ryan, Jalbert, & Rowe, 2002). I

recruited a diverse sample of participants who range in age from eighteen to late fifties with different sexual identities, races, genders, educational backgrounds, and economic positions.

I regret that my sample size does not allow me to make statements about how social class affects intersections of queerness and race in Toronto. While participants represent a range of economic locations I was not able to recruit upper middle class participants; most participants lived with roommates and/or expressed that they were not entirely comfortable financially living in Toronto. I suspect that the ten dollar Starbucks gift card I offered to participants was not enough of a draw for upper middle class queer people.

In addition to my concern with class variation in my sample, I was not able to recruit many people of color who work in social organizing for my study. Although I reached out to organizations that emphasize their intersections with queerness and anti-racism, such as Black Lives Matter, and I spent time recruiting in queer spaces known for supporting people of color, such as The Beaver and The Gladstone Hotel, I was not able to recruit as many social organizers as I would have liked. Out of 17 participants seven were people of color and three had experience working with queer social organizing. I assume that the potentially triggering labour required for participation in my project affected recruitment.

My whiteness may have affected recruitment. People of color may not have wanted to speak about race with me and white participants may have felt more comfortable speaking about race with another white person. In this respect, my whiteness enabled data collection during semi-structured interviews. I had access to some responses from white people, such as T.O. Guy using the n-word, which I likely would not have been able to record if I was a person of color. My queerness, which I disclosed in interviews, may have affected data collection because

participants could have afforded me insider status and trusted me more than a straight person with their experiences of being queer Toronto.

Participant observation

I conducted participant observation at Pride Toronto's annual festival, the Greenspace Festival by the 519, Kings and Classics drag performances, Glad Day Bookstore events, lectures at the 519, public community meetings, and informal queer-focused gatherings. I observed day-to-day practices in Toronto's Gay Village and Queer West neighborhoods for six months. Participant observation is particularly useful for documenting queer practices because I can take notes on large groups of people while being a collaborative participant (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2008). I captured moments of solidarity, biases, and conflicts. For example, during a Pretty Money drag king event, the host made a statement of solidarity with Black Lives Matter; if I were not at the event this data could not be included in my project because this event did not receive media coverage. In addition, participant observation does not require a time commitment from participants. My study builds on other research that has generated valuable data about people's experiences and anti-racism activism from participant observation (Kavoori & Joseph, 2011; McNamara, 2009; Srivastava, 2014).

My guide for field notes provided me with cues as to what might be significant for my project (Appendix D). The guide includes questions such as: Are there any signs, t-shirt images, posters, or other images? Is there anyone speaking? What are they saying? Who is speaking (credentials, age, race, etc.)? Does the time of day, location, message of the event, etc. preclude the participation of some people? The field note guide helped answer how organizational practices shape queer practices and how these practices might allow for anti-racism resistance. I

received approval from The Queen's University General Research Ethics Board (GREB) for my research design and all methods involving human participation (Appendix E).

Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis refers to the process of interpreting meaning from the content of text and visual data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Qualitative content analysis of transcribed interviews, field notes, and media content is essential to my dissertation. My analyses are linked to a queer anti-racism theoretical framework in order to document and analyze how race operates in the rainbow community and the potential for anti-racism coalitions. While living in Toronto conducting interviews and participant observation, I coded data for commonalities in behaviors, beliefs, and language; I then analyzed patterns that emerged in relation to themes of queer subjectivities and race (Creswell, 2013). I used two different coding strategies to account for similar themes present in multiple forms of data and topics that are less common but still important. The first of the two coding techniques is cross-sectional coding; this method categorizes particular themes across data types. The second coding technique is non-cross-sectional coding (Mason, 2002). Categorization that is not cross-sectional treats data from different sources as distinct. Some themes did not appear across multiple sources; therefore, a coding technique that captured unique, contextual information was important (Mason, 2002). A non-cross-sectional approach to coding is useful for themes that are complicated and polysemic in nature. Non-cross-sectional and cross-sectional coding were used to build explanations out of multiple ways of dividing my data set.

Methodology

I chose interviews and participant observation for my research on queer anti-racism because they are part of a context-sensitive approach. I am interested in documenting how people

become a part of and navigate queer politics in a way that accounts for the rewards, contradictions, and complexity of human agency. In addition, queer theory and ethnographic methods, such as interviews and participant observation, share two important epistemological assumptions: they are ambivalent toward the idea of producing or observing objective truth and they do not assume that social classification systems align with the practices or interests of people who operate within such systems (Valocchi, 2005). An ethnographic approach is "well suited to handle the methodological challenges associated with distinguishing practices, identities, and hegemonic structures of gender and sexuality, an important component of a queer perspective" (Valocchi, 2005, p. 751). Thus, interviews and participant observation are perfectly suited to my project because it is complementary to my queer theoretical framework as well as my desire to create a rich and detailed description of what is happening in relation to queerness, diversity, and social relations in Toronto.

I chose to interview people because I wanted the practices and experiences of those involved with queer social movements to be central to my research. Interviews are often associated with productions of authenticity and truth. However, interviews are also cultural productions "where power, gender, race, and class intersect" (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2008). Thus, there is no inherent "truth" in the interview process but multiple versions of different stories that are negotiated between the researcher and participant (Fusco, 1998). In addition, there are multiple layers of meaning-making between participants and readers. The researcher selects which parts of the interview to write about and then the reader constructs meaning from the author's text (Fusco, 1998). According to Caroline Fusco, a successful interview text is engaging for the reader and promotes an emotional response, such as empathy or understanding (1998). However, I do not want participants' emotions to be an object of scrutiny and display because

this can be difficult for participants and it detracts from conversations about anti-racism resistance (Srivastava & Francis, 2006). In order to avoid showcasing participants' emotions, I draw from Anandam Kavoori and Christina Joseph's 2011 ethnography where they choose to focus on macro discursive functions and processes than on individual stories.

My use of qualitative content analysis builds on Samantha King's 2009 research, in which she analyzes content from black, lesbian, and gay print media in order to show that sex and gender intersect in meaningful ways with ethnicity and they are also (re)constituted by it. King notes that when Sheryl Swoopes came out as a lesbian in 2005 print media coverage effaced her black racial identity and reproduced whiteness as a queer norm (2009). King demonstrates how qualitative content analysis can be used to show how ideas about race and sexuality intersect in ways that perpetuate or challenge whiteness, which is what I attempt to do in a Toronto context.

Qualitative content analysis can also show how communication patterns function as strategic rhetoric to preserve and perpetuate white dominance. As part of my analysis I took note of what Thomas Nakayama and Judith Martin (1999) call "the discourse of whiteness," which normalizes and naturalizes whiteness as the standard from which otherness is derived (p. xi). They cite six discursive strategies that (re)center whiteness as universal, including linking whiteness to power, negative definitions of white that code whiteness as lacking racial or ethnic features, naturalizing whiteness through scientific language that defines white as merely a skin color, making whiteness synonymous with nationality, a refusal to label one's race, and whiteness in relation to European ancestry and symbolic ethnicity in ways that do not acknowledge power relations embedded in the history of European whiteness (Nakayama &

Martin, 1999). Qualitative content analysis, therefore, is an effective way of making race and its functions visible so that racialization and its effects can be studied.

Literature Review

In order to ground the remaining chapters of my dissertation within a larger context of queer scholarship, my literature review is centered on the history of queer-focused social movements and regulating sexual performativity. Struggles over essentialism, normalization, social acceptance, and oppression have had a profound effect on queer organizing and its associated divisions and tensions. My literature review provides historical context for my analyses and findings.

History of queer-focused social movements

In North America, queer social movements started as a response to a range of social and institutional regulations on sexual and gender expression. Early queer social movements focused on dissolving all sexual and gender categories because they are grounded in capitalist, racist, and misogynistic power relations (Smith, 1999). However, queer social movements have increasingly made normalization, rights, and social assimilation their main goals. From the mid-1980s to the present, there has been a drive to make queer politics mainstream, and academia is a primary site for the production of queer discourse (Seidman, 1995). Much of this discourse is based in the language of equal rights and freedoms than in the dissolution of sexual and gender categories (Smith, 1999).

According to Seidman (1995), the rainbow community has lost a sense of cohesion due to constructivist questioning of the production of sexuality because this questioning has troubled the idea that there might be shared interests among gay people. Queer theory and poststructuralism have their roots in social constructionism; all three paradigms view social

realities as socially produced through discourse and practices. In social constructionism sexuality is conceptualized as a product of culture and politics rather than a product of essential characteristics. However, notions of binary, essential, and static sexualities persist despite constructivist critiques.

Sexual essentialism is relevant to some people and it is a useful conceptual tool because it legitimizes social justice struggles. Queer politics is linked to civil rights, which is spurred by a social movement that values naturalization as a way of gaining the same rights and freedoms that heterosexual people enjoy (Seidman, 1995). Wendy Brown (1995) argues that politics grounded in accessing the freedom of the dominant group produces a politics of resentment. She says this politics of resentment is problematic and limiting because it reproduces oppressive power relations and does not lead to social transformation (Brown, 1995). If one aims to co-op the identity of the oppressor they may become the oppressor, as Judith Butler (2002) notes that "the effort to identify the enemy as singular in form is a reverse-discourse that uncritically mimics the strategy of the oppressor instead of offering a different set of terms" (p. 18). Thus, queer movements that conform to oppressive sexual and gender systems of power may reproduce the same types of oppression that they claim to oppose.

Goals that require normalization may be easier to achieve within the current Western sexual and gender system that is invested in binary and static sexual categories. Smith (1999) notes that expanding a social movement depends on political opportunity, the mobilization structure of the movement, and cultural framing. The state controls or mediates political opportunity and cultural framing, thus it may not be easily feasible to advocate for the negation of sexual categories while also trying to gain civil rights. Queer social movements have been successful in pressuring the state to grant civil rights and legal protections to queer citizens in the

West (Smith, 1999). By incorporating the state into queer praxis, there are now anti-discrimination laws and equal rights legislation that protect queer citizens and provide avenues for benefits, such as those granted through marriage. Because early queer social movements successfully fought for civil rights it is difficult to know if people see value in a queer politics that aims to dissolve sexual and gender boundaries. The dissolution of sexual and gender boundaries may be associated with a potential loss of civil rights.

Regulating sexual performativity

The regulation and standardization of sexual performativity through a range of prescribed ways of being and doing are important to this project because sexual performativity affects how and why people organize themselves into social groups. Often the regulation of sexual identities and performativity serve to create "docile bodies" for social, political, or capitalist gain (Foucault, 1977, 1979). A docile body refers to a disciplined body that conforms to social norms as a result of self-regulation. For example, men may engage in weight lifting as a way of fulfilling social expectations. Political and social standardization can provide the illusion of that there is a homogeneous set of rules based on orientation that eases social organizing and the creation of hegemony that is linked to class, gender, and race.

Early queer social organizing was in response to social standardization and exclusion. Those excluded from versions of feminism that decry transgressive sexual and gender expressions—including women who engage in role play and sex for money, men and bisexuals who engage in public sex and sex for money, and those who's performativity subverts binary sexual categories—began organizing under the banner of "queer" (Morgensen, 2005). These emerging communities of queerness evoked language that naturalized sexual orientations in order to legitimize their sexual practices (Morgensen, 2005). As Morgensen (2005) notes, the

language of naturalization racialized queer organizing as white because "colonial discourses constitute sexual minority formations within discourses of race and nation, meaning those formations' normative politics may follow not from an ignorance or denial of, but rather a constitutive investment in racial and national power" (p. 276). The discourse of indigeneity was coopted to naturalize queerness and whiteness while excluding people of color from queer politics. Thus, while rejecting sexual policing early queer social movements relied on regulating queerness as natural and inherently linked with whiteness. Early queer culture combined queer and feminist essentialist language and "such discursive legacies shaped new queer movements in the U.S. when queers reconciled with the feminisms that had exiled them and feminists sought out queers by naming shared primitivist stakes" (Morgensen, 2005, p. 252).

The discourse of naturalization in relation to queerness has had global consequences. Morgensen (2005) notes that the globalization of Western queerness has contributed to the erasure and appropriation of culturally-specific forms of desire, which perpetuate the whiteness of queer politics worldwide. He observes:

> These queers—some of whom became newly feminist queers—invested in stories of a global and transhistorical minority sexuality which linked metropolitan sexual margins to spatially and temporally distant authentic cultures. They then adopted indigenous roles as their own history, reflecting and promoting a classic anthropological claim on the truth of Others to inform a world-traveling Self. (p. 277)

By claiming white queerness is new and essential, indigenous sexualities that share commonalities with what we understand as queerness are effaced, while Western queer desires and experiences are universalized. The regulation of sexuality through queer and feminist imaginings created "a new frame of alliance across old divisions [that] let them imagine they healed one another or all humanity through their shared primitivist stakes, even while they reinforced racial and national normativity in their sexual politics" (Morgensen, 2005, p. 277).

Morgensen (2005) notes how Western queerness has become a worldwide monolith that regulates sexual performativity and erases Indigenous sexual and gender identities. Similar to Morgensen, Arondekar (2005) notes that archives represent a signifier of the reach of colonialism and these records reflect the (dis)interests of colonizers. Arondekar asks how we might trust sexuality and racial studies given that they are bound by knowledge produced by the colonial state. The idea that history consists of "facts" that are awaiting discovery and recording is a myth that allows researchers to ignore their culpability in uncritically reproducing knowledge that erases particular realities (Arondekar 2005). Arondekar recommends that researchers be attentive to knowledge production; how their world is shaped and their own knowledge production in order to recognize that researchers are a part of systems of regulation.

The next chapter is the first manuscript article of my dissertation entitled "Producing race in the rainbow community: Capitalism, homonationalism, and safety". In the first article, I focus on universalism, capital accumulation, and nationalism and their effects in relation to race. The fourth chapter is my second article, "Allyship through self-exclusion: How whiteness prevents liberation in the rainbow community." Through my analyses of participants' conceptualizations of allyship I show how white participants excluded themselves from anti-racism efforts. My study uncovers significant gaps in public knowledge that led me to mobilize my findings in the form of a stage production. For my third article, "Performance as critical resistance: Playwriting and public sociology," I analyze performance and playwriting as modes of knowledge mobilization. My work demonstrates the importance of art in helping to bridge academic work with public engagement.

Chapter Three

Producing race in the rainbow community: Capitalism, homonationalism, and safety

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Abstract: In this article I examine how race is socially produced in the rainbow community in relation to politics of, capital accumulation, white (homo)nationalism and safety. In particular, I argue that queerness is produced as monosexual, middle class, and white. These interlocking social locations produce universalism in the rainbow community that excludes people and experiences that do not conform to a narrow representation of queerness. Monosexual refers to those who only experience attraction to one gender or body, this is important because monosexuality is used to promote similarities between gays, lesbians and heterosexual people. Sexual fluidity or sexual ambiguity can make assimilating queer politics into dominant heterosexual social systems difficult because it emphasizes difference. I use semi-structured interviews with those who self-identify as part of the rainbow community and my own observations at queer-focused events in Toronto such as the Greenspace Festival by the 519 and Pride Toronto's annual parade in order to make processes of racialization visible. Racialization in the rainbow community is done through monitoring, gentrification, and dispossession of space for those who do not fit a narrow vision of what queerness represents. Rainbow community members are often complicit in racialization processes. Participants in my research employed languages of homonationalism and safety in relation to economic security in order to support surveillance, gentrification, and dispossession of space.

Keywords: Race, queer, safety, capitalism, homonationalism

The role race plays in queer social movements is often overlooked. Efforts to unify queer social organizing have produced gaps in political action that exclude marginalized people from the queer social landscape, which can legitimize discrimination and limit community participation (Logie & Rwigema, 2014; Seidman, 1993). This can make it more difficult to develop community and policy strategies for meeting the needs of rainbow community members (Bérubé, 2001). Queer peoples are sometimes treated as a monolith that shares the same experiences and material realities. However, universality in queer politics can minimize some of the complexities of queer experiences that intersect with social locations of race, gender, age, and ability (Caron, 2009). Studying how race is produced can help us understand and address the needs of marginalized peoples within the rainbow community.

Scholars and community organizers have known about the unique needs and race-related social dynamics of the rainbow community for years. Lisa Duggan (2002) argues that in the 1990s new gay social movements promoted centrist and pragmatic goals, such as equal marriage, as a way to oppose more "extreme" far left anti-assimilation politics and far right anti-gay politics. The central tension in these social movements that began in the 1990s is that economic expansion and depolitization privileges white, able-bodied, monosexual people while leaving out those queers deemed "less desirable", such as those who are people of color, disabled and/or economically disadvantaged (Puar, 2007). Duggan summarizes the conflicts linked to depolitization by stating "it is a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions but upholds and sustains them while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depolitized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption" (p. 179). In other words, the new gay social movements do not demand an end to heteronormative institutions, such as marriage, they demand that gay and lesbian people be

incorporated into them. This call does not challenge how access to marriage and its associated rights and privileges are subject to class and other social barriers.

Both scholars and community organizers have expressed concern that "queer" has become distilled into a universal monosexual white subjectivity that excludes people of color, disabled people, sexually ambiguous persons, and many others who might disrupt the universal "model" gay and lesbian subject who is "deserving" of formal rights (Rubin, 1984; Valocchi, 1999). In the current political moment, queer subjectivity increasingly relies on monosexuaity, whiteness and nationalism to shape the rainbow community. Monosexual refers to those who only experience attraction to one gender or body configuration, such as gay men who are only attracted to masculine cis gender men. Culturally coding queerness as monosexual has a significant impact on queer social movements because monosexuality is used to promote similarities between gays, lesbians, and heterosexual people (Duggan, 2002). Bisexuality, pansexual, and other fluid identity categories can make assimilating queer social organizing to dominant social systems difficult because they may seem further removed from heteronormative politics than gays and lesbians as fluidity signifies attraction to more than one gender and/or body type (Seidman, 1995). While sexually ambiguous signifiers may interrupt assimilationist projects and potentially challenge biphobia within the rainbow community, it is important to note that one's desires do not dictate their politics. Those who experience their sexuality as fluid are not inherently more anti-assimilationist than monosexual members of the rainbow community and monosexual people are not inherently supportive of queer neo-liberalism and assimilation into mechanisms of the state.

The social rules and duties linked to heterosexuality, such as the reproduction of national citizens and capitalist achievement, are used to govern and manage people. When people are

governed through power exerted over their bodies it is referred to as biopower, for example state benefits awarded to people who engage in heterosexual reproduction and marriage are a form of biopower (Foucault, 1978). Through biopower people are encouraged to experience their lives in ways that support modern capitalism and the state (Fleming, 2014). If queerness cannot be distilled to a set of rules and regulations it is not an effective force for biopower and queerness may endanger the biopower in heterosexuality by challenging the legitimacy of heterosexuality as a monolith (Sedgwick, 1993). The latest incarnation of separating monosexual, middle class, white people from the rest of the rainbow community comes in the form of mobilizing languages of capital accumulation, white (homo)nationalism, and safety.

I argue that in the political moment in which I conducted my field work in 2017, queerness is produced as monosexual, middle class, and white, which aligns with increasing white nationalist sentiments. These interlocking social locations produce universalism in the rainbow community that excludes people and experiences that do not conform to a narrow image of queerness. My argument will proceed in four sections. First, I discuss the history of producing race in the rainbow community. Then, in the second section, I focus on capital accumulation in relation to culturally coding "good" and "bad" queers. In the third section I examine white (homo)nationalism. I discuss white (homo)nationalism within the context of precarious immigration and the idea that the rainbow community requires protection from people of color that is provided by police and the nation state. Then, in the fourth section, I show how participants in my study used the language of safety in order to perpetuate the idea that people of color, sex workers, and economically insecure people are inherently criminal, as well as indicate that people of color are at increased risk of racialized physical and interpersonal violence in

queer spaces. This discussion will be linked to surveillance in the rainbow community as a means of creating safety for some while limiting the ability of others to be safe.

Producing History in the Rainbow Community

In order to acknowledge that rainbow communities have issues with racism it can be helpful to analyze our colonial histories and Western imperialism and their intersections with gender and sexual variance. Canadians may learn about colonialism as part of our past but not that it is ongoing in its effects or that the murder of queer peoples and erasure of culturally specific understandings of gender and sexual variance is part of colonial practices (Greensmith & Giwa, 2013; Sneider, 2015). The mobilization of languages of capital accumulation, white (homo)nationalism, and safety provide an understanding of how race is structurally produced but those languages are rooted in education. Thus, before I discuss capital accumulation and specific uses of language and its effects on how people experience being queer in Toronto I will show how race is first shaped by people's understanding of history.

Recently there has been increased attention to racial and queer intersections in social organizing and media, such as the protests by Black Loves Matter Toronto, and people in Toronto's rainbow community have noticed. One participant, Shae who is a two-spirit mixed race person[5], noted in our interview that media coverage of racialized violence and racism has brought more engagement centered on intersectionality from a range of community members. Shae said:

> It's interesting because I remember being in high school and I was one of like four POC [in a rural community]. There was never a conversation about race because racism back then had ended in the eyes of everyone; we had just like a traditional Westernized white community. It had ended. I think in the last couple of years with Black Lives Matter emerging and the deaths of Trevor and Sandra and what happened in Orlando and Trump, I think in the last year and a half,

[5] Participants choose their own pseudonyms for interviews. Some demographic details that are inconsequential to my analyses and findings have been changed throughout this article in order to protect participants' identities.

> [there has been] a sudden awareness globally but also specifically with our gay community. We are suddenly now actually paying attention to intersectionality.

Ideas about race and racism—such as racism has ended or that black people are more likely to be murdered by law enforcement officers—have a significant impact on how race is produced in the rainbow community and the meanings associated with occupying particular racial identities. While Shae's observation may be accurate, increased awareness of intersectional issues may have unexpected results in how race is understood. Some participants expressed hesitation and disbelief at the extent and severity of forms of systemic and local racism. For some participants, the increased attention brought to intersectionality meant that white people were under threat—that they would lose their positions of authority and/or recognition as prominent members of the rainbow community. Some participants felt that white people understood oppression better than people of color and/or that the victimization of white gay men should be the focus of fighting oppression. Embracing intersectionality for some participants also meant the potential loss of the ability to protect the rainbow community from people of color. In these interviews, whiteness was often produced as worthy of directing the rainbow community and as markers of victimization, empathy, and protection, while being a person of color was produced as suspect, opportunist, and criminal.

Shae notes that different racialized groups tend to have culturally-specific understandings about sexual and gender variance. Speaking from their experience, Shae observed culture has an impact on how race shapes social interactions in the rainbow community:

> Something that I've begun to notice is that when I engage with Latino individuals they are more binary often than not, at least from what I've engaged with. When I am with Asian people, there is a lot more gender fluidity with Asians that I've noticed. Specifically with feminine presenting individuals of all genders within the Asian community, they are all more queer or femme. With Indigenous people, I haven't met someone who's said, "I'm gay and Indigenous." Most people who are Indigenous and of the queer variety are two-spirited.

As Shae's comments suggest, history, race, and culture help shape queer politics in Toronto's rainbow community.

In particular, Shae noted that their experience with different understandings of queerness empowered them to develop an identity that felt more authentic to them as a mixed race person. Shae sought out more information and people to help them understand their own relationship to history, race, ethnicity, and queerness because racial and ethnic intersections of queer histories are not widely known or promoted. In our interview, Shae referenced rich traditional histories of queerness that have been erased by colonial and imperial practices. Western understandings of queerness can displace other culturally specific understandings of sexual and gender variance, which contributes to racism in the rainbow community.

In addition to Shae's observations, some scholars argue that as a result of Western imperialism and colonialism, queerness becomes generally coded as white (Greensmith & Giwa, 2013; Morgensen, 2011). The erasure of people of color from queer histories and from their place as leaders in the rainbow community had a profound impact on Shae, they said:

> When you learn like Marsha P. Johnson began the Stonewall Uprising like, "Wow. This is a black trans-woman led movement. Where were all the Asian people? Where are the Indigenous people?" And then you begin to look and when you can't find it, you look further back and you try to figure out if they went into hiding or if they were lost in history. Why were they lost in history? Then you go back and you learn about colonialism, and then it ripples back through. Then you see how colonialism also affected your queerness and they're all connected. I think, in regards to gender fluidity with POC people, it relies heavily on demanding to know who you are.

It is crucially important that queer histories are decolonized in order to promote queer politics that incorporate principles of anti-racism.

Shae was not the only participant to discuss how whiteness is overrepresented at the expense of other important identity intersections. As a disabled person, Rafael in particular notes how he rarely sees himself reflected in representations of the rainbow community. When I asked Rafael about what being queer, white, and Latino meant to him he responded:

> In terms of being queer and white, I feel that's way too over represented. I mean, there was a point where I just stopped watching TV and movies all together, because everybody looked the same and I needed something different, especially as I feel like disabled people are not shown in the queer community enough. I identify as disabled, because I am hard of hearing… most people don't notice.

Rafael continued to describe how queer spaces for people of color are not always as accessible as they may appear. He mentioned that he feels pressure to conform to cultural expectations:

> In terms of being a white Latino, I appreciate how there are a lot of Latino queer spaces in Toronto. I noticed there were a bunch at pride. As someone who is not fluent in Spanish, that means it can be hard to navigate certain Latino spaces. Also you can be shamed because of that. It is kind of shameful really. […] I mean, that's my father's first language, and my father's entire family, four of them speak English. Just not being able to communicate with my family and then also having them look at me and be like, "Hey why didn't you ever learn Spanish?" instead of, "Why didn't your father ever teach you Spanish?" Am I bitter? Just a little. It's okay, I still love my dad. But also, I mean, I'm fluent in French, so I can't really complain that much. But I would love to be fluent in Spanish and I'm trying really, really hard.

Although Rafael discussed familial barriers to learning Spanish, it is important to note here that his education outside of university did not support learning Spanish. He is fluent in English and French, Canada's two official languages, but not in Spanish, which is more personally relevant to him. Barriers to accessing culturally relevant practices and skills is part of how whiteness is produced nationally as the culturally default.

Shae spoke about similar barriers within the queer communities they have experienced:

> It's interesting because we assume that we are all queer friendly, gay friendly and to be a community in Toronto. You can go to all these events, but the barrier of actually participating lies in once you're actually there and people ignoring you. … I've been going through this intense experience where I have been, being a

> mixed race person. I'm both Asian, I'm Irish, I'm Indigenous, and I'm Scandinavian. And so I can find different communities in that. … When I'm with the white gay community, I'm kind of ignored because they perceive me as Asian. When I'm in the Asian community, I don't quite look Asian enough. I don't speak traditional Asian languages, and when I'm Indigenous I don't speak certain things and I don't necessarily do traditional things because I haven't lived on a reserve or really grown up with the culture. So, in a way I'm kind of always the outsider. I kind of feel the Pluto, orbiting a bunch of different communities.

Participants such as Shae and Rafael felt that instead of there being one rainbow community, there are many communities separated by race and ability, and where the white community was the most mainstream. However, within the mainstream community, people of color are often asked to organize themselves around the singular identity of queerness. As Shae observed, although people of color can be part of the white gay community, white people within that community tend to ignore people of color and the importance of racial intersections.

Capital Accumulation

Efforts to remove particular groups from the rainbow community or limit their participation in queer social organizing are inseparable from capitalist expansion. In this section I focus on the history of class-based tensions in the rainbow community and contemporary contexts of capitalism. My discussion of capital accumulation serves to ground my research findings about (white)homonationalism and safety, which are linked to conditions produced by capitalism.

The economies that structure our material conditions are linked to the types of communities we can build. Pre-industrial revolution economic production was mainly contained within familial and apprenticeship systems (Seidman, 2010). A shift from economic reproduction being centered on the heterosexual family to industrial capitalism made it possible for people to organize their personal lives around intimacy, happiness, pleasure, and a politics of sexual identity. As a result of economic shifts, the birth rate declined and sex was separated from

procreation because the family was no longer the locus of economic prosperity (Seidman, 2010). John D'Emilio (1983) argues that gay men and lesbians as we understand them today—as sexual identities rather than as sexual practices or preferences—are a product of history and have come into existence in relation to politics, culture, and geographic location. This emergence is related to the development of capitalism and the free-labour system which, "allowed large numbers of men and women in the late twentieth century to call themselves gay, to see themselves as part of a community of similar men and women, and to organize politically on the basis of that identity" (p. 240).

In the first half of the 20th century, people with same-sex desire did not consider themselves one people, but as encompassing many gender styles, sexual practices, and class positions. It was in middle class communities that the idea of sexual object choice emerged as the defining characteristic of a homosexual person (Foucault, 1978; Valocchi, 1999). According to Steve Valocchi (1999), middle and upper class queer people made efforts to separate themselves from lower class queer people, as well as black and brown queer and trans gender people, in order to consolidate power and gain state and social legitimacy. Barriers in queer politics linked to class and race made queer social movements more acceptable to society and state authority. A white universal queer subjectivity was promoted to communicate that queer people are the same as educated, able-bodied, white, middle class, straight people—in particular, that they are non-threatening and important for capitalism and the state (Morgensen, 2011). Thus, some scholars show that unified gay subjectivities developed in order to create barriers between middle class white queer people and queer people from other communities.

Shortly after gaining state and social legitimacy, the gay identity was commodified as white and middle class. Valocchi (1999) explains how products as signifier of identity support

capitalist expansion by noting that as "advertisers turn their gaze on niche markets, they learn that identity can be commodified, marketed, and sold" (p. 220). According to Valocchi, "the social changes accompanying competitive capitalism did not create a homogeneous gay community with a singular collective identity. Instead, these changes interacted with preexisting gender, racial, ethnic, and class differences and, as a result, gave rise to a proliferation of same-sex communities of desire and association." (p. 210). Consumer capitalism influenced gay and lesbian identities to shift from a political to a lifestyle category, which reinforced class-bias associated with these identities (Valocchi, 1999, p. 207). Linking gay collective identity to middle class privilege makes it an attractive commodity, which is important as the image of white queer universality supports queer capitalism and assimilation into mainstream heterosexual and state politics (Duggan, 2002).

Gay whiteness, therefore, can be viewed as a political and capitalist tool that serves both progay and antigay goals. Bérubé (2001) argues that class, race, and gay identity are intertwined as a means of consolidating power; he says "the marketing of gays as white and wealthy to make money and increase political capital, either to raise funds for campaigns (in both progay and antigay benefits, advertising, and direct-mail appeals) or to gain economic power (by promoting or appealing to a gay consumer market)" (p. 238). In addition, the image of the well-off white gay man is promoted by gay media because it makes queer figures and goals more likeable because it fits well with capitalist-oriented Western societies that respect whiteness, education, and physical attributes.

When capitalism shifted to a corporate economy, new technologies and a scientific approach ensured there were enough goods and services. The new problem was to ensure that the abundance of goods being produced would be consumed (Seidman, 2010). Access and control

over international markets was sought and the domestic market was expanded by bringing commerce into daily life in areas such as leisure and entertainment. Sex was now used to sell commodities, which made sexual images and discourse increasingly public. According to Steven Seidman (2010), sexuality is currently framed as a source of pleasure and self-expression or identity, and it is commercialized through a range of products. For example, purchasing rainbow flags, clothing, etc. in order to signify rainbow community membership is a form of identity commercialization. Products have become a signifier of class and cultural identity, including markers of belonging to the rainbow community.

The commercialization of identity can reinforce social barriers rooted in class divisions by encouraging people to seek fulfillment through products. Sexuality that is focused on products and performativity comes to resemble work and "as we search for personal happiness, the gross inequalities between the rich and poor go unchallenged" (Seidman, 2010, p. 17). Tensions produced by intersections of capitalism, mental health, sexuality, and social organizing are linked. Seidman explains the complex relationship between capitalism and the exploitation of queerness by saying "a capitalist sexual culture promotes tolerance, but it wants to make sex more open and acceptable solely so that sex can be used to sell goods, to attach the individual to consumerism, and to turn people's attention to personal fulfilment rather than class inequality and political action" (p. 18). A queer politics that promotes capitalist expansion supports social inequality and it erodes queer solidarity by shifting focus to personal fulfillment than community needs.

If queer capitalism has made gay and lesbian identities acceptable and even celebrated, why do heterosexism and homophobia persist? D'Emilio (1983) argues that capitalism has enshrined the family as a source of love, affection, and emotional security where our need for

stable, intimate human relationships is satisfied. However, materially capitalism weakens the bonds that once kept families together so that their members experience a growing instability in the place they have come to expect happiness and emotional security. Thus, "capitalism has knocked the material foundation away from family life, lesbians, gay men, and heterosexual feminists have become the scapegoats for the social instability of the system" (D'Emilio, 1983, p. 244). In the next two sections I discuss some of the outcomes of the politics of capital accumulation through my analyses of interview data from members of Toronto's rainbow community.

Homonationalism

Homonationalism refers to the integration of queer people into nation building projects and operations of a nation state (this can be tourism, marriage, military service, etc.) (Puar, 2007). Nationalist projects work to secure national identity and state sovereignty. In Jasbir Puar's *Rethinking Homnationalism* (2013), she notes that homonationalism is a way to understand and historicise why state power is garnered through gay-friendly status. She argues that homonationalism is not a practice, and that it is similar to modernity in that it "can be resisted and re-signified, but not opted out of: we are all conditioned by it and through it" (p. 336). Homonationalism, then, is an analytic for understanding power rather than an exercise in power in and of itself. However, homonationalism does enable forms of racism and displacement of "undesirable" queers, such as those who are disabled, by using queer model subjects to support sovereignty. Queer subjects who are less able to participate in nationalist projects that secure state power such as capitalism and military service experience compromised access to state protections, formal rights, and public life (Puar, 2007).

State inclusion is increasingly the focus of international politics and gay and lesbian social movements (Duggan, 2002; Puar, 2005, 2013). Queer social organizing is currently marked by coalescing "economic and political spheres that form the basis for liberal inclusion: the merging of a certain queer consumer lifestyle first established in the 1980s" (David, Halberstam, & Muñoz, 2005, p. 11). According to Lisa Duggan (2002), in prior decades, queer politics sustained a radical critique of family and marriage; today, however, many people in the rainbow community have largely abandoned such critical positions, demanding access to the nuclear family and its associated rights, recognitions, and privileges. Duggan further argues that attempts to place a white subject at the center of queer social organizing—one that wants similar goals and privileges as white conservative heterosexuals—have been successful in many cases. This shift in social organizing is apparent in the rise of homonationalism.

Homonationalism, white nationalism, and state imperialism are closely linked. As discussed above, queerness is sometimes viewed as a product of white subjectivities and white culture (Bérubé, 2001; Seidman, 2010). The idea that queerness is inherently white is prevalent in my research in statements such as a response from T.O. Guy who said people from Jamaica are inherently homophobic and not a part of the rainbow community. Anti-immigrant sentiments that position people of color as homophobic are also present among immigrant populations. Andy, an immigrant in his late thirties who has lived in Toronto for over ten years, said:

> I think it's education. Maybe a lot of them [immigrants], they don't have education. As soon as they think you're gay, then they are protective of their kids or they look at you differently. They think maybe you're going to do something to their kids or to their husband or them. I don't know.

Andy claimed immigrants were under-educated and fearful of gay men. Anti-immigrant sentiments are linked to processes of racialization where the term "immigrant" becomes synonymous for discussing people of color. As Sara Ahmed (2008) argues, language that

codifies negative affective value onto the social category of immigrant is part of larger structures of emotional regulation, social productions of truth, racialization, and racism. Under the guise of personal and emotional security, immigration and multiculturalism become barriers to public happiness by disrupting the comfort of more "legitimate" citizens (Ahmed, 2008; Thobani, 2007). Racialization in the rainbow community can prohibit belonging for people of color while promoting inclusion and legitimacy for white community members (see Ahmed, 2012). The effects of racialization are well-known in the rainbow community. People of color who participated in my research reported that they regularly experience harassment in the Gay Village in Toronto. Emily said:

> We had somebody hang a fucking confederate flag in the park this summer. How do you even begin to—I was just like, "I need to take a breath before I … try and face this." Because I'm like, "That's a direct act of hatred towards me, it feels." … Tell me that that shit's not real. You put a confederate fucking flag in the park a week after a young girl was hanged on Facebook. It's a fucking confederate flag. It was deeply ill-making.

White people are also aware of race-related tensions. Nathan, a white gay man in his fifties who has experience with queer social organizing, said "White people run everything in the Gay Village…I like it, it's a source of comfort and it shouldn't change." The production of race and racial barriers in the rainbow community are communicated through anti-immigrant sentiments, racism, and white supremacy.

Racial-barriers to participation in the rainbow community are partially based in Euro-centric ideals of gender and sexuality that shape queer politics. As William Spurlin (2001) notes, in North American queer politics "homosexualities in non-Western societies are, at best, imagined or invented through the imperialist gaze of Euroamerican queer identity politics…or, at worst, altogether ignored" (p. 185). This understanding of queerness has a homogenizing effect on queer politics that erases and decontextualizes unique cultural expressions of gender and

sexual variance (Manalansan, 1995). The notion that queerness has Western or Euroamerican origins limits people's autonomy to define what queerness is within their own cultures. Queerness as a "Western" idea can encourage homophobia as a method of resistance to colonialism and Western assimilation (Spurlin, 2001). If queerness is conceptualized as "belonging" to Western culture it could mean that it is imposed on cultural others and that queer identities can be at odds with racialized identities.

As an extreme example of white, Western homophobia related to racialization, in 2018 serial killer Bruce McArthur was arrested in Toronto. He was found guilty of murdering eight men over a ten year period. McArthur targeted vulnerable members of the rainbow community and six of his eight victims were immigrants of south Asian or Middle Eastern descent (Pazzano, Toronto Sun, 2019), and the disappearances of several of the men were not reported to authorities due to their precarious immigration status (Graham, The Guardian, 2018). The murders committed by McArthur demonstrate that the ways in which race is produced in the rainbow community are a matter of life and death. Divisions within the rainbow community based on immigration status and/or racialized identities can degrade community support and inhibit coalition building. As a result of racism and inhibited solidarity, access to economic security, community services, social organizing, and personal safety can be negatively affected for people of color.

In my interview with Zayn, he expressed how closely nationalist sentiment of safe guarding Canadian resources overlapped with the racism he experienced. When asked what being Middle Eastern and gay meant to him Zayn responded:

> There's a bit of—like, reservations. It's funny. They associate Middle Eastern with Italians here [laughs]. I've been told that many times because usually lots of the Italians come from Catholic families. Most Middle Eastern people usually come from Muslim families. There's a lot of secrecy. You can't come out. You

> have to act like a man. You can't introduce your boyfriend to parents. Plus, and this had happened with me several times, when I say I'm from Middle East, people express explicitly that they can't offer me a passport. I have to explain, no I came through legal immigration or I have a job. I have a resident already, by the way. But I find it very offensive [laughs].

Zayn explains how being an immigrant is sometimes assumed to coincide with criminality and that people tend to think he requires a passport or a job. In addition, Zayn's experiences speak to a lack of solidarity within the rainbow community to help immigrants or listen to them without making harmful and offensive assumptions.

Safety

In this section I discuss how a majority of self-identified white participants between the ages of 36 and 60 mobilized the language of safety in order to perpetuate the idea that people of color, disabled people, and economically insecure people are inherently criminal. I start my analysis with developments at Pride Toronto in relation to the inclusion of security and uniformed police. I then discuss the prevalent idea that white gay men are the primary victims of violence in the rainbow community and that people of color and economically disadvantaged people contribute to the victimization of white gay men. Within the context of my interview data, safety for affluent white rainbow community members was predicated on protecting the rainbow community from immigrants, people of color, and economically marginalized peoples. Responses from people of color in the rainbow community show that the language of safety that supports dispossession of space for marginalized peoples has a negative impact on their safety. In these interviews, people of color said they were at increased risk of physical and interpersonal violence in queer spaces.

In Toronto, some rainbow community members became aware of tensions between the community and formal policing when Black Lives Matter halted the 2016 Pride Toronto parade.

Black Lives Matter cited instances of police targeting queer people of color with oppressive practices including carding and discrimination. The group stated that having uniformed police being part of the Pride Toronto parade made celebrations unsafe for people of color. In relation to police discrimination one participant, Emily, said:

> I think sometimes it [discrimination] falls on deaf ears. I got carded last month. Myself and a trans woman of color … were responding to an overdose. We got carded by police like a fucking miniature interrogation. Then [when they found out we were responding to an overdose] it's, "Oh sorry miss. Sorry miss."

Emily is a woman of color who has extensive experience in queer-focused social organizing in Toronto. Because of interactions like the one Emily mentioned, having uniformed police march in the Pride parade is viewed by some rainbow community members as a signal that queer politics is not inclusive or mindful of the safety of people of color. When uniformed police are part of pride parades, their participation signifies safety for some members of the community at the expense of others.

In relation to Black Lives Matter halting the Pride Toronto parade, some participants falsely expressed that the people protesting were not part of the rainbow community. In particular, T.O. Guy claimed members of Black Lives Matter Toronto used homophobic slurs:

> They get a bad name because they interrupted the parade. The blacks were calling the gays during the parade a bunch of fruity faggots. These people are from Jamaica. That's a no no to be gay or anything in that country. Those are not nice people at all … [they used slurs because] they believe that we call them ni**er.

T.O. Guy's comments reflect deeply engrained racism and emotional regulation that serves to disappear the suffering of people of color within the rainbow community (Ahmed, 2008). Sara Ahmed (2008) notes that the emotions of racialized others, sometimes expressed in the form of protests such as the one T.O. Guy references, are sometimes reframed in order to center the emotions and comfort of white people, which produces community exclusion for those deemed improperly emotional. White rainbow community members sometimes treat homophobia as an

import from other nations and, therefore, view all black people as homophobic. T.O. Guy's comments reflect contemporary reproductions of colonial histories of violent erasure of indigenous forms of queerness (Greensmith & Giwa, 2013; Sneider, 2015). I was not able to find any evidence that Black Lives Matter used homophobic slurs during their protest at the 2016 Pride Toronto parade.

In order to address tensions related to safety and the participation of police, Pride Toronto added randomized security checks to their annual parade in 2018 (Khoo, Huffpost, 2018). While the security checks are only required for those participating in the drink and carry program (which allows participants to carry their alcoholic drinks with them throughout the festival), the increased security presence also affects those people not participating in the program. Security checks are a potential barrier that communicates to some that anyone who is not comfortable going through security with the possibility of being touched and having their belongings searched is not welcome at Pride Toronto's parade. Increased security can have the effect of preventing disabled, sex workers, trans gender, and economically insecure people from participating in pride—and these groups include people of color. The key is that the barrier to participation forms "unintentionally" in the name of safety (Bérubé, 2001). When barriers form unintentionally, it prevents people from critically evaluating inequality because the explicit intention is to keep people safe. Thus, "undesirable" members of the rainbow community may become equated with being unsafe and they can be excluded from events such as Pride Toronto's parade.

After not being allowed to march in 2017 and 2018, Toronto police were able to apply to march in Pride Toronto's 2019 parade despite Pride's membership voting to ban uniformed police. Pride Toronto cited a potential loss of funding from sponsors who wanted uniformed

police to be part of the parade for overriding their membership and Pride stated that there would be a another vote on the issue. In early 2019 Pride Toronto held a vote for their membership on allowing uniformed police in their annual parade: the membership voted 163 – 161 to not allow police back in the parade for the next two years. However, Pride Toronto added more than 200 new members with voting rights days before the vote, nearly doubling the number of people able to vote on the issue (CBC News, 2019). Some members of the rainbow community saw the timing of registrations being approved as a clear indication that Pride Toronto was trying to manipulate the vote for capitalist gain at the expense of marginalized community members.

Racialized safety concerns have recently played a prominent role in Pride celebrations but the language of safety and safety for whom has a long history linked to missing and murdered rainbow community members in Toronto. In the summer of 2017, missing men from Toronto's Gay Village area made national news. In response, the 519 held a community meeting to discuss missing and murdered people from the rainbow community and to plan ways to keep people safe. The meeting was meant to address safety as a community issue because the recent cases of missing men are part of a decade's long history of trans gender people, people of color, cis gender women, and sex workers going missing or being murdered. However, not everyone in the rainbow community agreed with bringing attention to the safety of all community members. The posters for the meeting were vandalized (see image one) and although there were posters in many areas of the city, it seemed like only the posters in the Gay Village[6] were defaced in a way that centered men who have sex with men as victims.

[6] As part of my field work I walked around Toronto's neighborhoods for hours five days a week. During the weeks before the community meeting, I only saw vandalized posters in the Gay Village area.

Image one

The idea that men who have sex with men are more at risk of violence than other members of the rainbow community was prevalent among self-identified gay and bisexual men who participated in my study. Participants Andy and Nick both said that gay men are more victimized than people of color. For Andy, his sense of being discriminated against came from people he identified as being new immigrants, citing one incident where a woman **"**told me that [being gay] that's a disease. Actually that's a disease. Then you should see a doctor and get a cure. I said, 'Oh, okay.'" Nick expressed that people of color are more likely to discriminate or victimize gay people than gay people are to be racist. In our interview Nick said:

> What I have noticed that really surprises me is a lot of people who are visible minorities are still discriminating against gay people, which blows my mind. I thought they would be more sympathetic. There was a situation, probably years ago, famous black athlete got in trouble for using the word fag and he's very successful. He's high profile. I was a little surprised that he would use it because

> it's gotten better, Obama was president, but when he was growing up I'm willing to bet he was discriminated against. […] I actually find most gay people pretty open minded. I think that's a big part of it, they say, "Well, it'd be pretty silly if we would discriminate towards the Asian people or Black people." We were very offended if somebody said something about us being gay, us being bisexual.

Nick further clarified his point about people of color being a potential source of victimization by noting:

> I used to go to work at Extreme Fitness actually and they've been bought out by GoodLife, but probably seven, eight years ago, I was in the sauna and there was a black guy there. About my age and he looked Jamaican. I can easily differentiate [as] Jamaicans have a different look than people from Nigeria or Haiti. I forget how it came up. Something about San Francisco and he laughed and said, "Man I would never go there—the lifestyle. I don't want an effing boyfriend." At the time I was actually more muscular. He probably assumed, real big strong guy, he's not gay. It was just so—that was the first thing on his mind…That is a real person, not a movie or a TV show.

For Nick and Andy, the idea that people of color are sources of homophobia was central to their conceptualization of men who have sex with men as victims.

Responses, such as those of Andy and Nick, that situate white community members as needing protection from people of color and/or that cultural others are responsible for importing dangerous or regressive beliefs and practices into otherwise socially advanced white communities are not only racist, they are a product of Canadian nation-building and multiculturalism (Thobani, 2007). Ideologies of multiculturalism help form a national identity comprised of compassion and generosity. However, Sunera Thobani (2007) argues that in practice cultural others are often not granted full access to public life and citizenship rights. Canadian multiculturalism facilitates a Canadian identity of generosity that insulates us from examining structural racism; when this identity is challenged by cultural others they are often framed as demanding, dangerous, and suspect (Thobani, 2007). When Andy and Nick position people of color as homophobic and regressive they are enabled to do so by ideologies of

Canadian nationalism and multiculturalism that tend to maintain outsider status for people of color in Canada.

For some, the rainbow community can feel unsafe when race, ethnicity, and queerness intersect. For Shae, being mixed race was associated with increased risk and a lack of safety:

> My roommate put it best like this. She says that while sometimes I don't feel safe in the village in Cabbagetown area, I feel safest there comparatively to the rest of the city. I think the source of feeling unsafe is that…as an example when it was Halloween. My good friend and I we dressed in drag, like full face of makeup. So you couldn't really distinguish what our features were. And, we were walking through the street fair and someone said, "Oh, look. There's a gay Asian-invasion." And two other gay men started catcalling. It's things like that, we're like, "If anything were to actually happen to me in this village…" And I've been ruffed up in the village, no one's done anything.

The language of safety was used by self-identified white participants to make racialized distinctions about who is part of the rainbow community and who the rainbow community requires protection from. For people of color, the language of safety was used to communicate heightened risks of racialized violence and barriers to accessing community participation. Barriers to participation for queer people of color are more strongly felt in the Gay Village than other queer spaces. In our interview Emily said "People feel displaced or not represented in the actual queer village. There is a pretty strong queer community of color in Toronto, but it's not in the village. Those parties don't happen here." As Shae suggests, the Village area can be safer than other parts of Toronto for queer people; therefore, in order to access spaces more welcoming to queer people of color than the Village people of color may have to put themselves at risk of being unsafe.

At the community meeting about safety and missing and murdered people, some people there wanted to see increased police monitoring of a local park frequented by under-housed people and sex workers. Some community members in attendance also encouraged police

monitoring of low income housing in the Gay Village area. Although these comments are not explicitly about race, it is important to note that increased monitoring of these spaces would disproportionality affect disabled people, people of color, sex workers, and street affected people (Sylvestre, Blomley, Damon, & Bellot, 2017; Nolan, 2019). As Margaret Little (2015) argues, dispossession of public spaces and a lack of community infrastructure can cause marginalized cis and trans gender women to access and/or stay in abusive situations in order to secure housing and have less exposure to police (see Mosher, Evans & Little, 2004, p. 57). When marginalized peoples are unable to secure economic security or safe living spaces they may be forced into a position where their personal safety is at risk (Little, 2015). Police monitoring often increases criminalization rather than community safety, and it can make it difficult for many people to maintain their livelihood and security (Bell, 2006). When someone at the meeting mentioned that many of the men who had recently gone missing appeared to be Middle Eastern and that racialized men should be a focus of protection, their concerns were dismissed. Thus, when race was mentioned at this meeting, it was predominately in the context of securing safety *from* racialized community members rather than establishing safety *for* these members.[7]

The barriers around safety and support in the Village are strongly felt by some members of the rainbow community. Emily told me a story about how she was refused entry into three different bars in the Village in one night:

> I think those barriers are about my racial presentation, my gender presentation, and how I present in terms of my sexual orientation. It was three places—the hilarity of it all just happening in one night. It was a little overwhelming, and I went home and just felt really lonely, to be honest. I was like, "This is my fault. What's that about?"

[7] The comments I discuss from the community meeting do not necessarily reflect the opinions of everyone in attendance. Some attendees, including those who moderated and organized the meeting, continually called attention to the intersectional and historical realities of missing and murdered people in the Gay Village area.

> That's being done to people of color from the queer landscape, and that's important. "What threat do I pose to your space? I get it. You want to talk about holding space for your group? I fucking get it. But what fucking threat do I pose to your space?"
>
> I'm not coming in with a lot of power to disrupt your space. And I've demonstrated nothing but allyship or membership.

The need and demand for safety is high in the rainbow community. However, as Emily demonstrates, safe spaces sometimes intersect with racism, which contributes to the erasure of people of color in the rainbow community. Safe spaces that require the erasure of marginalized groups or dispossession of space can do more to harm members of the rainbow community than protect them.

When Minnie Bruce Pratt recounts her experiences with feminist "safe spaces," she says that "my experience of a safe space . . . was based on places secured by omission, exclusion or violence, and on my submitting to the limits of that place" (Fox & Ore, 2010, p. 630). Safety is often conflated with comfort, which prevents people from engaging with others across difference. Many safe spaces are organized around universality and false intimacy, which encourages people to reduce themselves to their sexual and gender identities and to view their experiences as similar among all people within a given group (Fox & Ore, 2010). However, not everyone experiences being part of the rainbow community in the same way. In order to build stronger community resources, coalition across difference is required (Fox & Ore, 2010). In relation to queer safe spaces Catherine Fox and Tracy Ore (2010) argue that,

> Insofar as the central organizing feature for queer people is the eradication of homophobia and heterosexism, safe space discourse continues to operate within a normalizing gaze of a white, masculinist, middle-class subject, rendering queer subjectivity in a most simplistic and reductive manner and producing an illusionary "safety." We lose sight of the relationality of our subjectivities and the necessity of building ally relationships outside of a hetero/homo binary that constructs a gay white male as the proper "subject" of those safe spaces. (p. 631)

Safe spaces can be nurturing and comforting but they can also provide a sense of community based on not acknowledging difference. By not engaging across our differences, we cannot discuss or account for how sex, sexuality, gender, and race are linked. Safe space discourse is one that potentially limits our capacity for intersectional analysis and coalition. As indicated by participants in my study, safe spaces can work to exclude and marginalize people of color in the rainbow community. If we aim to construct safer spaces rather than safe spaces we can support organizing across categories of difference.

Conclusion

There are vibrant and vital spaces for queer and trans gender people of color but they are not always easy to find or access in the Gay Village area in Toronto. Anti-immigrant and white (homo)nationalist sentiments are increasing in queer social movements (Duggan, 2002). These sentiments also tend to promote white educated middle class gays and lesbians as legitimate members of the rainbow community at the expense of people of color. Responses from participants in my study of queer anti-racism in Toronto illustrate how race is produced in the rainbow community in relation to languages of capital accumulation, (white)homonationalism, and safety. My research provides an update to queer and anti-racism critiques of social movements while also contributing insight into how we might address the material realities of marginalized groups.

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Chapter Four

Allyship through self-exclusion:

How whiteness prevents liberation in the rainbow community

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Abstract: Racial and queer intersections have taken on a sense of critical urgency. In 2016 and 2017 forty-nine people were killed at a gay nightclub on a night for Latinx people, Black Lives Matter halted Toronto's Pride parade in an effort to have space and funding needs met, and a new pride flag with a black stripe and a brown stripe in recognition of people of color in the rainbow community was introduced in Philadelphia. The shooting in 2016 is often spoken about as a queer tragedy than racialized violence against queer people. The new pride flag and Black Lives Matter halting the Toronto Pride parade were meant to address racism and race-related tensions in the rainbow community. In response to the current political moment I conducted a study of queer and anti-racism intersections in Toronto that is informed by ethnographic research methods including semi-structured interviews with those who self-identify as part of the rainbow community and my own observations at queer-focused events in Toronto such as the Greenspace Festival by the 519 and Pride Toronto's annual parade. Many of the people I spoke with had experience in community organizing and/or they saw the importance of activism in queer contexts. However, when I asked about racial issues and anti-racism white participants often responded that anti-racism was not for them or about them. In particular, white participants claimed that their self-exclusion was informed by anti-racism and that they were allies to people of color. An ally is someone from a dominant group who has a supportive relationship with marginalized groups; allyship often includes assisting in social justice struggles. Participants who considered themselves anti-racism allies said their allyship centered on not interfering with the events and activities of people of color. In my research, participation and engagement with anti-racism was contextualized as interference or as taking up space that is not for white people. White anti-racism allies said they were more effective allies by not being involved in anti-racism. In this paper I analyze the construction of allyship through self-exclusion. I argue that this type of allyship supports racial divisions in the rainbow community and the idea that racism is not an issue white people should engage in. Allyship through self-exclusion as an exercise in identity links oneself to anti-racism while benefitting from and participating in conditions that produce and maintain systemic inequality.

Keywords: Ally, anti-racism, exclusion, queer

What does it mean to be an ally? Does allyship require education? Can one self-identify as an ally? Do personal relationships with marginalized peoples qualify as allyship? Some main themes emerge in scholarly and community-based definitions of allyship: constant and consistent action, prioritizing a structural understanding of privilege and oppression, accountable self-reflection, vocal support for marginalized peoples, and listening to others (Carlson, Leek, Casey, Tolman, & Allen, 2019). Therefore, there is some agreement that allyship requires social engagement and a willingness to be critical. Andrea Ayvazian says "An ally is a member of a dominant group in our society who works to dismantle any form of oppression from which she or he receives the benefit" (1995). This definition requires some work from allies; first the ally must identify as a member of a dominant group, which in relation to anti-racism, requires the ally to recognize white privilege. Second, an ally works to dismantle any form of oppression from which they benefit, which requires an ongoing commitment to identify and fight against oppression. White privilege refers to unearned assets that make our lives easier as white people, such as an abundance of media representation, increased economic security, and that whiteness tends to engender trust in social interactions (McIntosh, 1988). Importantly, Peggy McIntosh argues that white privilege is not meant to be acknowledged or questioned thus ensuring these assets become a natural part of our lives that is not linked to race and ethnicity. Allyship can be done in a range of public and private ways from attending a lecture to having a conversation with a friend; the common thread of allyship is that it requires self-reflection and action. Allyship, as it is outlined here, may be difficult if one is not informed about social issues.

In this article I explore the complexities of being an ally to anti-racism efforts within the rainbow community. I examine the concept of allyship in relation to anti-racism through 17 semi-structured interviews with members of Toronto's rainbow community. I found that of the

self-identified white participants, younger people of all genders (ages 18 – 35) tended to be more concerned with allyship while older (aged 40 – 65) white men tended to have overtly racist responses when I asked them about race in the rainbow community. As an example of the latter category, a man in his 40s who went by T.O. Guy, used the n-word and claimed most black people in Toronto were from Jamaica and, therefore, were inherently homophobic. In this article I focus on the interviews from people who spoke about race-related tensions and wanting to be anti-racism allies.

It may seem easy to identify racism and to act on principles of anti-racism. However, in practice anti-racism efforts are incredibly complex and potentially risky to one's health and well-being (Patel, 2011; Valiente-Neighbours, 2015). Those who consider themselves anti-racism allies face challenges that could include threats to their economic security, conflict in their interpersonal relationships, and getting the content of their allyship wrong (Case, 2012). Part of the risk of engaging in anti-racism allyship involves the context-dependent nature of effective resistance. Racism is multi-faceted and has no unified subject, definition, or universal experience, thus any strategy for resisting racism cannot be singular or universal (Anthias, Yuval-Davis, & Cain, 1992). The complexities of racism and anti-racism produce situations where allies are all but guaranteed to be mistaken in their approach and actions. This illustrates central tensions in allyship—being an ally can be uncomfortable, unsettling, and risky.

I recently spoke with a friend, for example, who works in the mechanical service industry. He said that almost all of his clients express overt racism over rail blockades erected in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en nation.[8] My friend's clients would say things such as "those

[8] In Canada, in early 2020, railroad blockades were erected in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en nation located in British Columbia. The Wet'suwet'en nation was trying to stop construction of a natural gas pipeline on unceded Indigenous land. At the time of writing this article construction on the pipeline has been stopped and the Canadian Government is negotiating with the Wet'suwet'en Hereditary Chiefs.

dammed protestors! They are hurting our economy. We should run them down!" While he does not agree with his clients' sentiments, my friend's livelihood partially depends on their business. He faces an ongoing struggle related to assessing risk of being an anti-racism ally, allocating time and energy to educating people, and trying to find a response that least compromises his personal politics in order to preserve his livelihood. The tensions and risks involved in anti-racism allyship noted by scholars and illustrated by my friend's workplace experiences form the basis of my analyses.

Community organizers have been aware of racial tensions in the rainbow community, and of the complexities of how white allyship shapes anti-racism efforts, but there has been little study of these tensions (Alimahomed, 2010; Han, 2007). When I asked self-identified white queer research participants in Toronto about forms of anti-racism and their participation in anti-racism efforts, most responded that they felt confused about what kind of roles they could have. Some said they felt their whiteness would be disruptive or perceived as disrespectful, and others simply noted they did not see themselves reflected in anti-racism, which prevented their participation.

My analysis focuses on participant responses that indicate barriers to the inclusion of anti-racism in queer politics. I ask: how did participants who claimed to be allies in anti-racism efforts conceptualize allyship? What might be the effects of this conceptualization of allyship on anti-racism efforts? How are racial barriers in the rainbow community challenged and/or reinforced through self-exclusionary forms of allyship? Uncertainty about how to execute anti-racism allyship can produce a form of paralysis or self-exclusion. I use the term "self-exclusion" to describe the ways in which individuals who claim to ally themselves with anti-racism nevertheless choose to avoid participating in anti-racist action or anti-racist change (Lee, 2014).

Potential allies might be guided by feelings of confusion, guilt, fear, and inadequacy and this can lead some to disengage from anti-racism efforts and being informed about race-related issues. I use the concept of self-exclusion to describe how participants self-impose degrees of exclusion that prevent them from contributing to anti-racism efforts.

I may have been able to use other concepts to similar effect, such as non-participant, observer, or spectator (Harris, 1995); however, these terms are not entirely accurate in the context of my study. For example, one participant, Rafael[9], indicated that he felt anti-racism spaces were not for white people and that his participation at queer race-focused events would cause tension: "I feel like I would be an interloper. I'd feel like I would be intruding and people would be like 'this space isn't for you.' If it was more educational, then I'd be excited about it and I would be 'I'm here to learn, I'm here to listen.'" This comment reveals Rafael's assumption that anti-racism spaces are not educational—that there is nothing to for him to learn in these spaces. Participants like Rafael were excluding themselves from the complexities of social concerns within the rainbow community as a form of demonstrating support for people of color (see Sumerau, Forbes, Grollman, & Mathers, 2020).

The intersections between how race operates in queer organizing and white allyship provide the basis for my analyses of participant responses to questions about anti-racism in the rainbow community. I outline how participants' conceptualizations of allyship may impact anti-racism efforts. I argue that allyship informed by self-exclusion contributes to the separation of queer and race-related issues, which then prevents coalition and multiple issue organizing. In particular, I analyze how allyship through self-exclusion allows some members of the rainbow community in Toronto to think queer and race-related issues are separately linked to conditions

[9] Participants choose their own pseudonyms for interviews. Some demographic details that are inconsequential to my analyses and findings have been changed throughout this article in order to protect participants' identities.

of inequality. I conclude this paper with a discussion of barriers to anti-racism and areas that can be addressed in queer-focused social organizing in order to encourage intersectional coalitions informed by anti-racism.

Researching Queer Anti-Racism

Recent events have highlighted the existence and effects of race-related issues in the rainbow community in North America including: forty-nine people being killed at Pulse, a gay nightclub in 2016 on a night for Latinx people; Black Lives Matter halting Pride Toronto's annual parade in 2016 in an effort to demand that space and funding needs for queer people of color be met; and a new pride flag being introduced in Philadelphia that includes a black stripe and a brown stripe in recognition of queer people of color. The shooting at Pulse is indicative of the on-going racialized violence against queer peoples, and the Black Lives Matter protest and the creation of a new pride flag have called attention to racial divisions and tension within the rainbow community. In addition to these events, alt-right political organizing that is associated with an increase in violence against gender, sexual, and racial minorities is increasingly part of national discourse. Race-related tensions and alt-right political organizing may encourage coalition between anti-racism and queer social organizing.

For six months in 2017, I lived in Toronto in order to interview self-identified lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans*, queer, questioning, intersex, pansexual, two-spirit, asexual, and/or allies (LGBTQQIP2SAA) about race and anti-racism and engage in participant observation at LGBTQQIP2SAA-focused events.[10] In order to document the potential for intersectional

[10] I refer to LGBTQQIP2SAA collectively as the rainbow community or as queer people. While queer acronyms can be important for visibility and acceptance, these acronyms can distill what it means to be queer or gender variant into a potentially confining set of behaviors or appearances. I support the proliferation of queer languages to describe and affirm one's sexuality and gender; terms such as pansexual, demi-sexual, and asexual can be invaluable for articulating the self. However, recognizing sexual and gender fluidity is an important part of queer politics and using the term rainbow community in academic settings helps me communicate this idea. Politics of visibility are complex in the rainbow community, being visibly queer or trans gender can put people at increased risk of

coalition in Toronto, I interviewed members of the rainbow community about race and anti-racism (n17) and I observed queer-focused events. I found that while there are some coalitions being developed between organizations there are barriers to the inclusion of anti-racism for individuals.

Participants' Conceptualizations of Allyship

How did white participants who claimed to be allies in anti-racism efforts conceptualize allyship? My first key finding demonstrates gaps in public knowledge about queer and racial intersections. For example, in 2016, when Black Lives Matter protested Pride Toronto's annual parade, it made national news and their demonstration received significant attention. The majority of self-identified white participants I interviewed, however, did not know why Black Lives Matter protested the event and some were surprised that many of the activists are also part of the rainbow community. White participants provided responses that reinforced divisions between black people and rainbow community members such as "*we* don't go to *their* parade." Some white participants who identified as anti-racism allies were nevertheless ill-informed about race-related issues and they did not participate in public anti-racism efforts.

In this section I discuss how white participants conceptualized anti-racism allyship and how these ideas may impact anti-racism in the rainbow community. Some participants' engagement with anti-racism was informed by confusion, misinformation, and guilt, which negatively impacted their participation. Participants indicated that they wanted to participate in anti-racism but that their experiences made spaces focused on anti-racism unrelatable and uncomfortable for them. As discussed above, Rafael's ideas about a lack of education in anti-racism spaces informs his allyship. His confusion and misinformation about events focused on

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interpersonal and professional violence. The idea that we must be visible to be legitimate can be detrimental to our health, well-being, and ability to be safe.

anti-racism played into his ideas of allyship. By not being an "interloper" in anti-racism spaces Rafael felt like he was being a good anti-racism ally. Rafael clarified his comments about his participation in anti-racism when I asked him if being part of an organization would overshadow the voices of people of color, he responded:

> Yes. I know I'm not going to speak over people and I know I would be hesitant to offer my opinion because like I said, what does my opinion matter, so I feel like there would be no point being there. I'd rather get to know about what they'd like to say.

When I asked Rafael about his media consumption and where he gets his information about race-related issues his response focused on his discomfort, disinterest, and guilt:

> That's something I would like to do. I mean, I'm vaguely thinking about Black Lives Matter and about what they did with the police, although it made me uncomfortable. I feel like I have an obligation to pay attention to it. I mean, something like that where people are coming forward and they're like, "hey, these are the problems that we're facing, please know about that," and just me being a listener. I wouldn't want to be on their side talking about the problems. It's just not my problem. I wouldn't want to be organizing things or speaking about things. I'd like to stand beside activists. If that makes any sense.

Rafael, in his reference to the Black Lives Matter protest at Toronto Pride (which happened over a year from when we had our interview), responded that despite "feeling a responsibility to pay attention," he did not know why they protested, only that he knew that there were tensions with Toronto Police. Toward the end of Rafael's statement, he admitted that he felt race-related issues were not his problem but that he is still a good ally because he wants to stand beside activists (without standing in front of them). However, by not being informed or invested in anti-racism actions, Rafael cannot be considered as in support of anti-racism efforts. His construction of allyship allowed him to protect his identity as a "good" person and ally, but he was not taking any personal or public action to support anti-racism.

Seth, a man in his 20s who identifies as half-Jewish said he felt more comfortable taking action privately by speaking with friends and family members. Seth experienced tension between being aware of their privilege and doing more public forms of allyship. He explained:

> I personally don't feel like I should be significantly visible in this fight. Yeah, pass the mic. My voice isn't the one that needs to be heard. I really want the world to change for the better in representation, and for gender and sexual minorities to be treated equally to people who are majorities. Like that's absolutely something I want. I push for it in my own way by talking to people on individual levels… And so I feel like my place in a lot of situations is to kind of be the quiet voice that urges people of privilege to a place of awareness. Like "hey, just so you know you should listen to them because they have a lot of important stuff to say and it's valuable. Listen to them." That's my job, my job is [to say] "listen to them."

Seth's conceptualization of allyship is common among allies, and he is not wrong in his desire to amplify the voices of marginalized peoples. However, he noted that his awareness of his privilege produces tension as he relies on the expertise of people of color and he does not feel like he can or should be more vocal than uplifting the anti-racist critique of others. Within Seth's response—and the resulting evident tensions produced by white privilege—there is a sense of fear of losing parts of his privilege if he were to become a more vocal ally. As Wendy Brown (2000) argues, when we are aware that we are privileged, we may become invested in social structures that produce benefits, even if those structures are based on oppression. Rafael and Seth both expressed different levels of self-exclusion based on discomfort, confusion, misinformation, and guilt. However, the main barrier to their participation was that they did not see themselves in anti-racism efforts. Participants expressed that race-related issues are not viewed as relevant or actionable by some white people.

For some white anti-racism allies in my study, conceptualizations of allyship were also informed by offence, either being offended or not wanting to offend others. Participants' desire to avoid breaches of conduct was related to unfavorable perceptions of anti-racism activists and

not wanting to be associated with their work while still wanting to identify—and be identified by others—as an anti-racism ally. For example, when I asked Rafael about adding a black stripe and a brown stripe to the pride flag, he said:

> I'm open to—now I sound terrible. Now, I'm open to allowing people to change the flag but I think having a flag with black and brown stripes, sure, that sounds creative, it sends a very strong political message. I get it but also I'd be upset if people did that and also rejected the previous flag. I think there's space for both because then there comes the question of, oh would I fly the original flag or would I fly the flag with black or brown stripes? […] I don't know that I would, not because I'm offended by it but also because I'd look at that flag and be like, "this flag doesn't look like this because of me or because of people like me who fought people like me." I'd like to see it around but I'd look at it and think "oh this is for few people of color and this is to create an exclusive environment for a few people of color." I think that's why I would probably stick with the original one although I didn't really use the original one that much at all.

As our conversation progressed, the barriers to Rafael's participation in anti-racism efforts became clearer. He assumed that there are no other white people contributing to anti-racism efforts, and he perceived that the people supporting the new pride flag are on the fringes trying to create an "exclusive environment for a few people of color" in order to have a strong political message. Rafael's beliefs about who supports the additions to the pride flag are in tension with his identity as someone who does not upset people, which prevents him from using the new pride flag.

Yessi, a gender and sexually fluid person in her late 20s who lived in Toronto for most of her life, had a similar response as to why she is an ally but does not feel comfortable engaging in anti-racism. When I asked her about anti-racism allyship Yessi responded

> We expect really obnoxious, unfiltered people to talk about it [race] in an insensitive way, or minorities talk about it. To hear a white guy talking about Black Lives Matter and race, even if he's gay, I think a lot of [black] people wouldn't want [a white man] to speak for them, or me to speak for them. I guess I would prefer to hear a minority speak about minority issues, but then I also, as a Caucasian woman I feel like it's unfair, that we

> can't just try to empathize, and talk about it. I feel like it's okay to talk about minority issues even though I'm not a minority. Just because of the fact that I have a set of eyes, I have friends, an imagination, and empathy, so I would like people talk about it, but it's really hard. There's a charming way to joke about it, but then you're being a little derogatory, so it's really hard for me personally to find the balance to talk about race issues, or gender issues. Sometimes I offend people.

Yessi felt that the only way to talk about race-related issues as a white person was to be obnoxious, talk over or for people, or to be derogatory. She also conceptualized anti-racism as a minority issue, rather than an issue for everyone. Overall, she did not want to offend anyone and so she limited her participation in anti-racism. While most white participants in my research were not concerned with being anti-racism allies, those who conceptualized themselves as allies all reported that self-exclusion was a part of their allyship.

Queer Intersectionality

I conceptualize whiteness not as something that is possessed and static but as a product of racialization that shifts over time (Best, 2003; Nagel, 2003; Winant, 2000). As Amy Best (2003) notes, racial constructs are relationally and contextually situated. Joanne Nagel (2003) writes that "the *extent* and *meaning* of ethnic differences are socially defined, historically and situationally changeable, and sexually loaded" (p. 38). In queer politics whiteness often operates as a symbol for the entrenchment of ethnocentric ways of understanding sexuality, hegemony, exclusion, marginalization, and expendability (Muñoz, 1999). Whiteness in queer politics has contributed to erasing non-binary indigenous cultures while universalizing queer experiences within and across national borders in ways that are white-normed (Barnard, 2004; Bérubé, 2001; Manalansan, 1995; Morgensen, 2011).

Critiques of queer theory informed by anti-racism note that within queer social movements there is a history of power relations that privilege affluent white men and women

who experience low social, economic, health, and personal risk (Rubin, 1984; Seidman, 1995). This group on aggregate has disproportionate access to being visibly queer in public spaces because their other privileges can ameliorate social sanctioning they may face. However, people of color and working class people are less likely to have access to some forms of personal freedom and attempts to enact queerness can put them at increased social, economic, and personal risk (Sedgwick, 1993; Weeks, 1996). Anti-racism critique disrupts the notion of the unified and universal queer subject. Queer social justice struggles are often aimed at white, affluent, and able-bodied gay and lesbian "model" cases that are used as a justification for granting civil rights. Those who do not fit the model description are asked to support such struggles although they are unlikely to benefit from them (Rubin, 1984).

Allan Bérubé (2001) examines the practices that maintain and perpetuate the whiteness of queer spaces and politics. He explains that the primary practice that maintains the whiteness of queer politics consists of insulating oneself against conversations about race, which is done through the management of space and social norms. Queer spaces are often coded as white and managed in ways that seem unintentional in order to free participants from examining their whiteness and the composition of the group (Bérubé, 2001). In order for membership to remain unintentional whiteness must not be addressed, thus ensuring that race in general is not discussed in meaningful ways because it may lead to questioning whiteness. By questioning whiteness the question of racial intent may be raised, which may result in the exclusion of the person asking questions (Bérubé, 2001). For those who may have been ostracized by their families, schools, friends, sports teams, and other communities the risk of jeopardizing their relationships in queer circles can cause one to not problematize the composition of queer spaces. A fear of losing social

connections and social capital may be responsible for a lack of queer organizing informed by anti-racism.

The social and cultural coding of queer as white has prevented people of color in North America from participating in rainbow communities and in some cases homophobia is encouraged as an act of anti-racism against white queer politics (Spurlin, 2001). The rejection of queer signifiers and social justice struggles can be viewed as cultural preservation against white intervention and/or colonial assimilation (Spurlin, 2001). This has a pronounced impact on young people living in communities of color. Because of homophobia that may be coded as anti-racism queer youth of color tend to have less access to resources than white queer youth which puts them at increased risk of violence and mental health issues (Brotman, Ryan, Jalbert & Rowe, 2002; Sedgwick, 1993).

In addition to producing tensions in communities of color, cultural coding of queerness as white encourages anti-black racism in queer politics. Imperial and colonial histories that have contributed to erasing culturally unique forms of sexual gender variance within and across national borders are operant in contemporary queer politics (Barnard, 2004; Bérubé, 2001). In interview data generated for my study some self-identified white participants relied on anti-black colonial tropes in order to argue that black people are not legitimate members of the rainbow community. As discussed above, white queer men between the ages of 40 – 65 responded that black people are inherently homophobic and that they pose a physical and moral threat when I asked about racial dynamics in the rainbow community. Colonialism erased existing forms of what we now understand as queer in the West through practices that include murder, violent enforcement of the gender binary, and disruption of indigenous social systems (Morgensen, 2005). When we analyze how queerness intersects with colonialism and imperialism, we find

that sexual and gender variance has rich histories and traditions, from which we have had to uncover modes of queerness and resistance.

Identification with social categories can be a difficult exercise for anyone, however for people of color it is often much more challenging. José Muñoz (1999) writes that "the fiction of identity is one that is accessed with relative ease for most majoritarian subjects. Minoritarian subjects need to interface with different subcultural fields to activate their own senses of self" (p. 5). Queerness takes on a different set of cultural and social risks for people of color, thus queer organizing and theorizing that is not informed by anti-racism can contribute to a culture of white dominance in queer social movements that puts people of color at increased risk of violence and economic insecurity. Thus, it is of crucial importance that we understand how anti-racism allyship and coalition are prevented and enabled in queer social organizing.

Studying whiteness is sometimes viewed as a process of reinforcing white privilege. However, whiteness is a part of how race is produced, and it is often made invisible in order to conceal how whiteness operates in relation to social inequality (McIntosh, 1988). In order to understand the dynamic qualities of how race shapes our material realities, whiteness should be analyzed as a social process of racialization that changes over time. If whiteness is viewed as stable or biological, we risk essentializing whiteness as destructive and we limit the potential for whiteness to be informed by anti-racism (Slocum, 2007).

Allyship

An ally is a member of a dominant group who works to dismantle forms of oppression that benefit them. In order to be an anti-racism ally one must acknowledge their white privilege and reflect on their relationship to structural oppression (Case, 2012). The conceptualization of allyship that requires work from allies is important and actionable. However, I suggest that the

language of allyship produces a barrier to situating oneself within the social struggles one wants to express allyship for (Carlson, Leek, Casey, Tolman, & Allen, 2019). It is worth exploring more collaborative language such as advocate or activist in order to avoid framing systemic racism as an issue that is only for or about people of color (Sumerau, Forbes, Grollman, & Mathers, 2020). Discursive shifts, such as the one I discuss here, could be meaningful to communicate allies' investment in social justice struggles and lessen the barriers to anti-racism allyship. Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall (2004) argue that our identities are partially produced through linguistic interaction; a shift in language can have a significant impact on how we build coalition.

In relation to participant comments in my research, allyship language is the most appropriate descriptor—self-identified white participants referred to themselves as anti-racism allies. It is important to remember that the language of allyship involves self-exclusion and situating others as agents of change to some extent (Carlson, Leek, Casey, Tolman, & Allen, 2019). For example, a heterosexual ally is partially asserting their heterosexuality and outsider role in relation to queer politics. There are some instances where distance between oneself and social issues is appropriate, in some spaces it is not productive to take up space or to take space from those who are organizing. I argue that the terms we use are not as important as the material practices of being an ally but the impact of discursive shifts are worth researching further.

I do not view oppression as a hierarchy or as something that is felt in the same ways by all people. Oppression can be social, structural, or situational and it is always interlocking. Particular types of oppression cannot be resolved in isolation from the larger interconnectivity of oppressions that reinforce each other. Experiencing oppression does not preclude one's participation in oppressing others. Identifying as oppressed is difficult but it is often easier than

learning about our own participation in oppressing others. For example, white people may identify as oppressed under capitalism but they may not speak about racism in order to avoid internal conflict related to oppressing others.

Issues related to personal discomfort or confusion about how to address race-related issues can have a negative impact on being informed about anti-racism and participating in anti-racism efforts. We sometimes conceptualize people of color as "experts" on racism and we may expect oppressed peoples to initiate change (Katz, 2003). However, as perpetrators and beneficiaries of systemic inequality, white people are also experts in race-related issues. Michelle Jacobs and Tiffany Taylor's (2012) study of an anti-racism organization found that white anti-racism activists' awareness of white racism and white privilege caused them to be less effective activists. White activists were reluctant to occupy leadership roles because they wanted to promote people of color; however, people of color in the organization were overworked. In the Jacobs and Taylor study, white members said that white people created the conditions that made anti-racism necessary and that it is the responsibility of white people to encourage social change, however they would not take on leadership roles in anti-racism organizing. White participants also said assigning responsibility to oppressed people to explain their realities and struggles is a method of oppression (Jacobs & Taylor, 2012). In the case from Jacobs and Taylor, white allies participating in an anti-racism organization reproduced race-related inequity linked to work load and responsibility despite having contradictory knowledge about what constitutes effective allyship.

How can we address white people's well-meaning reluctance to engage in anti-racism? One suggestion is to cultivate a politics of accountability rather than a politics of inclusion (Hunt & Holmes, 2015). Inclusion does not always address difference and it does not always challenge

or change structural conditions of inequality (Srivastava, 2014). When we hold other people and ourselves accountable it allows us to stop relying on assuming one's politics based on their embodiment and it prevents us from essentializing identities. In order to encourage coalition, we should be critical of allyship and social action that demands homogeneity. For example, the increase of safe spaces organized around sameness within a context of continued colonial dispossession reinscribes oppression for some marginalized peoples and it limits our capacity to relate to others (Hunt & Holmes, 2015). Carmen Logie and Marie-Jolie Rwigema's 2014 study showed that queer spaces in Toronto are largely maintained as white, which inhibits intersectional coalitions within the rainbow community. A politics of accountability and coalition across difference has the potential to produce stronger allyship and social organizing that does not rely on marginalized peoples to take on a disproportionate amount of labour and personal risk.

The Effects of Self-exclusionary Allyship

What might be the effects of self-exclusionary allyship on anti-racism efforts? How can conceptualizations of allyship move from awareness, fear, guilt, and misinformation to social action? When self-exclusion informs how we engage in allyship, it can inhibit anti-racism efforts, which harms white people by limiting our intellectual, emotional, and professional capacities to work and relate across difference. Some of the participants in my research on queerness and anti-racism said that they engaged in allyship by challenging the racist assumptions of the people they knew when they were able to engage them in conversation.[11] Other participants said that they were allies because they did not view themselves as racist and they wanted to be informed about race-related issues despite being largely unaware of specific

[11] Sarah Hunt and Cindy Homes (2015) argue that intimate forms of allyship that operate through our homes and families are essential to living one's politics informed by anti-racism and the importance of these moments are erased when we focus on allyship and activism in public spaces.

issues at the time of our interview. I agree that challenging racism in everyday interactions and wanting to be more informed about race-related issues and intersectionality are important parts of allyship but being informed is more effective and impactful when combined with public demonstrations of solidarity, such as voting for policy informed by anti-racism.

I do not want to diminish the efforts of those who engage in more intimate forms of social action and allyship. However, white participants in my study said that they did not participate in events that are organized around anti-racism because they felt like their involvement would negatively impact people of color participating. In particular, they felt their whiteness would be a disruption. Activist spaces and anti-racism can be emotional and uncomfortable, particularly when one is informed of how their actions, behaviours, or beliefs support conditions of inequality (Srivastava, 2014). In interviews, people did not seem concerned about being uncomfortable or how they may confront their own participation in social inequality. Those who said that self-exclusion was part of how they engaged in being an ally felt that being white in spaces organized around anti-racism would challenge the power and participation of people of color. While well-meaning, this perception of how whiteness operates diminishes the capabilities of people of color and it reinforces the idea that whiteness cannot be a part of anti-racism. Spaces focused on anti-racism can be organized by white people and anti-racism should be a part of organizing that is not explicitly about racism.

White people can engage in social action without speaking for or speaking over people of color. It would be to our benefit to learn how to work and relate across difference without dominating decision-making processes. I am not advocating for white savior behaviours within queer social organizing in Canada or for international intervention that imposes white-normed understandings of sex and gender (Cole, 2012; Lenon, 2018). Rather than engaging in white

savior behaviours that situate white people as benevolent liberators of people of color, coalition building produces a need for white people to be invested in our own liberation from systems of oppression that isolate white people and limit our social and intellectual capacities.

In order to challenge self-exclusionary allyship, Judy Katz (2003) suggests that white people learn about their histories and positions in social structures that differentially empower white people (2003). Some of the barriers to anti-racism participation can be challenged by encouraging ourselves and others to view racism as structural issue. In my study, some participants' conceptualizations of allyship centered on *not doing* racism than on *doing* anti-racism. Emphasizing one's personal behaviours can be viewed as a reflection of the individualization of racism—the focus is on the individual to discipline themselves and others in order to produce social change rather than critiquing racism as a structural issue (Srivastava, 2014). Individualizing racism is linked to viewing racists as particular types of people with limited capacity for change, which in turn informs the idea that not being a racist is also a consistent form of identity. Someone who is not racist is not responsible for structural conditions of inequality. However, if we conceptualize racism as a social construct that shifts to reproduce inequality as social conditions change, anti-racism becomes the responsibility of everyone.

Areas to Address in Queer Social Organizing

In order to challenge the individualization of racism and decrease barriers to anti-racism participation for white people we should be examining racism in white communities and help white people learn about ourselves as white (Katz, 2003). In order to be effective allies we should then use that information to encourage change by engaging other white people in anti-racism. Being part of the conversation on anti-racism does not entail taking space away from

people of color, talking over or speaking for people; it entails shifting how we see the world and the way we act in it.

In North America our institutions, policies, and practices are built on racism and colonialism (Katz, 2003). White people benefit from racism even if we do not view our behaviors or beliefs as racist; however, we are also harmed by racial inequality in ways we rarely acknowledge, and both of these outcomes make racism a white issue. Racism makes white people less able to work with others across differences, and we can also have difficulty relating to the experiences of other people, which limits our capacities. In an increasingly global society being unable to relate to others isolates white people (Katz, 2003). Some white people are under severe psychological stress because of the cognitive dissonance racism causes (Katz, 2003). We want to believe that we value and practice equality and are against oppression although, unfortunately, we often actively or passively participate in (re)producing oppression. We need to study our own liberation from racism that has negatively impacted our social, psychological, and intellectual development.

In conclusion, discomfort and self-exclusion are significant barriers to queer and anti-racism coalitions. White participants in my research experienced tension between feeling like they had no place in anti-racism efforts and feeling like it was partially their responsibility to challenge oppression. This tension was resolved through devaluing the work of anti-racism activists, using whiteness as a shield from discomfort, and through self-exclusion. In particular, my study found that white people employed self-exclusionary allyship as a socially acceptable way to claim allyship while shifting risk and responsibility to people of color.

Allyship informed by self-exclusion and hesitancy is understandable given histories of social justice organizing that have asked people in dominant positions not to take up space.[12] It might be easy to see how non-participation may be viewed as the best form of participation in relation to discourses that tell us people in dominant positions are disruptive to social justice organizing. However, I argue we should develop diverse coalitions in order to build stronger social justice resources. Bernice Johnson Reagan (1981) famously argued that we have to fight our own discomfort because coalitions are necessary if we are to survive; she said "That's why we have to have coalitions. Cause I ain't gonna let you live unless you let me live. Now there's danger in that, but there's also the possibility that we can both live—if you can stand it" (p. 365). The current political moment of polarization produces an increased need to build our capacities to work and relate across difference. Studying how we engage in allyship is an important part of understanding social movements and our ability to create coalitions.

[12] For example, I have attended feminist events where cis gender men and trans gender women were explicitly not welcome.

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Chapter Five
Performance as critical resistance:

Playwriting and public sociology

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Abstract: In this article I argue that playwriting and performance can act as powerful forms of activism that bridge academic work and public engagement. I analyze my experiences writing and producing a stage production that mobilizes knowledge from my research about queer anti-racism in Toronto. This methodological discussion is contextualized within the current political moment that positions work in the humanities as irrelevant and elitist. Performance as a method of knowledge mobilization emerged from interviews with members of Toronto's rainbow community, those who work with queer-focused organizations, and community organizers. I found through conversations with participants that academic forms of knowledge mobilization, such as publishing in peer-reviewed journals, would not necessarily be accessible to community members or appropriate for encouraging discussion and social action at the local level. Participants suggested a range of social action strategies in relation to linking anti-racism and queer social issues, most of their suggestions centered on increasing understanding through discussion and the value of the arts in their social organizing. I decided to meet the challenge of engaging in effective knowledge mobilization that would be in service to the rainbow community by developing a stage production called *We without You* that focuses on the opinions and experiences of participants. I found that producing a stage production based on academic research had powerful social effects that are not possible through tradition knowledge dissemination methods, such as publishing. This article encourages academics to broaden their ideas about effective knowledge mobilization in order to position their work as useful and relevant to social issues as a means of critical resistance against polarization within and outside academia.

Keywords: Performance, public sociology, knowledge mobilization, arts-based methods

Society bonds over arts experiences that help us create shared social and cultural meanings. We often think of creative performance as a mode of entertainment or education; however, I argue that performing arts can also spur people to social action and they play a crucial role in resistance efforts by encouraging empathy. Performance can help to engage us in social action and increase our ability to relate to others as a means of building coalition and resilience. During the COVID-19 global pandemic of 2020 that saw more than 2.6 billion people confined to their homes[13], musicians, actors, painters, and all other types of artists shared content online in order to help us cope with rising death tolls, social isolation, and extreme levels of uncertainty. An influx of internet traffic caused Netflix and YouTube to lessen the quality of their streaming services in Europe in order to preserve internet integrity, demonstrating that in times of crisis we rely on artists and performances (Porter, The Verge, 2020). Online content aimed at bolstering coalition showed social movements of caremongering[14], the importance of social services, and free redistribution of goods. The proliferation of arts content that helped people cope with the pandemic shows the importance of performance as a means to help us build resilience and finds ways to relate to each other.

In this paper I describe how I transformed my PhD research interviews about queer anti-racism in Toronto into a series of successful community theater performances. I focus on my experience writing and producing a stage production, entitled *We without You* as a form of public sociology that strengthens scholarship and public engagement. *We without You* was created partially in response to Michael Buroway's (2005) argument that professional and policy development are often dominant over reflexive forms of knowledge generated through critical and public work, which subordinates a vital part of sociology. Academic knowledge can be

[13] See Jankowicz, ScienceAlert, 2020.
[14] The caremongering social movement refers to networks of people who work to support their communities through mutual aid. These networks may distribute food, complete errands for those who cannot, etc.

socially and politically powerful when it is part of a conversation in which both researchers and the public educate each other. Public work is particularly important to maintaining sociology's primary concern of engaging with society and the social. Buroway (2005) notes that "in times of market tyranny and state despotism, sociology—and in particular its public face—defends the interests of humanity" (p. 24). Buroway argues that knowledge dissemination in conversation with the public is vital but underrepresented in sociology. *We without You* addresses this gap by contributing to reflexive knowledge mobilization.

For six months in 2017 I lived in Toronto in order to interview people who self-identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans*, queer, questioning, intersex, pansexual, two-spirit, asexual, and/or allies (LGBTQQIP2SAA) about race and anti-racism and engage in participant observation at LGBTQQIP2SAA-focused events. I will refer to LGBTQQIP2SAA collectively using the term "queer" or as the rainbow community. The term "rainbow community" stems from queer-focused social organizing as a way to avoid using acronyms that cannot fully represent the diversity in queer descriptions of self. I also use the term "queer" sometimes because I find the term empowering and I support efforts to reclaim the term "queer" for the rainbow community.

Early in my field work I started to question the value academic articles would have for many of the participants in my research. As Patricia Leavy (2015) notes "The average academic article is read by only a few people, and those folks also have highly specialized education … Moreover, I had learned much more than was revealed in those articles" (p. 2). Like Leavy (2015), I had many of the same frustrations and skepticism about the limited reach and capacity of academic writing to communicate the depth of what is learned doing qualitative field work. One way to bridge academic research with public engagement is to create projects that speak to

people where they are socially and materially located than from the relative safety and seclusion of academic publishing (Buroway, 2005). I wrote and produced *We without You* because many of the participants I spoke with would not have access to academic publications. Arts-based methods were the best way to share the opinions and experiences of community members in a way that would encourage conversation and social action at the local level. As I gathered data it became clear that the stories participants were sharing with me should have a non-academic outlet that focused on how their experiences and opinions shape queer politics and anti-racism in Toronto.

In this paper I ask: How do sociological methods compliment arts-based knowledge mobilization? How can people who do not work in the arts engage in playwriting and stage production? How do the arts mitigate some of the methodological and ethical challenges faced by contemporary sociologists? I contextualize my responses to these questions within a larger conversation of the importance of bridging academic work with public engagement. I begin with a three-part analysis of arts-based methodologies, public sociology, and methodological tensions within sociology. I address the first question of how sociological methods compliment arts-based knowledge mobilization through my review of public sociology and sociological research methods. The second question—how can people who do not work in the arts engage in playwriting and stage production—is answered in the section "Playwriting as Method" where I discuss the processes and collaborations involved in producing *We without You*. In the section "Playwriting as Community Engagement", I discuss participant responses that led me to playwriting and some of the audience comments from *We without You* performances in answer to the third question (how does playwriting mitigate some of the methodological and social challenges faced by contemporary sociologists). I show that performance is a powerful way to

challenge the perception of elitism in academia. I conclude with a discussion of how playwriting helps to bring participant opinions and experiences to the foreground of research in a way that is not always possible in traditional academic methods of knowledge mobilization (such as publishing in academic journals and conference presentations). Playwriting is particularly valuable in qualitative social science research that represents a range of social locations linked to social, economic, education, wellness, and ability.

Arts-based Methodology

Academic research can be combined with arts in numerous ways; I make distinctions between three main categories of arts-based methods: arts-informed research or research-based art, arts-based research, and art as research (Cole & Knowles, 2012; Saldaña, 2008; Wang, Coemans, Siegesmund, & Hannes, 2017). The first category emphasizes research as the arts component is either informed or produced by an academic study; the second category emphasizes arts as the basis for research; and the third category, art as research, is a method of utilizing art as a research tool similar to an interview guide or survey. In practice, however, these categories may not be as distinct as they appear here.

Although the development and use of arts-based methods are commonly linked to the 1970s and the emergence of arts-based therapies explored by health researchers and health care professionals, the ground work for arts-based methods was laid much earlier (Leavy, 2015). The establishment of arts-based methods was made possible by early challenges to positivism and empiricism. The primary challenge to empiricism concerns the language of knowledge production; historically, disciplines that rely on what is assumed to be objective language are given dominance over arts language that is imaginative and subjective (Cole & Knowles, 2012; Gergen & Gergen, 2017). Research that demonstrates how language is socially negotiated and

studies that analyze the social production of scholarly questions and findings challenge our understandings of disciplinary authority (Gergen & Gergen, 2017; Haraway, 1988). Separating knowledge production from the languages of objective truth and accuracy opened space for describing or explaining the world in ways that are not governed by empiricism alone. Researchers can make use of a multitude of communicative possibilities in order to engage with the complexities of the social (Cole & Knowles, 2012). Having access to arts-based methods, therefore, can increase cultural sensitivity and our capacity for relating to social worlds.

In addition to linguistic shifts, an intellectual movement made the development of arts-based methods possible and challenged the assumption that knowledge is produced primarily through unbiased and dispassionate observations. Social constructionism helped develop an alternative to empiricism by theorizing that knowledge claims are socially constructed and socially agreed on. For example, Thomas Kuhn (1962) demonstrated that scientists who work within shared paradigms produce social agreements about how scientific studies should be carried out and what counts as useful knowledge. Kuhn argued that when a paradigm shift occurs we are not moving toward a greater understanding of objective truth, we are shifting our understanding to resemble something that more closely agrees with the social and cultural circumstances in which we live. Shifts in knowledge production diversify communication and increase the potential for social action. Artistic modes of communication are vital to moving the social sciences beyond traditional ways of enacting research and increasing our understanding of knowledge production.

In addition to these two intellectual developments, a large cultural shift at the end of the 20th century helped make the proliferation of arts-based methods possible. Notably, there was a rising distrust and protest of existing forms of authority in areas of government, religion, and

science (Gergen & Gergen, 2017). This distrust is inseparable from social struggles for civil rights, human rights, gay and lesbian movements, and labour-focused movements. Through these cultural tensions, policy and social organization that favored inclusion, accommodation, and collaboration emerged (Gergen & Gergen, 2017). Such cultural shifts affect academic research, and as Mary and Kenneth Gergen (2017) note, at the end of the 20th century, "within the various academic enclaves nurtured by pluralism, there was a pervasive eagerness to link the personal, political, and professional" (p. 58). Arts-based methods allow researchers to bridge divides between academia and public engagement in order to commit to solidarity with those who share our struggles and concerns. Academic work is inseparable from the social and political structures in which it is situated and research shapes the social world. Arts-based methods help further projects that seek to better address people's needs and experiences.

The current political moment is one of polarized opinions related to immigration, climate change, and wealth inequality, which exacerbates existing divisions between groups. Tensions between scientific experts, social scientists, medical professionals, politicians, business owners, and workers are also strained, and the production of knowledge is suspect. Experts of all knowledge areas are positioned as deceivers, elitist, irrelevant, or trustworthy in relation to competing political discourses. Current modes of anti-intellectualism are rooted in suspicion of anything that does not seem to have an immediate use or value (Peters, 2018). In today's political climate, sociologists are challenged to increase public engagement in order to demonstrate our value and have an impact on the social. Arts-based methods can help us meet this challenge by promoting non-traditional forms of academic literacy. Researchers can build knowledge in different "shapes" that act differently in the world than written words in academic languages (Leavy, 2015). Through the arts, academic rigor and the relationship researchers have to their

work is displayed in public and tangible ways. Arts-based methods adapt creative processes in order to support social research in holistic and engaged ways that combine theory and practice (Leavy, 2015).

Public Sociology

How do sociological methods compliment arts-based knowledge mobilization? Situating research in orientation to doing public sociology is complementary to arts-based methods as they share central tenets of collaboration, disrupt the primacy of empiricism and the concept of objective truth, and broaden the scope of effective methodology and communication (Agger, 2007; Gergen & Gergen, 2017; Leavy, 2015). Sociological methods (e.g., statistical analysis, survey, observation, content analysis, interviews, etc.) are both quantitative and qualitative, and they can be used toward an infinite number of inquiries and aims. When method is combined with an interest in conversing with the public, social justice, and meeting public needs, we can refer to it as public sociology (Feagin, Elias, & Mueller, 2009).

Similar to arts-based methods, critical public sociology helps cultivate non-traditional forms of academic engagement. These endeavors often produce tension with traditional sociology—sometimes called academic, professional, or policy sociology—that does not rely on public input or engage with social justice (Eisner, 1997; Feagin, Elias & Mueller, 2009; Helmes-Hayes & McLaughlin, 2009). Traditional sociology, as Ben Agger (2007) argues, follows a scientific model first proposed by Comte, which obscures power relations in knowledge production and aims to reproduce present society rather than challenge inequities (see also Haraway, 1988). Public sociology helps disrupt disciplinary convention and broaden sociologists' capacity to impact the social. Agger notes that "public sociology is activist in its orientation to the social world" (p. xvii), thus lines of inquiry and methods used to produce and

enable public sociology should be concerned with social action. Contemporary work on public sociology observes that traditional and activist approaches need not be in conflict. Those working mainly in academic capacities can cultivate projects and collaborations aimed at social action and public engagement (McLaughlin, Kowalchuk, & Turcotte, 2017). The struggle for institutional legitimacy and social relevance can be furthered by public sociology than be in conflict with such challenges (Nichols, 2011). Public sociology and arts-based methods can demonstrate the importance of sociological practice to both academic and public audiences (and I further discuss how arts-based methods can help sociologists deal with contemporary challenges later in this article).

One of the primary ways the arts are complementary to public sociology is that they both share in the tradition of the public intellectual. Early definitions of public intellectuals are those who contribute to issues and discussions in authoritative roles as scholars in a way that challenges conventional understandings (Helmes-Hayes & McLaughlin, 2009). When a contributor to public debate no longer presents themselves as a scholar working in academia, they cease to be defined as a public intellectual. However, one does not stop being a scholar when they are not working in academic capacities. Rick Helmes-Hayes and Neil McLaughlin (2009) argue one should retain the title of public intellectual should they occupy roles outside of academia that are enriched by their academic skills and knowledges. Using social science to inform and shape public work at any level (from community-based engagements to international collaborations) qualifies one as a public intellectual.

Artists and arts-based methods are uniquely suited to public work. As critics and mirrors of the social world, "artists may be understood as public intellectuals—those who believe in and take seriously the importance of the public sphere and who put out into a shrinking collective

arena, one increasingly unable to house real debate, work to which they expect the world to respond" (Becker, 1995, p. 389). I argue that the work of artists as public intellectuals is vital to the current political moment of polarization. Art enables critique and empathy by making the views and experiences of others more accessible. Public sociology, artist collaborations, and arts-based methods of knowledge mobilization are complimentary to each other and they help us gain a more critical understanding of the social world and the role of intellectuals as contributors to public life.

Methodological Tensions

Contemporary sociologists face unique challenges in relation to producing accessible knowledge. I argue that social scientists should embrace the role of the public intellectual in order to increase the relevancy of our work. Arts and performance as method and social engagement is a part of our history and it should be a part of our disciplinary future. Social sciences have cultivated and relied on arts languages to communicate ideas about social interactions, the self, and institutions for many years. Theories about social construction, role taking, and dramaturgy use arts languages to describe and theorize social processes and social interactions. Sociology has helped cultivate life/drama analogies. In the social sciences, arts metaphors are used to understand humans as performing beings who are created and maintained through curated presentations of self and the *doing* of social life through repetitive stylized acts (Butler, 2002; Goffman, 1959). Understanding the social as a performative achievement has powerful explanatory potential (Pelias, 2008), and Johnny Saldaña (2008) further notes that "'performance' as a construct is applied quite liberally in the social sciences today: Culture and gender are 'performed;' teaching is 'performance;' we live in a 'performative' society. If these theories are substantive, then theatre is not just around us, theatre is within us" (p. 196). It is

logical then to propose that people may find arts content about the *doing* of social life more relatable to their experiences than written reports and articles.

Although one of the primary values of arts-based methods lies in their ability to challenge disciplinary convention, this is also a main source of tension. Arts-based methods often put research in conversation with the public, which encourages public renegotiations of disciplinary practices. Through public engagement, arts-based research advances critical conversations about research practices and broadens methodological possibilities. The critiques offered through arts-based methods can strengthen public engagement and scholarship but these methods can also be unsettling. If knowledge is viewed as a process that changes overtime than as something that is stable and based on firm analysis, it can be challenging to some researchers that rely on empiricism and objective truth as a basis for research (Eisner, 1997). In contrast to the demands of empiricism to report objectively on unbiased observations of the social, arts-based methods often reveal and are supported by the values and preferences of researchers (Gergen & Gergen, 2017).

There are significant tensions in academia about the legitimacy of arts-based methods (Boydell, et al., 2016; Saldaña, 2008). Performance can encourage coalition and social change but the effect on audiences is difficult to measure and quantify. In academia, we typically measure knowledge production in terms of publications. However, similar to measuring the effects of performance, it can be unclear if publications impact our ability to relate across categories of difference or social action outside of educational settings. The effects of journal publications are measured through impact factors and number of citations, and academic publications are often viewed as the main products of knowledge production and applied to career advancement (Vannini & Abbott, 2016), but these products of research are not guaranteed

to act in the world as we would like them to. Arts-based methods, however, can be more accessible to those who develop policy and community programming, which makes the arts important to knowledge mobilization.

Research on the relationships between whiteness and exploitative storytelling led me to develop a theater piece rather than a focus group, storytelling workshop, or some other type of outreach that focuses on personal disclosure (Srivastava, 2014; Srivastava & Francis, 2006). Sarita Srivastava and Margot Francis (2006) argue that storytelling spaces are linked to power relationships, and marginalized peoples are often asked to tell potentially distressing stories about their experiences of oppression and discrimination with the expectation that sharing these narratives will produce more equitable conditions. However, lasting social and institutional changes rarely occur as a result of storytelling workshops, which reproduces marginalization. Participants whose interview data helped create the script for *We without You* were not required to engage in public storytelling, which allowed me to avoid further marginalizing vulnerable peoples. In the play, research data is communicated through composite characters; this protects participants' identities and ensures that they are not answerable to audiences for their opinions and experiences.

Audiences of *We without You* could have become upset over the play's material that addresses racism in the rainbow community. Srivastava (2014) notes in her research that when people become informed about instances of racism, they can become uncomfortable and defensive about how their practices may contribute to racism rather than focusing on institutional change. I argue that this emotional response is related to the emphasis on personal disclosure in storytelling workshops. Audiences who attended *We without You* performances were not required to disclose information about themselves, which may help to limit unintentional

emotional responses and promote social action (Mienczakowski & Moore, 2008). Presenting potentially upsetting research findings in the form of a performance offers space for audiences to process information through theater (Gergen & Gergen, 2017). Performance as a method for distributing sensitive information is an effective way to direct people to focus less on their emotions and more on the subjects at hand because audiences are not asked to vocally interact with performers.

Playwriting as Method

In this section I address my second question of how people who do not work in the arts can engage in playwriting and stage production. My history of being involved in producing theater consists of seven years of acting in community theater and taking undergraduate drama courses that almost amounted to a minor in dramatic arts. Prior to *We without You* I had never written a script or produced a play. This section focuses on playwriting as knowledge mobilization in order to show why performance is important for academic development and how I was able to produce *We without You* despite not having more experience in theater production.

First and foremost, my desire to produce a stage production put me in the position of having to cultivate interdisciplinary collaborations with artists and community organizers. I knew that my expertise as a queer scholar focused on anti-racism would not ensure a high quality stage production without some help. Through producing *We without You,* I was able to develop collaborations with student directors, visual artists, actors, and community programmers. These relationships helped make my work widely accessible and actionable beyond academic settings.

In addition to building collaborative interdisciplinary relationships I had to secure funding before I could cast actors. Finding enough funding for rehearsal space, travel to Toronto for our first performance, printing poster and programs, and performance venues was

challenging. As I discussed earlier, there are significant tensions in academia about the value of arts-based methods, which I suspect contributes to be there being a general lack of available resources. Three decades ago, Carol Becker (1995) noted that in an unsympathetic economy, the world "does not offer artists very many possibilities to live a creative life" (p. 387) and I would argue that remains true today. There was funding available for emerging and established artists, but I had no previous experience producing public art and I was not able to access these sources. I was successful in appealing to university departments that I thought would be interested in sponsoring my project, community organizations, and experiential learning and inclusivity grants.[15] I secured enough funding through these sources to produce two modest performances. However, I still had a funding issue in relation to my goals for the project. Most of the funding I received had stipulations as to where I could spend the money and I was not permitted to pay the cast and crew. I strongly believe that people should be paid for their labour, and working on *We without You* required many hours of work dealing with potentially triggering subject matter. Shortly before the first auditions, I was able secure an additional five hundred dollars that could be used for honorariums. With this funding I was able to pay members of the cast and crew fifty dollars for each role they fulfilled. The difficulty I had securing funding for honorariums speaks to how the labour of artists is valued. These struggles are echoed by many people working in the arts—they have been expected to volunteer, work for exposure or experience, and to accept much less monetary compensation than their labour is worth. It is my hope that an increase in arts-based knowledge mobilization will encourage more arts funding that aims to support artists.

[15] *We without You* was funded for performances in Toronto and Kingston by the Queen's University Department of Sociology, Queen's University Society of Graduate and Professional Students, Queen's University Experiential Learning Project Fund, Queen's University School of Graduate Studies, The 519, and Queen's University Department of Gender Studies.

People in the rainbow community represent a range of social and economic locations. I decided that holding all performances in accessible venues with free admission would be a way to acknowledge the diverse material realities operant in the rainbow community while also increasing the reach of *We without You.* As part of the Kingston performance of *We without You,* I partnered with HIV/AIDS Regional Services (HARS) to collect donations for their food security program and I partnered with Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) Kingston to promote their services.

In addition to the script and production processes discussed earlier, rehearsals for *We without You* created space for the cast, who were all from the rainbow community, to learn about and discuss queer histories, research ethics, and anti-racism. I trained participating students and emerging scholars in theater production, multimedia design, research communication, community engagement, research ethics, anti-racism and queer theory, and qualitative methods for approximately eighty hours over ten weeks. This training was in the form of discussions and collaboration on project development. I provided rigorous explanations of all the processes involved in creating a stage production based on interviews about queerness and anti-racism. Collaborators gained a methodological framework for public knowledge dissemination using qualitative data.

Writing a script for knowledge mobilization and community engagement allowed me to analyze interview data in innovative ways. Instead of only coding data for commonalities and links to theory, I was able to situate responses and stories in conversation with each other. *We without You* puts queer political negotiations and conversations on stage for people to experience and listen to rather than read. The stories I chose focused on main themes from interview and observational data: diversity and difference within queer labels, safety and exclusion/inclusion in

queer spaces, race and anti-racism, and coalition. Performance increases access to these important stories and conversations but it also helped me know my data better and learn more about the complexities of the rainbow community in Toronto.

One of the challenges of playwriting is the tension in combining individuals' words into composite characters. The first iteration of the script had twelve characters, which was not feasible in relation to cast size and it was not desirable for clear communication of ideas. Creating composite characters that made use of participants' actual words required me to pay more attention to the commonalities between conversations and combine similar experiences and opinions into six characters. Although I narrowed the cast to six, there were still positions that were difficult to cast. I had to omit an Indigenous non-binary two-spirit character and a Middle Eastern gay male character because actors' embodiment was important in casting decisions (Pelias, 2008). The presence of actors' bodies argues for or against particular ways of being, as Ronald Pelias (2008) states that "across various forms, performance is an embodied practice, dependent upon participatory and empathic skills and situated politically, that trusts the body as a site of knowing" (p. 192). Because the identity categories occupied by characters are central to their experiences in *We without You,* I had to omit some stories from the script used in the Toronto and Kingston performances. The absence of Indigenous and Middle Eastern male actors from *We without You* may be related to the project entailing a significant amount of potentially triggering labour and my presence as a white researcher. I decided it was important for the script to remain as true as possible to the sources material of interview transcripts, therefore I did not add stories to the script after the characters were omitted.

I initially found it difficult to write in a creative than academic way. Although most of the script is from interview transcripts, many participants spoke using academic language. An early

collaborator who helped me refine the script once said that the characters' use of language requires a degree in gender studies to understand. In order to make the script more accessible to a range of audiences, I added two slide presentations to the performances. A slideshow before the performance began displayed a loop of pictures I took during my field work along with moments of celebration and struggle in the rainbow community. There was also a slide show presentation during the performances that used memes, definitions for key terms, queer symbols, and pictures of events that affect the rainbow community. The slide presentations helped to add levity and context to the performances. Nevertheless, I think it is important to address the use of academic language by participants. Many of the people I interviewed spoke in academic or gender studies languages, which might be explained by the self-selected sample in my research. I would also argue that, for many people, gender studies, political science, and sociology is the current language of activism and queerness. Regardless of whether or not someone has a degree, if one lives in a world that marginalizes their sense of self and experiences, they may be more analytical and reflexive. If one is engaged in activism, they may be more critical about the world and seek out academic languages in order to communicate their ideas and effect social change.

The experiences participants spoke of in our interviews could be triggering for audiences regardless of the language in which the play was presented. In order to address my concerns of exposing people to upsetting subjects matter I used a content warning on all promotional material for *We without You.* The production deals with living with HIV, rejection in the rainbow community, and racism, among other potentially triggering topics. The material is potentially harmful for audience members who may have experienced similar events, and the material can be upsetting for research participants who are unaware of how their responses sound in conversation with other opinions and experiences in the rainbow community. The material may

be in conflict with expressions of self as a way to create and legitimate an identity (Mienczakowski & Moore, 2012). The production may also be in conflict with audiences' views of the rainbow community. For example, people may be invested in promoting the rainbow community as anti-racist or inclusive and they may be upset to hear stories that challenge those ideas.

Playwriting as Community Engagement

In this section I address my third research question of how does playwriting mitigate some of the methodological and social challenges faced by contemporary sociologists. I have already discussed how theater production helps to challenge political polarization and methodological tensions by making academic work relevant and accessible. Some of the most powerful points of evidence to support performance as knowledge mobilization come from research participants and audiences of *We without You*. Here I discuss participant responses that led me to playwriting and some of the audience comments from *We without You* performances.

Public knowledge dissemination was a central part of writing *We without You,* however, the production also responds to the needs of research participants. When asked how queer politics can incorporate principles of anti-racism, participants referenced arts-based activism as an effective form way to raise awareness of social issues and encourage social change. The conversations I had with participants led directly to the development of a script that focuses on rainbow community experiences. When I asked Zayn[16], a Middle-Eastern Canadian gay man, if there was anything that he would like to see happen or that might lessen the racial tension in the gay community, he answered:

> Yes, talking about race. I feel-- North America is going crazy over political correctness, so you cannot discuss race or use certain words

[16] Participants choose their own pseudonyms for interviews. Some demographic details that are inconsequential to my analyses and findings have been changed throughout this article in order to protect participants' identities.

> comfortably, and that has really contributed to the separation of people. We're all nice to each other, and, "Hi, hello, thank you, sorry," all the time. But deep down-- I would never be able to just tell you what I'm trying to do to-- Maybe there are groups that talk about these things, but-- There is also the shame. I would feel ashamed to speak about it more publicly because racism is shamed here and I feel like we all have some sort of inadvertent racism.

Zayn's comments about discussing race indicate that arts-based methods can be particularly useful as a catalyst for having important conversations about race. Research participants and audiences are protected through arts-based methods as comments can be shared without revealing one's identity.

In particular for my project, there was the issue of linking participants to a stigmatized racist identity. Conversations about race and structural change can be derailed when people are concerned with avoiding the label of racist (Srivastava, 2014). The racist is often taken to be a particular type of person with limited capacity for changing racist behavior rather than viewing racism as a structural issue that affects everyone's actions, beliefs, and life chances (Srivastava, 2014). Zayn elaborated on barriers to communication for gay men:

> I think specifically with gay guys there's always the sense of extra defensiveness with each other because image is very important. They have to be very careful how they say things because it could get very offensive. No one would want to be called racist. The last guy I dated … he likes Arabs. He told me that should be viewed as a compliment to me.

Zayn is referencing racism combined with fetishism that he says is prevalent among gay men. His experience of being objectified is indicative of how racism and essentialism in the rainbow community works to erase the agency and complex emotional responses of people of color. The direction given to Zayn to interpret fetishism as a "compliment" displaces responsibility from the commenter unto Zayn to produce the "correct" emotional response. Arts-based communication can help people process information about racism while keeping some personal distance to

protect their image in the rainbow community. Thus, performance as a method of knowledge mobilization can encourage honesty and conversation.

Andy mentioned the positive impact conversing with members of the rainbow community had on him. He spoke with me about some of the community programs he would like to see that might help people of color who immigrate to Canada. He said that he would like to "hear more about Canada because I'm here, so my focus is Canada. [I want to know] what's happening, especially any true stories of people who shared." Andy would like more open communication in the rainbow community. However, open communication carries some risk, as mentioned by Zayn's comments. Arts-based methods can help to mitigate the risks involved with disclosing personal experiences. Alex, an Indigenous person working with Indigenous and queer peoples, observed that the arts are being used effectively to facilitate communication and support within the rainbow community when other programming is not available:

> There aren't necessarily services that are addressing, directly addressing people of color and Indigenous individuals but they are saying, "Okay, let's give you a voice." That's the way people are starting to use their voice, is through art. Arts and music are very much liked.

As demonstrated by Alex's comments, the arts can help to empower marginalized peoples. Similar to how Alex names arts and music as effective ways to support people of color, Emily mentions entertainment as an engaging way to generate awareness about social issues. Emily spoke with me about how fundraisers that were focused on fun encouraged her to be more socially active; she suggested "a band, or an event, or a performance, or silent auction" as the most effective ways to raise awareness about social issues. In relation to Emily's observations, Sunshine elaborated on the importance of arts as a means of entertainment and activism:

> I would say getting back to activism, I think music and art is a great place to do this. Going back to my friend in [East Africa] who said music is the way to change youth. It's open, it's honest, and it's a safe place to get

> these ideas out and perhaps as a society we [should] embrace more art and forms of expression that actually promote these [queer positive] ideas.

I wrote *We without You* partially in response to participants' comments, such as those of Zayn, Alex, Emily, and Sunshine, that indicated the importance of the arts in social organizing. Participants articulated the need for safe spaces to talk about race, anti-racism, and homophobia. The rainbow community does not always provide spaces to have difficult conversations that are critical of community politics. Some participants spoke about the arts and communication-based programs as being particularly effective for building coalition in the rainbow community. Through interviewing participants, it seemed that communicating my research findings in the form of a stage production would be a more effective way for my work to be in service to the people I work with than publishing reports and articles.

In Toronto *We without You* was performed for approximately thirty-five people at the 519 and I received thirteen comments speaking to how relevant and important the performance was. In Kingston the performance of *We without You* filled our venue, the Baby Grand Theater, to capacity and we performed for seventy-seven people. After the Kingston performance I received fifty-two comments from audience members, many of the comments expressed how people felt seen, heard and appreciated. Some of the comments from audience members include: "It's nice to know I'm not alone," "I like how you made research accessible to a wide audience!," "You brought the issues to life... much more tangible," "the academic world needs more accessible research," "I was extremely moved by this performance," "I was delightfully squirming in my privilege," "I feel this is the exact type of conversation that society needs right now!," and "I couldn't believe some of what I heard and I'm very glad but mad I heard it." In the weeks after the Kingston performance the cast and I were publicly recognized by audience members who commented on how *We without You* changed how they think about sexual and gender diversity,

racism, and anti-racism. The support for *We without You* and arts-based knowledge mobilization speaks to the transformative potential of using the arts in collaboration with academic research.

In addition to increasing the reach and relevancy of research findings, performance-based methods can encourage people to see the importance of participating in research. Some audience members for *We without You* commented that they would have liked to have seen more views represented. Someone mentioned they wanted to see a black gay police officer and someone wanted to see a trans gender person of color. However, I could not ethically write characters that were not supported with participant responses. If performance or other forms of public knowledge mobilization are more common it can ease the recruitment of research participants because people may think their experiences will be shared in what might be perceived as more meaningful ways. For my project, knowledge mobilization was shaped by participant responses, queer and anti-racism theories, arts-based methods, and the material realities of people in the rainbow community. I expect this article to expand conceptualizations of effective knowledge mobilization, particularly in intersectional settings that represent a range of social locations including varying education levels, socio-economic positions, mental wellness, and physical ability.

Conclusion

In conclusion, situating knowledge mobilization from my research of queer anti-racism in Toronto's rainbow community within local contexts using performance methods makes my project truly unique. By writing *We without You* and performing in Toronto and Kingston I was able to distribute research findings directly to the communities who are best able to act on these data. If I were able to revisit *We without You* I would add performances throughout southern Ontario and workshops where the public could interact with the cast and crew. The workshops

would ideally take place the day after performances in order to limit actors having to confront the immediate emotional responses of audience members. While working on this project some actors spoke about it as a transformational experience that was emotionally moving. In order to capture some the personal journeys of the cast and crew future revisiting of *We without You* would likely entail qualitative semi-structured interviews with collaborators. I hope to continue cultivating creative community-based collaborations in order to help assess and address the needs of marginalized peoples.

Staging academic knowledge mobilization in the form of a socially engaged dramatic performance strengthens community engagement and scholarship. Performance-based methods challenge methodological convention and extend critical conversations related to research practices. *We without You* brought participant opinions and experiences to the foreground of my research in ways that are not always possible in traditional academic methods of knowledge mobilization such as publishing in academic journals and conference presentations. It seems clear to me that in order to make social science more relevant to the public, researchers must forgo the relative safety of academic publishing and cultivate generative, reflexive, public knowledge. The arts can be an important and critical part of combining theory and practice in order to make academic work more publicly accessible and broaden how we might conceptualize effective knowledge mobilization.

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Chapter Six

Knowledge mobilization:

Scripts for *We without You*

In this chapter I have attached my community-based documents, the two versions of the script for *We without You*. The first version of the script is the one that was used for performances in Toronto and Kingston. The second version is the script that was created prior to casting the acting roles for the production. Writing the script for *We without You* was an iterative process that accounted for changing contexts and collaborative comments from colleagues, friends, actors, and other collaborators. Please see appendices F, G, H, I, J, and K for the *We without You* poster, program, a picture of the audience comments, photographs from our Toronto and Kingston performances, and pictures from our rehearsals in Kingston.

The scripts use composite characters that were generated based on coding interview data from 17 members of the rainbow community for commonalities in responses. By using composite characters, I was able to further protect participants' identities. While the characters are based on similar responses from multiple participants there are some stories that were anomalous among responses. These stories could not be included in traditional academic modes of knowledge mobilization, such as academic publishing, because they could be viewed as too individual to constitute a significant finding. However, these stories are meaningful and they potentially speak to forms of experiential truth that are not easily quantifiable in academic settings. As an example, Ron/Noah's experience of contracting and living with HIV does not have similarities with other participants' responses; however, it is one of the more impactful stories in the production. Multiple audience members made comments about how moving and important Ron/Noah's experience is for the rainbow community.

The most significant change between the two versions of the script is that the dialogue from Indigenous research participants was removed because there were no Indigenous actors available to be cast in the production. I did not feel it was ethical to have a non-Indigenous actor claim to have experiences shaped by being Indigenous. The characters in *We without You* are shaped by the intersectional social locations they occupy, which meant that race-related identities and dialogue had to be taken into account when revising the script. I opened every performance by introducing myself, my work, and with a land acknowledgement appropriate for the area we were performing in. Performances were accompanied by a Power Point presentation that displayed photos of significant moments in queer history, definitions of terms, and images that added both levity and emphasis to the material.

We without You – Performance Script

Shae is a mixed race queer non-binary person who works in community organizing and mental health. They are in their early 20s. Shae can be played by someone of any gender.

Ron is a gay man who embraces sexual and gender fluidity in himself and others. He is in his late 20s or early 30s and he has experienced rejection and hate in the rainbow community in his own life and in his work as a community organizer. He wants to help others gain acceptance. Ron can be played by someone of any race.

Nick is a white closeted bisexual man in his 30s who doesn't understand why people are concerned about people of color. For Nick, gay men are victims; particularly he thinks people of color are homophobic.

Zahra is a middle-Eastern bisexual woman who has experienced racism and sexual exploitation based on race. She is also experiencing cultural tension in relation to being bisexual. Zahra could be any age.

Emily is a young pansexual woman of color who seems older than she is because of her years of community organizing and experiencing racism in the rainbow community. Emily could be any age.

T.O. Guy is a white gay man in his 50s, he is closeted, and he has experienced trauma related to homophobia. He doesn't like the word queer or people of color participating in the Gay Village. He thinks that his years of experiencing discrimination and being gay give him the authority to direct what gay culture should be. He has one line given in a voice over which reflects his lack of visibility and his presumed powerful status.

SG is a pansexual non-binary researcher who interviewed the other characters. They provide context for some of the stories and they tell their own stories based on their observations.

SG: Hello, good afternoon everybody. I spent this last summer in Toronto interviewing people in the rainbow community about sexuality and race. These interviews are part of my dissertation but the conversations I had with people were so moving that I knew I had to share them. I'm a pansexual non-binary person and I care about our queer and trans communities. I feel like academic publishing limits my ability to share important information. I want to share my research findings directly with the people who can best act on my work to affect the communities and people around them.

This PowerPoint is about the interviews I did with people who identify across the sexuality and gender spectrum. The people represented here are from different racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds. Ron, Shae, Zahra, Nick, and Emily are telling the truth the of people in our community *(have each character come up on stage when SG says their name)*. Everything you hear here are the words and sentiments of real people represented through composite characters. The first thing to address here is diversity in the LGBTQQIP2A+ acronym. Many of the people who spoke with me said their identities are more complex than the acronym implies.

Ron: That's the word people would call me–gay. But it's complicated, I advertise as gay but I can date guys without being sexually attracted to them and I am attracted to trans men with fine features.

Shae: Non-binary, queer, lesbian.

Zahra: I really like the word queer but some people shy away from it. I understand it wasn't always a nice word. I don't talk about being queer with my family. My parents are immigrants and everyone would be uncomfortable.

Nick: I'm bisexual but I don't talk about it. I'm telling you because it's for research. When I go on dates, it's obvious if I date a man.

Shae: Going back home for a couple of days, everyone referred to me as a lesbian, which has been a -- Not a struggle, just an adjustment. In Toronto I refer to myself as a queer non-binary person.

Nick: When I go out with women I don't mention my bisexuality. My good friends don't know yet. I wouldn't say I blatantly lie to them, I lie by omission. It's easy to hide in plain sight. It's funny because it's 2018 yet a lot of people assume a gay man is effeminate, frail and wears pink. Obviously I have a deep voice and I'm athletic.

Emily: When I was 14, I had my first girlfriend. The only sort of space for me in the LGBT acronym was the 'B', bisexual, because I was definitely attracted to men, but I was also very attracted to females. When you come out that young, it's like, "You're a lesbian now," when you're dating a woman, and, "You went back to being straight," when you're dating a man. I finally got people to accept my bisexuality, then they came out with this term, 'pansexuality', which describes me so much better. I have certain preferences, but I don't agree with the idea that I should be locked into any of them. There are certain things I like in people but what their pronouns are, and what their genitalia looks like, doesn't play into that.

Nick: I like being bisexual. For me, there's plenty of fish in the sea. In theory, I could date anybody! If a man is only attracted to women, then there's only half the people that are eligible for him than there are for me.

Ron: I think the thing with the acronym is it forces you to wear a hat and be in a queue. Its just easier in certain circles to say gay because people have a concept of that, it's taken 30 plus years to get to the 'G' and the 'L', and now we are starting to come to understand what the 'T' is *(Emily has tea on stage and says 'That's the T!' or something similar)* but that's another decades-long conversation, unfortunately. 'B' is the most horrendously misunderstood for having been one of the more long standing in the group.

Shae: I believe strongly that queer people can be amazing teachers and healers. I'm a healer. We're going to help change the world. Queer people and gender variant people are the ones who are changing the community.

Emily: Sometimes our communities need to be changed. If you're in a relationship that on the outside looks heterosexual, then you no longer have the support of the queer *community*. The doors aren't open to you anymore. It creates almost an identity crisis of, "Where do I fit? Who am I? How can I combine these worlds?" When I say identity crisis it's more of a violence that's happening towards individuals in the queer community based on their identity, so it's like identity erasure.

Shae: Individuals, they know who they are, but it's the outside world that's saying, "No, you can't be *that*." In my role as a mental health professional, I see that as having huge impacts on queer people.

SG: *(use a slide to talk about gender and sexuality being a spectrum that shifts over time and in particular contexts)* People experience a type of lateral violence related to identity erasure. Most of us could learn a bit more about the many ways people identify.

Ron: If I am being honest, there is a lot of discovery I need to take personally to understand those other identities within the acronym a little bit better. I have a penis and a hairy chest but that doesn't mean that there aren't feminine aspects of my personality *(laugh)*. I very much am of the opinion that we all have those sorts of spirits within us and that we're a mix. It's all in you and it's not binary. I don't think you can quantify it. It's like people who live in a binary world are living in two dimensions, *(project an image of an object that is flat and multidimensional depending on the position from which it is viewed, this could be moving to show how perception is dependent on location)* they can only perceive things like gender and sexuality in a binary way but if they were able to look at these things from the third or fourth dimension they could better understand—

SG: I'm sorry Ron, I'm going to stop you there. I think that's a little too academic for this. I don't understand dimensional physics; maybe we can find a different way to say some people just don't get fluidity and maybe they don't want to.

Shae: So, I talk to a lot of people in the city about being queer or being non-binary—especially if I'm talking to someone who's more—If someone's more politically woke,*(maybe use a slide here to define woke)* I can easily tell them because they get it, they understand it. Sometimes I try

not to tell people that I'm non-binary -- There always has to be a conversation about pronouns. And it's getting to the point where it feels like, my gender is *mine*, it's not a pre-cursor to get to know me!

Zahra: We need to get out of these really strict labeling systems that lead to social isolation, specifically within the queer community. It flows into sexual relationships and the extra stress that comes with trying to date within *and* outside of the queer community.

SG: See what Zahra said is something I totally agree with: there's so much we can talk about here. Who's queer? What's queer *enough?* Who is having sex in the 'right ways'? What happens when people challenge what others think being queer should be? If a lesbian starts dating a man she could suddenly find herself friendless. For someone who may have already lost their family for their sexual orientation, losing their chosen family could be particularly devastating. Bisexual, fluid and pansexual people risk losing their queer status in relationships that appear heterosexual. For people who are asexual or are not interested in sexual activity, the pressure to have sex can have a negative impact on their health and well-being *(use a slide here, Sex, who is it for?)*.

Ron: The door opener to a relationship for gay men is sex. I really struggle with that. I had to go to a psychotherapist. I'm not asexual, I like men and I'm sexually attracted to men. I'll have sex but it's not important to me! I want my relationships to be based on something deeper and more passionate than lust. I would get rejected when I said "I'm not ready for sex" or "I don't want to have it", men would treat me like I was wasting their time. I would get punished in subtle ways. Like not returning calls, refusing to speak to me again, or talking behind my back.

I would like to do something with movement and have the other actors interact with Ron.

I don't consider 'not wanting sex' a problem because what I feel is very genuine. It's not a psychological problem that I have to work on. There's nothing wrong with me. But when I go out with guys, it always turns into a problem that has to be analyzed. That has led to a lot of discomfort and rejection. It breaks my heart.

It reached a point where I felt like I didn't belong.

There was a rejection from someone I was dating because he wanted to have sex. That led me to a very dark place, I was very angry. And I made a declaration to the world that if the only way to have a loving relationship was to have sex,—I mean, the whole world wants sex—'Then fine', people can have my body! I was in a very angry state of mind, which led me to have unprotected sex. I then contracted HIV. *(this is a struggle, Ron likely would have hurt himself in more permanent ways than he implies, this needs to be communicated, maybe through lighting, movement, and music).*

Now that I'm HIV positive, it's easier. It's not great, but I can have relationships without having sex. Men treat me differently, they're more accepting. Sometimes I think contracting HIV was a way to get what I want.

SG: Not only does Ron's story challenge us to think about sexual expectations differently, he also shows us how being HIV positive is not necessarily a problem for him. Ron challenges HIV stigma. HIV is now considered chronically manageable. With PreP *(slide for Prep)*, a prescription drug, partners can have sex without worrying about transmission. Many people living with HIV take one pill a day. People who are HIV positive in North America are not doomed and they don't need pity, they need access to healthcare, employment, and social support.

Ron: I'm not entirely sure what would have happened if men didn't start accepting my desire to not have sex. I think HIV saved my life.

Scene two – anti-racism and race-related tension

SG: Getting back to the presentation. There are many vibrant and vital spaces for queer and trans people of color and Indigenous peoples. However, many people look to the Village, Pride, and other queer spaces as an indicator of queer politics, and as a way to be seen, heard and accepted. Some participants in this project said we could be doing more to make these spaces more inclusive and accepting of difference. Some people told me they experience blatant racism.

T.O. Guy: *(in a voice over)* I've been called awful things, I've been hated for who I am. I don't want to be out, I'm done with that.
(QUEER comes up on screen)
No, I don't like that word I don't like that the kids are using it and these new words
(pansexual, fluid, non-binary, and trans come up on screen)
what are those? They're not fucking needed! White people run everything in the Village. I love it, it's comforting.

SG: I'm not sure everyone agrees with your comments. What do you think about being white and being part of the rainbow community?

Nick: I hadn't really thought about being white. Most of the people I've dated have been white. I did have a boyfriend for a while who was Latino. I find when I've traveled there's a lot of people out there who are attracted to white people especially when I went to Asia. Girls told me I look like Daniel Radcliff, Jon Snow, you name it. I hadn't thought a lot about it. I've dated Black women, I've dated Black men. It doesn't seem to be a big deal.

Ron: I think just as we're being socialized to be heterosexual when we are younger, we're also being socialized to be racist, whether we want it or not. It just happens. I feel like we all have a certain responsibility to learn about that.

Shae: I don't know if our gay community or queer community has the full capacity yet to really *be* intersectional. Like when you learn Marsha P. Johnson began the Stonewall Uprising it's like, "Wow! This is a black trans-woman led movement. Where were all the Asian people? Where were the Indigenous people?" When you can't find Indigenous people and people of color, you look further back and you try to figure it out. We need to learn our histories to know how race and ethnicity fit in the queer community.

Emily: I don't always feel like I'm part of a queer 'community'. I have been denied space and I know its because I'm black and because people don't always read pansexuality as queer.

Zahra: When I say I'm from the Middle East, people express explicitly that they can't offer me a passport and I have to explain, "No I came through legal immigration" or, "I have a job". *(pause)* I am a Canadian Citizen already, by the way! It's very offensive.

Nick: I don't think about being white and bisexual, I feel like it doesn't mean anything special.

Emily: That, to me, is the definition of privilege. You have never had to think about the positions of queer people of color. For as long as I can remember, I have been constantly thinking about what my race and what my gender means in spaces. And then, when I got older, my pansexuality. Never having to think about it *is* privilege. I implore you to think about it and recognize the work that's involved and how easy it can be for you in comparison.

Nick: You're talking to me about the oppression of queer people of color but what I have noticed that really surprises me is that a lot of people who are visible minorities are still discriminating against gay people, which blows my mind! I thought they would be more sympathetic. I had a neighbor in my building; he was from somewhere in Central America. He didn't know I was interested in men. We were talking about gay people and he looked at me with this really smug grin on his face. He said, "As long as they don't bother us it's ok, they're inferior but we don't need to hate them or anything." It was as if me and him were so much better than the gay people.

Ron: *(to Nick)* Ok but that's not systemic, those views about gay people are awful but they're not engrained in our systems of education, employment, and justice. I talked to one of my neighbors and they said, "You can tell a neighborhood is in good shape when the gays start moving in." My fuck, is that ever a homophobic thing to say but well-intentioned, because we're white queer people. It's not noxious, it's not state-sponsored. It doesn't affect my life in a way where it can set me on a path towards incarceration or persecution. It's just inconvenient, uncomfortable and awkward.

Zahra: The last woman I dated, we broke up in February. We dated for five months before I realized there was a lot of low key racism. It started with Arab jokes and then I became kind of a joke with her friends. Lots of people here call any darker skinned person an Arab, which is a bit weird. Like Pakistani, Afghani, Persian, Arab Arabs, Indian from India–all of these are called Arabs as if they are form the same place!

Women are really disappointed if I'm not receptive to jokes and racial stereotypes. It's worse at queer events, I feel like I can't always be myself.

Shae: It's interesting because we assume that we are all queer friendly, gay friendly and that we're a community in Toronto. You can go to all these events, but the barrier of actually participating lies in people ignoring you once you're there. If I'm in a queer space, I can list off my ethnic background *if* there's a conversation about race being had. If not, then I'm just another person of color but no one really cares what color is and no one really wants to know.

Emily: I don't want to hate on knowing people in the community, right? White men opened space for me. I don't want to hate on them, because for me it's that sub-set of the community that

really brought me in. I met some gay dudes in school who pulled me into the coalition and the queer scene. I spent tons of time and I continue to, at these places that are primarily for white bodies, male bodies, gay bodies. That has been a definite struggle at times, and I've really had to earn my space there.

SG: We are constantly asking ourselves: who is holding and creating space in queer social settings? Are people who aren't gay white men always supposed to be grateful to them for 'letting' people of color or women or trans people have space and a voice in the rainbow community? If people in positions of power don't want to let particular people have a voice it can be much harder to earn queer space.

Nick: Ok but gay men are more discriminated against. It seems to me that for whatever reason discriminating against gay people isn't frowned upon as much as other forms of discrimination. My good friends, people I hang out with, they use the word fag. But if somebody used a word for Asian or Black, they'd be upset. They'd say, "That's a shitty thing to say!" I don't know why it's okay to discriminate against gay men but not Asians or blacks.

Years ago, a famous black athlete got in trouble for using the word fag and he's still very successful. He's high profile. I'm willing to bet he was discriminated against when he was growing up but that was before Obama became president (*this implies that Nick might think racism is not an issue anymore because Obama was president) (Emily laughs)*.

With race-- I actually find most gay people are pretty open minded. They say, "Well, It'd be pretty silly if we would discriminate towards the Asian people or Black people."

Ron: There's this cognitive dissonance now among white queer communities. We fought and we got what we were looking for—rights, recognition, legislation—but what ended up happening was, when cops could no longer flog white queer people because it was socially unacceptable to do so, they just continued to and probably in a worse way flogged and persecuted queer and trans communities of color because they were still the other.

Emily: I have walked up and down this street, like on a single night, and been told that I'm not welcome to enter at three queer bars. I'm like, "Are you fucking joking me? I've fucking been a patron here for a long time, and I can only come in if I come with my male friends?" And it just feels gross. I think those barriers are about me being black, they're about me being a woman and they're about how people decide what my sexuality is. *(angry)* "What threat do I pose to your space? I get it. You want to talk about holding space for your group? I fucking get it. But what fucking threat do I pose to your space?" I'm not coming in with a lot of power to disrupt your night. *(sad and upset)* I've demonstrated nothing but allyship or membership in the queer community. *(pause)* This is my home.

Shae: I often feel unsafe in the village. When it was Halloween my good friend and I dressed in drag with full face of makeup so no one could really distinguish what our features were. We were walking through the street fair and someone said something about us not being welcome and two other men started cat calling us. Even at parties I feel like something violent could happen. *(pause)* I've *been* roughed up in the village, no one's done anything.

SG: There's a lot of hurt involved in being rejected from a community that you feel a part of. Especially if it's the only community you feel safe or happy in. Pride is a big part of the queer community for many people *(image of pride)*. Issues of belonging are evident at Pride.

Zahra: I don't go to Pride. I have harsh opinions of—well I just feel Pride is a party where people drink, have drugs and sex. They're already doing all of that, they don't need Pride for it. I don't like that Pride is marketed as though it's an occasion to love and be loved. I feel like all of that marketing is a sham just to bring in more money. There's a lot of talk about love, love, love, love. I don't feel it. I don't feel the love! I shouldn't have to risk getting my picture taken at pride in order to feel part of the community. I don't want to disrespect my family or cause a scandal—they would be so embarrassed. It's just partying, dressing up, yelling and screaming anyway. And I'm not the only one who has a problem with it! Black Lives Matter showed us that so many people are erased at pride.

Ron: The big misconception about the whole Black Lives Matter thing is that everyone gets lost in Black Lives Matter as a group or institution. The reality is that Black Lives Matter Toronto is comprised of many different folks who are also members of Pride Toronto who are also members of other groups that provide services and support to black communities within the LGBTQ context.

Nick: They get a bad name because they interrupted the parade. They were obnoxious and rude. The blacks were calling the gays a bunch of fruity faggots during the parade. But, a lot of these people are from Jamaica and it's a real no no to be gay or anything in *that* country. Those are *not* nice people at all. They called us slurs because they believe that we call them ni**er. *(pause)* But '*we'* never said it. (There was a lot of discussion about whether or not to including the n-word in the performance. I ended up making a slide with the word displayed and the two g's blocked out).

SG: *(to audience)* This really happened; he said those words to me. I sat across from this man while he told me Black Lives Matter was full of homophobic people from Jamaica. Nick, I fact-checked your statement and I could not find any evidence that Black Lives Matter used homophobic slurs when they stopped the pride parade. *(to audience)* When Nick and I had this interview there were two black men sitting near us. Then this happened…

Nick: They're mad about how our ancestors treated them in the past when they were slaves, they're bitter over that. *(to audience)* Do *you* think that they should be bitter because their ancestors were slaves because of us, the whites, who used slaves years ago? Do you believe that they should be bitter and angry towards us? They're mad about things that happened over 200 years ago. Do you think they should be mad about that? *(pause)* We have to be careful, there's one right over there *(gestures to Emily, she reacts but doesn't say anything, maybe everyone reacts).*

Shae: *(tries to temper Nick's comments)* I remember sitting in a bar with a group of bisexual men and older gay men, and we were all chatting. And then Black Lives Matter came up because it was on the news and they started saying things like, "I don't get why they are like that, why they look like that." Why do they have signs if they got everything they wanted. There are these radical queers with signs that say, "May we never have to remind you." And it's not like they're

making another protest they are just capping the protest form last year. I think in the last couple of years with Black Lives Matter emerging and the deaths of Trevor and Sandra *(project Trevor and Sandra's pictures with headlines)* and what happened in Orlando *(project Pulse)* and Trump *(project a Twitter icon with Trump's hair)* I think in the last year and a half, there has been a sudden global awareness of how race and queerness are linked to violence. Some of us are suddenly now paying attention to intersectionality.

Nick: We don't go to their parade and stop it and tell them how to do things—

Emily: Pride *is* their parade! Pride is for all of us!

Nick: *(continues without acknowledging Emily)* No cop is going to hurt anybody for the most part, for no reason. You don't think those black people did anything? There has to be something. If you look at the crime in town. Most of the people who do that are (*looks at Emily, short pause)* harder to track down. They're harder to convict. Because of their attire. They wear hoodies or something like that to hide their faces. They're hard to hunt down *(Emily reacts)*. It's not fair to say that they're all-- I've met some really normal black people that are really cool *(Emily laughs and walks over to Nick)*.

There are countries in Africa, there's Jamaica, where gay matters are certainly not tolerated. They're almost hated. I haven't been to those places, but my understanding is generally there's more scorn towards gay men than gay women, lesbians. Okay, some people aren't too happy with that but the real contempt is for gay men. We have homophobic people here in Canada but it's not Uganda, it's not--

Emily: *(to Nick)* You know what? Fuck you. I was in Jamaica for carnival and that fest was so fucking queer I couldn't even believe it! Its not safe for a lot people, I don't want to pretend it is. But it's not like there's *no* queer organizing.

SG: Violence in Jamaica is not a good reason to exclude people of color from queer spaces. Canadians have been violently homophobic, transphobic, racist, and Islamophobic—Canadians have been violent in their speech and actions. No one seems to be suggesting that Canadians shouldn't be at Pride.

Emily: Let's not pretend that everybody in Jamaica is safe and happy. It's very unsafe for a lot of people. There is extreme levels of violence and it's so scary. But that's not the only reality of it, and it is the only one I think that gets told and retold.

Nick: I'm feeling very attacked right now!

Ron: It is just so amazing the contortions that you will see white older men, typically, gay men get themselves into to try and justify why they turned their hostility about this whole situation back on those oppressed. "Stop spoiling the fun, you guys are going to ruin it for the rest of us". As opposed to looking at the oppressors and saying, "You haven't applied this equally and we're not going to enjoy equity until every commitment is met." You lose sight of all of those things.

SG: In the summer of 2017 missing men from Toronto's Gay Village area made national news. *(show a projection of the missing men)* The Village community organized a town hall meeting at

the 519 to discuss the cases and plan ways to keep people safe *(projection of the poster for the town hall meeting).* Although the media and police attention was focused on the missing men the meeting was for discussing all of the missing people from the rainbow community. Trans people, particularly trans people of color, sex workers, women, and Indigenous members of the community are also at risk of going missing or being murdered *(projection of Alloura Wells and Tess Richey and some of headlines from their cases).* In the case of the missing and murdered people in the Gay Village, the struggle over who is recognized as a victim and media attention is life and death. When Alloura Wells, a trans woman of color, went missing, the Toronto police refused to file a missing persons report, her body was found a few months later. *(Projection of her picture)* Police and community actions are directly related to safety.

We will now have a moment of silence for everyone we have lost.

Scene 3 – Queer intersectionality and coalition

SG: Why do these stories matter? Why is the rainbow community caught up in issues of division? Sharing these experiences are not about hating on particular people, it's about showcasing the amazing diversity in queer experiences and how many people feel excluded from a community that has built a reputation for being supportive and loving. Addressing these issues isn't simple or easy but we can start with conversations, we can start by being aware of others' experiences and we can try to see and hear each other.

Shae: I think the thing that comes to my mind—and I advocate for this all the time—is don't engage in horizontal hostility. Don't allow in-fighting in the queer community to build walls. I think it's a systemic thing that works to play groups against each other. So instead of allowing those walls to get higher, we should consciously directly say, "This is what's happening within our communities, we're going to say fuck you to the systems, you're not going to do this to us, and we're going to come together."

Zahra: I've had conversations with people about this. I think that the minute white gay men and lesbian women got rights -- they finally got power and they have a sense of security. Sharing power with other genders, with trans gender people, with people of color causes fear that they're going to lose that power.

Ron: From a 50,000-foot view, what we fundamentally have here is white, queer people are no longer as oppressed as queer persons of color, trans persons of color, and I mean persons of color is actually too narrow because you have to factor in aging and other experiences as well. "When the tide rises so should all boats," but what's happened is the tide rose and so did your boat but mine didn't, ours didn't. Instead of looking back in solidarity, some of us just sailed towards the horizon without looking over their shoulder.

Emily: The added layer is that sometimes you can rely on white guilt to come into play when *white* queer communities need support because white people are just *so* progressive and so eager to shed the cloak of the oppressor.

Zahra: White people are very into political correctness. It's very prominent in gay society—political correctness and activism. It needs to be more than that. We need people of color in positions of power if anything is going to change. If there is no ownership by people of color, if

they are not in positions of power to determine what resources go where, to create the agenda, then that is not people of color leading. There has to be a change in power, not just a change in PR.

Ron: White people will warm and welcome their own kind even if they're just a touch different, but it becomes a tougher pill to swallow when they don't see themselves in the people they're trying to save. When it's not the African kid in the commercial at Christmas but it's the African kid who's getting beaten by the cops in Whitby that has to lose his fucking eye because he just happened to be in their office. It's that, and it's an uncomfortable realization when you have to face that head on.

The point being this: there's a feeling that we've won hard fought rights and recognition and we don't have an issue with the police anymore, they are our allies. We don't want fighting anymore, we want to enjoy this relationship and celebrate and party about the fact that we're now mainstream honey! We don't want to be reminded of the past.

Emily: What Black Lives Matter did is remind us of the past and that our present isn't so far removed from that. There are communities still fighting for those rights and recognition that white queer people now take for granted. Instead of turning that guilt, shame, fear, and anger towards the oppressors to continue the fight and understand that what these communities are doing is a tribute to your legacy, white people view it as an affront to that. They see it as petulance, they see it as terrorism, they see it as extremism, and racism, ironically enough.

Ron: Frankly speaking, we make it harder for positive strides to happen for marginalized communities, because we can be pointed at and people say, "Look, we're fine with gay people, look, we don't harass *these* ones, we participate in your parade." But then they turn to Black Lives Matter and say, "You guys are terrorists. You hi-jacked the parade. There's no place for demonstration at Pride." It's just like, guys, come on. Recognize the folly in your own logic. This isn't terrorism and Pride *started* as a protest. There is plenty of place for protest at Pride.

Nick: I don’t have anything to protest! I don’t get harassed because I don’t seem gay. Maybe discrimination is about race but it’s also about looking the part. I think it's one of those things where if it doesn't happen to you, you just don't notice it.

Zahra: There's a richness that's brought into the community by accepting and welcoming people who are different from you. There's a lot to learn and a lot of growth that can happen. Of course, that's always met with fear, which is unfortunate. We need to get past that part and stand up for each other. Understand that people pissing on the legacy of 1981 and those bathhouse raids are the ones who are enjoying the privilege. We don’t even want privilege. Just basic generic right! No one wants to worry about walking the streets.

Shae: I think I'll leave it with a question. If we have faced homophobia and had to fight for gay men and lesbian women, and we are now in the midst of I'm going to say a transgender revolution, why is it so hard to just accept and love each other when it comes to all the genders, sexualities and races? Why is the gay community, the queer community stuck with repetitive compulsion? It's like this compulsion to do the right thing but it just happens that you're in a habit where you're not learning from your mistakes. Why aren't we learning what we need to

learn to move forward? Forward looks like acceptance, not tolerance. Forward looks like equity not equality. Forward, in a very blunt way, means shut up and listen.

Emily: I think the important thing to reinforce is that fluidity and intersectionality are reality. Race, sexuality, gender, class, age—none of these are simple or binary in relation to what is good for the rainbow community. I think that's important, because these terms are new and scary for people who live in a binary world. But from my perspective it's a choice to blind yourself to it. There's no way we could go back to being two-dimensional creatures, in fact, we may never have been in the first place.

We without You – Original Script

Cleo is an Indigenous, mixed race two-spirit non-binary person who works in community organizing and mental health. They are in their early 20s. Cleo can be played by someone of any gender.

Noah is a gay man who embraces sexual and gender fluidity in himself and others. He is in his late 20s or early 30s and he has experienced rejection and hate in the rainbow community in his own life and in his work as a community organizer. He wants to help others gain acceptance. Noah can be played by someone of any race.

Colin is a white closeted bisexual man in his 30s who doesn't understand why people are concerned about people of color. For Colin, gay men are victims; particularly he thinks people of color are homophobic.

Zamir is a middle-Eastern gay man who has experienced racism and sexual exploitation based on race from gay and bisexual men. He is also experiencing cultural tension in relation to being gay. Zamir could be any age.

Grace is a young pansexual woman of color who seems older than she is because of her years of community organizing and experiencing racism in the rainbow community. Grace could be any age.

Robert is a white gay man in his 50s, he is closeted, and he has experienced trauma related to homophobia. He doesn't like the word queer or people of color participating in the Gay Village. He thinks that his years of experiencing discrimination and being gay give him the authority to direct what gay culture should be. He has one line given in a voice over which reflects his lack of visibility and his presumed powerful status.

SG is a pansexual non-binary researcher who interviewed the other characters. They provide context for some of the stories and they tell their own stories based on their observations.

SG: I spent this last summer in Toronto interviewing people in the rainbow community about sexuality and race. These interviews are part of my dissertation but the conversations I had with people were so moving that I knew I had to share them. I'm a pansexual non-binary person and I care about our queer and trans communities. I feel like academic publishing limits my ability to share important information with the rainbow community. I want to share my research findings directly with the people who can best act on my work to affect the communities and people around them.

This PowerPoint is about the interviews I did with people who identify across the sexuality and gender spectrum. The people represented here are from different racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds. Noah, Cleo, Zamir, Colin, and Grace are telling the truth of people in our community *(have each character come up on stage when SG says their name)*. Everything you hear here are the words and sentiments of real people represented through composite characters. The first thing to address here is diversity in the LGBTQQIP2A+ acronym. Many of the people who spoke with me said their identities are more complex than the acronym implies.

Noah: That's the word people would call me–gay.

Cleo: Two spirit**,** queer, gay.

Zamir: I really like the word queer but some people shy away from it. I understand it wasn't always a nice word.

Colin: I'm bisexual but I don't talk about it. I'm telling you because it's for research.

Zamir: I don't use 'queer' to describe myself because I want to be visible as gay.

Colin: When I go on dates, it's obvious if I date a man.

Noah: But it's complicated to me because I advertise as gay but I can date guys without being sexually attracted to them and I am attracted to trans men with fine features.

Cleo: Going back home for a couple of days, everyone referred to me as a gay man *(depend on casting)*, which has been a -- Not a struggle, just an adjustment. Because in Toronto I refer to myself as a queer non-binary two spirited person.

Colin: When I go out with women I don't mention it. My good friends don't know yet. I wouldn't say I blatantly lie to them I lie by omission. It's easy to hide in plain sight. It's funny because it's 2017 yet a lot of people assume a gay man is short, frail and wears pink. Obviously I'm tall and athletic *(this could change depending on casting)*. It hasn't been a big problem yet. I didn't go to Pride because I'm a little self-conscious about being bi.

Grace: When I was 14, I had my first girlfriend. The only sort of space for me in the LGBT acronym was the 'B', bisexual, because I was definitely attracted to men, but I was also very attracted to females. When you come out that young, it's like, "You're a lesbian now," when you're dating a woman, and, "You went back to being straight," when you're dating a man. I finally got people to accept my bisexuality, then they came out with this term, 'pansexuality', which describes me so much better. I have certain preferences, but I don't agree with the idea that

I should be locked into any of those preferences. There are certain things I like in people but what their pronouns are, and what their genitalia looks like, doesn't play into that.

Colin: I like being bisexual. For me, there's plenty of fish in the sea. In theory, I could date anybody! If a man is only attracted to women, then there's only half the people that are eligible for him than there are for me.

Noah: I think the thing with the acronym is it forces you to wear a hat and be in a queue. Its just easier in certain circles to say gay because people have a concept of that, it's taken 30 plus years to get to the 'G' and the 'L', and now we are starting to come to understand what the 'T' is but that's another decades-long conversation, unfortunately. 'B' is the most horrendously misunderstood for having been one of the more long standing in the group.

Cleo: I believe strongly and I think a lot of Indigenous peoples feel strongly that two spirited people have always been revered as teachers and healers. I'm a healer. We're going to help change the world. I'm beginning to see gender fluid and non-binary people, queer people. People who attach their name to queerness are the ones who are changing the community.

Colin: There's a few people in the city that, if they saw me on the news at the Pride Parade I'd be very upset. I wish I could just flip the script and not feel self-conscious about it, but I am.

Cleo: If you're in a relationship that on the outside looks heterosexual, then you no longer have the support of the queer *community*. The doors aren't open to you anymore. It creates almost an identity crisis of, "Where do I fit? Who am I? How can I combine these worlds?" When I say identity crisis it's more of a violence that's happening towards individuals in the queer community based on their identity, so it's like identity erasure. Individuals, they know who they are, but it's the outside world that's saying, "No, you can't be *that*." In my role as a mental health professional, I see that as having huge impacts on mental health.

SG: *(use a slide to talk about gender and sexuality being a spectrum that shifts over time and in particular contexts)* People experience a type of lateral violence related to identity erasure. Most of us could learn a bit more about the many ways people identify.

Noah: If I am being honest, there is a lot of discovery I need to take personally to understand those other identities within the acronym a little bit better. I have a penis and a hairy chest but that doesn't mean that there aren't feminine aspects of my personality *(laugh)*. I very much am of the opinion that we all have those sorts of spirits within us and that we're a mix. It's all in you and it's not binary. I don't think you can quantify it. It's like people who live in a binary world are living in two dimensions, *(project an image of an object that is flat and multidimensional depending on the position from which it is viewed, this could be moving to show how perception is dependent on location)* they can only perceive things like gender and sexuality in a binary way but if they were able to look at these things from the third or fourth dimension they could better understand—

SG: I'm sorry Noah, I'm going to stop you there. I think that's a little too academic for this. Not everyone is going to understand positionality and dimensional physics; maybe we can find a different way to say some people just don't get fluidity and maybe they don't want to.

Cleo: So, we talk to a lot of people in the city about being queer or being non-binary or two spirited—especially if I'm talking to someone who's more—If someone's more politically woke,*(maybe use a slide here to define woke)* I can easily tell them that I'm two spirited. Because they get it, they understand it. If it's the average gay person, I'll say "queer non-binary". A lot of the times I try not to tell people that I'm non-binary -- There always has to be a conversation about pronouns. And it's getting to the point where it feels like, my gender is *mine*, it's not a pre-cursor to get to know me!

Zamir: We need to get out of these really strict labeling systems that lead to social isolation, specifically within the queer community. Which then also flows into sexual relationships and the extra stress that comes with trying to date within the queer community *and* outside of the queer community.

SG: See what Zamir said is something I totally agree with: there's so much we can talk about here. Who's queer? What's queer *enough?* Who is having sex in the 'right ways'? What happens when people challenge what others think being queer should be? Dating can be difficult. If a lesbian starts dating a man she could suddenly find herself friendless. For someone who may have already lost their family for their sexual orientation, losing their chosen family could be particularly devastating. Bisexual, fluid and pansexual people risk losing their queer status in relationships that appear heterosexual. For people who are asexual or who are not interested in sexual activity, the pressure to have sex can have a negative impact on their health and well-being *(use a slide here, Sex, who is it for?).*

Noah: The door opener to a relationship for gay men is sex. I really struggle with that. I had to go to a psychotherapist. I'm not asexual, I like men and I'm sexually attracted to men. I'll have sex but it's not important to me! I want my relationships to be based on something deeper and more passionate than lust. I would get rejected when I said "I'm not ready for sex" or "I don't want to have it", men would treat me like I was wasting their time. I would get punished in subtle ways. Like not returning calls, refusing to speak to me again, or talking behind my back.

I would like to do something with movement and have the other actors interact with Noah.

I don't consider 'not wanting sex' a problem because what I feel is very genuine. It's not a psychological problem that I have to work on. There's nothing wrong with me. But when I go out with guys, it always turns into a problem that has to be analyzed. That has led to a lot of discomfort and rejection. It breaks my heart.

It reached a point where I felt like I didn't belong.

There was a rejection from someone I was dating because he wanted to have sex. That led me to a very dark place, I was very angry. And I made a declaration to the world that if the only way to have a loving relationship was to have sex,—I mean, the whole world wants sex—'Then fine', people can have my body! I was in a very angry state of mind, which led me to have unprotected sex. I then contracted HIV. *(this is a struggle, Noah likely would have hurt himself in more permanent ways than he implies, this needs to be communicated, maybe through lighting, movement, and music).*

Now that I'm HIV positive, it's easier. It's not great, but I can have relationships without having sex and that's what I want. Men treat me differently, they're more accepting. Sometimes I think contracting HIV was a way to get what I want.

SG: Not only does Noah's story challenge us to think about sexual expectations differently, he also shows us how being HIV positive is not necessarily a problem for him. Noah challenges HIV stigma. It's not 1985, HIV is considered chronically manageable. With PreP *(slide for Prep)*, a prescription drug, partners can have sex without worrying about transmission. Many people living with HIV take one pill a day. People who are HIV positive in North America are not doomed and they don't need pity, they need access to healthcare, employment, and social support. Some provinces are moving forward with securing access to appropriate healthcare for those at risk of contracting HIV. British Columbia recently legislated fully funding PreP for gay men and people in high risk groups. Noah is happier with HIV than he was being rejected for his lack of sex drive.

Noah: I'm not entirely sure what would have happened if men didn't start accepting my desire to not have sex. I think HIV saved my life.

Scene two – anti-racism and race-related tension

SG: Thank you for sharing Noah. Getting back to the presentation. There are many vibrant and vital spaces for queer and trans people of color and Indigenous peoples. However, many people look to the Village, Pride, and other queer spaces as an indicator of queer politics, and as a way to be seen, heard and accepted. Some participants in this project said we could be doing more to make these spaces more inclusive and accepting of difference. Some people told me they experience blatant racism.

Robert: *(in a voice over)* I've been called awful things, I've been hated for who I am. I don't want to be out, I'm done with that.
(QUEER comes up on screen)
No, I don't like that word I don't like that the kids are using it and these new words
(pansexual, fluid, non-binary, and trans come up on screen)
what are those? They're not fucking needed! White people run everything in the Village. I love it, it's comforting.

SG: I'm not sure everyone agrees with your comments. What do you think about being white and being part of the rainbow community?

Colin: I hadn't really thought about being white. Most of the people I've dated have been white. I did have a boyfriend for a while who was Latino. I find when I've traveled there's a lot of people out there who are attracted to white people especially when I went to Asia. Girls told me I look like Brad Pitt, Leonardo DiCaprio, you name it. I hadn't thought a lot about it. I've dated Black women, I've dated Black men. It doesn't seem to be a big deal.

Noah: I think just as we're being socialized to be heterosexual when we are younger, we're also being socialized to be racist, whether we want it or not. It just happens. I feel like we all have a certain responsibility to learn about that.

Cleo: I don't know if our gay community or queer community has the full capacity yet to really *be* intersectional. Like when you learn Marsha P. Johnson began the Stonewall Uprising it's like, "Wow! This is a black trans-woman led movement. Where were all the Asian people? Where were the Indigenous people?" When you can't find Indigenous people and people of color, you look further back and you try to figure out if they went into hiding or if they were lost to history. Then you learn about colonialism, and how it affects us now and then you see how it also affects your queerness. I think, you need to know your history to know how you fit-in the queer community.

Grace: I don't always feel like I'm part of a queer 'community'. I have been denied space and I know its because I'm black and because people don't always read pansexuality as queer.

Zamir: When I say I'm from the Middle East, people express explicitly that they can't offer me a passport and I have to explain, "No I came through legal immigration" or, "I have a job". *(pause)* I am a resident already, by the way! And so I find all of this very offensive.

Colin: I don't think about being white and bisexual, I feel like it doesn't mean anything special.

Grace: That, to me, is the definition of privilege. You have never had to think about the positions of queer people of color. For as long as I can remember, I have been constantly thinking about what my race and what my gender means in spaces. And then, when I got older, queerness. Never having to think about it *is* privilege. And I implore you to think about it and to recognize the work that's involved and how easy it can be for you in comparison.

Colin: You're talking to me about the oppression of queer people of color but what I have noticed that really surprises me is that a lot of people who are visible minorities are still discriminating against gay people, which blows my mind! I thought they would be more sympathetic. I had a neighbor in my building; he was from somewhere in Central America. He didn't know I was interested in men. We were talking about gay people and he looked at me with this really smug grin on his face. He said, "As long as they don't bother us it's ok, they're inferior but we don't need to hate them or anything." It was as if me and him were so much better than the gay people.

Noah: *(to Colin)* Ok but that's not systemic, those views about gay people are awful but they're not engrained in our systems of education, employment, and justice. I talked to one of my neighbors and they said, "You can tell a neighborhood is in good shape when the gays start moving in." My fuck, is that ever a homophobic thing to say but well-intentioned, because we're white queer people. It's not noxious, it's not state-sponsored. It doesn't affect my life in a way where it can set me on a path towards incarceration or persecution. It's just inconvenient, uncomfortable and awkward.

Zamir: The last guy I dated, we broke up in February. We dated for five months. A lot of racism played in, in very nice ways, in very cute ways. It starts with Arab jokes and then I became kind of a joke with his friends. Lots of guys here call any darker skinned person an Arab, which is a bit weird. Like Pakistani, Afghani, Persian, Arab Arabs, Indian from India–all of these are called Arabs. Then come the confessions about fantasies with Arab guys and darker skinned guys.

I’m not very vocal about being a bottom and I’m usually not asked what my role is. It’s just projected onto me. Guys tend to assume that I’m a top because I’m Arab. There's this image that we are sexually aggressive and I'm just soft. An Arab who is a softy, doesn't want to hurt anyone. *[laughs]* People don't want that. The images are so fixed *(use images)*. It seems that there's a refusal to move away from them.

SG: These images are often different but just as fixed for different genders and different ethnic groups.

Zamir: This guy saw me out somewhere and he heard me speak Arabic on the phone. He happened to be studying Arabic. He had a book he was studying-- he was an older guy, in his '70s I would think. He asked me *(we could have actors act out this story rather than having Zamir describe what happened)*, "You speak Arabic?" and I said, "Yes, yes. I come from the Middle East." He was like, "Would you be able to help me?" and I was excited, I said "Yes, sure" *(laugh)*. We developed this very nice friendship.

We would talk about different things, I would teach him Arabic, we would show up every day at Starbucks without calling each other. After three months he said, "I have to tell you this because I can't keep secrets". He said, "I like Arabs a lot and I find them very attractive and if I hear someone speaking Arabic or see facial hair--", it drives him nuts and he wants to jump on the person and that's what he wanted to do to me.

He was like, "I hope you're not offended" and I'm like, "No, I'm not offended". I blushed, I shied away and he felt very awkward, I didn't reciprocate. I stopped seeing him for three months. I’ve found that race has played a large role in my life in a positive way, which I would call positive racism.

People desire certain races and they associate them with particular sexual roles. I identify as a bottom gay and as an Arab. But there is this image that you have to play the role of this macho motherfucker Arab that's going to ravage you. This is what people have told me.

SG: *(to Zamir)* Are men disappointed when they find out you’re not a dominant top?

Zamir: Aggressively disappointed, really. Yes. I tend to attract men who like the bottom role because of my demeanor, I guess. My looks, I have the beard and then I have the frown *(laugh)*. I guess I'm not so effeminate, that's what people would say. Not that I'm very macho but it's cultural, that's the culture I come from. I've hidden it, the feminine part of me, I'm aware of that. I would date a bottom guy, I don't mind. What bothers me is that-- roles and role-playing around sex is a deal-breaker for a lot of guys.

Cleo: It's interesting because we assume that we are all queer friendly, gay friendly and that we’re a community in Toronto. You can go to all these events, but the barrier of actually participating lies in once you're there and people are ignoring you.

Grace: I also want to not hate on knowing people in the community, right? White men opened space for me. I don't want to hate on them, because for me it's that sub-set of the community that really brought me in. I met some gay dudes in school who pulled me into the coalition, pulled me into the queer scene. So I spent tons of time and I continue to, at these places that are primarily

for white bodies, male bodies, gay bodies. That has been a definite struggle at times, and I've really had to earn my space there.

SG: We are constantly asking ourselves: who is holding and creating space in queer social settings? Are people who aren't gay white men always supposed to be grateful to them for 'letting' people of color or women or trans people have space and a voice in the rainbow community? If gay white men or white women or other people in positions of power don't want to let particular people have a voice it can be much harder to earn queer space.

Colin: Ok but gay men are more discriminated against. It seems to me that for whatever reason discriminating against gay people isn't frowned upon as much as other forms of discrimination. My good friends, people I hang out with, they use the word fag. But if somebody used a word for Asian or Black, they'd be upset. They'd say, "What's wrong, why would you say that? It's a shitty thing to say." I don't know why it's okay to discriminate against one but not the other.

Years ago, a famous black athlete got in trouble for using the word fag and he's very successful. He's high profile. I was a little surprised that he would use it because *(motion for a quote here)* 'it's gotten better'. I'm willing to bet he was discriminated against when he was growing up but that was before Obama became president (*this implies that Colin might think racism is not an issue anymore because Obama was president)*.

With race-- I actually find most gay people are pretty open minded. I think that's a big part of it, they say, "Well, It'd be pretty silly if we would discriminate towards the Asian people or Black people."

Noah: There's this cognitive dissonance now among white queer communities. We fought and we got what we were looking for—rights, recognition, legislation—but what ended up happening was, when cops could no longer flog white queer people because it was socially unacceptable to do so, they just continued to and probably in a worse way flogged and persecuted queer communities of color, trans-communities of color because they were still the other.

Cleo: I've been going through this intense experience being a mixed race person I'm Asian, I'm Irish, and I'm Indigenous. And so I can find different communities in that. I can find those queer communities but I can also find the white gay communities. When I'm with the white gay community, I'm kind of ignored because they perceive me as Asian. No one really ever cares if I'm indigenous but if I ever say that I'm Asian, they always want to know the specifics of it. They want to know which one am I specifically. I get that from both men of color and white men. When I'm in the Asian community, I don't quite look Asian enough. I don't speak traditional Asian languages. When I'm Indigenous I don't say certain things and I don't necessarily do traditional things because I haven't lived on a reserve or really grown up with the culture. So, in a way, I'm kind of always the outsider.

Grace: I have walked up and down the street, like on a single night, and been told that I'm not welcome to enter at three queer bars. I'm like, "Are you fucking joking me? I've fucking been a patron here for a long time, and I can only come in if I come with my male friends?" And it just feels gross. I think those barriers are about me being black, they're about me being a woman and they're about how people decide what my sexuality is. *(angry)* "What threat do I pose to your

space? I get it. You want to talk about holding space for your group? I fucking get it. But what fucking threat do I pose to your space?" I'm not coming in with a lot of power to disrupt your space. *(sad and upset)* I've demonstrated nothing but allyship or membership in the queer community. *(pause)* This is my home.

Cleo: I often feel unsafe in the village. When it was Halloween my good friend and I dressed in drag with full face of makeup so no one could really distinguish what our features were. We were walking through the street fair and someone said, "Oh, look. There's a gay Asian-invasion." And two other gay men started cat calling us. I felt like, "If something violent ever did happen, I don't think anyone would stop it." *(pause)* I've *been* roughed up in the village, no one's done anything.

If I'm in a queer space, I can list off my ethnic background *if* there's a conversation about race being had. If not, then I'm just another person of color but no one really cares what color is and no one really wants to know. With being two-spirited it's like, "You can come but we don't really want to know about you."

SG: There's a lot of hurt involved in being rejected from a community that you feel a part of. Especially when if it's the only community you feel safe or happy in. Pride is a big part of the queer community for many people. Issues of belonging and racial and sexual inclusion are evident at Pride.

Zamir: No, I don't go to Pride. [laughs] I have harsh opinions of-- I just feel Pride is a party where people drink and have drugs and have sex. They're already doing all of that, they don't need Pride for it. I don't like that Pride is marketed as though it's an occasion to love and be loved. I feel like all of that marketing is a sham just to bring in more money. There's a lot of talk about love, love, love, love. I don't feel it. I don't feel the love love love. There isn't much culture or art to it either. It's just partying and dressing up and yelling and screaming. *(laughs)* Maybe I'm missing something. But to me, that's how I perceive Pride.

Noah: The big misconception about the whole Black Lives Matter thing is that everyone gets lost in Black Lives Matter as a group or institution. The reality is that Black Lives Matter Toronto is comprised of many different folks who are also members of Pride Toronto who are also members of other groups that provide services and support to black communities within the LGBTQ context.

Colin: They get a bad name because they interrupted the parade. They were obnoxious and rude. The blacks were calling the gays a bunch of fruity faggots during the parade. But, a lot of these people are from Jamaica and it's a real no no to be gay or anything in *that* country. Those are *not* nice people at all. They called us slurs because they believe that we call them ni**er. *(pause)* But '*we'* never said it. (There was a lot of discussion about whether or not to including the n-word in the performance. I ended up making a slide with the word displayed and the two g's blocked out).

SG: *(to audience)* This really happened; he said those words to me. I sat across from this man while he told me Black Lives Matter was full of homophobic people from Jamaica. Colin, I fact-checked your statement and I could not find any evidence that Black Lives Matter used

homophobic slurs when they stopped the pride parade. *(to audience)* When Colin and I had this interview there were two black men sitting near us. Then this happened…

Colin: They're mad about how our ancestors treated them in the past when they were slaves, they're bitter over that. *(to audience)* Do *you* think that they should be bitter because their ancestors were slaves because of us, the whites, who used slaves years ago? Do you believe that they should be bitter and angry towards us? They're mad about things that happened over 200 years ago. Do you think they should be mad about that? *(pause)* We have to be careful, there's one right over there *(gestures to Grace, she reacts but doesn't say anything, maybe everyone reacts).*

Cleo: *(tries to temper Colin's comments)* I remember sitting in a bar with a group of bisexual men and older gay men, and we were all chatting. And then Black Lives Matter came up because it was on the news and they started saying things like, "I don't get why they are like that, why they look like that." Why do they have signs if they got everything they wanted. There are these radical queers with signs that say, "May we never have to remind you." And it's not like they're making another protest they are just capping the protest form last year. It's almost like they're ending a chapter from last pride. I think in the last couple of years with Black Lives Matter emerging and the deaths of Trevor and Sandra *(project Trevor and Sandra's pictures with headlines)* and what happened in Orlando *(project Pulse)* and Trump *(project a Twitter icon with Trump's hair)* I think in the last year and a half, there has been a sudden global awareness and also specifically with our gay community of how race and queerness are linked to violence. Some of us are suddenly now paying attention to intersectionality.

Colin: We don't go to their parade and stop it and tell them how to do things—

Grace: Pride *is* their parade! Pride is for all of us!

Colin: *(continues without acknowledging Grace)* No cop is going to hurt anybody for the most part, for no reason. You don't think those black people did anything? *(pause)* Do you think that they were treated bad for no reason? There has to be something. Yes, it's got to be something. If you look at the crime in town. Most of the people who do that are (*looks at Grace, short pause)* harder to track down. They're harder to convict. Because of their attire. They wear hoodies or something like that to hide their faces. They're hard to hunt down *(Grace reacts).* It's not fair to say that they're all-- I've met some really normal black people that are really cool.

I consider myself lucky to live in Canada. There are countries in Africa, there's Jamaica, where gay matters are certainly not tolerated. They're almost hated. I haven't been to those places, but my understanding is generally there's more scorn towards gay men than gay women, lesbians. Okay, some people aren't too happy with that but the real contempt is for gay men. We have homophobic people here in Canada but it's not Jamaica, it's not Uganda. It's not--

Grace: *(to Colin)* You know what? I would clap back at that. I was in Jamaica for carnival and that fest was so fucking queer I couldn't even believe it! Its not safe for a lot people, I don't want to pretend it is. But it's not like there's *no* queer organizing.

SG: Violence in Jamaica is not a good reason to exclude Jamaican people from queer spaces. Canadians have been violently homophobic, transphobic, racist, and Islamophobic—Canadians

have been violent in their speech and actions. No one seems to be suggesting that Canadians shouldn't be at Pride.

Grace: Let's not wash away and pretend that everybody that's in Jamaica is safe and happy. It's very unsafe for a lot of people. There is extreme levels of violence and it's so scary. But that's not the only reality of it, and it is the only one I think that gets told and retold.

Colin: I'm feeling very attacked right now!

Noah: It is just so amazing the contortions that you will see white older men, typically, gay men get themselves into to try and justify why they turned their hostility about this whole situation back on those oppressed. "Stop spoiling the fun, you guys are going to ruin it for the rest of us". As opposed to looking at the oppressors and saying, "You haven't applied this equally and we're not going to enjoy equity until every commitment is met." You lose sight of all of those things.

SG: This past summer missing men from Toronto's Gay Village made national news. *(show a projection of the missing men)* Cases of missing men include Andrew Kinsman who went missing at the end of June, and Selim Esen who disappeared in April. The Gay Village community organized a town hall meeting at the 519 Community Center to discuss the cases and plan ways to keep people safe *(projection of the poster for the town hall meeting).* Although the media and police attention was focused on the missing men the meeting was for discussing all of the missing people from the rainbow community. Trans people, particularly trans people of color, sex workers, women, and Indigenous members of the community are at a much greater risk of going missing or being murdered. Organizers wanted to address this issue *(projection of Alloura Wells and Tess Richey and some of headlines from their cases).* There is tension in the Gay Village about focusing on the broader community rather than specifically men, many of the posters for the meeting were vandalized *(projection of the vandalized posters).* The vandalism tried to frame the victims as solely gay men. In the case of the missing and murdered people in the Gay Village, the struggle over who is recognized as a victim and media attention is life and death. When Alloura Wells, a trans woman of color, went missing, the Toronto police refused to file a missing persons report, her body was found a few months later. *(Projection of her picture)* Police and community actions directly related to safety.

Scene 3 – Queer intersectionality and coalition

SG: Why do these stories matter? Why is the rainbow community caught up in issues of racial division? Our communities are not always inclusive of all queer people and social justice that is not equitable and intersectional is not justice. Sharing these experiences is not about hating on particular people, it's about showcasing the amazing diversity in queer experiences and how people are in pain—how many people feel excluded from a community that has built a reputation for being supportive and loving. Addressing these issues isn't simple or easy but we can start with conversations, we can start by being aware of others' experiences and we can try to see and hear each other.

Cleo: I think the thing that comes to my mind—and I advocate for this all the time—is don't engage in horizontal hostility. Don't allow in-fighting in the queer community to build walls. I think it's a systemic thing that works to play groups against each other. So instead of allowing

those walls to get higher, we should consciously directly say, "This is what's happening within our communities, we're going to say fuck you to the systems, you're not going to do this to us, and we're going to come together."

Zamir: I've had conversations with people about this. I think that the minute gay men and lesbian women got rights -- they finally got power and they have a sense of security and sharing power with other genders, with transgender people, with people of color causes fear that they're going to lose that power.

Noah: Embrace the fear that you feel because that is what this is all fueled by, fear and loathing. From a 50,000-foot view, what we fundamentally have here is white, queer people are no longer as oppressed as queer persons of color, trans persons of color, and I mean persons of color is actually too narrow because you have to factor in aging and other experiences as well. "When the tide rises so should all boats," but what's happened is the tide rose and so did your boat but mine didn't, ours didn't. Instead of looking back in solidarity, you just sailed towards the horizon without looking over your shoulder.

Grace: The added layer is that sometimes you can rely on white guilt to come into play when *white* queer communities need support because white people are just *so* progressive and so eager to shed the cloak of the oppressor.

Zamir: White people, they're very into political correctness. It's very prominent in gay society—political correctness and activism. It needs to be more than that. We need people of color in positions of power if anything is going to change. If there is no ownership by people of color, if they are not in positions of power to determine what resources go where, and to then own those resources, to create the agenda, then that is not people of color leading. There has to be a change in power, not just a change in PR.

Noah: Ok white people will warm and welcome their own kind even if they're just a touch different, but it becomes a tougher pill to swallow when they don't see themselves in the people they're trying to save. When it's not the African kid in the commercial that you ignored at Christmas, when it's the African kid who's getting beaten by the cops in Whitby that has to lose his fucking eye because he just happened to be in their office. It's that, and it's an uncomfortable realization when you have to face that head on.

The point being this: there's cognitive dissonance in the community. There is a feeling that we've won hard fought rights and recognition and we don't have an issue with the police anymore, they are our allies. We don't want fighting anymore, we want to enjoy this relationship and celebrate and party about the fact that we're now mainstream honey! We don't want to be reminded of the past.

Grace: What Black Lives Matter did is remind us of the past and that our present isn't so far removed from that. There are communities still fighting for those rights and recognition that white queer people now take for granted. Instead of turning that guilt, shame, fear, and anger towards the oppressors to continue the fight and understand that what these communities are doing is a tribute to your legacy, white people view it as an affront to that. They see it as petulance, they see it as terrorism, they see it as extremism, and racism, ironically enough.

Noah: Frankly speaking, we make it harder for those strides to happen for marginalized communities, because we can be pointed at and people say, "Look, we're fine with gay people, look, we don't harass *these* ones, we participate in your parade." It's that weird, misalignment between supporting the idea that the conservatives can't march in the Calgary pride parade because they've done nothing to demonstrate their support for the community and denouncing Black Lives Matter. The parade is an advertisement for conservatives wanting to be more queer focused or to cynically snap up queer votes in Calgary. But then they turn to Black Lives Matter and say, "You guys are terrorists. You hi-jacked the parade. This isn't the appropriate place for it, there's no place for demonstration at Pride." It's just like, guys, come on. Recognize the folly in your own logic. This isn't terrorism and Pride *started* as a protest. There is plenty of place for protest at Pride.

So what happened was, somewhere in the late '90s and early 2000s when we weren't dirty faggots because we had AIDS and we were going to kill humanity. When we were no longer seen as child rapists or whatever for the broad base of the community. When we were no longer those things to people, we were no longer the boogeyman, Pride became a celebration to those of us that fall under the bell curve in the queer community. That 68.8% or whatever it is. For the majority, it became a party. No more reasons to fight. We can put the pitchforks and the torches down. We don't have that boogeyman effect anymore.

Colin: I don’t get harassed because I don’t seem gay. The boyfriend I had, I felt bad for him. He looked, quote, unquote, gay. He was frail and had a feminine face. He had problems. He got harassed on the subway a couple times. It blew my mind because remember he was Latino. Apparently, somebody on the subway called him a chick which doesn't even make sense but he looked the part. He was frail and had a high voice. Maybe discrimination is about race but it’s also about looking the part. Well, those are the stereotypes. But there are people who still think that way. I'm aware that people come in all shapes and sizes. I think it's one of those things where if it doesn't happen to you, you just don't notice it.

Zamir: There's a richness that's brought into the community by accepting and welcoming people who are different from you. There's a lot to learn and a lot of growth that can happen. Of course, that's always met with fear. Right? Which is unfortunate. We need to get past that part and stand up for each other. Understand that people pissing on the legacy of 1981 and those bathhouse raids are the ones who are enjoying the privilege. Not the ones who are fighting to obtain it and not even privilege. Just basic generic rights for Christ's sake. To not have to worry about walking the streets.

Cleo: I think I'll leave it with a question. If we have faced homophobia and had to fight for gay men and lesbian women, and we are now in the midst of I'm going to say a transgender revolution, why is it so hard to just accept and love each other when it comes to all the genders, sexualities and races? Why is the gay community, the queer community stuck with repetitive compulsion? It's like this compulsion to do the right thing but it just happens that you're in a habit where you're not learning from your mistakes. Why aren't we learning what we need to learn to move forward? Forward looks like acceptance, not tolerance. Forward looks like equity not equality. Forward, in a very blunt way, means shut up and listen.

Grace: I think the important thing to really reinforce is that fluidity and intersectionality are reality. Race, sexuality, gender, class, age—none of these are simple or binary in relation to what is good for the queer community. I think that's important, because fluidity and intersectionality are two new and scary terms for people who live in a very binary world. But from my perspective it's a choice to blind yourself to it. There's no way we could go back to being two-dimensional creatures, in fact, we may never have been in the first place.

Chapter Seven

What have we learned and why does it matter?

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, for my dissertation I use semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and qualitative content analysis in order to undertake an in-depth analysis of queer (anti)-racism in Toronto's rainbow community. I conducted a total of 17 interviews with those who self-identified as part of the rainbow community and those who work with queer-focused organizations. My observations at queer-focused events in Toronto such as the Greenspace Festival by the 519 and Pride Toronto's annual parade helped me analyse the day-to-day life of the Gay Village area. I use qualitative content analysis and a queer anti-racism theoretical lens in order to examine media reports and community advertising. My analysis and findings are presented in three publishable articles. This portfolio-style dissertation manuscript also includes photographic images from my field work (Appendix L), and the scripts from my stage production *We without You*, an original theatre project that I created to reflect, analyse, and disseminate my ethnographic research.

In the first article I discuss how languages of capital accumulation, white (homo)nationalism, and safety are mobilized to produce race and racism in queer politics. In particular, I argue that queerness is produced as monosexual, middle class, and white. These interlocking social locations produce universalism in the rainbow community that excludes people and experiences that do not conform to a narrow representation of queerness. Racialization in the rainbow community is done through monitoring, gentrification, and dispossession of space for those who fall outside of what constitutes queer "model" cases. Rainbow community members are often complicit in racialization processes. Some participants

expressed hesitation and disbelief at the extent and severity of forms of systemic and local racism. For some white participants, awareness of intersectional inequalities meant that white people were under threat—that they would lose their positions of authority and/or recognition as prominent members of the rainbow community. Some participants felt that white people understood oppression better than people of color and/or that the victimization of white gay men should be the focus of fighting oppression. Embracing intersectionality for some participants also meant the potential loss of the ability to protect the rainbow community from people of color. In interviews with self-identified white participants, whiteness was often produced as worthy of directing the rainbow community and as a marker of victimization, empathy, and protection; while being a person of color was produced as suspect, opportunist, and criminal.

Within the contexts of intersectional tension discussed in the first article, I analyse how self-identified white participants conceptualize anti-racism allyship. In my second article, then, I explore more deeply how conflict and confusion about appropriate allyship produced self-exclusion from anti-racism efforts. I found that allies experience tension as to their roles and potential responsibilities in relation to anti-racism, which often results in being uninformed about race-related issues and/or in their non-participation in anti-racism. Many of the people I spoke with had experience in community organizing and/or they saw the importance of activism in queer contexts. However, when I asked about racial issues and anti-racism, self-identified white participants tended to respond that anti-racism was not for them or about them. In particular, white participants claimed that their self-exclusion was informed by anti-racism and that they were allies to people of color. Being an ally refers to a supportive relationship someone from a dominant group has with marginalized groups; allyship often includes assisting in social justice struggles. Participants who considered themselves anti-racism allies said their allyship centered

on not interfering with the events and activities of people of color. In my research, participation and engagement with anti-racism was contextualized as interference or as taking up space that is not for white people. White anti-racism allies said they were more effective allies by not being involved in anti-racism. I argue that this type of allyship supports racial divisions in the rainbow community and the idea that racism is not an issue in which white people should engage. Allyship through self-exclusion as an exercise in identity links oneself to anti-racism while benefitting from and participating in conditions that produce and maintain systemic inequality.

With data and analysis from my first two articles, I wrote and produced a stage production entitled *We without You.* The production is a knowledge mobilization project that addresses gaps in public knowledge and informs audiences about a range of experiences in the rainbow community informed by intersections of race and queerness. My experiences writing and producing *We without You* and the role of performance as critical resistance against polarizing politics and disciplinary barriers is the subject of my third article. I argue that performance as knowledge mobilization plays a crucial role in shaping methodologies by positioning sociological inquiry as an important contributor to public life.

In conclusion, my research about queer anti-racism in Toronto makes processes of racialization, allyship, and knowledge mobilization visible and actionable. I make some recommendations for addressing existing tensions in the rainbow community with an aim toward building intersectional coalitions, such as encouraging white people to engage with other white people about anti-racism. However, the main goal of my dissertation is to present critical analysis than to be prescriptive about social organizing. Anti-racism is context dependent and there is no universally correct way to engage in social action. I think social organizing that is

built on listening to marginalized peoples and that aims to meet their material needs is a useful starting position.

Academic research can facilitate and direct effective social organizing and policy intervention. As I discussed in the third article, the current political moment produces a need for more publicly-oriented academic work. *We without You* shows how meaningful public work can be to communities. People still remark on the strong emotional reactions they had to the play and how it changed the way they engage with other people. As a result of my research, the 519 in Toronto added more anti-racism community programming. Bridging academic work with public engagement allowed me to share my findings with the communities I work with. It is my hope that my dissertation helps to broaden peoples' conceptualization of what constitutes effective knowledge mobilization.

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Appendix A

Meme from Decolonial Meme Queens

Appendix B

Interview guide for Queer participants

Interview #:

Participant's pseudonym:

Date:

Time:

Consent form used:

Participant's response to request for consent:

Section I: Location

Where are you currently living?

Follow up: How long have you lived there?

Have you moved in the last 12 months?

Follow up: Why did you move?

Do you enjoy the area where you live? Why or why not?

Section II: Identity

What words do you use to describe your sexual identity?

Follow up: When and where do you use each term?

What does post-GLB mean to you?

What are the ways that you signal to others that you are post-GLB?

Prompts: What are the words you use? What clothing and hair choices do you make? Where do you spend your time socially? Do you spend time with GLB, post-GLB, or queer people?

Have you attended any GLB, post-GLB, or queer events?

Follow up: Which ones? Are there any events that you go to frequently? Why or why

not?

Are you a member/contributor of any GLB, post-GLB, or queer-focused organizations?

Follow up: Which one(s)? What made you want to be a member/contributor to this organization?

Section III: Race

What words do you use to describe your racial/ethnic identity?

Follow up: When and where do you use each term?

What does being (appropriate racial term) and post-GLB mean to you?

Have you attended any racially-focused events?

Have you attended any events that focus on the intersections between race and sexual identifications?

Follow up: Which ones? Are there any events that you go to frequently? Why or why not?

Do you think post-GLB people/events acknowledge and engage with racial issues?

Do you think many people of color identify as post-GLB?

Follow up: Why or why not?

Do you feel like you have to separate your sexual and racial identities?

Follow up: If yes, where do you feel this way?

Are you a member/contributor of any organizations that focus on race and race-related issues?

Follow up: Which one(s)? What made you want to be a member/contributor to this organization?

Section V: Conclusion

That is the end of my questions. Thank you again for your participation.

Is there anything I haven't addressed that you would like us to talk about?

Would you like to receive a copy of the research results when the project is finished?

E-mail [if applicable]:

Mailing address [if applicable]:

Appendix C

Interview guide for members of queer-focused organizations

Interview #

Organization:

Participant's pseudonym:

Date:

Time:

Consent form used:

Participant's response to request for consent:

Section I: Organizational background

What does your organization do? What is this organization's role in the community? What services does this organization provide?

How does this organization address the needs of GLB people?

Are you aware of any concerns that queer people of color have?

> **Follow up:** How does your organization address these concerns?

Are you aware of post-GLB identities?

Section II: Events and attendance

What are your most common events?

Where are events typically held? At what time?

How and where are events advertised?

> **Prompts:** Do you have any examples of event advertising I can include in my project? What kind of language does the organization use when advertising events?

What age groups typically attend events?

Does your organization hold any events or provide any services oriented toward post-GLB peoples?

Does your organization hold any events or provide any services oriented toward queer people of color?

Can you recall whether people of color generally attend your organizations events?

> **Follow up:** Which events?

Do you typically have speakers at your events?

> **Follow up:** Can you give me some examples of who has spoken at previous events and what they spoke about?

Are there any events that the organization is considering in the future that are oriented toward post-GLB peoples and people of color?

Section V: Conclusion

That is the end of my questions. Thank you again for your participation.

Is there anything I haven't addressed that you would like us to talk about?

Would you like to receive a copy of the research results when the project is finished?

E-mail [if applicable]:

Mailing address [if applicable]:

Appendix D

Guide for field notes

This guide is for taking field notes during queer-focused events. This guide reminds me of what to look for and what is potentially meaningful for my research.

Event:

Date:

Time:

Who is present? (gender, age, class, race)

Are there any signs, t-shirt images, posters, or other images?

Is there anyone speaking? What are they saying? Who is speaking? (credentials, age, race, etc.)

Who has/expresses power in this space?

Who is making decisions? What are they making decisions about?

Is there music?

What does the location look like? (is it scenic and central, out of the way, in a working class area, on campus, etc.)

Is there opposition present? What does that look like? How do I know they are opposed?

Are there questions being asked?

Does the time of day, location, message of the event, etc. preclude the participation of some people? Who? Why might this have happened?

Appendix E

General Research Ethics Board Approval

March 08, 2017

Ms. Sylvia Grills
Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Sociology
Queen's University
Kingston, ON, K7L 3N6

GREB Ref #: GSOC-147-17; TRAQ # 6020414
Title: "GSOC-147-17 Sexual Orientation and its Discontents: An Ethnography of Post-GLB Culture in Toronto"

Dear Ms. Grills:

The General Research Ethics Board (GREB), by means of a delegated board review, has cleared your proposal entitled **"GSOC-147-17 Sexual Orientation and its Discontents: An Ethnography of Post-GLB Culture in Toronto"** for ethical compliance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (TCPS 2 (2014)) and Queen's ethics policies. In accordance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (Article 6.14) and Standard Operating Procedures (405.001), your project has been cleared for one year. You are reminded of your obligation to submit an annual renewal form prior to the annual renewal due date (access this form at http://www.queensu.ca/traq/signon.html/; click on "Events"; under "Create New Event" click on "General Research Ethics Board Annual Renewal/Closure Form for Cleared Studies"). Please note that when your research project is completed, you need to submit an Annual Renewal/Closure Form in Romeo/traq indicating that the project is 'completed' so that the file can be closed. This should be submitted at the time of completion; there is no need to wait until the annual renewal due date.

You are reminded of your obligation to advise the GREB of any adverse event(s) that occur during this one year period (access this form at http://www.queensu.ca/traq/signon.html/; click on "Events"; under "Create New Event" click on "General Research Ethics Board Adverse Event Form"). An adverse event includes, but is not limited to, a complaint, a change or unexpected event that alters the level of risk for the researcher or participants or situation that requires a substantial change in approach to a participant(s). You are also advised that all adverse events must be reported to the GREB within 48 hours.

You are also reminded that all changes that might affect human participants must be cleared by the GREB. For example, you must report changes to the level of risk, applicant characteristics, and implementation of new procedures. To submit an amendment form, access the application by at http://www.queensu.ca/traq/signon.html; click on "Events"; under "Create New Event" click on "General Research Ethics Board Request for the Amendment of Approved Studies". Once submitted, these changes will automatically be sent to the Ethics Coordinator, Ms. Gail Irving, at the Office of Research Services for further review and clearance by the GREB or GREB Chair.

On behalf of the General Research Ethics Board, I wish you continued success in your research.

Sincerely,

John D. Freeman

John Freeman, Ph.D.
Chair
General Research Ethics Board

c: Dr. Sarita Srivastava, Supervisor
Dr. David Murakami Wood, Chair, Unit REB
Ms. Michelle Underhill, Dept. Admin.

Appendix F

Poster for *We without You* designed by Mark Lazaro[17]

[17] Permission to reproduce granted by Mark Lazaro

Appendix G

We without You Program

Content warning: explicit language, homophobia, HIV, and racism. Please feel free to leave or return at any time.

The Cast and Crew

Playwright/Producer.....Sylvia Grills

Director.....Kemi King

SG.....Andie Winsor

Ron.....Tyler Anderson

Shae.....Kemi King

Zahra.....Michelle Mazaheri

Nick.....Matthew Grills

Emily.....Michelle Nyamekye

Disembodied Voice.....TJ Skulstad-Brown

Projection/Sound Operator.....Sylvia Grills

This production is dedicated to the people of Toronto and to the memory of Kim Renders.

A word from the Playwright...

We without You asks us to consider our capacities to work and relate across difference. How do we *do* coalition without focusing on individuals? How do we reconcile our attachment to identity with social and structural change? How are queer and trans communities sometimes constructed to exclude members of those communities? We hope to encourage discussion and social action related to intersectionality and coalition across differences rather than division based on difference. I hope you enjoy the experience of *We without You*! Thank you for coming to our performance! You can contact me at sdg3@queensu.ca.

Love, Sylvia

Actor Biographies

Andie Winsor is a Bachelor of Music student at Queen's University. They are a singer, actor, dancer and visual artist. Special thanks to Sylvia for writing a beautiful play, and to the rest of the cast for their kindness, love and dedication. Enjoy the show!

Tyler Anderson is a PhD student at Queen's University. Not unlike the plot of *La La Land*, he came to Kingston with a U-Haul his parents drove and a dream. Some of his theatrical work includes scenes from *Othello* (*Iago*) and *Hedda Gabler* (*George Tesman*). While he may be no actor that robbed Natalie Portman of her Academy Award for *Jackie*, he has loved being part of this show. Please enjoy.

Kemi King is a Writer, Director, Actor, and Performance Artist. She is the Co-Founder & Artistic Director of YIKES a Theatre Company. Kemi is always looking for new ways to challenge herself & her art.

Michelle Mazaheri is in the Concurrent Education program at Queens University majoring in music. Performance through music and the stage has been with her throughout her whole life and she can't wait to showcase this beautiful play. Enjoy!

Matthew Grills has worked in many theatrical productions having dazzled as *Gen. Bullmoose* in *L'il Abner*, he also claims that he was *Romeo* one time. Matt is a supporter of social research into the construction of communities and is excited to have worked with a passionate group of people to mobilize knowledge outside the classroom.

Michelle Nyamekye is a Drama and Indigenous Studies student in Concurrent Education at Queen's University. Her past theatrical experiences include *Sex Education by Theatre* (SExT) where she was Assistant Stage Manager and a cast member. Her passion for theatre and education makes this piece of art a wonderful combination of the two and she is honoured to take part in this work.

***We without You* is funded by:** Queen's University Department of Sociology, Queen's University School of Graduate Studies, Queen's University Experiential Learning Hub, The Society for Graduate and Professional Students, Queen's University Department of Gender Studies, and The 519.

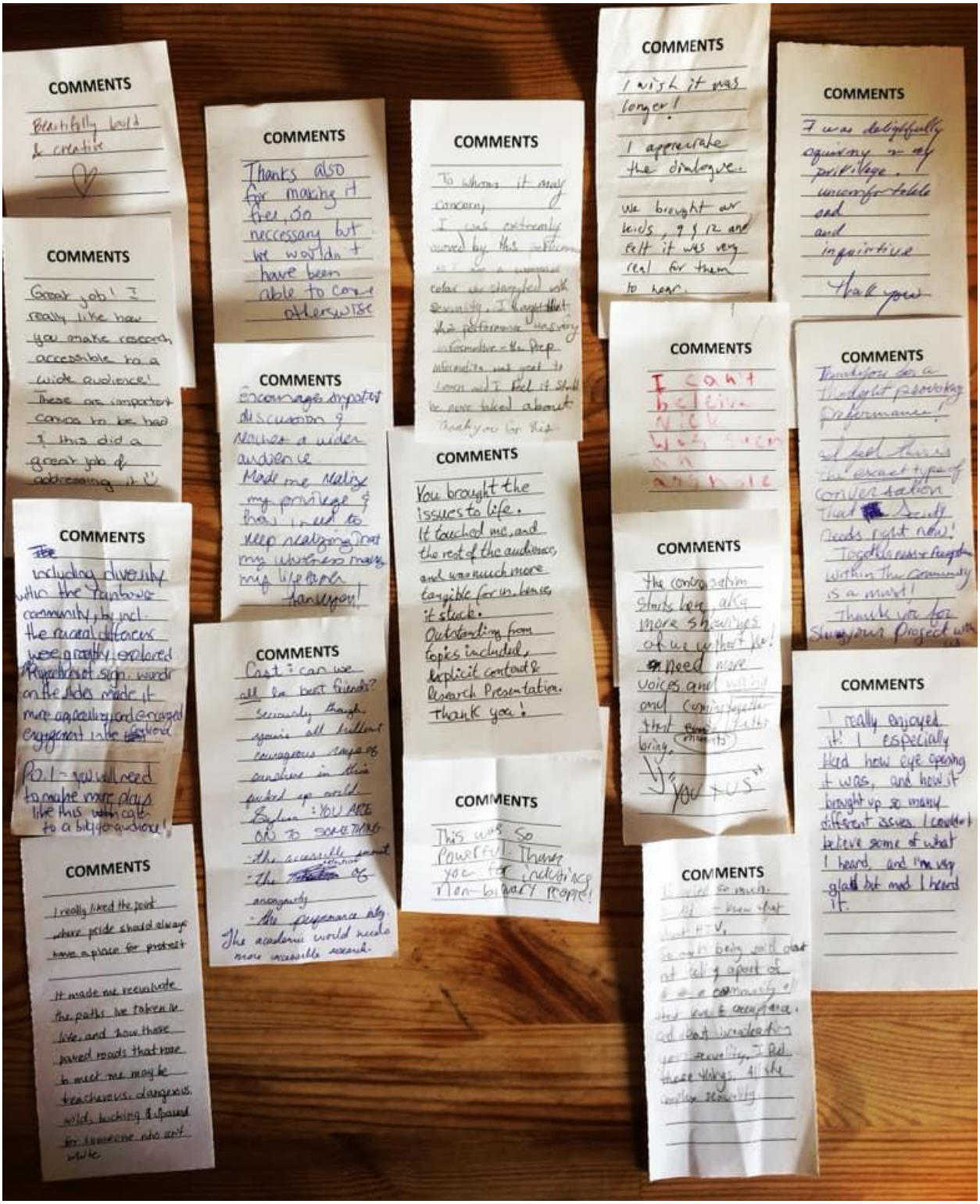
Thank you for supporting queer anti-racism theater!

Special Thanks to:

Sarita Srivastava
Cynthia Levine-Rasky
Jaymie Sampa
Sheilagh and Scott Grills
BJ Pelletier
Michael Arient
Steven Richardson
Debra Mackinnon
Sofie Shannon
Jennifer Williams
Everyone who was interviewed for Sylvia's research

Appendix H

Audience Comments from the Kingston Performance of *We without You*



Appendix I

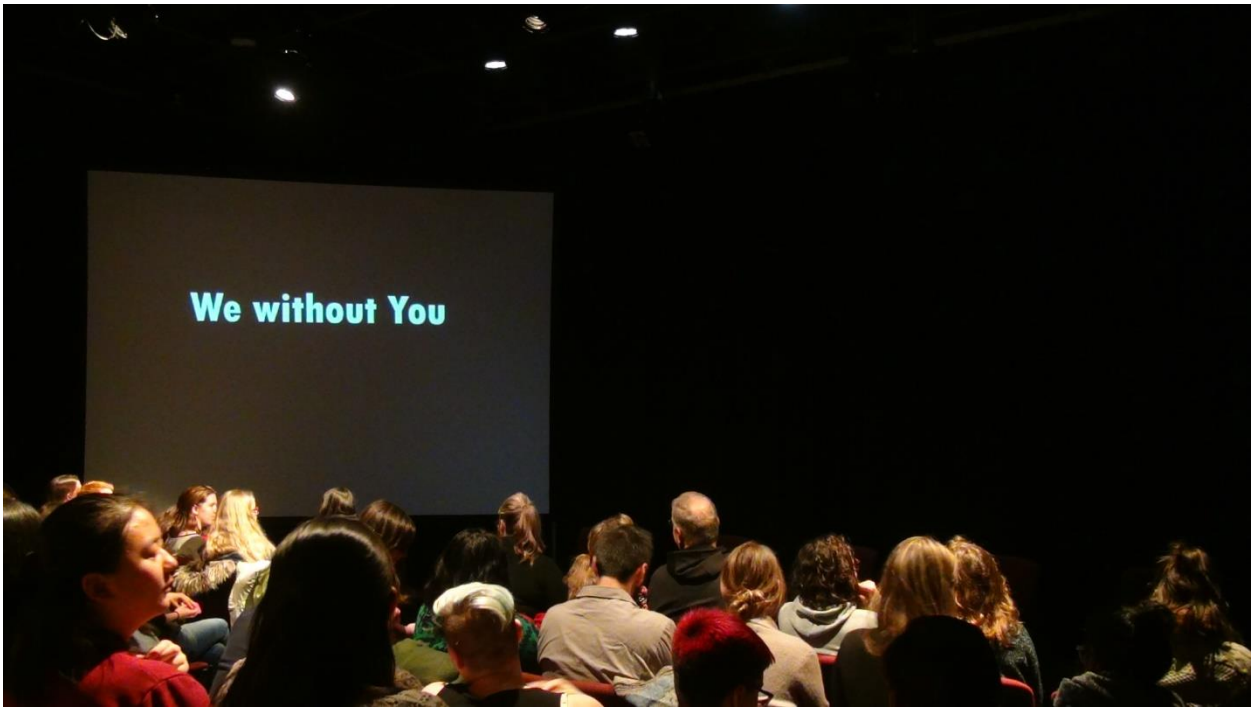
Rehearsal for the Toronto Performance of *We without You*[18]

Back row: Matthew Grills, Tyler Anderson, and Michelle Nyamekye
Front row: Michelle Mazaheri, Andie Winsor, and Kemi King.

[18] Permission to reproduce images of the actors when promoting *We without You* granted by every member of the cast and crew

Appendix J

The Kingston Performance of *We without You*



Appendix K

Rehearsals for *We without You*

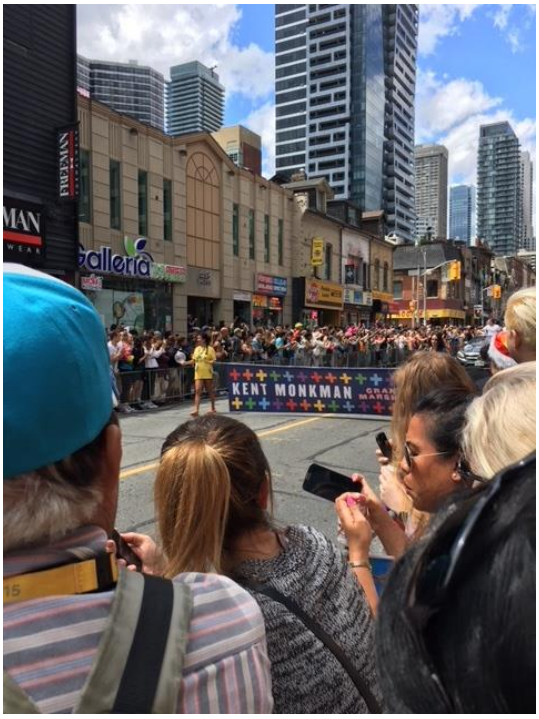
From left: Tyler Anderson and Michelle Nyamekye

From left: Andie Winsor, Matthew Grills, and Michelle Mazaheri

Appendix L

Photographs from My Field Work

Toronto Pride 2017

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Photographs from My Field Work

Queen Street West (top) Toronto University (bottom)