

GENV 3701 Research Methods in Human Geography
Dr. Tim Reiffenstein

Inclusivity and Othering in Montréal's Gay Village

To what extent has the Village gentrified and what role do gender, identity, race, and income play in that process?

Jamie Dagleish and Ella Porter
12-7-2016

Contents

Abstract.....	2
Introduction and Purpose.....	2
Literature Review.....	2
Historical Context	4
Methodology	5
Findings and Analysis.....	7
Gender	7
Identity.....	8
Queer Spaces	9
Race.....	10
Age	11
Gentrification	13
Commodification of Pride.....	15
Methodological Limitations.....	16
Improvements and Future Research	17
Conclusion.....	18
References	19
Appendix.....	21

Abstract

This study examines Montréal's gay village and interrogates it as an inclusive space. We wanted to know how much it has gentrified since the 1990s, and how gender, race, and class have influenced that process. This study is situated in the literature on LGBTQ+ geographies and draws on interviews with two key informants, in addition to landscape analysis and census data. We look at the contrast of gay culture and queer culture, and how these populations have claimed different spaces.

Introduction and Purpose

Montréal's Gay Village is touted as a symbol of equality, of welcoming, and of the progressive nature of the city. LGBTQ+ neighbourhoods are known as gentrifiers and harbingers of change. However, is this change always positive and inclusive to all? As time passes and the area known informally as The Village gentrifies, lesbian bars and establishments have been closing as Julie Podmore points out (2013). Other indicators, such as the commodification of gay Pride and the mainstreaming of some, but not all, queer identities, imply that this area which was once a safe space for a marginalized population is becoming unwelcoming to those it is meant to protect. The Village is used to represent queer culture in the city of Montréal, but does it truly capture the diversity of LGBTQ+ people?

The purpose of this paper is to investigate inclusivity, gentrification, and change in the neighbourhood of Village neighbourhood. The driving research question was as follows: to what extent has the Village gentrified and what roles do race, class, identity, and gender play in the process? The aim was to determine if there were signs that the village was gentrifying and if so, whether the area was becoming more or less inclusive to different groups of people. The project aims to examine the diversity or lack thereof of the Village in terms of race, identity, gender, and class. In addition, the topic of sexuality and gender identity as a characteristic of inclusion or exclusion was explored. As the area gentrified, were certain identities pushed out of this space?

Literature Review

Our research purpose stems from and has been shaped by our reading of the literature, especially the work of Dr. Julie Podmore of the Geosciences department at Concordia University and John Abbott College. One of the earliest conclusions about lesbian and gay urban geographies is that of Castells from 1983. Castells claimed that the territories of gay men are more visible because men are more territorial by nature, whereas the territories of lesbians are less visible because women are more committed to actions, such as social networking, than they are to physical areas (Podmore 2006). Podmore mentions the argument of Castells in the introduction of nearly every paper of hers, and refutes it; his idea comes across to the reader as dated and based on normative views of gender and essentialist views of women and men. Not only that, but the argument made by Castells is reductionist; it breaks men and women down into separate types based on behavioral trends which are not true across the board as he makes them out to be. Namely, Castells makes sweeping generalizations about two categories of people and lumps them into these categories, when these generalizations are not true for each member of each category- they are basically stereotypes. Ultimately, Castells leaves out the oppressions and struggles lesbians face

as women in addition to their struggles faced as individuals identified outside the norm (Podmore and Chamberland 2015). Podmore attributes the differences in lesbian and gay territories and territoriality to things other than seemingly inherent differences between women and men. Another key point that came up in multiple studies was that lesbian territory has changed due to broader shifts in identities and the inclusion of lesbians into gay male territory as part of those identity shifts, namely of the introduction of the umbrella term “queer” (Podmore 2006).

Colin Giraud, in his work, “Gay populations as gentrifiers in Paris and Montréal” (2012) provides a helpful link between the concept of gentrification and the concepts of territory and queer identities. Territory can be thought of as specific neighborhoods; and gay neighborhoods are often the sites of gentrification. This process is spurred by gay commerce and has sped up considerably since the 1990s (Giraud 2012, Brown 2012). Increasingly, gay populations are the populations that move into a neighborhood and act as the gentrifying force. As is seen with other processes of gentrification, in a nutshell, one population moves in and displaces the original population, which forces existing businesses to close. In the case of gay and queer populations gentrifying neighborhoods, or as Giraud calls it “gaytrification” (Giraud 2012), the existing businesses are replaced with those that cater to the tastes of the populations replacing the original populations, and gay commerce commences. This can be seen as the first step to the commercialization of gay and queer culture. As Podmore put it, “... over the course of the 1990s the Village became the economic engine for the expansion of gay and queer commerce in Montréal, serving as both a local niche for goods and services and as a site for local boosterism and the expansion of the city's tourist market” (Podmore 2006).

The next step would be what is known as **pink-washing** or **rainbow-washing**, or appealing and marketing to gay- and queer-identified consumers and LGBT culture to make a profit even if a store or company does not actually sell products or services tailored to that clientele but desires its business (Encarnación 2016). This is what has led to the corporate takeover of gay and LGBT pride events and commercialization of space in the form of gay villages, as is the case in Montréal. Some other key concepts and terms are queer, territory, inclusivity, othering, and gentrification. **Queer** is an umbrella term used essentially to refer to identities that deviate from the heteronormative, in terms of, but not limited to, sex, sexual orientation, romantic orientation, gender identity, and gender expression (Podmore 2013). **Territory** is for the most part self-explanatory; it refers to physical space in a city that in this case is frequented by a certain demographic, such as lesbians or gay men (Podmore 2006). **Gentrification** refers to the process of a neighborhood or area of a city filtering up, or becoming more upscale. Usually this means such occurrences as wealthier residents moving in and gradually pushing out lower-income residents, often artists; and commercial establishments becoming more high-end and also displacing their lower-end counterparts. These happenings result in the original tenants, both residential and commercial, getting priced out and moving away to different parts of the city (Giraud 2012). **Othering** is the act of grouping people or beliefs that deviate from the norm and marginalizing them, and/or using that categorization to negatively construct an identity for oneself. An example would be to cast those who are not heterosexual as "other," thereby making heterosexuality the norm and othering those who do not fall under that classification and casting them aside or turning them into exotic sex objects to be consumed (Bell and Binnie 2004).

Homonormativity is the phenomenon whereby heteronormative ideals and institutions are adopted into LGBT culture, such as marriage and male privilege, among others (Brown 2009). It can also refer to a set of privileges and oppressions that make their way into the LGBT community as it becomes more mainstream and accepted by society. In the context of this study, we have defined **inclusivity** to be the degree to which a place, society, or community is inclusive, that is, how welcoming and accepting a place is. It can also be considered in terms of its opposing characteristic including how exclusive a place feels or appears to be, based on some form of evidence such as, but not limited to, representation, attitude, or advertising.

Despite all this, there is not much recent work on inclusivity and the Village, or work that covers recent times. For example, most of Podmore's work published during the last couple years are studies of the 1990s or even span from the 1950s. In our study, we seek to fill the gap in knowledge on the topic of change in the Village to do with gentrification, specifically considering women's perspectives, from the 1990s and early 2000s up to and including the present. Based on the amount of change documented by Podmore in the two decades of the 1980s and 1990s, it is reasonable to assume that an equal amount of change has taken place since then (Podmore 2013).

Historical Context

Gay villages arose out of a need for safe spaces and as a result of being ostracized as gay, or different than and deviating from the societal norm. In this sense, gay villages were ghettos, for the less accepted members of society. However, as it has become less taboo over time to identify as something other than a heteronormative identity, gay villages have become more desirable as destinations and areas in which to live. As the AIDS epidemic receded and pride celebrations became less political, it became more acceptable to come out of the closet and have others know of one's identity. Because it was becoming more acceptable and less devious or dangerous to be gay or lesbian, municipalities and corporations started to capitalize on the identities of gay villages. Slowly at first, but increasingly faster, pride parades and celebrations have become corporate sponsorship extravaganzas and the entire month of June is now Pride month. This is especially apparent at Pride parades now, where everything is pinkwashed and homonormative: only the (extremely subjectively) best characteristics are put on display or allowed to be shown in public, essentially to be representative, and events are barely political. Pride has a history of being controversial and subversive, but now is simply a series of events featuring celebrities, booths hosted by corporations staging giveaways, and street festivals rife with consumerism.

However, as safe as it is now to be LGBT in North America – and it is not safe for all members of the community; there is a large gradient for different identities – it never used to be. From stigma to fatal, physical violence motivated by hate, members of the LGBT community have historically been targeted for things out of their control, and for certain qualities of their identities; simply for being. Take, for instance, the Stonewall riots of 1969. It was essentially illegal to be gay, or lesbian, or anything other than straight, cisgender, and traditionally presenting. Knowing of gay bars, the police would perform violent raids, sometimes outing closeted individuals. In response to the oppression and discrimination, LGBT people tended to live in close proximity to one another, where they were less likely to get harassed on the streets of their neighborhoods.

Another example is the riot protest of a popular lesbian bar in 1974 in Montréal, Chez Madame Arthur: to subvert the male gaze and avoid harassment, the lesbians who frequented the bar protested on the street outside it (Podmore and Chamberland 2015). There was other political lesbian activism in Montréal in the 1970s and 1980s (Podmore and Chamberland 2015), but starting in the 1990s it became notably less political, at the same time that LGBT consumerism took off.

Methodology

The majority of the research was conducted in the Gay Village proper (see Figure 1). Christian Tanguay, Executive Director of CCGLM, defined the Village as “[Ave] Papineau on the east side, ending to [Rue] St-Denis on the west side, [Rue] Sherbrooke on the north side, and [Blvd] René-Lévesque on the south side.” The research method which took up the most time and effort was that of landscape observation. The focus of the observation was placed on Rue Sainte-Catherine and to a lesser extent Rue Amherst as this is where most of the businesses and activity in the Village is concentrated. This commercial area is also the stretch of street where the city has placed pride flag banners on the light poles along the street indicating the presence of the Village. During the summer, the section of Sainte-Catherine’s that runs through the Village is turned into a pedestrian route and is one of the most photographed places in the Village; it is the face of Montréal’s Gay Village. This entire stretch of street was thoroughly observed and photographed. The purpose was to analyse the built and human environments in order to infer information from the observations made (Phillips and Johns 2012). Some questions which were used to focus the observation include: is the area mostly commercial? What types of businesses are present? How are the businesses marketed? Where are the public spaces and how are they used? This research was conducted by both researchers as a team. The research plan was also adapted while in Montréal as the Christian Tanguay, Executive Director of the CCGLM (Centre Communautaire LGBTQ+ de Montréal), appeared to be a useful resource. An interview with Tanguay was set up with the purpose of gaining his perspective on the Village as someone who is very involved with LGBTQ people and culture of the area. This interview was also carried out by both members of the research team.

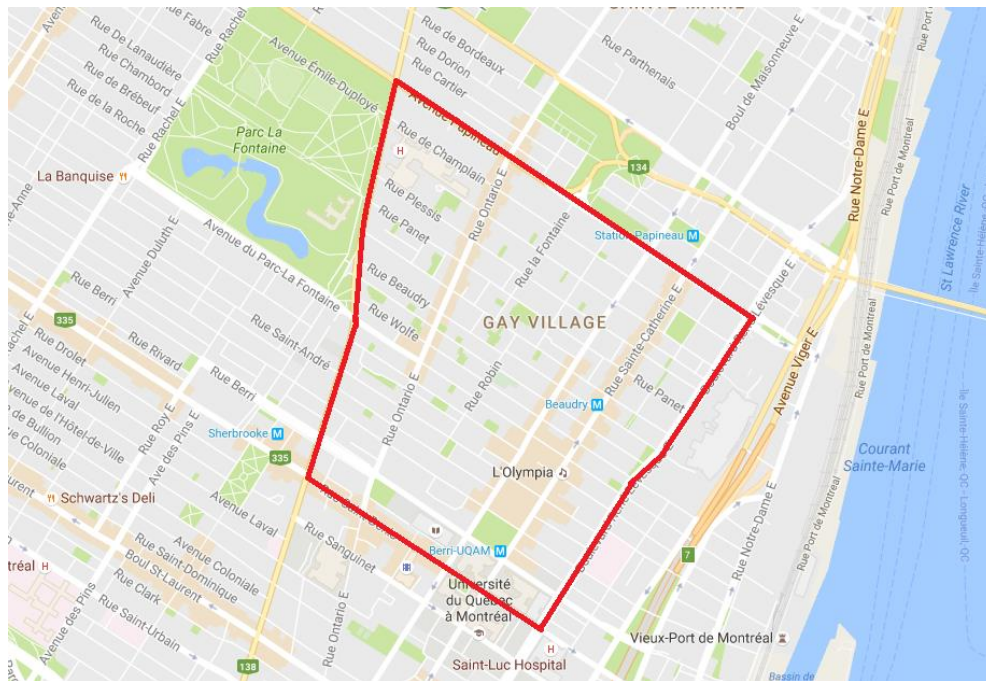


Figure 1: Map of the Gay Village (Google Maps)

Some research methods which were originally planned were not executed due to logistical reasons. It was the intention to select several businesses to approach for interviews. However, many of the most significant businesses were clubs and bars which had limited hours of operation. Thus, during the time which research was occurring, many were not open. As well, due to the types of establishments and the time of the week when research was being conducted, any time that the businesses were open, they were extremely busy and did not have time to be interviewed. Several businesses were contacted over the phone and were unable to answer questions due to this. As well, many of these businesses were not welcoming to women or were overtly sexualized and thus the researchers, both young women, did not feel comfortable entering these businesses. It was also the intent to interview several pedestrians in the village to gain their perspective. However, during the day set aside for these interviews the weather was very unpleasant. People were not interested in being interviewed in the streets in the rain; thus, none of these interviews were conducted.

Some research was also conducted while in Sackville. This includes analysing the census tract data and interviewing Dr. Julie Podmore, a professor from Concordia University. The Gay Village consists of five entire census tracts and two partial tracts. The data collected was only from the five tracts completely contained by the village (see Appendix). All of the numbers from each of these tracts were collected and then combined to give a value for the Village as a whole. Statistics Canada Data was collected from 2011, 2001, and 1991. This span was chosen to assess the change that occurred through the nineties and the 2000's. Gentrification happens over a longer time period, and thus every five years (i.e. 2011, 2006, 2001, etc.) was not necessary. The data collected included gender data, age category data, median income, mother tongue, and marital status data. There are no exact quantifiers for some of areas analyzed, thus information can be inferred from the statistical data (Phillips and Johns 2012). The interview with Dr. Julie Podmore was first meant to take place during research in Montréal. However, Dr. Podmore was not available at that time.

The interview was conducted over Skype from Sackville, NB. The purpose of this interview was to gain Dr. Podmore's perspectives and knowledge on the research topic. Both researchers were present and asked questions during the interview.

Findings and Analysis

Gender



Figure 2: Le Stud, a gay bar in the Village



Figure 3: Wega, a men's erotica store

Based on our reading of the literature, there were some results we expected to find. One such finding is that the Village is very obviously a male-dominated space. Most gay villages are at this point. Gay male culture is the dominant one in the LGBT community, perhaps because Pride parades were organized by gay men as a way to fight against their legal situation and maltreatment by the police (Podmore and Chamberland 2015). This male dominance was reinforced by the sheer number of gay bars and nightclubs we found in the Village, the flags we saw, and shops catering to gay male business preferences. A prime example of this is one bar called Le Stud (see Figure 2). It features provocative silhouettes of men in its windows and flies the bear pride flag and the leather community pride flag ("bears" are a subset of gay male culture). While these are both stereotypes, they make it clear that Le Stud is not a women's space, but one for men who are "studs." We saw the same flags again flying on an intersection with St. Catherine East. Another example of the dominance of gay male culture in the Village is the proliferation of leather and erotica shops marketed to men: we encountered Wega, a "boutique erotique pour homme" according to its sign (see Figure 3). As the Executive Director of the CCGLM stated "there is a dominance of gay males in the Gay Village" (Tanguay 2016). The census data found seems to clearly support this statement (see Figure 4). Not only is there a clear majority of males in the

Village, the gap between men and women is growing. Since 1991, the difference between male and female populations has grown from 1,300 to 1,980 more men than women (Statistics Canada).

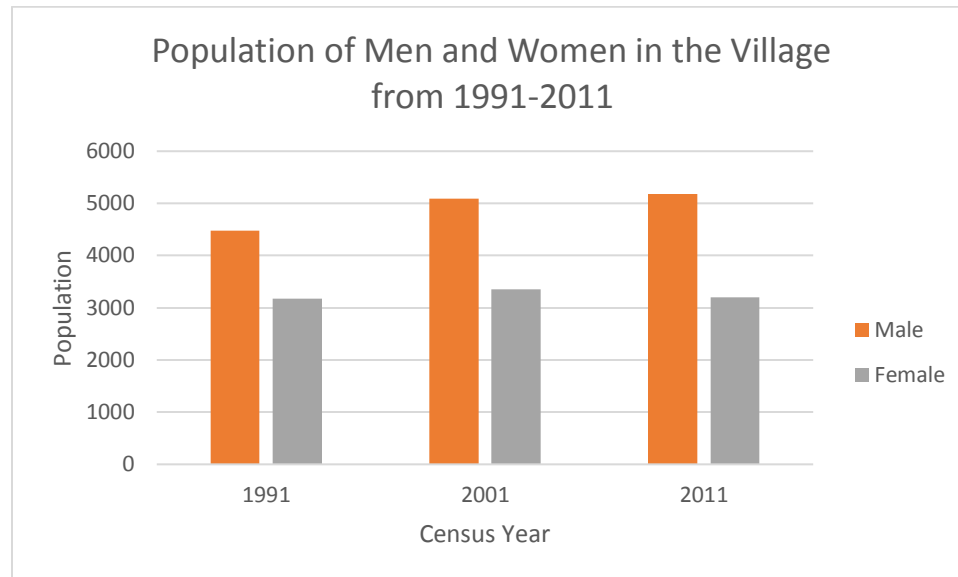


Figure 4: Population of Men vs. Women in the Village (Statistics Canada)

Identity

In relation to the Village being a male-dominated space, we were expecting it to not be or feel inclusive. It makes sense for an area so dominated one culture and identity to not be wholly inclusive or welcoming to others. While there were signs everywhere targeting gay men, there were none advertising to any other identity, such as women, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender people, or even queer identity. As Julie Podmore describes, the Village is “not very queer;” it is “very clearly a gay male space.” Podmore commented “I think of it as being a lesbian and gay space rather than a queer space” (2016). There is one bar, Le Cocktail, that hosts a women's night, one night per week, on Fridays. This was the only inclusive advertising we came across. And to its credit, Le Cocktail does welcome many identities on Friday nights while maintaining a focus on women in a tasteful manner. The Village is also welcoming of trans identities to a certain extent, but only in the form of drag, most likely because of the mainstreaming and commodifying of drag shows. Other more queer trans identities are not welcomed (Podmore 2016). While we were in the CCGLM, we had a casual conversation with an older woman who appeared to be in her 60's. Of this disappearance of lesbian bars and lack of inclusivity she commented “There were so many places for us to go and now we have nothing.” Out of anywhere in the Village, the CCGLM was the most welcoming and inclusive. Inside, not only was there a gay pride flag, there was also a transgender flag, the only one seen during the entirety of the research. There were many resources available for all genders, sexual identities, and ages and the washrooms were gender neutral. It is also notably removed from the area of Sainte-Catherine's, emphasizing the Centre's detachment from the version of the Village that is pushed into the public eye. It reflects more of the true demographic who should feel safe and represented in this area.

There is no way to ascertain the identities of the individuals living in the Village with quantitative data from Statistics Canada. However, the examination of relationship status and the change from 1991 to 2011 proves to be interesting (see Figure 5). The number of people in common-law

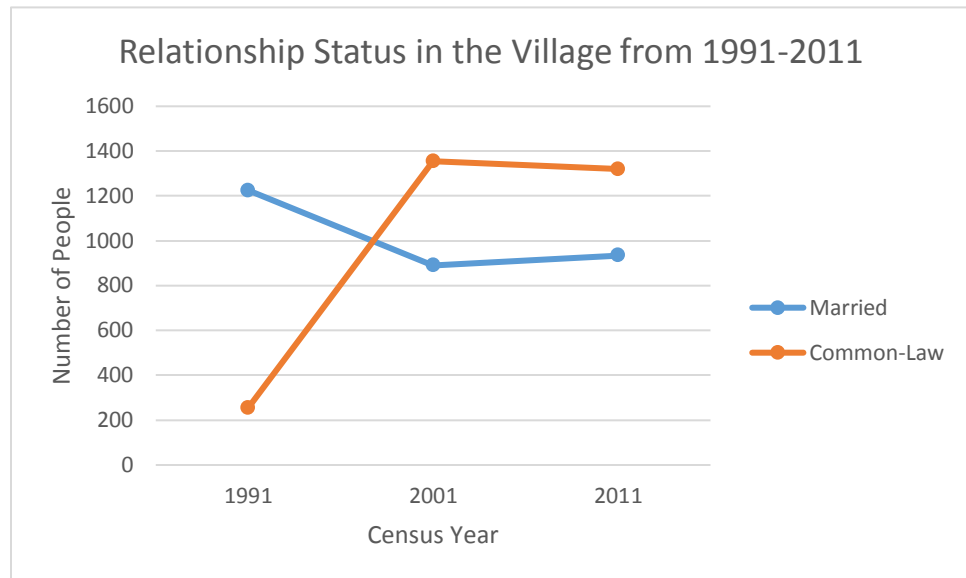


Figure 5: Married and Common-law individuals in the Village (Statistics Canada)

relationships sky-

rocketed from 1991 to 2001. This is because, during this period, it became legal for same-sex couples to be considered common-law. Thus, many of these common-law couples would have existed prior to 2001 but only were legally recognized in 1999. The number of married couples drops slightly, possibly because in general, people are getting married less. The number of people who are single, not married or in a common-law relationship, is not on this graph as it is so much larger than the other two categories that it makes the graph difficult to comprehend. The large number of single people, 5,370 in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2011), and the increase prevalence in common-law couples suggests that the majority of the people living in the village are in same-sex relationships. However, there is no way to determine if these individuals are gay, lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, or any other identity. It can be assumed, from the information presented by both Tanguay and Podmore, that the individuals are most likely gay.

Queer Spaces

In the interview with Julie Podmore, a new concept came up that we weren't expecting. In Montréal, there seems to be a divide between people who identify as gay, and to a lesser extent lesbian, and people who identify as queer, though most lesbians identify more strongly as queer. This arising out of the lack of inclusivity in the Village as Podmore states "there really aren't queer spaces there" (2016). The struggles faced by transgender, genderqueer, and other queer people who are not gay or lesbian to find a place in the Village was also touched on by Tanguay (2016). She emphasized the fact that younger people were more likely to feel a strong detachment from the Village and the gay spaces and more strongly identify with being queer. As a result, queer spaces and lesbian spaces have developed outside of the Village (Podmore 2016). These new queer neighbourhoods, such as the one growing north of Mile End, tend to be more trans inclusive and welcoming to queer women. The people that create these spaces "identify very strongly against the Village" (Podmore 2016). As Podmore explains "The Village is everything they don't want to have as a space; they want a more inclusive, less commercial kind of space" (2016). Indeed, this

is not a problem faced just by Montreal's gay village. In Manchester, England, "In particular, class entitlement plays a major role in articulating and enabling who can be included and excluded from this space" (Binnie and Skeggs 2004). However, some of these groups have their own problems with inclusivity, such as older radical lesbians who are not willing to extend their space to transgender women.

This creates a tension and illustrates the difficulties of intergenerational spaces. Older lesbians object to the individuality of modern movements while younger queer people see the older ones as being less radical because of their tendency to be exclusionary (Podmore 2016). There is, however, more of an awareness for the need for inclusivity within the lesbian community, possibly stemming from the application of feminism, that Podmore expressed was not shared by the gay male community who think of themselves as having their own, separate movement from all other LGBTQ+ identities (2016). The division between queer and gay, in addition to being age based, is also language based. The word queer really has no meaning in French in terms of identity or significance as a reclaimed word (Podmore 2016). As Montréal is mostly Francophone, this creates interesting communities of identity with some people struggling to find the place where they fit. Queer is commonly used by the Anglophone communities, especially the younger ones, and by some of the younger Francophone communities who have imported the English idea. However, there is less of an awareness of queer identities outside of English communities furthering the rift between queer and gay identities and thus, the physical spaces these communities occupy as their own (Podmore 2016).

Race

The other area in which the Village appears to be exclusive and not diverse is in terms of race and ethnicity. While walking the streets, the people observed were predominantly white, though not completely. The advertising for the businesses along Sainte-Catherine's was composed mainly of white individuals, with very few, if any, men of colour featured. Christian Tanguay mentioned that the men of the Village tended to be white (2016). As Julie Podmore stated "our Village is not a very diverse Village." In the nightclub and bar life of the village, most participants are white (2016). However, there are many immigrants and people of various ethnicities who regularly make use of the CCGLM. Approximately 60-70% of the membership of the Centre are people of colour (Tanguay 2016). Julie Podmore also expressed that she has seen an increase in people of colour in the Village, especially during the memorial for the mass shooting in Orlando this summer. This implies a possible change in the demographic of the Village. Most of this diversification is happening in queer areas outside of the Village proper. When examining census data, if individuals who have at least one non-official mother tongue, that is people who have at least one mother tongue which is not English or French, is used as an indicator of racial diversity there is a clear dominance of non-minority populations (see Figure 6). In part this lack of diversity is due to the make-up of the city of Montréal itself which has only approximately a 14% visible minority population (Podmore 2016). However, the percentage of Village residents with non-official mother tongues, known as "allophones" in Québec (Statistics Canada 2007), has increased from 9.5% in 1991 to approximately 18% in 2011 (Statistics Canada). This includes people who have multiple mother tongues including English and/or French in addition to an unofficial language. If citizenship and immigration status were also to be considered, most Village residents

would be non-immigrant Canadian citizens. However, the number of non-citizens and immigrants in the Village is also increasing (Statistics Canada 1991, 2011).

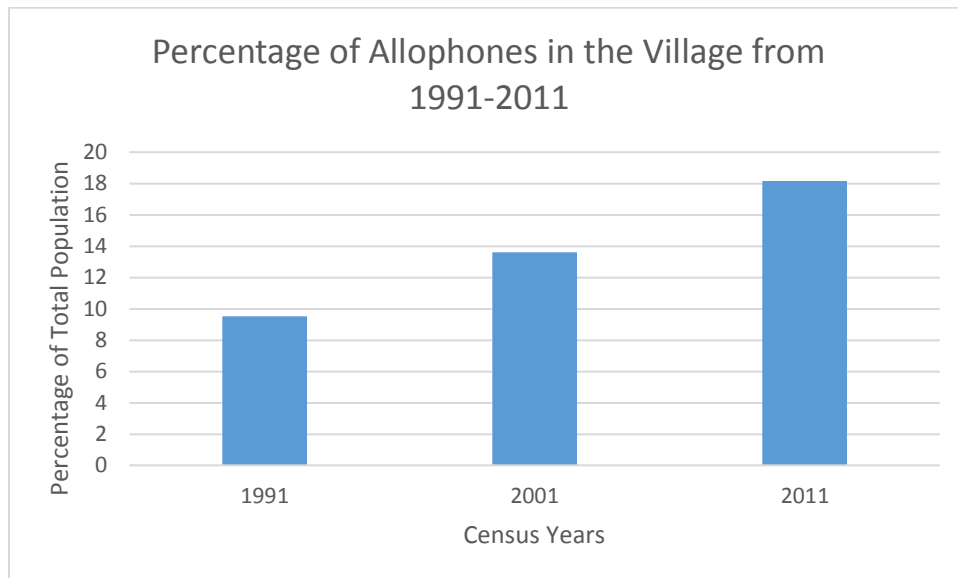


Figure 6: Mother Tongue of Village residents (Statistics Canada)

Age

According to Christian Tanguay, the majority of the men who live in this area are 45 years of age and older (2016). This statement was difficult to obtain from the census data due to the loss of the long form census in the 2011 year (see Figure 7). The entire labour market is grouped into one category making any analysis pointless. Julie Podmore did corroborate this statement about the “strong presence of older gay men” in the Village (2016). This was unexpected as the Village is portrayed as hip and mainstream and it was assumed that younger people would be moving into the area. However, there are various reasons why this makes sense. The first being, that the area is gentrifying albeit differently that gentrification that is occurring in other gay neighbourhoods due to the prevalence of social housing (Podmore 2016). As gentrification occurs, rents rise and younger individuals who have not accumulated wealth and may have student debt or difficulty finding employment cannot afford to live there. In casual conversation with a young queer woman we befriended in Montréal, she mentioned that she did not live in the Village because it was far too expensive for her.

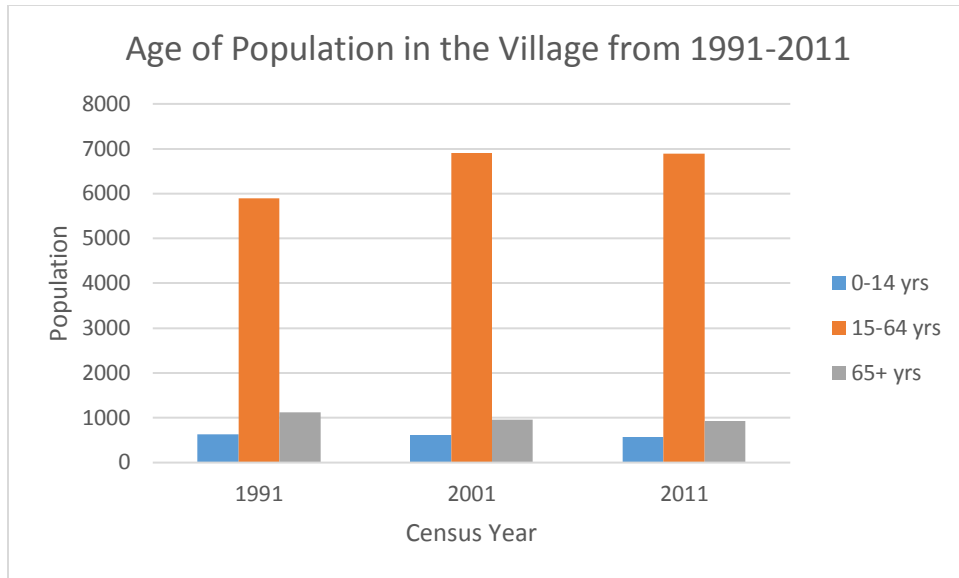


Figure 7: Age of the population in the Village (Statistics Canada)

The other reason based in the history of the gay community of Montréal. These gay, cisgender men over 45 years of age were part of the original wave of gentrifiers and feel very attached to this neighborhood. “About 20 years ago,” gay men began to move into this space because “the rent was low” (Tanguay 2016). This was during the AIDS crisis which was sweeping through the gay and bisexual male population. Thus, this area is historically very important to gay

men and tied to their identity and sense of self. While studying the length of Sainte-Catherine’s, we found multiple locations which physically illustrated the symbolic significance of the Village as a memorial to AIDS victims (see Figures 8 and 9). As Podmore commented, “their identities [gay men] are so strongly linked to that space.” While other groups may feel a loose connection, if any, with the Village, for these men the Village is a large part of their Montréal.



Figure 8: Park of Hope, a memorial for AIDS victims



Figure 9: mural in memory of AIDS victims

Gentrification

The Village has been experiencing gentrification since the 1990s, and it is still quite noticeable walking down its main street. Many of the store fronts are for rent in and around the Village; we would estimate a 20% commercial vacancy from our landscape analysis. From the census data, median incomes can be seen to rise for individuals, households, and families from 1991 to 2011 which would indicate gentrification and higher class people inhabiting the neighbourhood (see Figure 12). However, the gentrification is not quite comparable to the same process in other cities. As Dr. Podmore

noted in our interview with her, “To a certain extent” gentrification is occurring in the Village, but “not as extensive as in some other cities” (Podmore 2016). “Montréal’s gentrification is a bit more limited than other cities in general because the economy is terrible” (Podmore 2016). Montréal’s Village is different from other Villages where there has been a lot of gentrification, say in San Francisco. This is because there is a lot of social housing in the Gay Village Area, which “limits the gentrification because it takes up a lot of space” (Podmore 2016). There is “A general trend in Montréal” of closed businesses that is also the case in the downtown core of the city (Podmore 2016). As part of this trend, Podmore cites shopping outside the city as a reason for all the business spaces for rent. There are also many new developments and condominiums being built within or just outside the Village; this is another big indicator of gentrification. This has also been a problem for lesbian space: an old school was taken over as a cultural space for and by lesbians but it, too, was redone in the process of gentrification- that school is now condominiums, and where there were once lesbian bars on St. Denis there are none (Tanguay 2016). A woman we met in the CCGLM library said that there used to be quite a few lesbian bars, but, “Now we have nothing.”



Figure 10: Advertisement for new condominiums in the Village



Figure 11: Storefront for lease in the Village

As well, “Commercial gentrification has occurred” (Podmore 2016). At one time the Village was more alternative, home to many interesting restaurants, and different cuisines could be found there. Now, it is where people go to spend time at bars and experience the nightlife, but is not a destination for fine eateries (Podmore 2016). Christian Tanguay, Director of the CCGLM, said that gentrification is done mostly by white, cis, gay, men over 45 (Tanguay 2016). As Mr. Tanguay explained:

“It was about 20 years ago; and slowly, they [gay men] started to come here, or some people would say invade the space; the rent was pretty low. There were a lot of... commercial spaces that can be rent[ed] easily, and transformed... They have a lot of bars, a lot of clubs, and then there’s people that started to rent spaces. They wanted to lease a place to stay in this neighborhood, and some of them started to buy places, so they call it gentrification. It is and it was a poor neighborhood, and some people get here by buying [a] piece of real estate and changing the way the neighbourhood is” (Tanguay 2016).

When Sainte-Catherine’s is closed to cars in summer, there is a high police presence; “Everyone is welcome but not if you’re poor or street-identified” (Podmore 2016). She referred to this as the “Criminalization of poverty” (Podmore 2016). There was even a petition started by business

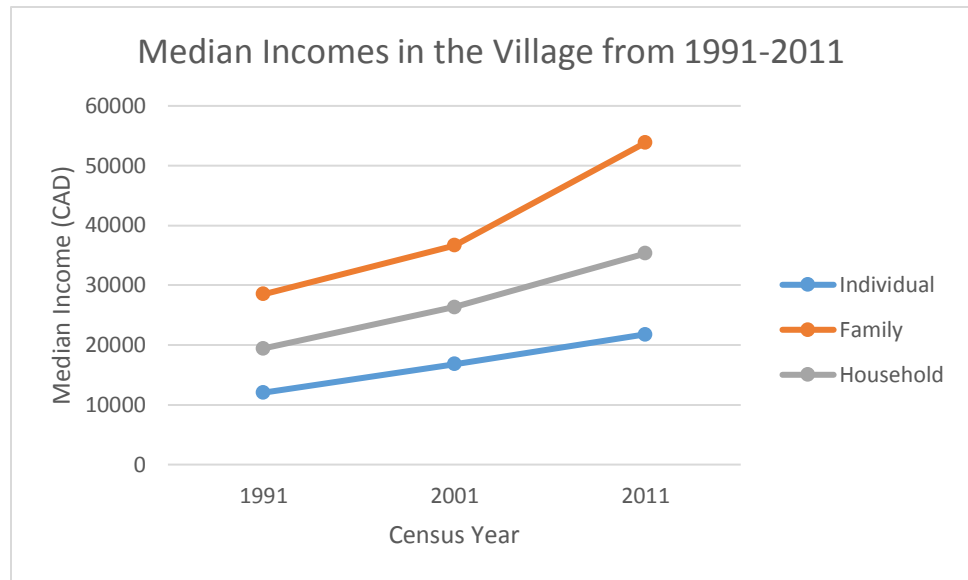


Figure 12: Median Income in the Village (Statistics Canada)

owners to increase policing and remove homeless people on Ste. Catherine’s (Tanguay 2016). Podmore confirmed this, noting that the neighbourhood of the Village has lots of support institutions, making it a space for street-identified people. Now they are being pushed out of that space (Podmore 2016). This ties in directly with the commercialization of Pride and homonormativity: the city is latching onto the Village as a means to boost its image and draw in tourists, at the same time that it is discriminating against and hurting this very population.

Commodification of Pride

There were multiple businesses of various types along Sainte-Catherine's which made use of the identity of the Village, the pride flag, and pride in general to market their services to their customers using rainbow-washing. Many of these businesses had nothing or very little to do with the gay community but took advantage of their locale. Some of these businesses were small scale and featured The Village in their name or rainbows in their advertising (see Figures 13&14). Some of these businesses were



Figure 14: Example of rainbow-washing

larger corporations such as TD Bank and Desjardins (see Figure 15). To attract customers, private businesses sport their own flags both outside and inside their storefronts. According to Tanguay, businesses see consumers instead of real people; they do not see women, trans people, or ethnic minorities (2016). The Village is less of a community and more of an area of consumerism, specifically LGBT consumerism: “Some people in the neighbourhood see more the people who buy stuff, than the real pictures of the community” (Tanguay 2016). Businesses are one of main voices of Village, but because they're businesses their interests are very different and based on profit (Podmore 2016). However, TD has given a large donation to the CCGLM allowing it to supply much needed resources to all members of the LGBTQ+ community that need them (see Figure 16).



Figure 13: Example of marketing using "du Village"

neighbourhoods are “declining and being erased because there are more mainstream clientele” (2016). Podmore gives the following snapshot of the Village: This decline been happening in Montréal for a while now: in the late 1990s straights started invading, and that has continued; now the Village is a very mainstream place. With Sainte-Catherine's is closed to traffic in the summer, it becomes a pedestrian street and a major tourist attraction. It is a place for “everybody” as opposed to gay people during that time. There are immigrant families from the neighbourhood walking along street, more visible than they used to be; and bachelor and bachelorette busses go to the Village for parties- women ask gay men for kisses (Podmore

As Julie Podmore puts it, gay



Figure 15: Rainbow-washing by a large corporation



Figure 16: Illustration of TD's support of the CCGLM

2016). This invasion of gay space by non-LGBTQ individuals threatens the older gay men who once fled to this area for safety. It creates a large degree of discomfort and disruption for those who live there (Podmore 2016).

A Pride celebration was launched by Divers/Cité as being queer, with lots of trans identities. It took place in the Plateau, which is the lesbian area (Podmore 2016). There was a reaction in the lesbian organizations against gay men running everything (Podmore 2016). DiversCité was dominant for a number of years, but folded in

2014. Pervers/Cité started to host pride outside of the village (Podmore 2016). Says Podmore, “DiversCité was so queer that they decided they didn’t need a pride anymore” (2016). A new group, Fierté Montréal, organizes Montréal Pride, which is, “not queer at all,” but rather “very in line with the Village” and “very aligned with commerce,” as well as subsidized by the government and Tourism Montréal- “Now our pride is very mainstream” (Podmore 2016).

As for homonormativity in the Village – “certainly it’s a homonormative space on a certain level” (Podmore 2016). It is homonormative in the sense that sexuality and youth are very commodified and hierarchies, even between men, are created in the space in relation to age, class, race, and, to a certain extent, identity. Certain groups within the LGBTQ umbrella, namely white gay middle-class men, are more empowered by the ability to exist in public space and to get married. Thus, they become more prominent and dominate the space more so than other genders, races, or sexual identities. However, the Village is not traditionally homonormative as it is full of places for open sex, such as saunas and bathhouses (Podmore 2016).

Methodological Limitations

There is no exact measure of “inclusivity;” it is a complex concept. This is one of the limitations of the research. Though measurements of gender, age, and race can be quantitatively measured, there is also a qualitative aspect to this research. Just because an area has a certain demographic does not mean it is equally welcoming to all of those people; the numbers may seem to indicate inclusivity or exclusivity but there is not a way to be completely sure. The use of individuals with at least one unofficial mother tongue as a representative of racial diversity is limited as not all people of racial minorities have a mother tongue other than English. For example, third generation immigrants may be a part of a visible minority but might have learned French as their first language. Other possible indicators which could have been used with limited accuracy include immigrant status or Canadian citizenship status. As well, some areas of investigation, such as sexuality and gender identity, are not able to be obtained from the census data. The feeling of being welcomed and included is difficult to measure, though an attempt was made through the data gained in the interviews and the observation of the landscape in the Village. However, the interpretation of this space depended on the researchers and what they observed and therefore could be biased or incomplete. The interviews also are only the perspectives of the individuals

questioned, though Dr. Podmore studies topics in this area and thus is very knowledgeable. It is difficult to determine whether a certain group of people, for example non-binary individuals, feel included in the Village without speaking to non-binary people in the area. It can be ascertained from interviewing knowledgeable people, but is not directly seen. Therefore, the lack of pedestrian interviews and personal experience limits the extent of this research. It should be noted that both of the researchers and both of the sources interviewed were white. Thus, even though an effort was made to see issues of race and ethnicity, the point of view is one of privilege and something might have been missed. The landscape observation only focused on Sainte-Catherine's and to a lesser extent, Rue Amherst. This, however, is only a section of the Gay Village and could have presented a skewed image. However, it is important to note that these streets act as the representative of the entire Village. The fact that this presentation of what the Village is might not actually be true to the people who reside there is an important aspect of this research.

Improvements and Future Research

If this project were carried out again there are various ways in which it could be improved. For example, of the methods which were planned could be executed including the business and pedestrian interviews. This would allow for more points-of-view from the people who live in, work in, and visit the Village. The project could also be refined and focused on one aspect, perhaps gender or sexuality which would allow for deeper exploration of that characteristic as opposed to a widespread general analysis of inclusivity. If business owners were to be interviewed, it would have been beneficial to have chosen some potential businesses to contact before arriving in Montréal. The researchers wanted to get a feel for the existing businesses before choosing them. However, this resulted in the businesses not having time for interviews. Another indicator of inclusivity which could prove beneficial to this type of research is the gendering of bathrooms. In the future, it could be useful to examine the bathrooms available in businesses and whether these bathrooms are gendered and exclusive or non-gendered, inclusive, and safe for all gender identities.

This study could easily be expanded upon in the future as well. According to Dr. Podmore, the Gay Village is not the only LGBTQ+ space in Montréal. There are multiple queer and lesbian communities elsewhere in the city which could be explored in the same way as this paper explored the Village. The two different communities, the gay and the queer, could also be compared to each other in terms of diversity and inclusivity. The history and development of these communities as well as the Gay Village could also provide a potential area for more research. The exploration of the way in which language, both French and English, play a part in the development of communities and the way in which people identify would also be an area for further research. This paper was mostly from an Anglophone perspective and did not strongly consider the impact or potential division that differences in language could create. Another avenue for expansion would be to research the areas outside of the commercial centre of the Village area, focusing on the residential instead of the commercial. It is also worth considering whether gay male culture is dominant in the LGBT community because even in a community made up entirely of oppressed members of the larger society, there are still great inequalities and privileges among the different identities represented by the flagship letters- in other words, how patriarchy and male privilege are

at play in the LGBT community and how this contributes to the diminishment of lesbian culture and lesbian space. Why, for instance, have lesbian bars closed in great numbers but gay bars have not, as the all-encompassing "queer" identity and culture has bubbled to the surface? Why is it that the men's bars stay in business while the women's close down, and subculture is dominated by gay men while lesbians, other queer women, and other queer people have hardly anything left?

Conclusion

We had certain expectations heading into this study about what we would find. While we did find things we expected to, we also came out (no pun intended) with findings that we were not expecting. We were looking to learn how much Montréal's gay village has gentrified since the 1990s, and how inclusive of a place it is if at all. We discovered that there is still gentrification at play, similar to that studied by Colin Giraud (2012), and that it is an exclusive, gay male-dominated space as discussed by Julie Podmore (2006, 2013). In terms of unexpected results, we knew the dominant population in the Village would be gay men, and probably mostly white, but we were not expecting the age group of 45+ (Tanguay 2016). However, after consideration, this made sense especially in our interview with Christian Tanguay. Because we did not look into the economy of Montréal, we were not aware that it is currently struggling, a fact which we also learned from Dr. Podmore. In light of that, we were surprised to find all the storefronts for rent that we came across. Probably about one in every five, or 20%, of the storefronts we walked past in the Village were for rent. While the literature contains mention of queer spaces (Bell and Binnie 2004, Podmore 2006, Podmore 2013, Nash and Catungal 2013), we did not expect to find the sharp divide between queer and gay culture and their respective spaces that we did. Indeed, in our interview with Dr. Podmore, we learned that some of the queer spaces is actively established and identified as not gay and not the Village, making an effort to distinguish itself from the homonormative. We concluded the study with this in mind:

“Can we call the Gay Village a village? It’s bars, there’s nothing about culture, there’s no place to gather.”

– Christian Tanguay, Director-General, Centre communautaire des gais et lesbiennes de Montréal

References

- Bell, David, and Jon Binnie. "Authenticating Queer Space: Citizenship, Urbanism and Governance." *Urban Studies* 41.9 (2004): 1807-820. Web.
- Binnie, J. and Skeggs, B. (2004), Cosmopolitan knowledge and the production and consumption of sexualized space: Manchester's gay village. *The Sociological Review*, 52: 39–61.
- Brown, Gavin. "Homonormativity: A Metropolitan Concept That Denigrates “Ordinary” Gay Lives." *Journal of Homosexuality* 59.7 (2012): 1065-072. Web.
- Brown, Gavin. "Thinking beyond Homonormativity: Performative Explorations of Diverse Gay Economies." *Environment and Planning An Environ Plan* A41.6 (2009): 1496-510. Web.
- Encarnación, Omar,G. "The Troubled Rise of Gay Rights Diplomacy." *Current History* 115.777 (2016): 17-22. Web.
- Giraud, Colin, and Oliver Waine. "Gay populations as gentrifiers in Paris and Montréal." *Métropolitiques* (2012).
- Nash, Catherine J., and John Paul Catungal. "Introduction: Sexual Landscapes, Lives and Livelihoods in Canada." *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 12.2 (2013): 181-192.
- Phillips, Richard, and Jennifer Johns. *Fieldwork for Human Geography*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE, 2012. Print.
- Podmore, Julie A. "Interview with Dr. Julie Podmore, Concordia University." Online interview. 18 Nov. 2016.
- Podmore, Julie A. "Gone ‘underground’? Lesbian visibility and the consolidation of queer space in Montréal." *Social & Cultural Geography* 7.4 (2006): 595-625.
- Podmore, Julie A. "Lesbians as village ‘queers’: the transformation of Montréal’s lesbian nightlife in the 1990s." *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 12.2 (2013): 220-249.
- Podmore, Julie A., and Line Chamberland. "Entering the urban frame: Early lesbian activism and public space in Montréal." *Journal of lesbian studies* 19.2 (2015): 192-211.
- Statistics Canada. *Census Profile of Montréal at the Census Tract Level, 1991 Census*. (1991)

Statistics Canada. Census Profile of Montréal at the Census Tract Level, 2001 Census. (2001).

Statistics Canada. Demography Division. *The Evolving Linguistic Portrait, 2006 Census*. By Jean-Pierre Corbeil and Christine Blaser. Statistics Canada, Dec. 2007. Web. 01 Dec. 2016.

Statistics Canada. Census Profile of Montréal at the Census Tract Level, 2011 Census. (2011)

Statistics Canada. National Housing Survey of Montréal at the Census Tract Level, 2011 Census. (2011)

Tanguay, Christian. "Interview with Christian Tanguay, Executive Director of CCGLM." Personal interview. 21 Oct. 2016.

Appendix

	1991	2001	2011
Population	7655	8454	8396
Age:			
0-14	635	620	570
15-64	5900	6910	6895
65+	1122	950	925
Sex			
M	4480	5095	5185
F	3180	3360	3205
Relationship Status			
Married people	1225	890	935
common law people	255	1355	1320
not married/common law	5780	6925	5370
Mother Tongue			
English	470	655	730
French	6300	6525	5965
Non-official	645	1075	1415
English & French	175	55	75
English & non-official	25	15	30
French & non-official	50	50	65
English, French, & non-official	10	10	15
Citizenship			
Canadian Citizen	7250	7820	6895
Non-Canadian Citizen	385	540	1,260
Immigrant Status			
Non-Immigrants	6615	6,940	5,770
Immigrants	875	1,315	1,740
non-permanent residents	145	120	650
Income			
Median income (\$) of population 15+	12031	16807.6	21,783
Median family income (\$)	28481.6	36662.2	53,827
Median household total income (\$)	19431.2	26,314	35,300

*Table 1: Raw Census Data (Statistics
From the following census tracts in Montréal, Québec:
4620042.00, 4620044.00, 4620045.00, 4620046.00, 4620052.00*