

Whose Pride?
An Institutional Ethnography on Participating in Toronto's Pride Parade

By
Dann Hoxsey
B.A., University of Victoria, 2010

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates how an institutional coordination of civic policies and organizational processes within Pride Toronto were brought to bear on the activist group Queers Against Israeli Apartheid (QuAIA) in their attempts to participate in the 2010, 2011, and 2012 Toronto Pride Parades. Utilizing an institutional ethnography (IE), I explore this issue in two key ways. First, by mapping a work-text-work sequence of QuAIA's experience in applying to march in the 2010 Parade, I demonstrate how the application process was subject to social relations that extended beyond Toronto Pride. Second, through the elaboration of processing interchanges, I demonstrate how the experiences of QuAIA were hooked into a series of translocal relations via Pride Toronto's funding relationship to the City of Toronto. These translocal relations working through the City of Toronto were themselves varied, from pro-Zionist pressure on individual City councilors, to an alignment with anti-tax and arguably homophobic interests on council.

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D.

INTRODUCTION

From 2008 to 2012 the activist group Queers Against Israeli Apartheid (QuAIA) were at the centre of a high profile public dispute about who should be allowed to participate in Toronto's Pride Parade. Their efforts to bring their message into the event elicited a wide range of responses from the Pride organizers, the queer community, as well as other organizations, politicians, and the public at large, ranging from support to condemnation. Over this period they were accused of fomenting hate speech and bringing inappropriate political issues into the Parade, and were threatened with censorship and being banned from the event. This dispute brought into public view a host of issues that have roiled both contemporary queer communities but also the larger public, like the relationship of potentially divisive political issues to mass participation spectacles like Parades. This thesis seeks to shed more light on what occurred in this dispute, specifically the why and how of what took place.

Gay Pride Parades the world over have a reputation for the outrageous and scintillating, for fun and dancing and the scantily-clad. Yet, despite the festive atmosphere, Parades have also been a political space to see and be seen. As Kates and Belk state, "A key aspect of [Pride]'s formal ideology is that political statements should be expressed as publicly and brazenly as possible" (2001:407). They argued that the Parade was an open challenge to the status quo, in which, "appropriate and inappropriate are switched, and the shocking is often complimented or approved" (Ibid. 408). Parades have allowed a distinct group of people to assert their presence as a politically engaged community, while frolicking (Brickell 2000). Thus this combination of fun and frolic with political statement-making have long coexisted in Pride Parades, though they have occasionally contributed to tensions, both within the community and in its relations with others. Yet it seems as though for some in the community, an appreciation for political

statements has begun to dwindle. The recent public controversy over the participation of the above political group in Toronto's Pride Parade illustrates this dynamic.

At the heart of the Toronto's Pride Parade is Pride Toronto (PT). Pride Toronto has been the organization responsible for putting on Toronto's Pride Parade for over thirty years. Some of the main duties of Pride Toronto include applying for funding grants and special event permits, coordinating security for the event (with both the municipal police force and private security firms), booking entertainment and conducting fundraisers for Pride, recruiting and training hundreds of volunteers and, finally, Pride Toronto is responsible for granting participation in the Parade through their own application process. This last point is of particular interest to my research project.

During their tenure as overseer of the Parade a critique has begun to emerge that charges the organizers of the Pride Parade with being less accountable to the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual, transgendered, queer, questioning, intersexed, asexual, and 2-Spirited (GLBTTQQA2) community than they are to their corporate sponsors (Queer Ontario 2011a).¹ Specifically, some critics claim that the Parade has lost its political 'edge', and that Pride Toronto has attempted to downplay the political/historical context of the Parade in favour of promoting a more 'family-friendly' image meant to appeal to (and attract) large corporate sponsors.² As Shawn Hitchins, a long-time community activist, complained in an interview with *Xtra* (Toronto's queer newsweekly), "I think a lot of people have felt for a long time that it's no longer about gay pride but about vodka... Remember 10 years ago, when you'd walk down the street on Pride Day and see tons of people in ridiculous, glamorous, queer costumes? Now you

¹ Queer Ontario is an ardent critic of the Toronto Pride Parade and its organizing committee. For example, see Queer Ontario's report, "Celebrating Our Communities with Pride and Courage" (2011b), for an extensive critique of Pride Toronto's 'Community Advisory Panel (CAP)' report (Pride Toronto 2011: Downloads).

² For an earlier public critique see the Blog posting "Corporate Pride" (Taylor 1998) and, more recently, "Sanitizing Pride" (Kouri-Towe 2011).

walk and see people with stickers on them featuring corporate logos in rainbow colours. Fuck that!” (Dagostino 2010: para 9).³

I have been attending Pride Parades for over twenty years and, over time, I have come to appreciate how the significance of the Parade is not the same for everyone. While I enjoyed a screw-decency-I’m-free-to-be-me environment, I learned that, for others, the Pride Parade was less about ‘liberation’ from social structures than it was about appeasing heterosexual fears of ‘difference’ in order to gain access to them. Here was an alternate perspective that wanted to show the world that we weren’t all ‘like that;’ rather, some of us were just as ‘normal’ as the next person. As the public’s acceptance of (and granting of rights to) GLBTTQQIA2 people has increased there is some weight to the idea that ‘acceptance’ is entwined with a type of conformity that situates those who are championing liberationist principles as ‘extremists.’ On the other hand, critics of the conformity approach worry that an increasingly commercialized Parade will lead to a Parade that eschews a direct engagement with political issues.

This tension appeared to come to a head in the 2010 Toronto Pride Parade with the controversy surrounding the participation of the queer activist group, Queers Against Israeli Apartheid (QuAIA). On March 10, 2010, Pride Toronto issued a press release informing the public that they were developing a ‘free expression’ policy (Pride Toronto 2010b). Tracy Sandilands, Pride’s Executive Director (at the time) stated that, “Participating groups must agree...to have their messages and signage approved by the ethics committee of Pride Toronto in advance of the event” (McMann 2010a). Anticipating accusations of ‘censorship’ Tracey Sandilands, Pride Toronto’s (then) Executive Director, explained that this new policy was merely meant to ensure that each participating group’s signage reflected the overall theme for the 2010

³ Quoted in an interview with Scott Dagostino for Xtra. Hitchens is the Marketing Director for Buddies in Bad Times Theatre, a queer theatre that has been running since 1978.

Parade. Furthermore, not only would all messaging be vetted (through a PT ethics committee) for appropriateness, Pride would also be reviewing each group's signs and banners for anything that might be construed as 'hate speech.'

Critics of this new policy feared that the vague wording could be used against any group whose stance challenged Pride Toronto's conception of the Parade. Gary Kinsman, one of the original founders of Toronto's Pride Parade, condemned the policy, explaining that, "If [the policy is] interpreted in a narrow sense, that could affect other groups within our liberation movements who are raising issues and concerns that don't in a narrow way relate to the theme for that particular year" (Simpson 2010: para. 30). More specifically, based on claims that QuAIA's use of the term 'Israeli Apartheid' was a form of hate-speech and, therefore, was not in keeping with the tenor of the Parade, QuAIA members went to the media with a concern that the implementation of this policy, at this particular time, was a blatant attempt by Pride Toronto to limit QuAIA's ability to participate in the Parade.

The very next day opponents of the policy organized the Don't Sanitize Pride: Free Expression Must Prevail Facebook group and began a campaign to raise public awareness about the issue. By March 23, 2010, the group consisted of over 1,500 supporters (known as 'friends' in Facebook terms). It was clear that a large portion of the GLBTTQQA2 community opposed this policy. Pride issued an 'open letter to the community' stating that they would not be implementing the ethics committee: "The Board of Directors of Pride Toronto has listened to feedback from the community, and the proposed plan for an Ethics Committee to review and approve all messaging prior to the Parade, Dyke and Trans March has been withdrawn" (Pride Toronto 2010c). While the public debate over QuAIA's political message continued, it appeared that their place in the Parade was assured.

Then, on May 25th, 2010, Pride Toronto issued another press release. Citing threats of violence, extensive lobbying (from both sides), the loss of corporate sponsorships, and the potential loss of funding from the City of Toronto, Pride had decided to ban the phrase ‘Israeli Apartheid’ from the Parade: “The issue has escalated to a point where Toronto’s Pride festival is in a state of operational crisis. In response to this immediate call-to-action, on May 21st, 2010, the Board of Directors of Pride Toronto voted to disallow the use of the term “Israeli Apartheid”, or any combination of this notion” (Pride Toronto 2010d). Again, anticipating a backlash, Pride’s Executive Director sent an email to Councilor Kyle Rae (the city councilor for that Ward, and one of the founding members of Toronto’s Pride Parade), warning him to expect letters of protest and suggesting that he ignore them,

Well, as expected as soon as the news broke the left began howling again. This morning on the Facebook group, ‘Don’t Sanitize Pride’ there is a call for members to write to the City regarding this issue, so expect to start getting letters soon. I have no doubt we will also be getting them again, as will our sponsors, and we will be mostly ignoring them... (Sandilands 2010)⁴

Oddly enough, Sandilands ended her email by saying that, “This is how they managed to pressurize us into rescinding the Ethics Committee idea, and so will be expecting it to work again” (Ibid.). The Facebook group did exactly as expected. They mobilized opposition to Pride’s banning of the phrase ‘Israeli Apartheid’ by arguing that the policy contravened QuAIA’s ‘freedom of speech.’ And, like before, advocates for QuAIA were able to ‘pressurize’ Pride into allowing the term ‘Israeli Apartheid’ to be used in the Parade.

Pride Toronto’s website states that its mission is to foster an inclusive and diverse community by providing a space and voice to all members of that community (Pride Toronto 2011: para. 1). However, Sandilands’ commitment to inclusivity and diversity are called into

⁴ Marcus McMann (a reporter for *Xtra*) obtained a copy of this email through the City of Toronto’s access to information laws.

question when she – as the head of the organization – dismisses the concerns of those most affected by Pride’s policies as nothing more than ‘howling lefties.’ Rosa, who will be properly introduced in the next chapter, had a very different perspective on the role of the ‘howling left.’ She was proud of being a (self-professed) loud and outspoken political activist. Rather than seeing QuAIA as a problem that needed to be solved, Rosa saw the discord as something that emerged out of the political actions of those who worked towards,

the corporatization of pride and the mainstreaming of queerness... Those were the very people who were deep in the closet way back when. They are not the people who started the movement. There's a lot of complaints about the left and I'm like, 'Who do you think started these movements?' It wasn't businessmen. It wasn't businesswomen. It always comes from a progressive and a left spot. (Rosa 2012;256-261).

That being said, I suggest that the perceived juxtaposition between a Parade that appeals to corporate sponsors or one that is politically oriented towards challenging the status quo is indicative of a much larger issue and bears investigation. The distinction between the ‘howling left’ and critiques of ‘the mainstreaming of queerness’ are indicative of the high profile public dispute over who should be allowed to participate in Toronto’s Pride Parade that the activist group Queers Against Israeli Apartheid was at the centre of. While this debate was extensively covered in the media, it struck me that there was something missing in the account. We knew that QuAIA wanted to march in the Parade and that accusations of discrimination influenced Pride’s response to the situation. As the debate progressed (over a four year period) other issues began to emerge. Countless interviews were conducted (and reported) and a flurry of press releases were sent out. The media frenzy reached such a point that I was forced to construct a timeline of who said what and when. That’s when I noticed that the accounts in the media shed little light on how the conflict played out in terms of the institutional processes and what was considered to be at stake on all sides.

It seemed to me that the public accounts of this issue tended to present the particular arguments of each group as if they were of equal merit and frame the problem as a debate over the distinctions between the various political positions, beliefs, or policies. I suggest that this ‘compartmentalized’ way of discussing the issue prevents us from developing an understanding of how these seemingly disparate points are hooked into a larger network of social relations. In other words, there is more to the discussion than simply a debate over whether or not QuAIA should be allowed to participate in the Parade.

These events, I would argue, require a sociological analysis to elucidate the social relations connecting what appear to be separate ‘compartments’. Specifically, within (and beyond) sociology, I will take up these questions utilizing institutional ethnography (IE), a research approach developed by Dorothy Smith (1999; 2005; 2006) that aims to explicate how (i.e. the processes of) the work that people do in one locale is institutionally coordinated with what people are doing in other locales. Consequently, this ability to identify how people’s actions are being coordinated makes IE the most appropriate approach to use for this project. From this starting point, two main questions that will be explored in this study, generally: *how has the work of QuAIA members been institutionally coordinated to the Parade; and, more specifically, how was QuAIA’s application to march in the Parade subject to translocal forms of coordination?*

A. WRITING AN ACCOUNT

This thesis investigates how a variety of civic policies and organizational processes were brought to bear on QuAIA. The imposition of civic policies and new organizational processes led to an increasingly institutionalized coordination of the Parade application process. From QuAIA’s standpoint, their experience of the application process points to the existence of a

disjuncture in what is seen to be a routine process of filling out of an application form. Instead, a deeper look into the application process revealed how QuAIA was drawn into a network of social relations that remained invisible to the general public and were only minimally discussed in the media accounts.

I rely on institutional ethnography as the method for uncovering such forms of coordination. Chapter one provides a description of institutional ethnography and introduces the problematic to be studied. This is followed by a discussion on the benefits of a flexible approach when interviewing, includes a list of the participants, and ends by acknowledging some of the limitations of this research.

The second chapter will stand in where one might expect to find a review of the literature on this subject. This chapter will contain an account of the academic literature that is relevant to this topic but it will also show how the development of a conceptual framework helps the researcher to distinguish between what is already known (e.g. through historical documents, news reports, other research, or a traditional literature review) from the experiences that inform the problematic. This section will draw on three areas of knowledge: the first provides a brief discussion of the genesis of the Pride Movement; the second, an account of the Pride movement in Toronto; and the third, a discussion of the assimilation/liberation debate that permeates most of the work done on GLBTTQQIA2 issues in academe. These three bodies of knowledge will help to inform this project by demonstrating how an application of the theoretical dichotomy (of the assimilation and liberation debate) is at odds with the experiences of those who have had to fight for the right to participate in the Parade.

Chapter three is divided into two sections. The first section introduces the reader to QuAIA and provides some background on the development of the group, its organization, and its focus. The second section does the same for Pride Toronto.

The focus in the remaining chapters demonstrates how, through an IE processes of inquiry, three main areas for consideration have emerged: the subject-position of QuAIA members, the organization of Pride Toronto, and work that was done at the civic level (primarily Toronto City Hall).

Chapter four provides a detailed account of the work done by QuAIA members in preparing for the Parade. The chapter begins by explaining the importance of texts in an IE and the process of mapping a work-text-work sequence. Next, I introduce a copy of Pride's application form and demonstrate this process by mapping QuAIA's experience with filling out the form. I then outline Pride's process for dealing with the form and end by pointing out how this process is subject to translocal factors. Thus, we can begin to see how QuAIA's work is translocally coordinated.

In Chapter five I move beyond the local experiences of QuAIA to show how their work is being coordinated to specific forms of translocal social relations. I suggest that this is done through processing interchanges and provide examples. The first, and most detailed, centers on the City of Toronto as a site of action. In this section I discuss how QuAIA was subject to Pride's relationship to the city in three major ways, through: funding applications, by-laws, and a City Manager's Report. I use this discussion to circle back to Pride Toronto in order to show how Pride's new Dispute Resolution Process, (their attempt to 'objectively' deal with the issue over QuAIA's participation) further subjected QuAIA to a host of translocal relations.

The final chapter concludes with a recap on the disjuncture between discourse, theory and lived experience. This allows me to show how the ‘problem’ with QuAIA went beyond the superficial portrayal of a discrepancy between interests. Instead, through an institutional ethnography, we are better able to understand how the work of QuAIA was subject to a much more complex network of coordinating relations than was initially known.

1. METHODS: INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY⁵

This study will take the form of an institutional ethnography (IE), as outlined in Dorothy Smith's book, *Institutional Ethnography: A Sociology for People* (2005). Smith explains that the central concern with the institutional ethnographer is to focus on the work that people do in order to understand how people's everyday work processes are being coordinated in ways that are not visible to those who are actually doing the work. In other words, the institutional ethnographer privileges the standpoint (i.e. experiences) of those involved in the study. For example, when QuAIA is being told that their use of the phrase "Israeli apartheid" is too 'disruptive' for the Parade, an IE approach would recognize that the perspective of QuAIA members may be different than that of Pride Toronto members. In keeping with the tenets of an IE the goals of this research project are two-fold. The first goal is to map the processes by which QuAIA's involvement in the Parade has been organized. Second, the explication of these (trans-local) processes reorients the sociological lens from that of a 'local' position to one that acknowledges the work of QuAIA members, and how their work (or experiences) are being coordinated by those in another locale. This concept of coordination across locales is a key component of an IE as the reference to 'institution' has less to do with any specific organization than it does with thinking about how people's actions are being translocally coordinated. What this means is that people's actions are being routinized – or, institutionalized – by extralocal forces. Consequently, just as relations of ruling coordinate actions on a translocal level, it is my hope that this research

⁵ I have used the term 'methods' as a signifier for how I intend to conduct my inquiry. I have done so with the understanding that Smith does not situate institutional ethnography as one more method of research amongst many. Instead, she explains that IE represents a form of social inquiry, *for* people,

It is not just a way of implementing sociological strategies of inquiry that begin in theory, rather than in people's experience, and examine the world of people under theory's auspices. I have described it as a 'method of inquiry,' and I know how that's a bit misleading. But I describe it as such because the emphasis is always on research as discovery rather than, say, the testing of hypotheses or the explication of theory as analysis of the empirical. (Smith 2005:2 emphasis original)

project can act as a tool – or a ‘guide map’ – for other GLBTTQQA2 people or groups that might experience a similar disjuncture as a Parade participant.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section, “The Social Organization of Knowledge,” will discuss some of the basic tenets for conducting an IE, namely, how IE’s ontological stance directly influences the methods employed in ‘constructing’ knowledge for research purposes. I suggest that, a) the development of a ‘problematic’ acts as a starting point for understanding how local actualities are hooked into, and coordinated by, translocal ruling relations; and b) the open-ended approach to investigation necessitates a flexibility that leaves the research open to discovery in a way that helps to avoid replicating the dominant discourse. Through a discussion of the concepts ‘data dialogues,’ ‘processing interchanges,’ and ‘mapping texts’ the second section, “Writing and Account,” will provide the reader with a conceptual roadmap for the rest of the document. I will end this chapter with a discussion on some of the limitations of this research. Namely, how a lack of relevant participants has meant that some (potentially) important questions have remained unexplored, and the absence of (what I am calling) a boss text precludes me from talking about an overarching network of connections in a way that one might find in a more ‘straightforward’ IE. Details about how the interviews were organized and carried out appear below. However, more detailed treatments of how the collected data was analyzed are provided as they emerge throughout the thesis to retain the depth of the discussion and the specificities of differing contexts.

A. THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

Dorothy Smith notes that institutional ethnography developed in response to what she refers to as mainstream sociology, this was “a sociology in which people were the objects, they whose behaviour had to be explained” (2005:1). Such forms of ‘objective’ research take for

granted theories, concepts and/or ideologies as a starting point for research. The ‘mainstream’ sociologist formulates a hypothesis and sets out to investigate the accuracy of their theory. Thus this approach to empirical inquiry subordinates the subject-position of the research participant (i.e. what *they* know) to the already established objectified knowledge that leaves the perceived actuality that underpins their theoretical knowledge unquestioned. For example, a study that asks, “What percentage of pregnant women continue to work after their pregnancy?” invokes a framework that establishes a determined period as ‘after’ pregnancy and relies on taken for granted concepts of ‘work.’

Smith suggests that when we start with the ontological premise that knowledge is socially constructed the legitimacy of objective knowledge begins to unravel. This position then allows us to make a distinction between external ways of knowing and experiential knowledge. Smith draws on Sandra Harding’s concept of a standpoint to understand how knowledge that emanates from the subject-position is situated within a particular perspective. In this way, a standpoint, “provides the guiding perspective from which [institutional] order will be explored” (Ibid. 32). The basic argument is that, as legitimate ‘knowers’ or active agents, people have knowledge that is particular to the world that they live in; they are experts on their own lives. That is, an institutional ethnography begins with an ontological stance that “the social happens and is happening...” in a particular (coordinating) way, and adheres to the epistemological position that “we can know it in much the same way as it is known among those who are right there in doing it” (Smith 2006:1). However, when we objectify knowledge (like academic theories), there is a shift from knowing something through experience to something that is externally known. For instance, when we call someone a ‘participant’ we treat the concept like a shell to be filled, invoking systems of knowledge that supplant or stand in for what we actually know (Smith

2006:112-113).⁶ Sticking with our example, the concept of a participant is then objectified by a) invoking an idealization of a participant by creating ‘relevant’ questions for a participant application form, b) replicating the form, and c) sending the form on to another locale to be used.⁷ People then activate this text by filling it out, answering questions like “Organization/group Name” or “Total Amount Due,” thus letting the discourse of ‘participant’ stand in for what they know about themselves (or others).

When this conceptual discourse of a participant is written into a text (like an application form) the text is read by people and thus, has the ability to coordinate actions across locales. As we will see in chapter four, the application form then distinguishes between ‘types’ of participants (i.e. categorizing people as community participants or corporate participants) and informs each participant about things like the size (and entry fee) of a ‘large’ Float (vehicle), or fitting people into a particular square-foot per-person ratio.⁸ In the first example one group’s inability to meet the (relatively) large financial requirement of the float entry means that members will have to decide between several hours of (predominantly) standing and marching, or bowing out. On the other hand, the concept of a space ratio introduces the distinction between ‘thin’ participants and ‘fat’ participants to the person who has to figure out how much space their marching contingent will require (as one takes up more square footage than the other).⁹ It is in these ways that the form begins to ‘rule’ their behaviours. Smith refers to these objectified

⁶ In this chapter I am introducing the institutionalization of QuAIA members as participants for the sole purpose of demonstrating the process of institutionalization. This example is drawn from the research and will be discussed in more detail in chapters four and five.

⁷ Smith argued that, since the mid 19th century, dramatic changes in the ability to reproduce texts has had a significant impact on the way that social relations are organized, for example, through the bureaucratization of the work place, she explained that, “the knowledge on which decisions were made were no longer in the individual manager’s or owner’s head; decisions were made on grounds warranted by the data rather than the basis of guesswork and forms of reporting that had no objective basis in calculation. Relationships were no longer as they had been...” (2005:15).

⁸ One of the comments that I received on this point suggested that the float dimensions were most likely a result of structural impediments on the route. I would agree with this assumption, however, this does not negate my point that float dimensions will have an impact on how people participate.

⁹ I expand on the example of a square-foot per-participant ratio in Chapter 4.

forms of coordinated social relations as ‘ruling relations.’ Simply put, ruling relations can be understood as a process in which the objectification of knowledge (i.e. knowledge as concepts) that is created in one place has the ability to coordinate (i.e. ‘rule’) the actions of those who are removed from the locale of knowledge production by subordinating local experiences or actions based on the (institutional) justifications that derive from elsewhere (Smith 2002:13-14).

By understanding that there are processes of work, the institutional ethnographer is then able to expand the scope of inquiry from a focus on local action to discover how extralocal processes hook people’s local actions into a coordinating network of translocal social relations. Taking up this stance then reveals how the organization of knowledge – particularly in the objectification of knowledge – is one of power: “to explore how knowing relates to power, institutional ethnographers study how one’s knowing is organized – by whom and by what” (Campbell and Gregor 2002:15). It is the recognition of, means of gaining access to, and challenge to the dominance of this knowledge that allows IE to stand apart from traditional research. The following section will demonstrate how the use of standpoint further separates IE from mainstream research by shifting the onus of power/knowledge to one that privileges the subject’s position.

IDENTIFYING A PROBLEMATIC

The section above began with Smith’s recognition that people/participants were experts on their own lives. While this may not seem like a particularly radical statement today,¹⁰ her initial development of a sociology for people challenged the dominance of ‘objective’ or ‘neutral’ research by demonstrating how the subordinate position of women produced a form of

¹⁰ I would like to refer to a biographical write-up of Dorothy Smith as a way of providing some context for this ‘radical’ claim. Smith recounts how, while teaching at Berkeley in the mid sixties, she was often the only woman teaching in a faculty of forty-four, and was not in a regular position (Smith, Date unknown).

knowledge that exposed the tacit processes of subjugation.¹¹ She showed that by taking up the standpoint of those who are on the outside, and focusing on the disjunctures that they experience (i.e. a manifestation of the contradictions between institutional processes and the subject-position), we are better able to see how the subject's work is hooked into some form of institutional order (Smith 2005:32).¹²

In this section, I will draw on the use of standpoint to demonstrate how the subject position of QuAIA's members informs the problematic. Smith argues that, for the institutional ethnographer, the problematic is the genesis for the entire project. It serves as a launching point for inquiry, rather than an endpoint: "[it] is a territory to be discovered, not a question that is concluded in its answer" (Ibid. 41). Rather than seeing the problematic as something that needs to be solved, I will demonstrate how an institutional ethnography uses the problematic to expand the scope of the research in a way that shows how people's actions are hooked into larger systems of coordination that go beyond the coordination of particular individuals. Consequently, taking the standpoint of those involved with QuAIA means that their concerns are not dismissed; instead, from their position, we are able to identify (some of) the institutional processes causing the disjuncture, reminding us how, "any one individual's story necessarily implies the presence and doings of others caught up in and participating in relations that coordinate their doing" (Ibid. 43).

In light of the above discussion on the social construction of knowledge, it is important to recognize that the process of developing a problematic is also influenced by my own experience with Pride Parades and Pride Toronto. Specifically, my concern with the recent attempts to

¹¹ Smith later recognized that the concept of researching ruling relations was not gender (nor class, race, age...) specific and reoriented IE to be a sociology for people (Smith 2005:10).

¹² More precisely, a disjuncture occurs when the "orderly and familiar local world is suddenly disrupted by interventions that come from outside, that have no logic within the daily routines and the ordinariness of social life" (Smith 2005:39).

exclude people from the Parade limits (what I see as) the value of the Parade, namely that: the scope of the Pride Parade allows for a wide range of GLBTTQQA2 visible representations to reach a broad audience; visibility and/or participation in the Parade can help to challenge or alleviate the isolation that some GLBTTQQA2 people experience by connecting disparate GLBTTQQA2 people to the larger community/ies; and finally, the visibility and participation of a broad range of participants complicates the notion of a stereotypical 'gay' or 'lesbian' person demonstrating that there are different standpoints within the community itself. The main concern here is that, as the coordinator of the event (with the ability to grant or deny participation in the event), Pride Toronto exerts an inordinate amount of control in determining who is seen (by the other participants and the general public) to be a legitimate Parade participant, and who is not. In light of Pride Toronto's past attempts to censor actions and preclude specific groups from participating, it is fair to say that Pride Toronto sees its role as that of a gatekeeper. In taking up the standpoint of those whose experiences have been made invisible, there emerges a question of just how QuAIA (as both people and as a group) have been disenfranchised.

THE PROBLEMATIC

From 2008 to 2012 the activist group Queers Against Israeli Apartheid was at the centre of a high profile public dispute over whether or not the group should be allowed to participate in Toronto's Pride Parade. While this event was extensively covered in the media, the media accounts shed little light on how the conflict played out in terms of how institutional processes conflicted or coincided with the various people (and organizations) involved. As such, understanding these events then represents a potential point of investigation. This 'point of investigation' will be explored from the standpoint of those most affected, namely the members of QuAIA and representatives of some of the institutional groups they engaged with. The point will be to "study how one's knowing is organized – by whom and by what" (Campbell and

Gregor 2002:15). This will be accomplished by using ethnographic interviews to ‘map’ the work that goes into applying to march in the Parade in a way that shows how that work is institutionally coordinated through a series of translocal connections.¹³

From the interviews conducted for this study, a number of striking things stand out. A great deal of work in IE involves uncovering how texts (imbued with instructional discourses) are used to coordinate people’s actions. For this to happen, the text must be taken up (i.e. read and filled out) by those who come into contact with it. However, in the case of Toronto Pride, there was a dearth of actual ‘text’ in the documents that people worked with. This meant that the work of participants was initially less coordinated (or regulated) than it later came to be. Instead, the (marginally institutional) process for participating in the Parade functioned in an ill-defined grey area that was open to dispute. As the different participants activated their own scripts about what an ‘appropriate participant’ looked like, Pride’s lack of organization hampered their ability to effectively respond to the question of who could march, leaving Pride’s autonomy over the Parade susceptible to institutional change. This was particularly evident in the amount of forms, policies and procedures that the different participants referred to. In a very simplified way, participant accounts of the changes in Pride’s governing structure, rules for participating in the Parade, and new application forms pointed to an institutional reorganization of Parade participant work that coincided with the work being done in other locales; namely, The City of Toronto. The translocal coordination of Parade work (to the City’s interests) is reflected in the various policies and procedures that, over time, have come to inform the Parade application. And yet, that is only a portion of the story.

This project initially set out to investigate the institutional process of turning QuAIA members into ‘applicants.’ However, as the interviews demonstrate, while QuAIA has been

¹³ This is discussed in more detail in chapter 4, “Mapping Textually Mediated Relations.”

subjected to a series of policies and by-laws (in lieu of their own subject-position), a host of translocal factors have also influenced the tone and scope of the dispute, ranging from commercializing pressures on and from the City to the organized political influence of pro-Zionist groups.¹⁴ In this way, it appears as though members of QuAIA found themselves responding on multiple fronts. Given these translocal pressures, QuAIA was arguably successful in promoting their message, but without necessarily challenging the broader context of how participation in the Parade was socially coordinated. What has emerged is an understanding that, in resisting, QuAIA's 'win' meant that they were inadvertently involved in establishing new processes of social organization that served to bring the application process more into line with existing ruling relations.

When we take up the standpoint of those whose experiences have been made invisible a line of questioning emerges in a way that illuminates the very fact that the actions of QuAIA (as both people and as a group) have been (and are being) coordinated to the Parade in a particular way. Through a series of interviews I aim to identify and develop a more thorough understanding of *how* the processes mentioned above are activated. Simply put, I want to understand how institutional processes have come to limit, ban, shape, exclude, and/or dismiss the lived-realities of QuAIA's members as participants in the Pride Parade.

B. INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY AND INTERVIEWS

The investigative nature of an IE means that institutional ethnographers typically employ a broad range of methods when collecting data: they draw on open-ended interviews, participant and field observations, casual conversations, emails, transcripts and texts. In conducting my

¹⁴ My decision to use the terms 'Zionist' or 'pro-Zionist groups' is drawn from the accounts of my QuAIA participants. I have decided to maintain this usage as QuAIA saw the anti-Palestinian state policies as something that emerged out of the Zionist project. In this way, pro-Zionism was a position that was in opposition Palestinian rights within the state of Israel. Of course, there are exceptions to this construct and the actual issue is more nuanced than one's position of being in favour or against Israeli policies (that are directed at Palestinians).

research I have used many of these approaches and, where applicable, each approach will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters. In this section I would like to focus on the particularities of using interviews for an institutional ethnography.¹⁵ There are two specific points that I will address: choosing participants, and the effect that chosen participants have on the trajectory of the research.

When conducting the research it is important to remember that the purpose of an IE is to explicate the social relations that extend past each individual's experience. McCoy explains that this analytical process is a hermeneutic one (2006:113). It is the process of moving from a dialogue between a participant and the interviewer to a new dialogue, one that occurs between the analyst and the data (i.e. the transcripts, observational notes, or texts). Smith refers to this process as a data dialogue, consisting of a primary dialogue and a secondary dialogue (2005:136-142). In the case of a primary dialogue, knowledge emerges out of a discussion that occurs between the interviewer and the participant. In this way, I draw on Kevin Walby's critique of a hermeneutic and dialogic process to understand the context that my participant's experiences are situated within. Walby explains that the hermeneutic process is both the interpretation of texts and speech acts as well as the language used to describe the event; however, he warns against an over-reliance on seeing the resulting interpretations as 'objective' (2007:1020). He suggests that the institutional ethnographer maintain a reflexive awareness of their role in the hermeneutic process and its co-construction of knowledge. I have tried to indicate this in the following analysis by noting my position as a researcher (guiding the research project) and have included references to myself –as an active agent- in the process. This has resulted in a co-constructive process of knowledge that helps to organize –and make sense of- the narrative when engaging

¹⁵ See Devault and McCoy, "Institutional Ethnography: Using Interviews to Investigate Ruling Relations" (2006), for an in-depth account of using experience to begin the research, selecting informants, working with transcripts, and writing up the analysis.

with the experience and knowledge of the participants. As Smith notes, the institutional ethnographer “creates or mediates an interchange between the discourse she or he practices and the people she or he talks to or whose work is being observed” (Smith 2005: 140).

To construct this narrative DeVault and McCoy emphasize the need to select participants with heterogeneous experiences (2006:32). Here the choice of who to interview is less about identifying (and discussing) whether the interviewees have different or similar experiences and more about choosing participants based on their particular knowledge of, or experience with, the problematic, ensuring that, “each interview provides an opportunity for the researcher to learn about a particular piece of the extended relational chain” (Ibid. 23). Having identified QuAIA as a standpoint that frames my inquiry, I began to identify additional participants by asking, “Based on experience, who are the people that can tell me about QuAIA and what they have gone through?” This is how I came to interview Dave.¹⁶

As I had mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, institutional ethnographers tend to shy away from mainstream sociological research methods. For instance, probability sampling is about as diametrically opposed as you can get to IE and how Dave came to participate in my research.¹⁷ I had presented my research proposal to fellow classmates earlier this year. One of the other students approached me after the presentation and mentioned that she had been involved (peripherally) with QuAIA. At that point a faculty member mentioned that his friend Dave was a member of QuAIA. He offered to approach Dave, tell him about my research, and, if interested, he would hook us up.

¹⁶ The names of the participants in this study have been changed to protect their anonymity. Any potentially identifying information (e.g. job titles) has been omitted. Quotes taken from a participant’s account are identified by their pseudonym and organization (e.g. Dave, QuAIA).

¹⁷ Probability sampling is a method used to ensure that each participant has an equal chance of being selected from the relevant population, for example, in the lottery method: “all cases are numbered; the numbers are written on equal-sized objects, such as balls or disks; the objects are thoroughly mixed in a container; and then the requisite number of ‘cases’ are selected one by one” (Singleton and Straits 2005: 119).

In my mind getting Dave to participate was quite a coup. As I learned, he was a particularly active and media savvy member of QuAIA. Because of my previous involvement with the local GLBTTQQA2 community centre I also knew that Dave was an outspoken member in the GLBTTQQA2 community and a longtime participant in the Toronto Pride Parade. I felt that this would be an excellent place to start as he would have first-hand knowledge of the problems that QuAIA faced in trying to march in the 2010 Parade and be able to provide the historical background that would contextualize QuAIA's struggles within a broader understanding of the Parade in general.

Our mutual acquaintance contacted Dave and explained my project. He then sent an email to the both of us as a way of providing an introduction. Dave and I corresponded back and forth a few times as he was interested in learning more about the project. He seemed to be very enthusiastic and eventually invited me over to his house to interview him about his experiences with QuAIA.

I began the interview by going over the Ethics/Consent Form. This form contains a section that outlines my basic research interests and provides a very brief ontological and epistemological explanation of institutional ethnography. I used this opportunity to talk about IE interviews and how they tended to be less structured in their questions (using the analogy of following a path and being unsure of where it would lead). Once we had signed the form I started the interview with some questions that were meant to get at some of his background. I had asked him about his past involvement in the Parade (which was extensive), and how he came to be involved with QuAIA (a story that is too identifying to allow me to discuss in full). The purpose of my initial questions was to establish a rapport that was more discussion based than

the staid back-and-forth that often occurs between an interviewer and an interviewee.¹⁸ Once we had ‘chatted’ for a few minutes I asked him to tell me more about QuAIA and his experiences over the last few years. We started with a linear discussion, him telling me how QuAIA came to march in the 2008 Parade, and then the controversy that began to emerge out of their participation in the 2009 Parade. We eventually worked out an overall time-line narrative. I had been taking point form notes along the way and used these notes to go back and follow up on various points of interest or asking questions that needed clarifying.

Devault and McCoy note that an institutional ethnography requires a flexible approach to inquiry, one that is able to follow different threads of discussion, asking from where (and by whom) additional answers might be located. In this way I, as an institutional ethnographer, began to take up some of the leads that had emerged from Dave’s interview. Devault and McCoy explain that the research proceeds by “explor[ing] particular corners or strands within a specific institutional complex, in ways that make visible their points of connection with other sites and courses of action” (2006:17). Not surprisingly, my path of inquiry necessitated a shift in research sites.

Despite Dave’s expressed frustration with Pride Toronto, he consistently talked about how other people or groups had a vested interest in whether or not QuAIA should be allowed to march. One such group was Toronto’s City Council. At this point I had not thought of interviewing anyone from the City but Dave insisted that QuAIA’s situation was affected by Pride Toronto’s relationship with Toronto’s City Council as the City Council had entertained a series of motions (between 2010 and 2012) to defund Pride.

¹⁸ I used a similar approach with each of my participants, usually asking how they came to find themselves in their current position, how long they had been in it, and who they tended to have the most contact with. The various background information questions were altered depending on the person’s position/role and experience within the sequence of action (as the sequence emerged).

Knowing very little about civic politics I turned to a politically savvy friend to ask for advice. She suggested that I speak with Carol, a multi-term city councilor and a long time supporter of the Pride Parade. Based on Carol's political track record on, and involvement with, GLBTTQQA2 issues, an interview with her looked promising.

My contact offered to call Carol and ask about her interest in the project. I had provided my contact with an email outlining my basic research interests and a couple of sentences on how I thought her experiences would contribute to the project. I received an email from her aide asking for some more details on the purpose of the interview, the anticipated length, and the timeline for when I would like to conduct the interview. We had eventually agreed on a time and date (with me promising to not exceed an hour). Unfortunately, the meeting had to be cancelled and rescheduled twice (as the aide explained, her schedule was often chaotic). We eventually met in her office but, in an attempt to fit me in without having to wait another month for an appointment, her availability was limited to forty minutes. This meant that I had to condense my preamble on the project, institutional ethnography, and 'creating a rapport' process. Carol had approached the interview with an air of formality. Fortunately, a brief discussion about how we each knew our mutual friend helped to put her at ease. One of the most useful components of this interview was Carol's extensive knowledge of how City Council works, and how motions are introduced. I had come prepared with a set of motions (aimed at withholding or defunding Pride Toronto) and she was able to walk me through the various stages of each motion and what different terms meant.

This interview resulted in my first 'point of connection' to be identified: the connection between the City's funding criteria (outlined in the City of Toronto's "Cultural Grants" application) and a component in Pride Toronto's "Application to March" (which requires

participants to sign a document stating that they agree to comply with the City's non-discrimination policy). This will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section. The germane point for this discussion is that the topics of discussion for both cases were based on my own assumptions of their ability to add to the over-all question, "How has this happened?"

I quickly learned that just because someone had spoken publicly on the issue, it did not necessarily mean that they would be the definitive voice on the subject. It was clear to me that different participants knew more about different aspects of what was going on and that my expectations of any one participant having 'total' knowledge were unrealistic. I mention this to demonstrate the need for flexibility and perseverance (on the part of the researcher) when conducting interviews for an IE. This led me to reconsider the list of people that I would need to talk to and tailor (more than I had realized) my questions accordingly.

Before anymore is said about the limitations of the interviews I would like to reintroduce Smith's other form of a data dialogue: the secondary dialogue. Smith explains that, by this point, the ethnographer is better informed than they were at the outset of the project. When reviewing the transcripts, I would look for instances where the participant talked about working with a particular text, or their account of textually-mediated actions. Similarly, identifying the use of terms and concepts point to instances in which the participant is relying on an institutional discourse; hence, identifying the use of a term or concept shows how specific language indicates a set of social relations beyond the participant's experience, the participant's account, or the transcript.¹⁹ As Smith notes, "In the interview transcripts... we look for what people say about

¹⁹ In a more technical sense, one of the primary points of interest that I looked for in the transcripts was what Pence referred to as a 'processing interchange'; though this is discussed in more detail later, the following definition provides a brief explanation of the term, "Text-processing interchanges are those work sites in the institutional processes into which a given text is entered, and from which it is passed on or incorporated into new texts to the next site which may also be a processing interchange" (Smith 2002:36).

the ‘work’ they do that connects them to the work others are doing elsewhere and elsewhere” (Smith 2002:31).

Much like the development of a primary dialogue, the hermeneutic process employed in constructing a secondary dialogue requires a similarly reflexive approach. This process of engaging with, and learning from, the transcripts helps the ethnographer to avoid privileging their own subject position in favour of the experiences of those that inform the problematic and, thus, the account of socially coordinated relations. Consequently, rather than reifying one’s own knowledge and preconceptions of the study, the hermeneutic process of working with the transcripts, field notes, and recordings entails a change in the subject position for the analyst, leading to the construction of a new ‘secondary’ dialogue. As Smith notes, “It’s always amazing to me when I engage in dialogue with the interview transcript how much I learn that I had not seen before” (2005:138). In a rudimentary sense, data analysis first identifies a set of particular experiences and second, creates a hermeneutic narrative of how those experiences were brought into being.

Drawing on the ontology that knowledge is socially constructed, Dave and Carol’s interviews demonstrate how IE’s use of standpoint influences the questions that we ask, and how we ask them. I have come to understand how the flexibility required for conducting an IE-style interview necessitates the subjugation of academic theory in favour of the experiences of the research participants. Of course this approach can mean that the content of an IE interview has the potential to lead the research/er in unforeseen directions. While I had some preconceptions that directed my preliminary inquiry, the standpoint of QuAIA challenged such preconceptions. Consequently, what has emerged out of the particular accounts has drastically changed the scope of my research.

Reading through Dave and Carol's transcripts raised a lot of questions about Pride Toronto's activities. I had initially tried to contact the past Executive Director of Pride Toronto about my research. Having received no response I sent a follow up email and phone call. Next I tried to contact two of the board members (through their public emails listed on Pride's website). Not hearing from anyone eventually led to a conversation with a colleague about my frustration with not being able to follow this lead. He told me that a close friend of his had recently taken a position with Pride and he offered to speak to his friend on my behalf. The two of them talked and my colleague reported that his friend was very interested in participating. My colleague provided an introduction by email; unfortunately, after three attempts to make contact with his friend, a lack of response meant that I had to give up on using him as my lead into Pride.

The difficulty of finding Pride members who were willing to discuss this issue was not entirely surprising. Pride was routinely lambasted in the gay media, blogs criticized them for selling out, and public demonstrators often chanted the names for particular board members and staff to resign. Their reticence to talk to someone whose research focused on QuAIA was understandable.²⁰

It was clear that I would need to change my approach if I was to get cooperation from anyone at Pride. In reviewing Dave's transcript again I noticed a point where he talked about the divisions within Pride over how to deal with QuAIA. I decided that maybe the best approach would be to introduce myself to someone who was not interested in impartiality. I used Pride's

²⁰ As an aside, I also suspected that my email introductions might be discouraging people from responding. When I began to set up this project I knew that I would be dealing with public figures, and, having some experience in dealing with a broad range of GLBTTQQA2 community members, I knew that people's privacy was an important issue. Preliminary research also showed that QuAIA did not have dedicated office space and that a lot their interactions occurred through email. It was apparent that a lot of my requests for participation would need to be made through email. I indicated this as a form of contact on my ethics application form and, three rounds of revisions later, I was left with an email 'introduction' that was two words shy of one thousand. I also knew that most of the people I would be interviewing operated on a volunteer basis and that their time would be limited. I suspect that some people may have been deterred by opening such a long and academically technical email. I have included a copy of a script (Appendix A).

minutes to identify a couple of potential candidates and discussed the possibility of their willingness to participate with Dave. With these suggestions in hand I set out to make contact and received an email response from Anthony.

Anthony had suggested that we meet at Pride's office and conduct the interview there. We met in the main boardroom and sat facing each other across a large table. After about an hour we were asked to leave the room as it had been booked for another meeting. I had suggested that I could come back at a later date but Anthony said that he would rather finish the interview that day. We continued the interview outside in a Parkette beside the building. I was reticent to have the interview there because the subway ran directly under us and noise came up through the vents that were beside the bench. As it stood, Anthony was particularly conscientious of the noise, restating any comments that he thought might have been missed and pausing where it was possible to anticipate the train.

One of the most interesting things about this interview was that I had to initially provide a much longer explanation of my project before he would agree to meet with me. One of the concerns I tried to address was that I had no intention of simply 'trashing' Pride. Instead, I had to explain the process of an IE and what types of questions (from the other interviews) had led me to trying to find a Pride participant. Based on this, I had expected to encounter some reticence when we met but, to my absolute surprise, he was very frank and open during the entire interview.²¹

Anthony was quite eager to talk about the media 'debacle' that had happened over Pride's handling of QuAIA. He explained that he had come to Pride shortly before this had become an

²¹ As with all of my participants, I had told Anthony at the beginning of the interview that he had the right to end the interview at any point, or that he could identify specific parts that he did not want quoted. Anthony was very funny and, during several points in the interview, he would pause and whisper something like, "Now this bit is off the record," or after saying something particularly 'catty' he would interject with, "Oh, don't use that." Consequently, he provided quite a few colourful comments that I was not permitted to use.

issue. He had inhabited a variety of different volunteer roles before taking up his current position. More importantly, he had been with Pride for the duration of the organization's relationship with QuAIA – and was knowledgeable about Pride's funding relationship with the City. Interestingly, while I was doing the analysis for this project I noticed that the information for most of the participants tended to be (relatively) confined to a particular area of discussion; whereas, comments from Anthony seemed to be peppered throughout. Anthony also provided an introduction to two new potential participants; neither responded to the request. Anthony's frustration over having to direct a significant amount of Pride's scant resources to dealing with this issue ("this is the third time!") led me to Gary, a City employee.

Gary had been part of a staff committee tasked (by City Council) with investigating two claims: that QuAIA promoted discrimination against Israelis and that, by allowing QuAIA to march in the Parade, Pride Toronto had violated the non-discrimination clause in its funding agreement with the City. Gaining access to Gary was relatively easy (considering the work that went into recruiting my other participants). His name had come up in my interview with Carol and she had suggested that his past involvement might mean that he would be interested in participating. I looked him up on the City staff registry and sent him an email with the requisite script (Appendix A). I received an immediate response and was directed to his assistant to book an appointment. We met in his office, I with my City Manager's Report and sheaf of Council Motions, and he with his computer and a pile of papers that he thought I might find interesting.²²

Basically, each of my participants had talked about how they felt that a City Manager's Report had resolved the issue in favour of QuAIA as not promoting discrimination (Pennachetti 2010). This led me to wonder, if there was a definitive decision (that the phrase Israeli Apartheid

²² Due to time limitations we were not able to discuss many of the documents and follow-ups would have required extensive discussions that I did not see as warranted for this particular project.

was not considered hate speech), then how did this issue continue to dominate the work of so many people after the 2010 Parade and continue in the lead up to the 2011 and 2012 Parades? Gary's position with the City allowed him to speak directly to the issues of discrimination, of withholding funding to Pride, the process used to develop the City Manager's Report, and to the confusion over the City's 'definitive' stand on the term 'Israeli Apartheid.' The bulk of his input is contained in Chapter 5.

Finally, in true IE fashion, I recognized the need to talk to someone at QuAIA about the actual process of applying to march in the Parade.²³ I contacted Dave to ask if he knew who had filled out the 2010 application form. He put me in touch with Rosa. Rosa and I had exchanged a fair number of emails (Dave had also passed on some information about me and my project to her). She was in and out of town during this period and it took a few failed email attempts and a phone call or two before we were able to meet up. As Rosa did not have an official office to meet in I had suggested a coffee shop that was close to her location, a classroom or office at York, and finally, my house. I would not normally agree to meeting with a participant at my house but Rosa and I had already had a few conversations on the phone and I was comfortable with having her over. This turned out to be a good decision as her interview went beyond the two-hour mark and I was able to get a recording of our discussion that was not cluttered with the background chatter of other coffee patrons.

Though Rosa was no longer an 'official' member of QuAIA, she explained that she was still involved with the group and had been the person responsible for coordinating and filling out the application form for the 2010 Parade. Rosa provided a vast amount of information on QuAIA, a surprising history on the use of the phrase 'Israeli Apartheid' in the Toronto Pride

²³ The importance of conducting an interview that focused on QuAIA's experience with filling out the 2010 application form was something that gradually emerged out of previous interviews. Initially I had thought that such an interview might generate some interesting data; in hindsight, I see how that interview was imperative.

Parade, and an account of QuAIA's involvement with the City and the pro-Zionist organizations that contested their use of the phrase. As a side note, one of the most interesting pieces to come out of this interview was the amount of coordination that was involved in filling out the form (this is discussed in chapter 4, "QuAIA Takes Up The Form").

Each of these interviews was recorded and transcribed. In an attempt to preserve confidentiality, all quotes have been stripped of any identifying markers; names have been changed; genders have been deleted (where necessary); and specific job titles have been excised. In an attempt to preserve dignity, the quotes used have been cleaned up. This means that I have eliminated excessive expressives like 'Umm's and 'Yeah's and have made minor grammatical changes to some of the quotes where it would not alter the general tone or intent.

C. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Ideally an IE is an open-ended project as institutions are not isolated networks of social relations. However – and Smith points to a rather large 'however' – "all research has an economy that shapes it beyond methodology and theory" (2002:47). Trying to map the never-ending institutional connections means that an institutional ethnographer will likely run out of time, funding and/or the energy to follow every single lead and talk to every relevant person. Ontological and epistemological transparency aside, these are limitations that simply must be acknowledged. For this simple reason I have had to locate the project within the somewhat confined scope of the Toronto Pride Parade and the experiences of QuAIA members. It is my intention to use the seemingly bounded experiences of these groups as a way to manage the endless possible routes for inquiry. The enquiry rests primarily on interviews and an analysis of various texts, supplemented by relevant media coverage. There was no observational

ethnography employed in this IE (as the events analyzed had occurred in the past).²⁴ That being said, two limitations have arisen that hamper my ability to adequately address even this limited scope: namely, access to participants and the absence of *a* boss text.

I have already alluded to the problem with getting access to members of Pride Toronto. My attempts culminated in sending a total of 31 requests (including follow up requests) to thirteen different people. A few of these requests led to a short email exchange about the project but the vast majority went unanswered. The result of my inability to gain access to information is particularly apparent in chapter 4, "Processing the Form." While Rosa was able to provide ample information on the actions of QuAIA in filling out the form, Anthony's work with Pride had not touched on this process. He identified the person who would be able to address this topic and provided an introduction (through email). This person did not respond to either the initial request for participation, nor to a follow up request. Seeing as we were nearing the Parade date, and that the position was a volunteer one, I waited until after the Parade to try contacting him again, to no avail. This meant that I was unable to provide a full account of the processing of the form. For instance, I show how the form is filled out and how it results in the group being included in the Parade; however, what happens to the actual data on the form (and how it is worked with), the vetting process, and the process for organizing participants/groups into Parade categories remains a mystery. Similar attempts to gain access to those involved with the Community Advisory Panel, the Dispute Resolution Committee, and Kulanu (a pro-Zionist Queer Jewish group and active opponent to QuAIA) met with the same results. In the end, time constraints forced me to abandon any further attempts.

²⁴ For an example of IE that does not employ observational ethnography, instead relying almost exclusively on texts, see Nancy Bell's work, as discussed in Campbell and Gregor (2002:96-7), or Luken and Vaughn's work which utilized oral histories and archival data in their inquiry into early twentieth-century textual representations of housing and childrearing discourses (2006).

The second limitation of this research has to do with the lack of a singular boss text. As I have noted above, texts are a primary way through which actions are coordinated across locales (this topic is expanded on in chapter four, in the section “Texts and Mapping”). What I have found is that the application process is used as a proxy for the debate about QuAIA’s participation. While the application is consistently referenced in the public debates, the reality is that, the debates were held in abeyance and could only gain momentum once QuAIA had filled out an application form. In this way movement of the initial text stops while the coordination of the applicant continues on. I have tried to address this limitation in chapter five through a discussion on textual hierarchies and the role of a boss text (and how it informs lower level texts). I suggest that though there is an absence of a ‘primary’ boss text, we can go beyond the coordinating nature of the application form by identifying how different components of the application form are informed by (or intersect with) a variety of authoritative texts that function much like a boss text might (by promoting a conceptualization of an ideal ‘applicant’ through a seemingly rational –and objective- application process).

2. ACADEMIC ACCOUNTS OF A PRIDE MOVEMENT

Generally speaking, the purpose of doing a literature review is to use the established literature as a way of justifying the project and positioning one's study within the existing literature on the topic (Creswell 2007:102). However, as I have argued in chapter one, an institutional ethnography begins an inquiry from the actualities of some problem that people have experienced. For instance, imagine that I had spent an afternoon putting together a desk that I bought at IKEA. If my partner were to come home, look at the desk, and ask, "How'd that go together?" I would not only reply with, "Well, step one indicated that I had to find 12 #8 screws and insert each, with a counter-clockwise quarter turn, then..." I would also tell him about the cut on my finger and how the silly little tools meant that it took me forever to get all twelve of those dumb screws turned. While the first response reveals the theoretical account (or, we could say the 'theory' of what I should have done), the second points to a disjuncture between my experience with putting the desk together and how a piece of paper tells me to put the desk together. The difference between these two accounts demonstrate how the actualities are lost when we invoke a theoretical account (i.e. the instruction manual) of what went on. The literature review poses a similar problem for an IE as the theories and concepts embedded in the accounts have the potential to act as authoritative texts. In this way, an academic's account of the literature would 'tell' us about the Pride movement and, in turn, stand in for the experiences of those who were actually there *as* actual people, actually doing (Campbell and Gregor 2002:51-52).²⁵

²⁵ For an interesting example of the limitations of theoretical speculation in research see George Smith (Smith, G.W. 1988:165-166). Smith's basic argument is that the process of speculation is usually oriented towards developing an understanding (and explanation) of what went on. To paraphrase Smith's work, we know that homophobia helped to fuel police zeal in the Toronto bathhouse raids and yet homophobia, as a motivation for individual police officers, could not account for the mass arrests that occurred. By sidestepping speculative accounts of homophobia, Smith found more value in asking how these raids had come to be possible. This ontological shift

Rather than beginning with theory, Smith suggests that we put theory in its place, “inquiry is given primacy over theory, subordinating theory or concepts to the explication of just how people’s ongoing activities are coordinated” (2005:70). In this way, institutional ethnographers “do not cede authority to the literature, as scholars conventionally do” (Campbell and Gregor 2002:8). Instead of using the literature to tell us something about our subject, the institutional ethnographer approaches the existing academic literature with an interest in understanding how that literature has shaped the subject under investigation (Campbell and Gregor 2002: 7). For example, while I may read about the history of the Pride Movement, to approach the analysis with my preconceived notion of ‘a’ movement would preclude me from actually getting at what my participants have to say about their experience with the Pride Parade.

The following is a brief account of what academics have had to say about Pride Parades. This account is meant to provide a historical context that has shaped our current formulations and discussions of Pride Parades. It must be stated that these discussions are not intended to represent a ‘complete’ or ‘accurate’ account. Rather, they represent a particular body of knowledge that has been constructed in a particular way, by particular people, for particular reasons. In recounting these debates, I am not endorsing the work, their particular concepts or their use of them. For instance, in characterizing the literature as dominated by a liberationist/assimilationist tension, I am not suggesting this is the right way to understand these events, I am highlighting the fact that academics have made these choices, as well as some of the reasons they offer about why they have done so. So too, in highlighting how academics have linked assimilationist pressure with neoliberalism, I am merely showcasing what they have done, rather than endorsing their characterization.

was then able to demonstrate how the bathhouse raids were a systemic problem rather than merely being a local issue (Ibid. 167).

There are a number of academic literatures that could be linked to this project: narrative characterizations of the historical gay and lesbian movements, debates about strategic priorities of those movements, particularly judgments about the normative underpinnings of their choices, research on Pride Parades, and on the Toronto Pride Parade specifically. This chapter is divided into four sections. Section A provides an historical account of how Pride Parades began. This literature generally refers to the beginning of the homophile movement and suggests that the tensions between the different homophile organizations depended on whether they pursued a liberationist or an assimilationist project. In the case of the former, the subsection, “The Pride Movement as a March,” provides an account of the liberationist arguments and situates the Pride Movement within a framework of demonstration and transformation. The second subsection marks the shift from a liberationist to an assimilationist project and focuses on the rise of homonormativity and its relationship to the status quo. While this goes hand in hand with the popular critique that “Pride has become too commercial” I follow this discussion, in section B with some examples from the current literature. Section C more specifically situates the discussion of Pride Toronto within the existing literature.

Reviewing this work is important for this study because, as I will make more clear below, many of the assumptions embedded in it, assumptions that are also shared by more popular characterizations of contemporary queer politics, tend to channel people’s perceptions of events and individual action/statements into pre-existing characterizations of meaning (e.g. that all activity/behaviour in the queer community can be labeled ‘liberationist’ or ‘assimilationist’). As I will conclude in this chapter, we need to move the framing of the Parade beyond the repetitious debates between liberation and assimilation. Instead, by exploring how QuAIA’s actions have been coordinated to the Parade, and the social relations that have contributed to that, we can

situate the problem beyond any one individual's actions or theories, and come up with better explanations about how things had occurred and why.

A. THE RISE OF THE PRIDE MOVEMENT: HOMOPHILE ASSOCIATIONS

In the beginning there was the Mattachine Foundation... Most academic accounts historically place 'the beginning' of the Pride Movement in 1950 with Harry Hay and the formation of the homophile organization, the Mattachine Foundation, "the first semi-public gay organization in the United States" (Prono 2008:126). Hay's initial intent for the Mattachine Foundation was to provide social and educational support to other gay men (and subsequently lesbians) in the Los Angeles area. Furthermore, Hay believed that the best way to challenge the structural inequalities that led to the sexual oppression was through the education and development of gay public intellectuals. Taking a lead from his activities in the Communist Party, Hay began to set up memberships in the Mattachine Foundation in a similar 'cell' configuration, as a way of protecting people's identities (Ibid.). Over the next three years the membership had expanded to include 'chapters' in many of the larger cities.

In 1953, at the national conference in San Francisco, debates over the public/private structure of the organization resulted in the dissolution of the organization and a re-formation of the group as the Mattachine Society –under new leadership. Meeker explained that a schism had developed between the confrontational approach of the organization (favoured by Hay and the other founding members who comprised the leadership for the organization) and a desire by others to excise the more (politically) subversive members of the group. Meeker notes that, under this new leadership "the new Mattachine Society abandoned the radical critique of the original group, and instead embraced conservative politics advocating that homosexuals adjust to

life in a homophobic society by adopting heterosexual social and cultural mores” (2001:79).²⁶ Interestingly, this faction is only one of many that typify the sexuality movement throughout time. Two years later, in protest to the male-dominated structure of the Mattachine Society, a group of women separated from the San Francisco chapter of the Society and formed the Daughters of Bilitis, a national organization oriented towards the needs and interests of lesbians.

The aim for both groups was the full integration of lesbians and gays into society through a pro-hegemonic challenge to the State’s narrow conception of civil rights. Consequently, the activities of both organizations were marked by a distinctive “tone it down” approach. For instance, at an annual fourth of July silent protest (in Philadelphia), “participants were required to dress ‘appropriately’ (women in skirts and men in dress shirts and ties) and to refrain from public displays of affection” (Kissack 1995:107). Here we can see how the literature establishes the assimilationist/liberationist tension as a key, if not the key, framing of the rise of the historic gay and lesbian movement.

By the mid 1960s national memberships in both organizations had dwindled as a new wave of activists sought out more radical organizations. In “Freaking Fag Revolutionaries: New York's Gay Liberation Front, 1969-1971” (1995), Terence Kissack tries to contextualize what was going on with sexuality politics at this time in terms of the larger 1960s New Left (labour) Movement, particularly as regards the internal dynamics of the radical organization, the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). Kissack’s basic argument is that New Left writers have tended to overlook or dismiss the gay contributions to the New Left and underestimate how much the GLF

²⁶ Meeker’s article suggests that the radical/conservative divide between the Mattachine Foundation and the Mattachine Society has been exaggerated. He suggests that both organizations contained radical and conservative members and concluded that, within the context of the 1950s, charges of conservatism were often misunderstood: “to agitate for fair and nonsensationalized representation, to ask that homosexuals be shown to the mainstream public as being just like everyone else, was not a conservative demand... In doing so, the homophile movement was daring, aggressive, and successful” (2001:116).

was also New Left in its orientation, particularly in its anti-capitalist critique of sexual marginalization. What Kissack rescues is the historical possibility that seemed evident at the time – that sexuality politics could have become part of a larger counter-hegemonic project – rather than simply another competing pluralist interest group. This moment of conjuncture is typified by the Stonewall riots.

THE PRIDE MOVEMENT AS A MARCH: LIBERATION

On June 28, 1969, the Stonewall Inn (in New York) was raided by police. This was not the first raid that had been conducted, nor would it be the last. However, this particular raid on Stonewall stands out as an historical event because it was one of the first times that gays and lesbians fought back (Carter 2004). A commemorative protest was organized by the Gay Liberation Front the following year and several hundred gays, lesbians, and drag queens marched through the streets of New York (Ibid.).²⁷

What emerged from the response to the Stonewall riots was a much more radical approach to organizing (Frolick 2001). In a sense, people marched to show that they were no longer ashamed; they marched to show their pride. Quoting Scheff (1990), Brit and Heise explain that “shame and pride are social emotions that arise from viewing oneself from the standpoint of another” (2000:253). Consequently, with shame, the individual’s goal is to keep their identity and actions private; with pride, the individual wants to make who they are public. They want to announce it to the world. As the *Village Voice* (a New York based pro-gay newspaper) explained, “Protest activity could be used to encourage homosexuals to become proud, open, and political in ways that would force the public to acknowledge the validity of gay

²⁷ This commemorative Parade further exacerbated the distinction between the two positions: while the New York chapters of the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis were reticent to organize with the Gay Liberationists (for fear of alienating the Mayor of New York, as well as their straight supporters), because they had taken on the role of the public ‘face’ of the movement, they were forced to incorporate newly politicized sexuality activists that sympathized with the radicals (Kissack 1995: 110).

life” (Ibid. 259). They want to march down the main streets and come out of hiding. Chris Bricknell (2000) argued that, in this sense, participation in the Parade was liberatory as it challenged the dominance of heteronormativity in public space by making non-normative sexualities visible, thus, repurposing public space (however briefly) as gay and lesbian public space.²⁸

The liberationist perspective holds that the foundation of the Pride Movement (and specifically the Pride march) was as a political march. It had the potential to disrupt the normative ways in which people were expected to act in public places. Rather than sitting quietly in private, this group of people began to demonstrate loudly and proclaim their sexuality. As the movement attracted more people, their visibility increased, and, as a broader understanding of sexuality began to emerge the moniker expanded to include queers, questioning, intersexed, asexuals, and 2-Spirited (also referred to as alphabet soup: GLBTTQQA2). As Kissack notes, the mobilization of such a wide coalition contributed to greater radicalization:

The Gay Liberation Front was critical of what they saw as the homophile movement’s reformist, if not reactionary, tendencies. Gay liberation sought to transform American society, not gain admittance to it. Like the New Left, Front members defined themselves in large part by the distance they travelled from their predecessor’s perceived limitations. (Ibid. 108)

By rejecting the assimilationist approach, the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), “self-consciously joined the radical ferment of the 1960” (Ibid. 108). Even so, the GLF was not a homogenous group. Instead, they were a volatile coalition: even as its members tried to work together to combat a common oppression, the organization found itself “divided along lines of ideology, gender, age, life experience, and race” (Ibid. 115).²⁹ While Kissack’s account only

²⁸ Bricknell’s research focused on the Pride event (referred to as the “Hero Parade”) in New Zealand.

²⁹ It is worth noting that, even amongst a group of liberatory progressives, sexism was still not being dealt with. In response to a hyper-masculinized environment, which some defined as the result of a “commercialized, commodified, and alienated sexuality of gay pornography and bar culture,” a faction of the women’s caucus

focused on the movement in New York City, others reported that similar pressures existed in major Canadian cities like Toronto and Vancouver. For many gays and lesbians in Canada, Pride was about making the private public by dragging sex and sexuality out of the bedroom and into the streets. This is best represented in the regularly chanted slogan, “We’re here. We’re queer. Get used to it!”³⁰

The experiences of Gary Kinsman, a longtime sexuality and political activist in Toronto, mirror the tensions (and competition for influence amongst the new movement) of those south of the border.³¹ In an interview about his experience with the early Canadian liberationist movement, Kinsman explained that, by the early 1970s, there were mutual overtures between the Canadian New Left and the emerging gay and lesbian movement (Brock 2004). More specifically, Kinsman tells of a crossover in membership between The League for Socialist Action (LSA, a new labour organization) and the Young Socialists within the group, Toronto Gay Action (TGA, a radical faction that was forced out of The Community Homophile Association of Toronto, CHAT) (Brock 2004: para. 45). For example, in 1971, “Several members of the LSA were involved, [in organizing the first major gay rights demonstration in Canada, and] although TGA was a broader organization; it was a reflection of gay liberation style politics in the Toronto context” (Ibid. para. 8).

But by 1974, the dominant gay and lesbian group in Toronto was the Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE), whose focus was more narrowly pitched at using a human rights approach to gain protection for sexual orientation. And, much like Harry Hay’s position in the

(identified as ‘radical feminists’) separated from the GLF and formed their own organization (Kissack 1995:119-120).

³⁰ In Canada political recognition culminated in the well know statement made by former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau that, “There’s no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation...what’s done in private between adults doesn’t concern the Criminal Code” (CBC 1967).

³¹ Unlike the genesis for most other Pride events, Frolic (2001) explains that the Pride movement in Canada was less politically homogenous than in the United States.

1950s, Kinsman found that, for those gay activists with a focus on class, “It became very clear to us by early 1979 that our position would never be seriously discussed in the [Revolutionary Worker's League]” (Brock 2004:para. 91). When asked to reflect on the trajectory of Canada’s gay liberation movement since the mid 70s, Kinsman stated,

We believed...that gay and lesbian liberation necessitated the radical transformation of capitalism... In fact, what we have seen is the integration of gay men - white middle class gay men in particular - and some lesbians, into capitalist social relations. A strategy of assimilation and respectability has gained hegemony, rather than the more radical approaches of the earlier movement... We didn't realize that a new [Queer] professional, managerial, pro-capitalist strata would emerge; one that would simply want into capitalism. (Brock 2004:para. 2).

Academics focusing on the period around the Stonewall riots and immediately thereafter have underscored what they thought the political lessons were for the historic gay and lesbian movement, namely, that liberationist approaches succeeded in dramatically increasing the visibility and scope of the gains that could be had by political organizing.

THE PRIDE MOVEMENT AS A PARADE: ASSIMILATION

In his book, *Never Going Back* (2002), Warner criticizes the characterization of the 1980s (and 1990s) gay and lesbian movement as a rights-based group bent on achieving equality. Warner posits that a more detailed historical perspective would show that the gay and lesbian movement was marked by a constant wax and wane between the liberationist and assimilationist positions. While the liberationists argued that a discourse centered in norms was inherently exclusionary and needed to be thrown out, the assimilationists were more concerned with changing (or encouraging) the institution to incorporate a broader understanding of ‘norms’ and acceptance (Warner 2004).

As we saw above, some of the early ‘unity’ of the Pride movement was under stress in the transition from the 1970s to 1980s. However, Frolick cites the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s as a reason for the sudden shift towards an assimilationist strategy, stating that the “we’re just

like you” approach was used as a way of evoking compassion in order to avoid a public backlash against HIV and AIDS infected people (2001:258). Furthermore, the success of this approach rested on the ability to exclude those who transgressed.

Through the promotion of a gender-normativity, a homonormative community began to arise that was able to set the tone for a ‘normal’ way of being gay (Stryker 2008). There were normal ways of acting, dressing, and in the Pride movement, there were specifically normative politics. These politics were about presenting a united message that stated, “We’re here. We’re queer... and we won’t rock the boat.” Not surprisingly, this new ‘normative’ community leveled a critique against the ‘irresponsibility’ of promiscuity and “vulgar displays of public sexuality” in favour of heteronormative ideals of monogamy and marriage as a way to demonstrate responsibility in curbing the spread of AIDS.³² For Stryker, the prevalence of this form of homonormativity was “aimed at securing privilege for gender-normative gays and lesbians based on adherence to dominant cultural constructions of gender” (2008: 147).

Duggan (2002) attributes the rapid uptake of ‘respectable’ sexual norms to the power of a group known as the Independent Gay Forum (IGF). Formed in 1999 the IGF, a highly visible online writers’ group of wealthy and well-known personalities, announced their platform for a “liberty for all” campaign (Ibid. 175). The IGF stated that they would “deny ‘conservative’ claims that gays and lesbians pose any threat to social morality or the political order” and “equally oppose ‘progressive’ claims that gays should support radical social change or restructuring of society” (Ibid. 176). The goal of the IGF was to, “contest and displace the

³² One of the most immediate examples of homonormativity occurred in the Winnipeg Pride Parade. In 2009, Lacerte (the Chair for the 2009 Winnipeg Pride committee) issued a public statement in response to two complaints of indecency in Winnipeg’s 2008 Parade. She stated that she wanted to remind everybody that the Pride Parade is a ‘family friendly event’ and that, “part of the Parade is to show people *we’re not extremists, we’re real people*” (Hasselriis 2009, italics mine). Asked what she meant by extremists, Lacerte answered with, “drag queens and butch women” (Ibid.). She then suggested that the committee broaden its definition of ‘nudity,’ to include mesh nylons on drag queens. “‘Is this nudity for you and I?’ she asked. ‘No, but maybe for somebody in the mainstream it is’” (Ibid.).

expansively democratic vision represented by progressive activists...[by] replacing it with a model of a narrowly constrained public life cordoned off from the ‘private’ control and vast inequalities of economic life” (Ibid. 177). Here academics linked changes in queer organizing and self-representation with the broader neoliberal reforms being enacted at the state level, contributing to a larger debate about ‘how to be a homosexual’.

To understand how neoliberal policies shape personal actions, Griffin explains that, “[A] neo-liberal discourse... communicates appropriate types of and limits to human behaviour and acceptable social aspirations, and neutralizes social dislocations by veiling historical contingency in ‘truth’ and the real” (2007:223). Additionally, using Foucault’s notion of governmentality, Jonathan Joseph (2007) argued that neo-liberalism was not only about the promotion of free-markets; instead, there was a pervasive form of neo-liberalism that was more concerned with dictating social conduct. As Joseph explained,

Neo-liberalism is something that is both social and international, which is connected to institutions... including the state, but which goes beyond them and blurs the boundaries between state and civil society. Neo-liberalism is also a mentality or a certain way of seeing things... it is a framework, a set of practices, a way of seeing and doing things that transcend such boundaries. (2007:11).

Waitt’s (2008) research on urban festivals is particularly interesting in this regard. He found that there was a correlation between a global increase in both the number and size of urban festivals and the corporatization of the events (Ibid. 516). Waitt’s analysis of the Pride festival literature revealed that there was also an inverse relationship between an event’s liberatory possibilities and that event’s size, funding, and public support. Specifically, the promotion of Pride Parades as ‘gay-friendly’ events “[neutralizes] the efforts of these festivals to challenge how everyday urban space is (hetero)sexed” (Ibid. 529).³³

³³ While a transnational critique is not well documented, a survey of the existing research shows that similar shifts, from a political to a neo-liberally defined event, are present in other countries where Pride movements exist. Some

In a similar vein, Valverde and Cirik (2003) note that the transgressive possibilities of Toronto's Pride Parade are significantly limited due to its structural relationship to the City of Toronto. Their research used a framework of 'governance,' to explore the role of providing security in two areas of the GLBTTQIA2 community. The first focused on bars and bathhouses while the second paid attention to how security was provided in the streets. Valverde and Cirik found that the security of the Parade was governed through four forms of policing: Toronto's police force, private security firms, self-policing, and through policies and legislation. It is the latter example that is of interest in this discussion. They argued that the increasing bureaucratization of the Parade subjects the event to a series of "dense networks of regulation" (Ibid. 118) that organize security for the Parade in order to meet the stipulations for acquiring a liquor license, permits to close streets, and policies that determine the City's commitments to the event.

Interestingly, this link between permits and security has been made in some of the Parade literature through references to the use of barriers. While previous marches were less formalized, the introduction of barriers, under the guise of City-based concerns with 'crowd control' meant that spectators were prevented from joining in. Now, rather than being a community event with people, some argued (Kinsman 2006) that it had turned into a community event for people as the introduction of barriers in 1995 created a distinction between attendees as either 'spectators' or 'spectacles' – at their own event.³⁴ Thus these academics see in these various developments a thread of neoliberalism, altering how individuals understand themselves, their relations to others,

direct examples in the research include Ireland and England (Browne 2007) and Cape Town South Africa (van der Wal 2008).

³⁴ I was introduced to this idea of a tangible separation (brought about by the use of barriers) during a preliminary conversation with a former Pride Toronto organizer. Upon encountering the barriers he explained that, "We were all shocked. There was no previous mention of the fencing and we all showed up and were prevented from joining the Parade." He then described the ways in which police were also used to reinforce the distinction between participant and spectator by preventing 'the community' from joining in. The issue of barriers, as a form of participant regulation, was also raised by most of my participants.

and the market, as well as the appropriate ways in which individual behaviour should be regulated by organizations and the state.

Lynda Johnston's book, *Queering Tourism: Paradoxical Performances at Gay Pride Parades* (2005) provides a different example of how barriers have been used to divide. She argues that the initial political marches of the past have, through marketing to tourists, evolved into spectator-centered events (much like carnivals). Through her research on Sydney's Mardi Gras, she found that the majority of tourist spectators were heterosexual and suggested that Mardi Gras' popularity with heterosexuals was, in some part, due to the metal barriers that lined the route, in this case, "[heteronormative] tourists are physically separated from the gay bodies in the Parade..." She then suggests that this separation problematically positions the gay male body as a non-threatening 'other' to the spectator, arguing that, "...When spatial segregation is maintained, there can be no confusion between heterosexual and homosexual bodies. The threat of sexualized transgression is, at one level, controlled" (Johnston 2005: 58).

B. ACTS OF RESISTANCE

So far I have showcased the development of academic work on the historic gay and lesbian movement, and how academics have argued that there has been a predominant shift from a liberationist to an assimilationist stance (through the acceptance of neoliberal ideologies) in the Pride movement. I would now like to take a step back from this dichotomous explanation to suggest that thrust of the assimilationist work may overstate things a great deal. As research on recent events shows, as long as a diversity of people remain involved, many of the policies and effects of neoliberalism continue to be contested and assimilationist pressures do not succeed in suppressing difference. Starting locally, then moving to two trans-local sites, the following section will refer to the research of Frolick (2001), Kates and Belk (2003), Browne (2007), van

der Wal (2008) to demonstrate the ways in which Pride participants have been resisting the commercialization of the movement.

In questioning the homogeneity of Toronto's Pride Parade, Frolick (2001) conducted a photo-analysis of the clothing that participants wore in the Parade. Noting the "political strategies encoded in the fashions" (Ibid. 257), she found that the leather-clad, the exhibitionists, gender-benders, and neo-butches (amongst others) overtly represented the debates between assimilation and confrontation as it present in the ways they dressed and carried themselves (i.e. their comportment) (Ibid. 278). For these people, the very act of wearing non-heteronormative clothing in public was a direct challenge to the status quo. As Frolick explained, "the pride expressed [by these people] is not egotism or haughtiness; it is more akin to an anti-assimilationist romp, a dance of defiance" Frolic (2001:257).³⁵

In a study done on the 1996 Toronto Pride Parade, Kates and Belk (2003) found that even in an environment that research participants felt was typified by a commercialized experience, the Parade was far too multi-layered to categorically state that it was any one thing. Through observations and interviews they found that people experienced Pride in a myriad of ways: as a vehicle for political demonstrations, as a display of economic power, and as resistance to the status quo, at once critiquing the festival for being an increasingly commercialized and orchestrated event, while enjoying the liberatory possibilities (Ibid. 420).³⁶ They conclude with the caveat that, "Cultural hegemony and the dominance of consumer culture are never absolute" (Ibid. 403). The literature on other Parades seems to corroborate their findings.

³⁵ It would be interesting to contrast Frolick's work in a longitudinal study to see whether this form of political attire has decreased over time. After all, the Vancouver, Toronto and Winnipeg Pride committees have all been in the news for prohibiting certain forms of clothing (or nudity). Having attended Pride Parades for about twenty years in many different cities, I would argue that though there are gender-transitive representations that are enacted through clothing, I suspect that such challenges are less frequent now than in the past.

³⁶ While interviews and observations were conducted for the 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, and 1997 Parades, both Kates and Belks were only present for the 1996 Parade, hence, their analysis only draws on the material from 1996. My own direct involvement with Toronto's Pride Parade occurred between 1996 and 2006.

Browne (2007) also suggests that we not jump to quick conclusions about the complete co-optation of Pride as a party. Through a series of interviews with lesbian Pride participants in Dublin, Hove, and Brighton, she found that even within a hyper-capitalist party atmosphere, politics was still present, as lesbians were still able to negotiate their visibility “in public spaces away from the party” (Ibid. 82).³⁷ For some of these women, the politics of Pride was one day in a year where they could relax and just enjoy being. As one participant replied, Pride was about, “Fun! Being in one place with 1,000s of queers. Celebrating community. Getting to let out 364 days of crap in one big boogie” (Ibid. 375). For this group of women, the politics of Pride was encapsulated in being a lesbian in a public space. From an urban North American (i.e. Toronto) perspective, this hardly seems like a transgressive act. But when we consider geographical locations, this example provides a caution about framing the value of a political movement as expressly banging a drum and direct confrontations.

In my final example, van der Wal explains that the carnival atmosphere of Cape Town Pride (South Africa) was also a site of both contestation as well as assimilation,

Carnival’s spatial nature demands negotiation with established city structures and authorities – carnival cannot exclusively yield to or withstand the rules laid down by the city, but mostly does both. Normative structures of city are not only opposed by carnival but also replicated in persisting heteronormative and homonormative discourses. (van der Wal 2008:134).

Van der Wal concludes that even though the range of represented identities is limited, the identities that are present are not only important, but in South Africa’s political atmosphere, they also point to the identities that are not able to be represented in a distinct political climate (Ibid. 135).

³⁷ Kath Browne’s article, “A party with politics?” (2007), stands as a rare example of a project that discusses a Pride event as a political event. And yet, her analysis situates the politics within individual performances (as something that one can choose to enact or opt-out of) rather than as a systemic part of the event.

Up to this point I have demonstrated how academic accounts have focused on neoliberalism as a catalyst in shifting from a liberationist to an assimilationist stance in the Pride movement. However, these accounts have overstated their case, and are challenged by some of the current trends in the ‘movement. For instance, in response to the perceived depoliticization of Pride, popular accounts show a shift in Pride events as many places are organizing around more localized and less formally organized community Prides. These events are occurring in parks as picnics; at lakes as camp-outs; and in rural areas as potlucks. Typically, these events are geared towards a type of socialization that is more about the inclusion of all members of the community rather than the exclusionary ‘spectator’ approach that mega event Prides offer.

C. CONTEMPORARY PRIDE TORONTO

Toronto’s Pride parade is one of the world’s largest GLBTTQQA2 events. When we consider the economic, cultural, and social impact of Toronto’s Pride Parade (as stated earlier), it is surprising to learn that only a few sociological studies have explicitly focused on this mega-event. Articles that do reference the Parade make, at best, a cursory mention of it while using it as a means to discuss other issues, such as identity performance (Frolic 2001), rights-based discourses (Carter 2004), or geography and the gay tourist economy (Johnston 2001; Johnston 2005; Rushbrook 2002).³⁸

I suggest that the dearth of research is not the only concern. Indeed, a comprehensive literature search demonstrated that scholars have not looked at the Parade from the perspective of Pride Toronto’s ability to influence (or affect) the experiences of those involved. The lack of academic work on this event does not reflect the fact that there are countless participants whose

³⁸ Out of the many articles that I have reviewed for this topic, only three can be said to address Toronto’s Pride Parade in any substantive way. These include Frolic (2001), Kates and Belks (2003), and Valverde and Cirik (2003). However, I admit that I am stretching to make this claim for Valverde and Cirik as the focus of their article is on conceptualizing forms of governance and they only use the Parade as one of four sites for discussion on the governance of security.

work has been coordinated to the Parade; in some small way, this research project aims to address this discrepancy.

CONCLUSION

One of the strongest themes to emerge out of a review of the academic accounts of the Pride Movement is the ongoing debate over whether the Pride Parade is an affirmation of sameness or a demonstration of difference; between the desire (by some) to fit in to mainstream society and the aspirations (of others) to challenge the dominance of heteronormativity and capitalism. The academic literature that I have presented above largely promotes the view that a neoliberal framework has increasingly restructured the Pride movement into a more heteronormatively palatable, sanitized, commercialized, consumerized, homogenous presentation of the GLBTQIA2 community. Based on these accounts, non-normative genders, sexualities, and behaviours have been discouraged from participating in Pride.

The picture that emerges from all this work suggests an emerging normative social order where any *actions* that might counter the notion of a 'respectable' homosexual are made less visible. This understanding is based in the assimilationist/liberationist debate that currently dominates the discussions of the Parade. Simply put, the theory of assimilation is about achieving equality through recognition and an increased tolerance for diversity (thus, expanding the monikers from gay and lesbian to GLBTTQQIA2). On the other hand, the liberationists argue that a rights-based discourse promotes an 'us and them' dichotomy that actually maintains the existing social order. Though an assimilationist project may tolerate differences, it would still reify normative identities, thus, in suggesting that there is a difference between gays and lesbians, it would still promote an idealized way of being for a gay man as well as one for a lesbian woman.

Even though this debate appears to encompass both sides of the question, I suggest that the assimilationist/liberationist debate is hampered by its own theoretical dichotomy. It appears to state: “if not this, then that” which precludes other standpoints, and thus, other ways of understanding people’s experiences of the Parade. As I intend to demonstrate, such debates do not seem to capture the complexity of Toronto’s Pride Parade as experienced by the members of QuAIA. Indeed, such debates often preclude an examination of what is really going on, what people are really saying, or an exploration of underlying social relations that do not appear to fit within its rubric (i.e. is this phenomena contributing to assimilation or liberation?). Instead, we must shed these assumptions and attempt to explore what people are saying on their terms and examine events and contexts for other possible influences. In light of this, I am interested in reinserting these subjectivities back into the discussion.

3. ABOUT THE ORGANIZATIONS

The purpose of the following chapter is to provide the reader with some background information on Queers Against Israeli Apartheid and Pride Toronto. While each description is rooted in each participant's own account of their organization, some specifics are drawn from the websites and the literature that they produce. Each description will start with an historical account of how the group came into being and will be followed by a discussion on their stated purpose/function as well as an explanation of their current organizational structure. Finally, this chapter will conclude by providing the reader with a time line of the most relevant events, providing a reference guide to the events that will be discussed in subsequent chapters. I would like to stress that the following organizational accounts should not be read as 'complete' as access to the history and structure of each group was limited to my participant's own knowledge. In some cases I have drawn on organizational charts, group websites, and information gathered from interviews in the media. I have indicated the spots where I have done so and have limited my use of these sources to specific purposes.

A. QUEERS AGAINST ISRAELI APARTHEID

ORIGINS AND MESSAGE

When I first asked Dave to tell me how QuAIA was formed, he explained that the group began in the winter of 2008, "after Israeli Apartheid Week, university stuff" (Dave, QuAIA). He then explained that QuAIA marched as a sub-contingent with the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) in the [June] 2008 Pride Parade. Some of the members in the group had wanted to march in the Parade but the members were not organized enough to submit an application. Instead, through member's affiliation with CUPE, they were invited to join CUPE's marching contingent. This fit was seen as a logical one, "because CUPE had a fairly good stand

on an engagement with Israel” (Dave, QuAIA).³⁹ Through my interview with Dave I had begun to conceptualize QuAIA as a group, with a structure, membership, and political message. However, when I asked Rosa to tell me about her involvement with QuAIA she started from a very different perspective, noting that in 2008, they marched as CAIA,

CAIA is the Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid and it has affiliated sectors, and QUAlA? At first we didn't know what we were going to affiliate as because I asked. I said “Are we part of CAIA?” That had to be determined because there are [many groups:] Students Against Israeli Apartheid, Faculty for Palestine, Labour for Palestine, and these are all sectors to focus on.

So people marched and they had banners that said ‘Queers Against Israeli apartheid’ and that was the first year that that appeared. (Rosa, QuAIA).

This idea that QuAIA was intimately connected to a broader network of anti-apartheid activism was further demonstrated when I asked her to elaborate on her own involvement with QuAIA. She began by situating her experience within the larger context of the issue, noting that,

In the summer of 2006 when Israel was bombing both Gaza and Lebanon, that's when the Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid formed... And back then it was a coalition of organizations because there's a number of formations and groups that have been working around the issue of Palestine for quite some time in Toronto.

In fact, a lot of the people I know in the different groups have been active on the subject for all those years in various different formations. And then there are a lot of new faces. (Rosa, QuAIA)

Rosa’s answer challenged my approach to understanding QuAIA ‘as a community organization.’ Instead, her participation in QuAIA was rooted in a form of political activism that was not captured by asking about ‘memberships’ and ‘organizational structures.’ As her interview progressed I began to understand that QuAIA hadn’t simply started in 2008; instead, the group was made up of an engaged and highly networked set of people that had all been active (in critiquing Israel’s treatment of Palestinians) for a number of years. When I went back to review Dave’s transcript I found that he had started with a similar account (an account which I

³⁹ When Dave stated that QuAIA formed in “2008 in the winter,” he was referring to the winter of 2007/2008, meaning that the formation of the group emerged out of Israeli Apartheid Week, held from Feb. 4 to Feb. 9, 2008.

had not attributed adequate weight to in my previous readings of the transcript), relating his political commitment to the issue. For this simple reason, I have begun to organize the account of QuAIA by focusing on the genesis of the group and their political message before I provide a description of how the organization is structured.

In the spring of 2009 Dave was asked to speak at an event organized by QuAIA. He had been involved with organizing the Simon Nkoli Anti-Apartheid Committee (SNAAC) in 1986 and QuAIA wanted to draw on his past experience with doing anti-apartheid work in the GLBTTQQA2 community. He explained to me that Simon Nkoli, a South African anti-apartheid activist, had been imprisoned and, while in prison, had come out as gay. Dave explained that SNAAC had formed, “largely to support [Simon], but also to do anti-apartheid work in the queer communities, the lesbian and gay communities, and [we] found ourselves doing queer work in the anti-apartheid communities, because in the mid '80s those two things were not necessarily involved. You know, there were lots of anti-apartheid activists who were really homophobic for example” (Dave, QuAIA). Dave went on to draw parallels between his experience with SNAAC and some of the homophobic responses that were leveled at QuAIA for participating in the 2008 Parade.

Dave explained that the initial formation of QuAIA was as a (primarily) graduate student organization, consisting of people who were educated in, and (often) doing research on critiques of the pro-Zionist movement and/or how Israel’s policies affected Palestinians. Many of these students were involved in organizing the 2008 ‘Israeli Apartheid Week,’ a series of events held at the University of Toronto. Israeli Apartheid Week is an annual event that began in Toronto in 2005 and is (now) a global movement to raise awareness on the issue. As their documents state: “The aim of IAW is to educate people about the nature of Israel as an apartheid system and to

build Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaigns as part of a growing global BDS movement” (Israeli Apartheid Week 2012: para. 1).

In response to an article in the *National Post* (Brean 2009), incorrectly stating that QuAIA had been banned from the upcoming 2009 Parade, QuAIA had decided that the best way to deal with claims that they had ‘slipped into the Parade’ was to submit an application on their own behalf for the 2009 event. Rosa described the general sentiment at the meeting where this decision was made: “the decision to march as this group called ‘Queers Against Israeli Apartheid,’ was not to take advantage of the Parade and so on; it’s like ‘We’re a queer group. Of course we should march in Pride. This is our march. This is our Parade.’ (Rosa, QuAIA). When asked about the public’s response to marching in the 2009 Parade she noted that,

Rosa: ... the reception we got was unbelievable. It was just unbelievable ...
Dann: Unbelievable in what way?
Rosa: It was unbelievable the amount of vitriol, and I say that tongue in cheek because, doing this politics over the time I’ve done it, I have to say, you say ‘Palestine’ and people just say, ‘oh, it’s too complicated.’ (Rosa, QuAIA)

Despite some community support, concerns from pro-Zionist groups began to appear in the media about QuAIA’s involvement in the Parade. First, QuAIA was accused of bringing an issue (Israel’s policies towards Palestine) to the Parade that was not really a ‘queer’ issue. However, Dave’s own experience challenged this claim by demonstrating that the connection between queer and anti-apartheid movements did have a historical basis. Second, QuAIA’s use of the phrase ‘Israeli Apartheid’ promoted hate-speech against Jewish people living in Israel. Rosa explained that this accusation was preposterous as the term ‘Israeli Apartheid’ was a common term, used by such high profile and credible sources as Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and former U.S. president Richard Nixon. As Rosa recounted, critics of QuAIA tried to argue that QuAIA was misusing the word ‘apartheid’:

And they were like 'It's the word apartheid. It's wrong.' Well it's not wrong because there are – we're not comparing it to South Africa. It's based on the UN conventions on the crime of apartheid. Apartheid is an Afrikaner word, but the crime itself has existed long before. (Rosa, QuAIA)

She then informed me that QuAIA's political message was meant to raise awareness about this issue and to challenge the 'pinkwashing' that pro-Zionist groups have been using to divert the public's attention from their 'apartheid' treatment of Palestinians. QuAIA's website states that, "Today, in response to increasing criticism of its occupation of Palestine, Israel is cultivating an image of itself as an oasis of gay tolerance in the Middle East, a practice that is called pinkwashing" (QuAIA 2012). In this case, pinkwashing involved the effort to use Israel's liberal treatment of gay and lesbian issues for its citizens as a screen to distract critical attention from their treatment of Palestinians.

As I had mentioned in chapter 1, I had tried to contact a number of the people and groups that my participants identified i.e. various pro-Zionist groups and individuals. However, I was not able to interview any of these individuals or organizations for this study. That being said, my participants have had some interaction with the people involved in the pro-Zionist movement. I suggest that we can use the participant's accounts to gain some insight (albeit limited) into these groups, their motives, and their actions –as experienced by the research participants. Obviously, QuAIA members have their own particular interpretations of the behaviour of others, given their publicly stated views on the issue that they disagree over. I rely heavily on quotes in the following section as this account is QuAIA's account of the pro-Zionist organizations and is therefore, less open to analysis. Still, QuAIA's experience does provide some insight into how and why these various pro-Zionist actors have gained traction for their views and adherents for their positions, particularly from those in public office.

QuAIA's experience with pro-Zionist organizations and individuals has mostly been in situations of conflict. When asked if there had been any contact between QuAIA and the pro-Zionist groups about QuAIA's use of the term 'Israeli Apartheid,' Rosa explained that very little was said to QuAIA, instead:

The queer Jewish Zionists went to the pro-Israel organizations in the mainstream Jewish communities -- and there was never a willingness to have a dialogue [with us on this issue]... I mean Women in Solidarity with Palestine, we've been organizing a counter presence at the Walk with Israel for 11 or 12 years now and the last two years we've been confronted by the JDL [Jewish Defense League] where we got called, of all things, fags, sluts, bitches and capos. Capos were people in the concentration camps that the Nazis gave extra powers to in an extra cruel way so they would spare their lives briefly before they killed them too, to punish the other inmates. (Rosa, QuAIA).

One interesting thing about the critiques that the pro-Zionists made against QuAIA had to do with timing. As Rosa points out, the issue did not simply emerge in 2009-10:

CAIA is the Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid. And it has affiliated sectors and QAIA, at first we didn't know what we were going to affiliate because I asked. I said "Are we part of CAIA?" That had to be determined because there are students against Israeli apartheid, faculty for Palestine, labour for Palestine and these are all sectors to focus on. So people marched and they had banners that said queers against Israeli apartheid and that was the first year that that appeared although this banner is from the Jewish Women's Committee to end the application in which we changed our name to Women in Solidarity with Palestine. This appeared in 2007 and we marched with this in the dyke march [Showing a banner that she brought]. And the reason I mention that is because the whole issue about this doesn't belong in the Parade, well, JWCEO and WSP, now WSP, we've been marching in the dyke march ever since it's been around and a number us have marched in pride. In fact, some of us marched with a Salaam float in 2003... Salaam is the queer Muslim group. And some of us marched on the pride day with Salaam and there was a cultural kind of workers, artists, activists group called Creative Response and we marched with Salaam and we had messages about Israeli apartheid and about what Israel is doing. So it's been in the Parade. (Rosa, QuAIA)

Later Rosa later reiterated her point that the pro-Zionist groups had been aware of the Israeli Apartheid critique:

So there's been a changeover in names and some of the personnel, so to speak, but a number of us have been around for a long time. So the message has been there. It's just that when the big banner came out with big, bold letters saying Queers Against Israeli Apartheid in 2008, apparently it really upset Mr Gladstone. (Rosa, QuAIA).

For whatever reason, QuAIA hit the radar of pro-Zionist groups and they worked assiduously to sideline them. But the tactics they utilized were not uniquely applied to QuAIA. Dave explains their efforts as a generalized campaign of polarization designed to close off public deliberations over the actions of the Israeli state:

Dann: *So was there any really kind of actual opposition to QuAIA being either representative of the community or not? I mean this idea that they're not a queer group...*

Dave: *Only -- no, that was all fabricated by Gladstone and the gang. It was like a Zionist -- remember this happened in the context of Kairos losing its funding and their attempt to close down the conference on the mid-east at York University. It was like a series of events had taken place that the Zionists lobbyists were attempting to close down any kind of criticism of Israel. So for them Pride is like this soft target. And so Kulanu, which had been up until that point a Jewish social group, queer social group, where people would go to meet, to pickup people, suddenly got taken over and turned into this Zionist organization where they would march with the Israeli flags and defend Israel. And the original basis of unity of Kulanu had said that they took no position on the Middle East conflict because there's such huge divergence of positions within Jewish communities... But then they were transformed and basically there were a number of QuAIA members who had been around Kulanu but everybody who didn't take a hard Zionist line was forced out.*

Dann: *So, Kulanu hadn't actually been a politically organized group, it was very much a social organization?*

Dave: *Social, yeah. (Dave, QuAIA).*

Dave suggested that pro-Zionist forces had deliberately utilized a 'you're with us or you're against us' rhetoric to get people to fall in line with their views. Rosa reported that, in her experience, this technique was not really new, but one that had long accompanied the debate over Israel's policies towards Palestine:

The hypocrisy is quite something... I think I mentioned this before, since it's been pointed out many times that a number of us in QuAIA are Jewish so then they [the pro-Zionist groups] had to come out and qualify what kind of Jews we are --the bad kind, the misguided, the stupid, the ignorant. I literally over the years had people spit in my face saying 'You're ignorant, you're stupid, you're ugly.' I'm like, 'You don't get to comment on my intelligence or my looks.' If you can't comment on the quality of what I'm saying then don't talk to me. (Rosa, QuAIA)

Ironically, QuAIA discovered that the pro-Zionist groups' hyper-confrontational tactics (and uncompromising denial of the term) had some unintentional effects. For instance, their challenge to QuAIA's involvement with the Pride Parade opened a space in the media that didn't exist before:

Well just remember in 2010 you couldn't ask for better publicity. One column inch, "Israeli Apartheid" on the front of the Toronto Star. We once wrote an op/ed and people said they didn't want to publish it because it's not in the form of an op/ed. I'm like no, they didn't want to publish it because it's not the point of view they want to put across because they will get a barrage of complaints from the B'nai Brith, the Canadian Jewish Congress, now CIJA and Zionist individuals putting on pressure. They call the [Toronto] Star anti-Semitic. They call CBC and the BBC anti-Semitic. We can't get our stuff in there and that is the new McCarthyism. There is an element of fear. (Rosa, QuAIA)

Still, the question remains, why would City council respond to these groups? Dave explained that during this period Israel was attempting to rebrand itself as a progressive nation by promoting its liberal policies towards gays and lesbians. The success of this move relied on Israel's ability to distance itself (in the public's eye) from its political/violent relationship with Palestine. According to Dave, Toronto was chosen as the site to roll out the brand. In 2008 the Toronto Israeli consulate began to prepare to launch the brand campaign; this was also the first year that QuAIA marched in the Pride Parade. As the campaign gained momentum, QuAIA's message (that Israel's campaign was a form of pinkwashing) threatened to undermine their message. Unfortunately, the other participants in this study had very little to say about this connection.

To ascertain whether Dave was ultimately right in his views about the relations between various pro-Zionist groups and city hall, or about the possible impact of the 'Brand Israel' campaign and the attack on QuAIA, would require more research, as well as interviews with some of the key decision-makers in the pro-Zionist organizations. Those sources were not available to me. However, my participant's experiences with pro-Zionist groups and individuals

did provide some insight into how the public behaviour of these activists (and publicly stated rationales offered for their actions) often collided with the work that others were attempting to do. I will draw on their insights, where appropriate in the proceeding chapters.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Prior to 2009, Dave reports that QuAIA's original group of members were "mostly students who'd been around the Israeli Apartheid Week stuff at the University of Toronto" and a few other people. In 2009 some older activists with experience in the queer and anti-apartheid movements joined (like Dave). During the lead up to the 2009 Parade, media attention led to a dramatic increase in the public's interest in QuAIA. As a result, QuAIA had to implement a vetting process for new members. The point of vetting members, Dave suggested, was to "keep out crazies or racists or whatever." This membership process is still in effect, "...it's still basically that if somebody wants to join then they need to either talk to, or have a discussion with, or know somebody who's actually in the group now." Dave reports that the group has a membership, with approximately 30 to 40 people on its active membership list, and another 200-300 people on a broader 'friends' list that get email notifications and announcements about upcoming meetings, actions, and fundraisers. QuAIA has regularly scheduled meetings that are open to all members. As Dave notes,

The next meeting is either set at the end of a meeting, or last year, we pre-scheduled meetings throughout the course of the fall and winter. Those were announced through emails to the membership list. The meetings have usually been held somewhere on the U of T campus, or occasionally at someone's house. (Dave, QuAIA).

Organizationally, QuAIA has no executive or 'leaders', "It doesn't have a structure or president. Their base is unity but not a constitution" (Dave, QuAIA). Instead, QuAIA is governed by its active members. He explained that most of the decisions about policies and the direction of the group's future activities/actions were made at a general membership meeting.

These general meetings “set the strategic stuff”, which was then acted upon by forming committees (from the active membership) that “get struck to address particular tasks, at particular points”. With the example of QuAIA’s prominence in the media, Dave outlines how after the general meeting had set out the plan for media work:

... a media committee was struck from that, the smaller group of people, maybe three or four, and working within the parameters that have been set by the general meeting, then deal with media and do media spokes people, and develop press releases and all that kind of stuff. (Dave, QuAIA)

Dave explained how the decisions, made at the general meetings, meant that QuAIA routinely “changed its internal composition,” and allowed the group to adapt to their current situation: “we morphed that way. When there's something to be done [we organize] to meet the needs” (Dave, QuAIA). In this way, the flexible use of committees utilized people’s skills and ensured that those with an interest in the topic were being included.

QuAIA is not a registered nonprofit organization (nor is it ‘incorporated’ like Pride Toronto). When I had asked Rosa where QuAIA’s money came from she replied,

Rosa: *Out of our pockets. We've done fundraisers.*

Dann: *Are you a registered charity then?*

Rosa: *No. Most activist groups that I know are not registered charities. We're activist groups. (Rosa, QuAIA)*

Financially, QuAIA’s lack of official status meant that they could not issue tax receipts and were not eligible to apply for funding or grants. Rosa noted that the group had received some donations from individuals but “not [from] foundations or anything like that.” Instead, QuAIA raised the bulk (a misnomer) of their money through fundraising events (again a misnomer). In this case, a small amount of money could be raised by putting on events and charging a pay-what-you-can fee at the door, “and that's a fundraiser” for QuAIA (Rosa, QuAIA).

B. PRIDE TORONTO

ORIGINS AND MESSAGE

Toronto's foray into Pride Parades began with a string of loosely organized picnics, called 'gay days'. They began in the 1970s and were held in August, usually on the Toronto Islands, commemorating the decriminalization of homosexuality in Canada (Frolic 2001:258).⁴⁰ On February 5, 1981 the Toronto police raided local gay bathhouses and arrested 306 men, dragging some out onto the street in nothing but towels and later allowing their names to be published in the newspapers (Kinsman 2006). The police raids on the bathhouses helped to rally Toronto's gay and lesbian community in a way that it had not been before. Gay Liberation Against the Right Everywhere (GLARE), a left-wing gay liberation group organized a protest for February 6 (Kinsman 2006:para. 1). Following this demonstration an organization, Lesbian and Gay Pride Day Toronto, was incorporated as a nonprofit organization and, June 28, 1981 (coinciding with the commemoration of Stonewall) was set as the first Lesbian and Gay Pride Day (Pride Toronto 2011a).

The scope of the Pride Parade also expanded over time. Quickly spilling beyond an event that could be contained within the bounds of a small neighborhood park (the Grange), the event was granted approval in 1984 from Toronto's City Council to close down Church Street and officially move the celebration. In 1991 city council voted and officially declared June 25th to be Gay Pride Day (despite Mayor Art Eggleton's opposition) (Pare 2011).

Eventually the Parade route was expanded and redirected down Yonge Street (covering 22 blocks), while Church Street, Wellesley Street, and the surrounding side streets were all closed off in order to create more space for vendors (aka the market), a food court, and several

⁴⁰ Bill C-150 passed on May 14, 1969 and decriminalized sodomy for consenting adults over the age of 21.

entertainment stages with beer gardens. Finally, every year Pride Toronto contracts a company to print up thousands of *Pride Guides*, a booklet with maps, events, and, of course, advertising.

The 1991 Parade drew an estimated 80,000 participants and spectators (Pride Toronto 2011a). By 1996 the Parade had grown ten-fold, with an estimated 850,000 participants and spectators (Pride Toronto 2011a) into a three-day event, generating between \$42-56 million for the city (McLeister 2002). By 2009 the Toronto Pride Parade has become one of Canada's largest cultural events, and one of the largest Pride Parades in the World. To put this in perspective, in just under thirty years, the Parade had grown from a one-day protest march with roughly 1,500 participants to a Parade that had developed into a ten-day event with over 1.2 million participants and spectators generating \$136 million (*Globe and Mail* 2009).⁴¹

Pride Toronto sees itself as an organizing group, rather than as an activist or lobbying group. As Anthony, a 2012 board member with Pride Toronto put it, “[People looked] at Pride as though it was the Lesbian and Gay Community Association of Toronto, which it is not.” Instead, he characterized Pride Toronto as the organizer of a festival, a cultural event. In this view, “... we happen three days of the year and ... that's it. That's what we're mandated to do. We're not here to lobby for every gay policy or legislation in the world.” Nor was it Pride Toronto's mission to endorse every message or group that appeared in the Parade. Anthony explained that there was a strict separation between organization, which was Pride Toronto's role, and advocacy, which he saw as the participants' role: “We're a facilitator of a big event. We provide staging and safety and we organize. And we've always organized it with the principle that if you're a queer, you're here” (Anthony, Pride).

⁴¹ I consistently draw on the 2009 Parade as it was the year the City conducted a comprehensive economic impact study (through a privately contracted company) on the Parade. Data on subsequent Parades are based on police estimates of crowd size and hotel room bookings (as well as other self-reported forms of economic tracking).

Pride Toronto is a nonprofit organization and receives its funds from a variety of sources, including individual and corporate donations, sponsorships, Parade fees, advertizing, contributions from various levels of government (both in cash and in-kind services),⁴² and special events/fundraisers. Pride Toronto's budget for 2009 was just over \$3 million, receiving \$971,800 in funding from the municipal, provincial and federal levels of government, as well as from private and corporate donors (see Table 3.1 below). Pride Toronto's funding is generally broken down into the following categories: corporate sponsorships, sales of advertising, entrance fees, beverage (beer) sales, and merchandise; and Grants. Table 3.1 provides a breakdown of Pride's annual budget for 2009, 2010, and 2011 (2012 is not yet available).

Table 3.1 Parade Revenue and Expenditures by year

Revenue	2009	2010	2011
<i>Sponsorship</i>	\$1,225,044	\$1,469,027	\$1,073,502
<i>Grants</i>	\$971,800*	\$709,025	\$498,241
<i>Permits and Fees</i>	\$238,523	\$261,213	\$231,532
<i>Beverage Sales</i>	\$337,611	\$249,194	\$216,567
<i>Donations and Fundraising</i>	\$184,359	\$192,672	\$93,416
<i>Media and Guide Advertising Sales</i>	\$56,138	\$92,499	-
<i>Interest and Others</i>	\$6,037	\$6,544	\$9,446
Total Revenue	\$3,019,512	\$2,980,174	\$2,122,714
Expenditures	\$3,158,117	\$3,411,982	\$1,911,214
Revenues over Expenditures	\$-138,605	\$-431,808	\$211,500

** The breakdown for the list of grants in 2009 is: Federal Government grants \$397,520, Provincial grants \$401,000, and civic grants \$173,280 (Pride Toronto 2010:4 and 8)
(These figures have been taken from Pride Toronto's 2009, 2010, and 2011 Financial Statements)*

⁴² Anthony explained that 'in kind' services, a form of civic support that was separate from any grants that they may receive, meant that the City agreed to cover the cost of garbage collection and police services for the event. This arrangement was estimated (depending on the source) to save Pride Toronto between \$100,000 and \$250,000 annually (Community Advisory Panel 2011:118 and Peat 2011: para. 4, respectively).

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Anthony reported that, as of 2012, Pride Toronto was organized around a hierarchical model, which consisted of a 12-member board, an executive director, four full time staff members, and a larger membership base drawn from the community and past Pride Week volunteers. While Anthony saw the organization of Pride Toronto as hierarchical, one in which there was an established system of reporting and responsibility, it is important to note that the (1981) incorporation of Pride Toronto meant that its structure was subject to the Ontario Not-For-Profit Corporations Act.

The Act establishes the organization as a legal entity that is independent from the group's membership. In this way, the corporation can own property, enter into contracts, and sue or be sued (Ministry of Government Services, Service Ontario and the Office of the Public Guardian and Trustee for Ontario, Charitable Property Program of the Ministry of the Attorney General, date unknown: 6). In order to incorporate, the organization must also follow a corporate structure in which the organization is managed by a Board of Directors. This Board in turn appoints staff that are tasked with the day-to-day functions of the organization. While there are many different reasons to incorporate, the most immediate reason for Pride was that such a status meant that Pride would be eligible to apply for government funding (Ibid. 18).

Anthony explained that at any given time, there may be fewer board members than the organization structure allows for (at the time of this interview, Anthony thought only nine of the twelve board positions were filled). To become a member of Pride Toronto, an individual must either volunteer (for a minimum of eight hours), pay a membership fee, or be elected as a Board member. Membership would commence sixty days after either of these requirements were met.

The following outlines the specifics of Pride's Membership policy (and reflects the recent changes to the policy),⁴³

- *The term of annual membership starts at the beginning of one AGM and ends at the beginning of the next AGM.*
- *Individuals shall be eligible for annual membership in the Corporation if they meet the following criteria:*
- *Acknowledge in writing support for the objects and activities, including the Mission, Vision and Values of the Corporation;*
- *At least sixteen (16) years of age;*
- *Be approved for membership by resolution of the Board; and*
- *Meet at least one of the following criteria:*
- *Volunteer for at least 8 hours;*
- *Pay a membership fee, to be determined by the board; or*
- *Be nominated for membership by the Board.. The ED of Pride is hired by a committee struck from the board (Pride Toronto 2012a:)*

Anthony explained that the role of the Board was to set the policy for Pride Toronto and oversee the work of the Executive Director. The Board is chaired by two co-chairs, who set the agendas for meetings, represent the organization at the meetings of other groups, and meet regularly with the Executive Director. Board members are elected by the members of Pride Toronto, usually at the Annual General Meeting. In specific cases, board members can be acclaimed. Board positions are volunteer-based and typically involve a commitment of about six hours a week though, in the lead up to the Parade week, the hourly commitment dramatically increases and is better thought of in terms of days. As Anthony explained,

...when it comes to the actual week of the festival, we then also volunteer to take on additional roles, even though we're not necessarily a member of say, the disability team, we often volunteer for jobs here and there... all kinds of different things that have to be done during the weekend, we often step into those. At that point, we're like a junior member of the team that's being led by the team leads. (Anthony, Pride)

Anthony had little to say about the role of the Executive Director and staff. Simply put, they were responsible for carrying out the day-to-day functions of the organization. This

⁴³ Two new additions include the age requirement and the introduction of a membership fee. Membership under the previous rules could be gained by attending three committee meetings or general meetings, and memberships were automatically extended to Pride employees.

included paying bills, and organizing the contracts for performers and facilities: “the staff actually have the main signing authority for expenditures” (Anthony, Pride).

Beyond the Board and staff, the work of Pride Toronto is spread across a number of committees, each focusing on a particular issue (though the amount and type of committees can change from year to year). In 2012 six committees were formed: Finance & Audit, World Pride, Governance, Board Development & Recruitment, Human Resources & Compensation, and Community Relations. However, Anthony’s reference to a set of committees did not adequately describe what was going on. For example, he noted, “The World Pride subcommittee is super active. It has 10 people on it and five subcommittees of that” (Anthony, Pride). In the event that specific skills or expertise are needed, these committees can recruit volunteers from outside the board to participate as a committee member. Recruitment is done by advertising available committee positions on Pride’s website, but, as Anthony proudly stated, the draw of working with Pride Toronto meant that “a lot of people come to us” (Anthony, Pride). Those interested submit their resume to the Chair of a particular committee and, if selected, are interviewed by that Chair to determine if they are a suitable candidate.

Beneath the strategic work done by the Board and Committee members is the logistical work done by a large volunteer structure that is revised on a yearly basis. This work is divided up and assigned to different volunteer teams, each with two co-leaders. Anthony explained that each team was given a budget and the role of the co-leads was to “manage that budget. So they decide anything within their purview of ‘We’re going to hire this’ to provide a service” (Anthony, Pride). Prior to the 2012 Parade, Anthony reported there were 19 teams, each focused on a different aspect of the event. Some of this work was organized around delivering services pertaining to food and beverage, or organizing the community fair, the Dyke March, or Trans

Pride (and many others). Some team positions are advertized and others are filled from the volunteer pool that contacts Pride to become involved. Beyond the volunteer structure of teams are other volunteers who serve particular roles, known as advisors, in such areas as communications, research, etc.

Finally, on the weekend of the Parade Anthony estimated that there were over 1,000 people who volunteered for specific “low responsibility jobs” like staffing tables or directing participants and spectators. Anthony explained that teams would identify the tasks needing to be done and would then submit a request to the team responsible for coordinating the volunteers: “All the other teams -- say ‘Okay, I need two people here on Saturday and Sunday, so that’s four shifts, so that’s eight people on two days, so that’s 16 bodies.’ And the other [team] provides that” (Anthony, Pride).

C. A TIMELINE OF QUAIA’S PARTICIPATION IN THE PARADE

I have included a timeline of the events as a discussion of the events centred around Pride can be confusing. Simply put, the Pride calendar resets at the end of Pride Week, which usually occurs around the last week of June. This meant that Pride people were accustomed to referring to ‘years’ in a non-calendar way. Most of the events in this timeline are referred to in chapters four and five and it may be difficult for the reader to keep the sequence of events in order; especially as some of the events were established in one year and invoked in another (like the Dispute Resolution Committee), while others occurred in multiple years (like the three Toronto City Council motions to deny funding to Pride). The timeline does not reveal the kinds of relations and connections this thesis has explored, the details of which are pursued in chapters four and five. This timeline will allow the reader to quickly refer back to a specific date and see where it is situated in the larger sequence of action.

The following timeline is constructed from the accounts of the participants. I was fortunate in that Dave is a very organized person and kept an extensive set of notes on the various events that involved QuAIA. While Dave and Rosa were able to supply the dates for most of these events, I have included a relevant notation where I have had to draw on other resources for a particular date. Carole, Anthony and Gary also provided background information on key events. I have also distinguished between Parade years by **bolding** the Parade date and providing a double space after the event. I have retained references to the year so that it is easier for the reader to see where the event fell.

TIMELINE

2008 February+: QuAIA formed out of Israeli apartheid week (February 4 to February 9, 2008), the fourth annual event.

Parade 2008, June 28 & 29: QuAIA members marched in the Dyke March, and in the Pride Parade with the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

2009, May 23: QuAIA held a public meeting on Israeli Apartheid with El-Farouk Khaki, the Grand Marshal for the 2009 Pride Parade, as the MC. QuAIA members saw the response to this meeting as the event that brought them into the public's eye: "After the meeting all hell broke loose, and it was [El-Farouk Khaki] that was being attacked. It was incredibly racist. Umm, I had... and they were demanding that he be removed as grand marshal and all that kind of stuff. B'nai Brith largely led the charge [against QuAIA] at that point" (Dave, QuAIA).

2009, May 28: Joseph Brean publishes his article in the *National Post*, condemning El-Farouk Khaki for speaking at the event and claiming that, "Toronto Pride Organizers Ban anti-Zionist Group."

2009, May 29: Pride issues a press release, clarifying their position on political organizations: "The organization does not have any affiliations whatsoever to political entities or causes" (Pride Toronto 2011), and stated that it did not ban QuAIA as they had not submitted an application form.

Parade 2009, June 27 & 28: QuAIA members marched in the Dyke March (180 participants) and the Pride Parade (200+ participants). The Dyke March contingent is joined by Women in Solidarity with Palestine; and the Pride Contingent is joined by the Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid, Women in Solidarity with Palestine, and Nice Jewish Boys Against Israeli Apartheid.

2009, June 28: Martin Gladstone, a Queer Jewish filmmaker, records QuAIA as they march in the Parade.

2010 (early in the year): Martin Gladstone circulates his video, *Reclaiming Our Pride*, to City Councilors and Pride Sponsors, drawing on his representation of QuAIA to make the claim that they are an anti-Semitic group.

2010, February 9: City Councilor Kyle Rae issues a letter rescinding his earlier support for QuAIA's right to march in the Parade.

2010, March 10: Pride Toronto announced that they had developed a 'free expression' policy and would use an ethics committee to ensure that all print messages coincided with the overall Parade message.

2010, March 23: Pride Toronto publicly rescinds its decision to implement an ethics committee and vet signs.

2010, April 19: The *Toronto Star* article appears, "Dispute Threatens Funding for Pride." "So that was the first time that Pride funding was actually publicly thrown into the mix, even though that had been going on in the background" (Dave, QuAIA)

2010, May 12: City Councilor Mammoliti (seconded by Councilor Rob Ford) forwards a motion at City Council to defund Pride Toronto of its "cultural grant."

2010, May 13: QuAIA learns, through a set of documents (obtained through the Freedom of Information act), that Pride Toronto had been secretly meeting with the City. Documents are released, "But by mid-winter, secret meetings started happening

between B'nai Brith and a number of city councillors and Tracey Sandilands and [Kyle] Rae” (Dave, QuAIA).

2010, May 21 & May 25: Pride Toronto issued a press release stating that its Board had voted to disallow the use of the term ‘Israeli Apartheid.’ “The decision was to be kept secret until an early morning meeting on May 25th but the word leaked out. And so when they had their press conference, we had a little demonstration outside their press conference” (Dave, QuAIA).

2010, May 27: Ten of the 1981 Pride Parade’s founders signed an open letter denouncing Pride’s actions, noting that Pride’s move to censor participants was contrary to the initial intent of the Pride Parade.

2010, June 7: The 2010 Honorary Parade Marshalls, along with more than 20 past honorary Marshals and guests (calling themselves the Refuseniks) lead a march to the Pride offices to return their awards.

2010, June 23: Pride Toronto press release rescinds their ban on the phrase ‘Israeli Apartheid.’

Parade 2010, July 3 & 4: QuAIA marches in the Dyke March and the Pride Parade. The traditional Parade date shifts ahead one week to accommodate the G8 Summit in Toronto. This new date stays.

2010, July 7: *City Councilor Mammoliti proposes a motion (seconded by Councilor Rob Ford) to not fund the 2011 Pride Parade. The motion is passed with significant revisions, one of which states that funding will be withheld until after the Parade to ensure that all participants comply with the City’s Anti-Discrimination Policy.*

2010, September: *Pride Toronto institutes a “Community Advisory Panel” to gauge the GLBTTQQIA2’s opinion on the use of ‘Israeli Apartheid.’*

2010, October 25: *City Councilor Rob Ford is elected Mayor of Toronto.*

2011, January 25: Pride releases their 2009/2010 financial audit, showing that the 2010 Pride week had a deficit of \$431,808.

2011, February 17: Pride’s Community Advisory Panel releases its 232 page report with 133 recommendations.

2011, April 12: Pride Toronto announces the implementation of a “Dispute Resolution Process” (DPR). The role of the DPR will be to “to review and resolve complaints about participation in the Pride Parade and march” (Pride Toronto 2011).

2011, April 13: *The City Manager’s Report is released and states that, based on their findings, QuAIA does not contravene the anti-discrimination and there is no legal reason to withhold funding to Pride Toronto.*

2011, April 15: QuAIA announced that they would not march in the 2011 Parade: “we went through this discussion about what we should do. And it was moved that we should not march in the Parade because that would basically strip Ford of his pretext to attack the Parade. And if he continued to do so, then he’d be revealed more and more as homophobic” (Dave, QuAIA).

Parade 2011, July 2 & 3: QuAIA did not march in either the Dyke march or the Pride Parade. Instead, they demonstrated by draping a large banner over the Wellesley subway station.

2012, June 7: City Councilor Josh Colle submitted a motion to condemn the phrase ‘Israeli Apartheid’ and approve City funding for the 2012 Pride Parade (both votes passed, 26-7 and 33-0 respectively).

2012, June 12-14: Five complaints against QuAIA were submitted to Pride’s Dispute Resolution Panel (two were subsequently withdrawn).

2012, June 29: Pride’s Dispute Resolution Panel found in favour of QuAIA.

Parade 2012, June 30 & July 1: QuAIA marched in the Dyke March and the Pride Parade.

4. APPLYING TO MARCH

“Pride is determining who gets to be in the Parade and they're doing - this process seems to be saying ‘Well, we're dealing with millions of people so we have to do this.’” to which Rosa emphatically replied, “No, we don't! Who are we catering to?” (Rosa, QuAIA).

For many Torontonians the idea of spring brings to mind the arrival of cherry blossoms in High Park or the return of orioles and robins; for me, spring stirs up memories of a ringing phone with requests for Pride Parade application forms. I used to work at The 519 Church Street Community Centre (from 1998 until 2002). The 519 was a hub of activity for Toronto's GLBTTQQA2 community, providing GLBTTQQA2 specific programs, space for events or meetings, and more immediately, acting as a resource for all kinds of GLBTTQQA2 related questions. For example, with the advent of spring, the phone would start ringing with people asking, “When is Pride this year?” and, “When will the Parade application forms be ready?”⁴⁴

Since the spring of 1981 people (and groups) who wished to participate in the Pride Parade have had to fill out a ‘Pride Parade Entry Application Form’ (more generally referred to as the Application Form), submit the form to Pride Toronto, and wait to receive approval. While the process of applying has changed considerably since 1981, the application form is still released in the spring, and still acts as a conduit for those who wish to march in Toronto's annual Pride Parade. The group, Queers Against Israeli Apartheid filled out a paper copy of this form in 2009.

The following chapter provides an account of QuAIA's experience in dealing with the 2010 Parade application form. I begin the chapter with a discussion on the importance of texts and the practice of mapping text-based work processes in institutional ethnography (Turner

⁴⁴ Pride Toronto only began to post their application forms online (as a pdf) in 2003. However, public access to the internet was not yet wide-spread and, even in 2003, many people would still pick up hard copies at Pride's office (which had limited hours) or The 519.

2006:139). Following the discussion on texts and mapping, the application form is introduced and its constituent parts described. The second section will present a general account of the application process that people/groups go through when applying to march in the Parade. While I introduce a more thorough account of the application process, mapped out in Diagram 4.1: Sequence of Action for Participating in the Parade, the map will be broken up into various sequences of action so that they can be discussed in more detail, with each piece of the map acting like a piece of a puzzle that only reveals the broader picture when enough of the pieces have been joined. This process of mapping allows us to see how taking up the application form not only draws people into a sequence of actions; it also shows how actions are being coordinated with the Parade in particular ways.

The application form and ‘Sequence of Action’ diagram introduced in this chapter will then be used as a sort of springboard for a more focused discussion in chapter five on how both QuAIA and Pride Toronto are hooked into a broader translocal network of ruling relations. As we will learn, there is an assumption that participating in the Parade is as simple as filling out a form. However, by mapping the intersecting points of actions we are able to see how people’s actions were subject to a network of social relations that went far beyond a debate about whether or not QuAIA should be allowed to march in the Parade.

A. THE ROLE OF TEXTS IN INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

In a discussion on learning how to identify social organization Campbell and Gregor note that, “an organization’s texts are constructed in ways that control and disempower people” (2002:22). Texts can be thought of as the forms, applications, guides, or procedure manuals that

people encounter in their day-to-day work.⁴⁵ Texts are material and, thus, can be replicated and distributed across locales: “Texts and documents make possible the appearance of the same set of words, numbers or images in multiple local sites, however differently they may be read and taken up” (Smith 2001:160). Regardless of the type of text, the purpose of the text is to instruct us. They contain concepts that tell an employee how to do some part of their job, much in the way that the term ‘Janitor’ stands in for the person who will clean the school’s washroom. In a more nuanced way, they can describe a process or series of steps that the employee is meant to follow, telling that janitor to mix ¼ cup of soap in a bucket of water and clean the bathroom after lunch. Texts are ubiquitous as we encounter them everywhere we turn; however, it is the reproduction of a text that makes the ruling relations possible. Smith argued that, since the mid 19th century, dramatic changes in the ability to reproduce texts has had a significant impact on the way that social relations are organized, for example, through the bureaucratization of the work place, she explained that, “the knowledge on which decisions were made were no longer in the individual manager’s or owner’s head; decisions were made on grounds warranted by the data rather than the basis of guesswork and forms of reporting that had no objective basis in calculation. Relationships were no longer as they had been...” (2005:15). Smith refers to this way of relating as ruling relations, “a new and distinctive mode of organizing societies...[they are] forms of consciousness and organization that are objectified in the sense that they are constituted externally to particular people and places” (Ibid. 13).

By engaging with the text it comes to instruct us in how to use an escalator (i.e. stand on the right, walk on the left), or when it is unsafe to eat meat (i.e. expiry dates). Then, when we ride an escalator and stand on the left, or when we look at an expiration date and think, “I

⁴⁵ Texts are not only print material, they can also include “words, images, or sounds that are set into a material form of some kind of from in which they can be read, seen, heard, watched and so on” (Smith 2006:66).

shouldn't eat that, it's past due," we become agents of ruling relations. What I mean to say is that we take up an externally rationalized way (i.e. a text-mediated textual reality) of relating in the world.

For the institutional ethnographer working with texts means moving beyond a simple account that asks "What information does the form ask for?" to identifying the larger institutional processes that coordinate people's actions across locales. Texts are not inert and enter into social relations where actual people activate the texts they encounter; texts are read or filled out by people and represent the doing of something: "When a text is read, watched or heard it brings consciousness into an active relationship with intentions originating beyond the local" (Smith 2001:160). By focusing on texts as a medium for translocal coordination we are able to see how the activation of a text employs a sort of call-and-response technique between the work being done by people in one location and that of others in a different location.

The Pride Parade Entry Application Form (Figure 4.1) serves as an excellent example for understanding how social relations are textually mediated. In 2010, 156 groups were registered to march in the Pride Parade.⁴⁶ Each of these groups was required to fill out a Parade application form. Thus, the standardization embedded in the form represents one part of a larger coordinating process (to be discussed in the following sub-section).

The 2010 application form was available to prospective participants through an external online event registration company, Eventbrite.⁴⁷ An applicant would find the link on Pride's website (under the Events heading) and, by clicking on the link, they would be taken to the

⁴⁶ Technically, 228 groups were registered, with 69 of those groups registered as two contingents (often consisting of a separate float/vehicle application and a marching application), two groups with three applications, and one group with four contingents. I was not able to get clarification why some groups were registered as three or four contingents.

⁴⁷ This was the first year that paper applications were not available. Application forms from the 2003 Parade to the 2009 Parade were available on the Pride Toronto website as downloadable pdf forms that would be printed, filled out, and submitted to Pride's offices with the relevant form of payment.

Eventbrite registration page for the Parade. The applicant was required to register with Eventbrite by signing up for an Eventbrite account. This meant that Rosa had to provide her first and last name, her email, billing address (i.e. country, street address, city, province, and postal code), and credit card details (i.e. credit card type, card number, expiration date, and the security number on the back of the card). The information in these fields was required (noted with an asterisk ‘*’). Non-required information also asked for home, cell, and work phone numbers. Once the account is created, the applicant is able to view the rest of the application form (or fields to be filled out) for the event.

Regardless of whether the applicant has an Eventbrite account or not, the first thing that they do is select the ‘ticket type.’⁴⁸ The ticket type consists of a fee scale based on the type of participant (ranging from \$0 - \$11,311,50). Page one (Figure 4.1) shows how the participants/contingents are divided into four main categories: category A - LGBTTIQQ2SA Community groups; category B - Non Profit Organizations and Government Agencies; category C - LGBTTIQQ2SA Support Businesses (local businesses that identify as supporting the community); and, category d - Commercial Entries. Each category is further divided into subsections, denoting the group as either a marching or a vehicle/float contingent.⁴⁹ Once the ticket type is chosen, the participant is required to either create an account (by providing the information listed above), or sign into their account by listing the already specified information and confirming a password.

⁴⁸ The applicant is prompted to create an account on page two of the form (see the “Specifying a Password” text). If the applicant does not already have an account, and does not create one at this point, they will be prompted to create an account when using the online payment method at the end of the form.

⁴⁹ Category D – Commercial Entries consists of four different levels of marching and float/vehicle contingents, distinguishing between the size of the business based on whether the business is a non-franchise, minor national franchise, major national franchise, or international franchise (the difference between minor and major national franchised businesses depends on the business’ annual revenues).

Pride's 2010 application form collects the personal information mentioned above, as well as information about the group. These questions are listed in the 'Other Information' section (Figure 4.1 pages 3 and 4).⁵⁰ These questions require the applicant to identify their group and the title of their group's Parade entry. Answering these questions also requires the applicant to formulate a 'Supportive Message' so that it coincides with the Parade's annual theme (the theme for the 2010 Parade was '30 Years of Pride'). Other fields to be filled out included listing the group's history in the Parade, as well as providing information on the type of contingent (i.e. marching or float), an estimate of the number of participants, and a list of any special effects that the group might be using. The section ends with a series of questions on the details of the float/vehicle operator (the driver's name, address, and license number) and a section requesting information on whether the applicant is being sponsored. Tucked into the bottom of this section is a field where the applicant is asked to type their initials stating that they agree to abide by the "Parade Terms and Conditions." This is a document that covers significantly more than is accounted for in the form's questions and the subsequent section "Waiver."

The 'Waiver' section is a small window with text and a scroll bar. The size of the window is limited and only displays two of the nine points of the waiver. The limited size of the text box requires the applicant to scroll the window in order to read the remaining points before checking the box for agreeing to the waiver. The full text of the waiver is,

- 1) *This entry is designed to show support for the LGBTTIQQ2SA* Communities. (* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer/Questioning, 2 Spirited, Allies)*
- 2) *The details provided are a correct description of our entry. Any proposed changes and additions will be advised to the Parade Committee at Pride Toronto prior to Friday June 4, 2010.*
- 3) *I have read the 2010 Opportunity Guide and believe that this entry will comply with all Parade Terms and Conditions and Guidelines.*

⁵⁰ The online form is a continuous webpage and is not divided by pages. I have divided the form across four pages in order to present it here.

- 4) *I take responsibility for all participants in this entry and will explain all appropriate regulations to them.*
- 5) *I understand that Pride Parade will be broadcast live on television in its entirety.*
- 6) *I will ensure that each participant in this entry is aware that their image may be photographed or recorded by electronic means and that by participating they agree to their image being used for any purpose without further consent.*
- 7) *I acknowledge that if the Parade does not proceed for any reason, any entry fees paid are not refundable.*
- 8) *I will have one or more Contingent Monitor(s) to act as the safety monitor for my entry and attend a mandatory training session.*
- 9) *I understand that Pride Toronto assumes no responsibility for any claims that may arise as a result of our group or business.*

‘Purchase Tickets’ is the final section on the form and requires the applicant to select their payment option. Clicking on the relevant payment method will do one of two things, if the applicant has already entered their credit card information (as requested earlier on the form). If they choose the ‘PayPal’ option, they will be redirected to a PayPal window requiring them to either set up a PayPal account or log in to their already existing PayPal account.⁵¹ Completing either payment process will automatically generate an electronic ‘ticket’ that will need to be printed off, presented to Pride when picking up the group’s permit to march, and brought to the event (as proof of payment and registrant).

Since the participant accounts generally talked about being accepted or denied participation in the Parade on the basis of whether or not their application form would be accepted or rejected, we can see how the form comes to act as a proxy for QuAIA –as Parade applicants. The form acts as a textual representation of QuAIA and stands in for those who are doing the work. The form tells us that the group is X big and that their message is X. However, as I will show below, the answers to the questions on the form (about the size and message of the group) are influenced by the framing of the question. This leads the applicant to answer the question with an answer that is appropriate to the logic embedded in the question. Not

⁵¹ PayPal is an electronic system that allows people to make online payments (through credit cards or bank accounts) by drawing on existing information already set up in their PayPal account.

surprisingly, this results in a one-dimensional reflection of QuAIA. This disjuncture between the logic of the answer and the reality of the group demonstrates how neither the text, nor what the text tells us, should be the primary focus on an IE. To make sense of the text we have to also understand how the text was created, how it was taken up by people, and how the text was situated within a sequence of action that coordinated the work of a Parade applicant to the work of those involved in putting on the Parade.⁵² In the next section I will draw on Susan Marie Turner's (2006) work on mapping to situate the application form within a translocal process of applying to march in the Parade.

⁵² Additionally, the work of Parade organizers or the application form is not the only relevant point to discuss here. The work of others, and the texts involved in coordinating that work will be introduced as the analysis develops.

Figure 4.1 Pride Parade Entry Application Form, Page 1



Pride Parade Entry Application Form

Saturday, July 3, 2010 at 8:00 AM - Monday, November 8, 2010 at 11:00 PM (ET)

Ticket Information				
TICKET TYPE	SALES END	PRICE	FEE	QUANTITY
Category A - LGBTTIQQ2SA Community - Marching Fee <small>(Suggested Voluntary Donation \$100)</small>	Ended			N/A
Category A - LGBTTIQQ2SA Community - Float / Vehicle <small>(Suggested Voluntary Donation \$200)</small>	Ended			N/A
Category B - Non Profit Organization / Government Agency - Marching Fee	Ended	CAS\$226.00	CAS\$6.64	N/A
Category B - Non Profit Organization / Government Agency - Float / Vehicle	Ended	CAS\$452.00	CAS\$11.50	N/A
Category C - LGBTTIQQ2SA Support Business Entry - Marching Fee	Ended	CAS\$565.00	CAS\$11.50	N/A
Category C - LGBTTIQQ2SA Support Business Entry - Float / Vehicle	Ended	CAS\$1,130.00	CAS\$11.50	N/A
Category D - Commercial Entries - Marching Fee <small>Independent, Non-franchised Business independently owned with one outlet (non-franchised)</small>	Ended	CAS\$621.50	CAS\$11.50	N/A
Category D - Commercial Entries - Float / Vehicle <small>Independent, Non-franchised Business independently owned with one outlet (non-franchised)</small>	Ended	CAS\$1,243.00	CAS\$11.50	N/A
Category D - Commercial Entries - Marching Fee <small>National Business (Minor Franchise)</small>	Ended	CAS\$1,695.00	CAS\$11.50	N/A
Category D - Commercial Entries - Float / Vehicle <small>National Business (Minor Franchise)</small>	Ended	CAS\$3,390.00	CAS\$11.50	N/A
Category D - Commercial Entries - Marching Fee <small>National Business (Major Franchise) With six or more outlets/franchises in Canada only</small>	Ended	CAS\$2,825.00	CAS\$11.50	N/A
Category D - Commercial Entries - Float / Vehicle more info	Ended	CAS\$5,650.00	CAS\$11.50	N/A
Category D - Commercial Entries - Marching Fee <small>International Business (Global) Multinational corporation with outlets / franchises</small>	Ended	CAS\$5,650.00	CAS\$11.50	N/A
Category D - Commercial Entries - Float / Vehicle <small>International Business (Global) Multinational corporation with outlets / franchises</small>	Ended	CAS\$11,300.00	CAS\$11.50	N/A

[Enter promotional code](#)

When & Where

Rosedale Valley Road

Saturday, July 3, 2010 at 8:00 AM - Monday, November 8, 2010 at 11:00 PM (ET)

[Add to my calendar](#)

Hosted By

Pride Toronto

[Contact the Host](#)

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Figure 4.1 Pride Parade Entry Application Form, Page 2



Contact [Pride Toronto](#) for event and ticket information.

Pride Parade Entry Application Form

Saturday, July 03, 2010 at 8:00 AM - Sunday, July 04, 2010 at 11:00 PM (ET)



Order Summary

TICKET TYPE	PRICE	FEE	QUANTITY	TOTAL
Category A - LGBTTIQ2SA Community - Marching Fee	C\$1.00	C\$0.00	1	C\$1.00
TOTAL AMOUNT DUE			C\$1.00	

When

Saturday, July 03, 2010 at 8:00 AM
- to -
Sunday, July 04, 2010 at 11:00 PM (ET)

[Add to my calendar](#)

Parade Entry Application Form

[Log In To Your Eventbrite Account](#)

Please complete registration within 45:00 minutes. After 45:00 minutes, the reservation we're holding will be released to others.

Time Remaining: 41:18 minutes.

Your financial support through the payment of the parade entry fees plays a critical role in making Toronto's Pride Week happen. We sincerely thank you for your support and contribution. Your entry fee must be submitted with your application.

* Required Field

Ticket Buyer

First Name: *

Last Name: *

Email Address: *

Home Phone:

Cell Phone:

Create Password:

Confirm Password:

Specifying a password will make it easy for you to:

- Reprint Tickets
- Update Attendee Info
- Invite Friends

Home Address

Country: *

Address: *

Address:

City: *

State: *

Zip Code: *

Where

Rosedale Valley Road

[Google](#) | [Microsoft](#) | [Yahoo](#)

Hosted By

Pride Toronto

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Figure 4.1 Pride Parade Entry Application Form, Page 3

Work Information

Work Phone:

Other Information

Organization/Group Name

Title of Your Entry *

Your Supportive Message about the LGBTIQQ2SA Community Please note: Applicants are requested to tailor their message to ensure that it supports Pride Toronto's theme for 2010, '30 Years of Pride' or its International Human Rights for Queers program. *

Have your organization/group entered the Parade before? Yes No

If yes, please provide the year and the title of your last entry:

Description of your entry *

If you wish to be close to another Parade entry, please advise which one: (Note, every effort will be made, but this cannot be guaranteed)

Yes No

Name of the Parade Entry:
Comments:

- Entry Type * Small Walking Group Individual Entry Large Walking Group Marching Group Vehicle / Float Bus Seats Vehicle / Float + Walking Group Other

If, 'other', please specify

Number of Participants: *
Walking and/or Riding

Do you plan on having 200 or more marchers in your contingent? Contingents may not include more than 200 marchers unless special permission is obtained. *

Yes No

- Special Effects * Smoke/haze/fog machines Confetti/Streamers Bubble Machines Snow Strobe Lights Other None

If, other, please specify

Vehicle / Float Number of Vehicles / Floats

Figure 4.1 Pride Parade Entry Application Form, Page 4

Vehicle / Float

Car
 Bus
 Motorbike/s
 Bicycle/s
 Vehicle/Float Only
 9' Flatbed Truck
 18' Flatbed Truck
 24' Flatbed Truck
 Other

If, other please specify

Please indicate the total length (ft) required for your group/organization in the line-up area: *

Driver Details Driver Name

Driver Details Driver's License Number

Driver's Address

Insurance is available for the driver & vehicle. (If these details change, please notify the Parade Committee at parade@pridetoronto.com)

Yes
 No

Is your entry sponsored? *

Yes
 No

If yes, please provide sponsor Name(s)? Please note that the name, logo, or sign of the business sponsoring your entry must be no larger than 150 x 100 cm (59 x 39 inches) in total. (e.g. Three signs, 50 x 33 cm, or two signs, 75 x 50cm, or one sign 150 x

Will you have Sponsor signage? It is imperative that the name of your Organization/Group appears more prominently than that of the sponsor(s).

Yes
 No

Type your initials here to agree to Parade Terms and Conditions

Waiver

Agreement *

This entry is designed to show support for the LGBTTIQQ2SA* Communities. (* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer/Questioning, 2 Spirited, Allies)

2. The details provided are a correct description of our entry. Any proposed changes and additions will be advised to the Parade Committee at Pride Toronto prior to Friday June 4, 2010.

I agree to the above waiver

Purchase Tickets

Total amount due: C\$1.00




You will be taken to PayPal's secure checkout to complete the purchase.
Other Payment Options Pay by Check

This event organizer is using Eventbrite to provide event ticketing and online event registration. [Contact Pride Toronto for event and ticket information.](#)

B. MAPPING TEXTUALLY MEDIATED RELATIONS

One of the most exciting moments in the course of my studies occurred when I came across Susan Marie Turner's diagram on "Mapping Institutions as Work and Text" (2006:145). What I had encountered was a visual representation -a 'mapped' process- of Turner's research. The concept of mapping an institutional process is illustrated in Dorothy Smith's reference to a signpost that situated an actual person within a 'map' of social relations; it was, "like the map of an underground mall, with its arrow pointing to a particular spot accompanied by the words YOU ARE HERE!" (2005:51).⁵³ She explained that a text-based work sequence began with a particular text and used the participant's narratives to reconstruct the sequences of action in how that text was taken up by those who encountered it, "the analytic goal is to situate the text back into the action in which it is produced, circulated, and read and where it has consequences in time and space" (Ibid. 140). By indicating, "You are here," the signpost serves to remind the institutional ethnographer that the person (or the text) is not the focus of the inquiry. Rather, the purpose of an IE is to understand *how* a person's actions are caught within and mediated by institutionalized sequences of action. In other words, an IE resists reifying the person or the text by situating them within a process of social relations.

I will use two concurrent methods for data analysis: mapping and writing. Essentially, I am a visual person. I tend to jot down notes that are filled with arrows and lines, connecting notes to more notes in an attempt to piece together a narrative. I could see that work was being coordinated, that particular texts were being invoked, used, and/or relied upon to justify actions and decisions, and that there was a move towards an increasingly standardized application

⁵³ Similarly, Devault and McCoy compare an IE to a ball of string, where the researcher grasps a piece of the string as a starting point and moves from a subject position of entry into a tangled and obscured network of social relations (2006:20).

process. However, when faced with constructing a narrative (i.e. writing), I hit a point at which my voluminous notes-upon-notes-approach became unwieldy. In this way, my initial process of analysis was like Smith's proverbial mall map, but with no legend, markings, or boundaries. Turner's approach to mapping provided me with an organizational method for dealing with the seemingly disconnected pieces of information that I had gathered by visually situating the actions of people within a network of coordination. In a sense, Turner's approach helped me to develop a legend for my map by distinguishing between texts, people, and trans/local actions; thus, providing me with a technical framework for graphically understanding how experiences came to be what they were.

Turner proposed a three-step process to mapping text-based work sequences (2006:140). The first step was to use the participant's narratives to identify a particular text to follow. The next stage was to identify the people who came in contact with the document and plot the unique actions of each person in relation to the text. Finally, a third stage illustrated the intertextual connectedness of the document by identifying the people who subsequently activate the document in a relational chain of events (this last section helps to clarify the ways in which a sequence of action is both temporally and spatially coordinated). These three stages were answered by my asking: which institutional texts have the participants talked about; how have these texts entered into the sequence or narrative (i.e. who has taken them up in the course of their work); and, how is the application form (translocally) connecting the work of QuAIA members with that of others (Taber 2010:15).⁵⁴

As I have stated above, participant accounts have served to identify the Parade application form as a text to be investigated. I have used this text to construct a map for

⁵⁴ These questions have been adapted from Taber's work combining the use of autoethnography and narratives, reminding us how, "the narrative must be explored in relation to institutional practices" (2010:15 Italics mine).

understanding how the filling out of an application form initiates a process that hooks applicants (i.e. QuAIA members) into an institutionalized sequence of actions. The map for this process is represented in Diagram 4.1, Sequence of Action for Participating in the Parade. The map illustrates the process that the applicant goes through, from filling out the form to marching in the Parade. The division between the top and bottom portions of the diagram represents a distinction between QuAIA's 2010 and 2012 experience in the process. The relevance for this distinction will be clarified in chapter five.

For purposes of discussion, I have divided the application process into three sections. The first section focuses on the process of filling out the application form. The majority of this discussion concentrates on the relationship between the relevant actors and texts involved. The second section is distinguished with a yellow shaded area, titled "PI2: 2010 QuAIA's Application Form," and situates the application form within a process of deciding whether to accept or reject QuAIA's application to march.

This process is initiated by filling out an application to march in the Parade. However, understanding just how work processes operate relies on an institutional ethnographer's skill in identifying the connections that go beyond the subject position of filling out a form. Ellen Pence suggests that we use the narratives (of the participants) to look for points in each experience where social relations have intersected. In this case, social relations intersect in the creation of the form (a point that deserves discussion), but, more interestingly, it is the submission of the form that illuminates a point in which actions are socially related.⁵⁵ Pence refer to these 'points' of social relations as processing interchanges, "processing interchanges are organizational

⁵⁵ Smith's reference to 'social relations' goes beyond a mere reference to a relationship *between* people to one that acknowledges how the social is relational, "it orients the researcher to viewing people's doings in particular local settings as articulated to sequences of action that hook them up to what others are or have been doing elsewhere and elsewhen" (Smith 2005: 228).

occasions of action in which one practitioner receives from another a document pertaining to a case... and then makes something of the document, does something to it, and forwards it on to the next organizational occasion for action” (2001:202).

The benefit of identifying processing interchanges is that they point to the next possible area of inquiry as subsequent relations are revealed. Consequently, processing interchanges help to maintain an institutional focus by clarifying processes and paths of action as they emerge from (or begin with) one’s point of experience. With this in mind, each shaded area is meant to denote a key processing interchange, the point in which a textual representation of QuAIA (i.e. the application form) comes to stand in for the actualities of QuAIA (and its members) as it/they move through the application process. The third section on the map identifies a processing interchange that was particular to 2012. These latter stages of the inquiry allow us to expand the scope of the research (and analysis) beyond what can be immediately seen or experienced.

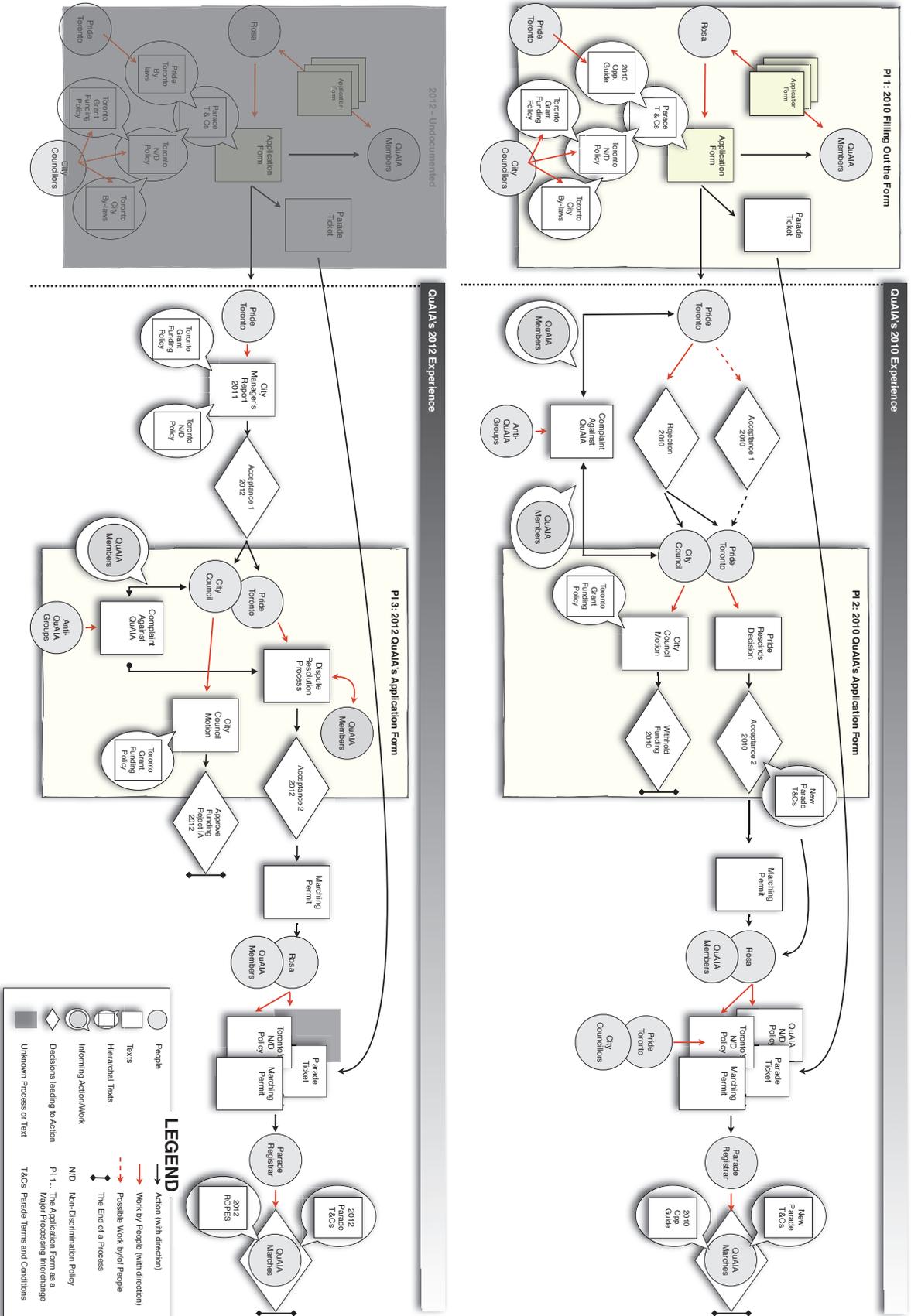
READING THE MAP

The construction of my map draws on Turner’s technique for mapping an institutional ethnography (2006:143-144). In this case, boxes represent physical texts, circles represent actual people and diamonds represent specific points of action (i.e. a vote). The physical placement of boxes, circles and diamonds represents how the actions of each are situated within a chain of events. At times a text or person is contained within a speech bubble. This is meant to show how that text or person informs some part of a particular process (one example of this can be seen in section one, where specific texts have been identified that inform the application form). Finally, the main text (the application form) is represented as a solid, yellow-shaded box. This helps to visually locate the document in the sequence of action as both a physical text and as a textual process. As the problematic is tied to the process of applying, I wanted to ensure that the document was in close proximity to the action, and easily identifiable. While Turner

overlaps circles and boxes to indicate that an action is going on at the same time, in a different place, I have attempted to use a simpler method by demonstrating the spatial and temporal proximity of actions in relation to the work of others within the larger sequence of action/s. For example, where circles overlap we know that the work done by the relevant parties is happening in either a temporal or a spatial proximity to that of others. Whereas, when texts (rectangles) overlap we can see how the existence of one indicates the existence of another. Simply put, the placement of the icons on the map is meant to denote the interactions between people and/or texts and indicate the movement of people and/or texts through a sequence of actions.

The use of arrows and lines are meant to indicate the direction of action. Black solid-line arrows represent action brought about by a text while red solid-line arrows indicate action that is directed by people, usually towards a text (such as filling it in). Both red and black dashed lines follow the pattern of action listed above but differ as the dashes indicate the supposition of an action, where there is some formal indication that the action might exist (based on rules and regulations), but perhaps does not.

Diagram 4.1. Sequence of Action for Participating in the Parade



C. QUAlA TAKES UP THE FORM

Contrary to what the previous diagram indicates, the actual sequence of action does not start and end with Rosa and the Parade (nor is the sequence as literally linear as the Diagram suggests. I have already mentioned that QuAIA had encountered problems when they marched in the 2008 Parade, and again in the 2010 Parade. I have also indicated that the Toronto Pride Parade began many years before that. Consequently, there is no definitive ‘beginning’ or ‘end’ to this discussion and any proposed beginnings and ends are bound by the economies of doing research. That being said, an institutional ethnography must begin somewhere and, as QuAIA’s problems (in this research project) began with the intention to march in the Pride Parade, the most likely place to start is with the application form. Hence, on May 25, 2010 Rosa filled out an application form for the 2010 Toronto Pride Parade, twenty-four days after the May 1st deadline.

Rosa was a member of the group Queers Against Israeli Apartheid and had submitted the application form on the group’s behalf. When I initially brought up QuAIA’s 2010 application form with Dave, a particularly involved member of QuAIA, he explained that there were extenuating circumstances leading up to QuAIA’s 2010 application. In a sense, QuAIA wasn’t sure if they would be allowed to march and they were waiting to find out what would happen.

What had happened was that, on May 25, 2010, Pride Toronto had issued a press release stating that the use of the term “Israeli Apartheid” would not be allowed in the Parade because it was discriminatory. They further stated that this position was reached after meeting with a wide-array of community members,

...meetings were also held with the city, key community leaders and concerned stakeholders. The City has noted that the message of ‘Israeli Apartheid’ may contravene its anti-discrimination policy in relation to a person’s ‘place of origin’... This led the Board to conduct a series of meetings that resulted in the resolution and motion about disallowing the term ‘Israeli Apartheid’ in the Parade” (Pride Toronto 2010d).

QuAIA had previously been invited to march in the 2008 Parade by the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE). Dave explained that the main reason for marching with CUPE had to do with the fact that QuAIA was still in the process of organizing itself as a group, “and since [QuAIA] had just been organized, they probably didn’t have their shit together enough to go through the application process. So, they – [through] some sort of personal connections with people in the union said, ‘Oh yeah, we’ll march together. Why don’t you march with us?’” (Dave, QuAIA).

While Pride Toronto had received some complaints from pro-Zionist groups Dave explained that QuAIA’s participation in the 2008 Parade had garnered little public controversy within the GLBTTQQIA2 community and that the main complaint came from Frank Dimant, the Executive Vice President of B'nai Brith Canada (a pro-Zionist organization). Under criticisms that QuAIA had jumped into the Parade uninvited, they decided to fill out an application form for the 2009 Parade and march as their own contingent. Again, any negative responses from the queer community were minimal, with the bulk of criticisms coming from outside the community,

In the 2009 march, B'nai Brith didn't have any traction in the queer community. In fact, Frank Dimant who was the chair of... the vice executive director of B'nai Brith or

Figure 4.2. The Swastika



Rosa explained that the perceptions of QuAIA in the video were taken out of context. First, the sound of QuAIA’s chanting was garbled in Gladstone’s video and he provided inaccurate captions for the chant. Second, the focus on the image of the swastika failed to provide any analysis for the image beyond, “they wore Nazi symbols,”

So in 2009 we marched and Martin Gladstone made this film. Now we had heard, but I had not seen any - we couldn't get a hold of the picture. We heard what he did. There was a group called the Young Communist that came to join us and one of them was wearing like the old ARA shirts, Anti Racist Action, which is a swastika with a big red circle and a slash through it, which means anti-Nazi, anti-fascist. He photographed that. Rumour went out that we were marching with swastika flags and what not and it's like, it was one shirt -- and it was an anti-Nazi shirt. And so this became a thing (Rosa, QuAIA).

something at the time, actually works for Charles McVety, who's the head of the Canadian Christian School Right, and like, so, his homophobic connections were fairly clear. Even Kyle Rae said, "There's no reason why people should be banned from the Parade." (Dave, QuAIA)

The pressure for Pride to ban QuAIA increased as the 2010 Parade drew near. Dave explained that this increase was, in part, due to a recent video that was being circulated about QuAIA. Martin Gladstone (a gay lawyer) had filmed QuAIA marching in the Parade and he produced a video entitled *Reclaiming Our Pride*. His video portrayed QuAIA as an anti-Zionist organization that promoted violence against Jewish people. To demonstrate this he interviewed outraged 'bystanders' at the Parade and repeatedly focused on an image of a crossed out swastika on one Parade participant's t-shirt (Figure 4.2. *The Swastika*). The film also showed QuAIA members chanting slogans that purported to encourage violence against Jewish Israelis. Anthony explained that a copy of this video was distributed to each of Toronto's City Councilors, to the Pride Toronto Executive, and to some of the Parade's major sponsors.

Despite the poor production quality, and questionably 'accurate' depictions of QuAIA, the distribution of this film served to rally City Councilors to B'Nai Brith's cause.⁵⁶ For example, City Councillor Kyle Rae, previously in support of QuAIA marching in the Parade, sent a letter to Pride encouraging them to reconsider their decision to let QuAIA march in the 2010 Parade: "Over the weekend, I saw the film produced by Martin Gladstone, and found the intervention of Queers Against Israeli Apartheid in last year's Pride Parade completely out of keeping with the spirit and values of Pride Toronto" (Rae 2010: para. 2). Through a Freedom of Information Request members of QuAIA were able to obtain a series of communications between pro-Zionist organizations, City Council, and Pride Toronto, demonstrating that they had been meeting on this

⁵⁶ Dave explained that the initial complaints were spearheaded by Frank Dimant, of B'nai Brith with subsequent support coming from Avi Benlolo, Director of the Friends of Simon Wiesenthal Centre, and Carol Pasternak, the Chair for Kulanu (a Queer Jewish community group).

issue since before November 19, 2009. This discovery was surprising to QuAIA as they were told (by Tracey Sandilands) that Pride had not met with the City about this issue. As Dave said, “But by mid-winter, secret meetings started happening between B'nai Brith and a number of city Councilors and Tracey Sandilands and [City Councilor Kyle] Rae. And they were basically -- we got the minutes of the meetings through a freedom of information request. And we found out that they had happened” (Dave, QuAIA). The documents showed that Pride had already begun to discuss possible ways to ban QuAIA from the Parade. Dave felt that it was this pressure, from B'nai Brith on City Council, which eventually led Pride to ban the phrase “Israeli Apartheid” in the lead up to the 2010 Parade. This brings us to March 25th, 2010, the day that Pride announced that they would ban the phrase from the Parade.

By this time a large part of the GLBTTQIA2 community had rallied, as The Coalition for Free Expression, in support of QuAIA's right to march. Feeling like QuAIA had the support of the community behind them, QuAIA members called a general meeting to discuss how to proceed. Up to this point Pride Toronto had been able to avoid any need to directly address the issue based on the claim that, the debate was moot as QuAIA had not submitted an application. QuAIA decided that the best way to deal with Pride's press release was to actually fill out and submit an application form. Rosa volunteered to take on this task.

As I have noted, some of my past experience with the Pride Parade was to hand out the application forms. I had initially thought that the application form was one of the least controversial aspects of the Parade but, as my knowledge of the application process grew (through preliminary research), it began to appear as though a participant's ability to march in the Parade was dependent upon how they answered the questions on the form itself.⁵⁷

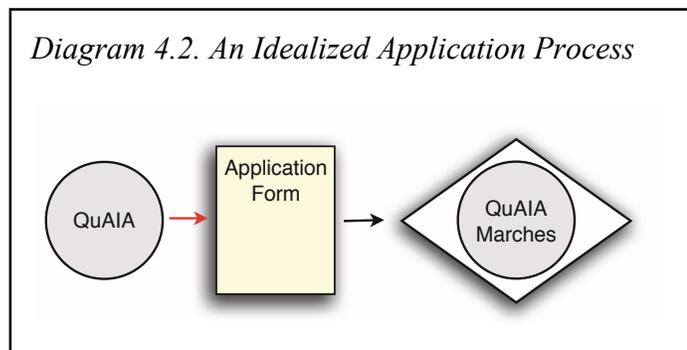
⁵⁷ I had initially scheduled an hour for our interview and told Rosa that I would like to talk to her about the process that she went through for filling out the application form. Imagine my surprise when such a seemingly innocuous

Admittedly, the application form was not the definitive mediating text; rather, “The kinds of discourses that constitute the ruling relations are sprawling, sometimes tangled webs of text and activity; the analyses that show how they work must be focused, specific, and often rather technical. Thus, a single study can typically only trace a specific thread through these processes” (Devault 2006:297). With this in mind, the application form served as my ‘thread’ and was particularly useful for illuminating social relations as it was inextricably linked to a series of other threads. If we think of the arrows in Diagram 4.1 as threads, we can see how each intersection of an arrow represents an intersection of activities, a tangle of threads that point to possible disjunctures (experienced by QuAIA’s members) that help to show how QuAIA is caught within an institutionalized process of applying to march.

The application form provides an immediate example of how Parade participants are hooked into such a process. Rosa began her interview by telling me about her past involvement in the Pride movement. For her, Pride offered an opportunity to blend her queer self with her political activism. She explained that her understanding of who she was came out of the civil rights movement (in the United States) and its challenge to nominalization: “[there is a] notion that you were queer and something else and you were part of other struggles like bringing your queerness to those other struggles, that’s where I primarily do my work, around other struggles - as a queer person” (Rosa, QuAIA). Having marched in many Pride Parades (including several of Toronto’s) Rosa was quite surprised to learn that each of the groups had to apply to march: “So we come to 2010 and I didn’t realize that you had to apply for the Parade so I took on applying.” (Rosa, QuAIA).

form elicited over two and a half hours of conversation (as well as an extensive email exchange following the interview).

Rosa's initial understanding of the process for marching in the Parade was thought to be fairly straightforward. She had thought that the process involved nothing more



than notifying Pride of their intent to march in the Parade, and showing up. When she agreed to fill out the application form she had no idea how involved it was.

When we map Rosa's idea (of how one comes to march in the Parade) against the 2010 process represented in Diagram 4.1, we can see how her account relegates a host of actions, texts and people to the shadows. Diagram 4.2 represents Rosa's idealization of the application process. Here we can see that the initial applicant is the group. Though Rosa had agreed to fill out the form, she did so with the understanding that she would be filling out the form as a member of QuAIA.

When Rosa did go online she noted how the vast amount of information required seemed to stand in contrast with what she saw as a queer political-activist event: "So it just felt weird to have to apply because, so what are we? I'm American and I'm thinking, 'What are we, the Macy's Day Parade, Thanksgiving Day Parade?' Is it like the Santa Claus Parade? No, it's really different. The Santa Claus Parade is based on something completely different... I don't know how long there's been a process of applying, but I had never applied and I'm like 'But it's ours. Why are we applying?'" (Rosa, QuAIA).

Dave was someone who had been involved in organizing some of the very first Toronto Pride events. He explained that the Pride Parade was initially a grassroots event that was organized by a handful of people, often in someone's living room. However, things began to

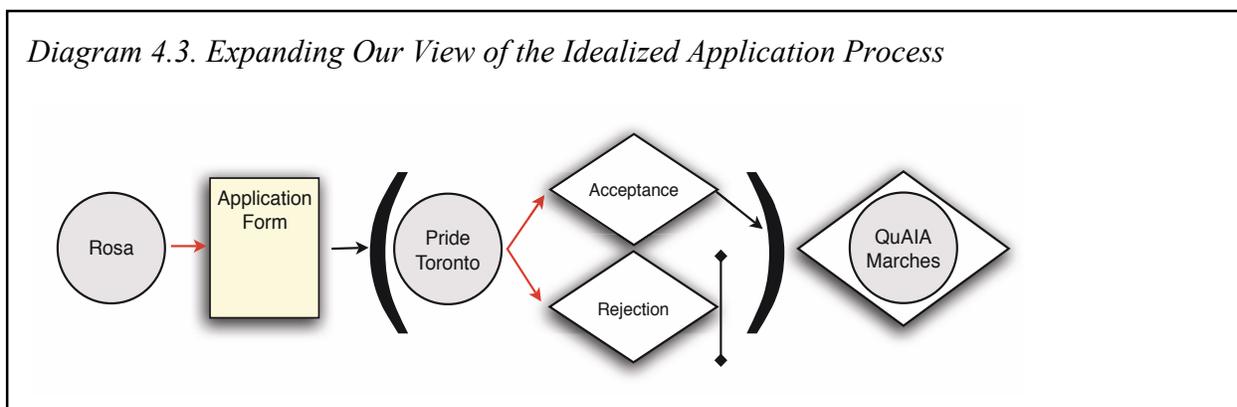
change as the increasing size of the event necessitated a more ‘structured’ approach to organizing and putting on the event: “In the early days, of course, there was nothing like this in Pride. Anybody who just showed up, showed up. But as it got bigger and questions of crowd management became more important, and figuring out this monstrous thing was going to come together without taking six hours. [We] had to begin to organize it more” (Dave, QuAIA). Despite his own experience, that there was more to participating in the Parade than just ‘showing up’, Dave expressed some concern with the way a process of exclusion had developed. In this case, without having even applied to march, QuAIA was subject to Pride Toronto’s decision to ban the phrase,

People were kind of -- remember this was a relatively small group of graduate students who were into progressive leftist politics and were interested in doing work in this way [through the Parade], and nobody had ever imagined that anybody could be banned from Pride. So like, they [assumed they] would march in Pride. (Dave 2012).

Dave’s comment, that “nobody had ever imagined that anybody could be banned from Pride” points to a disjuncture between his (and Rosa’s) understanding of the application process and Pride’s. Diagram 4.3 shows that when we expand our view of the application process, we can see how an unseen process of accepting or rejecting an application means that there is a step in the process that categorically distinguishes between an applicant and a participant. What is revealed in this process is another disjuncture between seeing oneself as a participant where, at this point in the process, they are marked as an applicant. In other words, the ability to accept or reject applicants demonstrates how “anybody who just showed up” was not necessarily a participant.

The fact that Pride Toronto has the ability to accept or reject applications is not new. Each of the application forms between 2003 and 2012 contains some type of clause that reinforces Pride’s ‘right.’ For instance, the exact phrase, “Pride Toronto retains the right to

refuse any application, without liability,” is included in each of the Parade’s relevant Terms and Conditions document. What is new is the volume of “Terms and Conditions” by which Pride Toronto can, now, systematically draw on when deciding to accept or reject any contentious applications.



The ramifications of this new process will be discussed in more detail in chapter five. What is worth mentioning here is the idea that Parade applicants could no longer be sure that their application would be accepted. Instead, the very existence of an acceptance/rejection process would likely impact the type of information that participants choose to include in their application, and in how they filled out their form. This can be seen in the way that Rosa approached the form.

I have organized the following discussion in a way that reflects QuAIA’s experience with participating in the Parade as a mapped sequence of actions (demonstrated in Diagram 4.1). Namely, that their actions are textually mediated through the Parade application process. This is a sequence of actions that mediates participation from the initial stage of filling out the form to submitting and processing the form and, finally, in preparing to march in the Parade.

D. FILLING OUT THE FORM

SECTION 1: TICKET TYPE (FIGURE 4.1 PAGE 1)

When Rosa went to apply online, the first thing that she had to do was decide which category the group fit into. She chose “Category A – LGBTTIQQ2SA Community – Marching fee.” This category was for non-profit community groups who planned to march on foot and would not be using a float/vehicle of any kind. Inline with this field was the registration price of \$100 (identified as a suggested donation) but Rosa knew (from word of mouth) that a community marching group was not required to pay any entrance fee. When I looked at Rosa’s copy of the form I noticed that the field actually had \$1 entered into it. It seemed odd that the group would donate \$1 so I asked Rosa to tell me more about this,

...there's a fee and you have to pay \$1 because it won't let you process the application... I found this really crazy that we had to pay anything especially being a community group, it's like - if you think back to the early marches, did people pay? Did they do anything? No. They took to the streets. ... I mean this [pointing to the 'Ticket Type' categories on the form], you have to go through and figure out what are you, “Are we a commercial group? No. Are we TD Bank? No.” We're a community group (Rosa, QuAIA).

While the online application form did state that the \$100 (listed in the ‘price’ field) was a “suggested donation”, the voluntary nature of this donation was questioned when Rosa was unable to process the form without any amount listed. I referred to the 2010 Opportunity Guide to clarify whether the \$100 listed was a mandatory fee or a voluntary donation (Pride Toronto 2010i).

The Opportunity Guide is a colourful marketing brochure that Pride produces every year. The Guide is meant to compliment the application form as it contains a wide array of information about participating in Pride Week. It outlines some of the terms and conditions for participating in the Parade (such as the height and length requirements for a float), the application procedure for setting up a booth in either ‘The Marketplace’ (i.e. a for-profit booth) or ‘The Community Fair’ (i.e. a non-profit or community group booth). It also provides information on how a

commercial organization can affiliate with a ‘Pride Event’ and includes a list of advertising rates for those wishing to advertise in Pride-related materials (both web and print). Electronic (pdf) copies of the Opportunity Guide are made available online through a link on Pride’s website.

When I looked up the list of entry fees, I was surprised to see that there was a \$100 Marching Fee listed. The image below (Figure 4.3 Parade Entry Categories), copied directly from the Guide, includes fees for community groups with either marching and/or float contingent/s (\$100 and \$200 respectively) (Pride Toronto 2010i; 23). There is no mention in the table whether these are voluntary donations or not. However, when we read the fine print on the previous page, we learn that the fees for community groups (listed as Category A), are indeed voluntary,

While there is no compulsory entry fee for this category, the Parade Working Group requests a minimum voluntary contribution of \$100 to help offset the significant costs of producing the Pride Parade. Pride Toronto’s Parade Committee appreciates the costs that are involved in preparing an entry and understands that some may find it difficult to make a contribution. For that reason, the entry fee for this category is not compulsory. If you are in a position to make a financial contribution, it would certainly be appreciated. (Ibid. 22).

Figure 4.3. Parade Entry Categories

PARADE ENTRY CATEGORIES (Note: Taxes will be added to the fees listed here)	MARCHING FEE	FLOATS/ VEHICLES
Category A: LGBTTIQ2SA Community	\$100	\$200
Category B: Non-Profit Organizations/Government Agencies	\$200	\$400
Category C: LGBTTIQ2SA Supporter Business Entries	\$500	\$1,000
Category D: Commercial Entries		
• Independent, Non-Franchised Business (Independently owned with only one outlet)	\$550	\$1,100
• National Business (Minor Franchise with five or fewer outlets/franchises in Canada)	-	\$3,000
• National Business (Major Franchise with six or more outlets/franchises in Canada only)	\$2,500	\$5,000
• International Business (Multinational Corporation with outlets/franchises throughout the world)	\$5,000	\$10,000

The vagueness of the voluntary donation in the opportunity Guide and the \$100 fee already entered in ‘Price’ field on the application form leaves it to the applicant to discover that

this fee is, in fact, voluntary. What was interesting about this was that Rosa believed that non-profit groups were not supposed to be charged a fee so she changed it to zero. When she tried to submit the form it could not be sent until she put in a dollar amount (\$1), thus, requiring her to dig out her credit card, enter more personal details into the application form, and make a donation to Pride Toronto.

When I had asked Rosa what she thought about her group making a ‘donation’ to Pride she told me that she didn’t agree with Pride soliciting from community groups: “[Pride’s] a big money-making thing for the city, but does the city - if it brings in so much for revenue for the city, should not the city support the organizations or the people organizing? Should they not share some of that revenue to make sure that they can continue to organize instead of we keep bleeding our community groups” (Rosa, QuAIA). Dave expands on this point by noting that it is not only non-profit community groups that are being ‘squeezed’ for money. He explained that the cost of participating for small community businesses and local artists (\$1,000 + \$70 tax), had the effect of pricing them out of the event,

The group that I suppose has most visibly chosen not to participate is the local petit bourgeoisie. In the early '80s and '90s the floats and things would be from bars, or from baths, or from local businesses, right? Those who were trying to gain community support and advertising. But they've been priced out of the market. Right?

Now, if you're a business, [Pride's] corporate rate is aimed at the Bank of Montreal and Trojan Condoms and all those kinds of things. So, those people [and] those businesses can't afford to participate any more. All you've seen is a kind of a mirroring of the destruction of small capital and increased reliance on finance capital. It's banks that they're after.

Although I guess Trojan condoms are not finance capital, but they're not a local business. They're an international, multinational corporation, and so that's where the big money is [(\$10,000 + \$700 tax)]. And that means that smaller businesses simply can't compete... They're participation or not is completely dependent on economic factors. And they pushed up the price for registration at this thing to a point that -- who's in the community marketplace? Like very small producers, low-end capital, "I make stain glass thingies and I sell them at community festivals"... When those people look at having to pay like \$500 to get a table this big, [the question of] "How many

things am I going to have to sell on that day” probably isn’t worthwhile, and so they don’t participate.

Added to the increase in participation fees is a new cost for processing the application through Eventbrite. This is listed as ‘Fee’ in the Ticket Information section of the form. Eventbrite’s website explains that the event organizer has two options to deal with this processing fee: the organizers can either absorb the cost of the application fee and not include a separate ‘Fee’ category, or they can pass the cost of the processing fee on to the applicant (in this case, Pride does not charge a processing fee for donations).⁵⁸

SECTION 2: PERSONAL INFORMATION (FIGURE 1, PAGE 2 AND THE TOP OF PAGE 3)

The next section that Rosa filled out was her personal information. This posed a particular problem for Rosa for two reasons. The first was that she was uncomfortable with listing personal details. The second was in how the form positioned her as ‘the applicant’ rather than as someone who was applying as a part of a group. When we came to this section of the form I had asked Rosa to tell me how she made her decisions on what to put in the various fields,

Dann: *That leads me into all this information that you need to provide here in the second section, “First name, last name, your email address, home phone, cell phone.”*

Rosa: *I don’t believe I gave that information. I created a password, but I’ll only fill out the required stuff.*

I had noticed that Rosa did not use the same email that I had been using to communicate with her. This led me to look at her contact information that was listed on each of the application forms that she had filled out for both the 2010 and 2012 Dyke March. I found that Rosa had used different emails for each application and learned that each of these emails was explicitly

⁵⁸ Pride’s 2012 online application makes a clear distinction between voluntary and mandatory registration costs. In this case, there is a voluntary suggestion for community groups with marching contingents, and a \$200 price for community groups with a float or vehicle. The latter is also subject to the Eventbrite processing fee (\$12.99) and taxes (\$27.69, for a total participation cost of \$240.68) (Pride Toronto 2012b; 1).

created for each application. This was not surprising as she had expressed some concern over where her personal information went and who had access to it. For example:

Dann: *So what did you put for home address?*

Rosa: *I think it's on the form. I put it down. I didn't put my apartment number though. There are three apartments there because I was mindful of that. And I only filled out what I had to. I didn't give phone numbers.*

Dann: *So where does that information go?*

Rosa: *I don't know, but it's online and it can be tracked.*

Interestingly, Rosa's printout showed that she did include her phone number on the Parade application form, even though it was not a required field. I had asked her about this discrepancy but she was unable to explain why she had included it, noting that it was unusual for her to do so. She said that she certainly did not mean to include her home phone number. I wanted to understand her trepidation over providing contact information and found that, from QuAIA's standpoint, the requirement for personal information does not take into account the connection that members like Rosa make between safety and privacy.

Rosa explained that threats of verbal and physical violence are a very real concern for those critiquing Israeli policies. The following helps to demonstrate her concern for safety: "Israel has had, over many, many years, a habit of assassinating in other countries, Palestinian intellectuals and activists, saying that they're terrorists. We're talking about writers, artists; anyone who poses a threat to the placid control that Israel wants to exert and America does the same thing. Many countries have done the same thing" (Rosa, QuAIA). Regardless of whether this statement is true or not, what we need to take away from such a claim is the fact that Rosa believed this to be true. She had experienced violence and abuse as a direct result of her position as a critic of Israel.

While the comment above demonstrates the issue of safety, Rosa's experience of violence had also led to an increased interest in maintaining her privacy. This sentiment was

apparent in a conversation that we had about Facebook (an online social networking site). Rosa was concerned with the connection between using social networking sites (like Facebook) as a means of organizing, suggesting that the use of such sites led to a decrease in privacy, thus, eroding the distinction between a person's public and private life,

I can remember the last time I was out of the system. I was hitchhiking and I was stopped by a cop. It was in the late 70s and the address they had for me... We didn't have a photo ID. It was just a [driver's] license.

And they tapped [the license number] into their computer and they had an address that my parents had moved from and no forwarding address. I didn't have a bank account, had no credit card. I had none of that. So I could just go off and they'd never be able to find me. That's gone. It's really gone and I don't think many people realize how caged we are.

It's kind of like the electronic fence in a lot of ways and that's what this is, on so many levels [pointing to the application form]. And it's worrisome. (Rosa, QuAIA)

The 'electronic fence' that Rosa is referring to can be seen in how the application form acts as an authoritative text as it requires the applicant to engage with in a particular way. In other words, when the applicant reads the form, the words of the text coordinate the applicant's response with the discourse embedded in the text. When we begin from the position that Rosa had volunteered to fill out the form for the group we can see how, for Rosa, the 'Ticket Buyer' was QuAIA, not herself. However, Rosa is listed as the Ticket Buyer and her email is entered as the primary contact. This helps to draw the applicant (Rosa, QuAIA) into the kind of authoritative text-reader conversation that has little regard for how QuAIA organizes (and makes decisions) as a group, one that positioned Rosa as an individual applicant, at once separate from, representative of, and accountable for, the group. This disjuncture is highlighted when we take up Rosa's standpoint, that, if Pride wished to contact QuAIA about any concerns or problems with the group's participation, Pride should be contacting the group, not Rosa. Further coordination of an applicant's actions can be seen in many other questions on the form. For instance, though Rosa reported having no problem with the first question, 'Organization/Group

Name' in the section 'Other Information' (Figure 4.1, page 3), Dave provided some background information that problematized the simplicity of entering QuAIA's name on the form.

Dave explained that there was a general critique used against QuAIA, with its detractors claiming that the Parade was not the right place for groups to make a political statement. QuAIA called this conception of the Parade into question by inserting politics into their title, thus reinforcing their claim that the Pride Parade was exactly the place to make a political statement. When I raised the complaint (against making political statements in the Parade) with Anthony, a Pride Toronto representative, he dismissed this argument as being too 'categorical', noting that Pride was neither one thing nor another: "I think in the Parade, the Parade is inherently both. It's inherently political and it's celebratory. And those things are -- they're not mutually exclusive. They exist in a kind of weird tension and dialectic" (Anthony, Pride). However, this stance was not held by everyone at Pride.

This debate came to a head when Pride requested a meeting with QuAIA to discuss this dilemma. According to Dave, Pride acknowledged QuAIA's right to march in the Parade but was worried about the impact that their participation might have on the Parade's funding. Pride's solution was to suggest that QuAIA drop the contentious term 'Israeli Apartheid' from their name: "people kept saying -it was like a mantra- 'Well why don't you just change your name?' And they were like 'It's the word apartheid. It's wrong.' Well it's not wrong. We're not comparing it to South Africa. It's based on the UN conventions on the crime of apartheid" (Dave 2012 emphasis his). Having internally debated and rejected this idea -as a group- Rosa was then free to register the group as 'Queers Against Israeli Apartheid (QuAIA).' This example allows us to see how seemingly innocuous questions, like asking for the name of the group, exist within a structure that problematizes what was perceived to be a straightforward

answer (i.e. precipitating a discussion on the validity of the group's name). The next two questions, 'Title of your entry' and 'Supportive message', posed an even greater problem for QuAIA.

One of the conditions for marching in the Parade was that the applicants agreed to tailor their message (on signs and banners) so that it coordinated with that year's theme. The theme for 2010 was "'30 Years of Pride.'" Wanting to ensure that the political aspect of QuAIA's message was included in the Parade, QuAIA had decided to straddle the boundaries of contention by linking the Parade's theme to their name, listing their entry title as "QuAIA Celebrates 30 Years of Pride in Toronto Queer Politics." Rosa then modified some of the information on QuAIA's website to reflect this connection and demonstrate how the group's message fit into the 'Supportive Message' field,

Queers Against Israeli Apartheid (QuAIA) represents a diverse coalition of LGBT community members standing in solidarity with queers and trans people in Israel/Palestine and particularly the evolving Palestinian LGBT movement. We speak out against all forms of homophobia and transphobia in Israel/Palestine and we stand against Israel's apartheid and oppression of the Palestinian people, queer and straight alike. (QuAIA Application Form 2010: Diagram 4.1, page 3).

Rosa found the construction of this message to be particularly difficult. To be more precise, writing the text was not the problem. As she had said, most of it already existed on QuAIA's website and her writing background meant that she was adept at repurposing bios (or other pieces of information) for different projects. For Rosa the difficulty lay in deciding how much to say. While the committee wanted the description of the group to be closely aligned with QuAIA's purpose and interests, Rosa raised a concern that their application would be submitted and read within a (possibly) contentious atmosphere, an atmosphere that might exacerbate the political situation and bias the application process against QuAIA. Based on some of the public statements made by Traci Sandilands, QuAIA's concern was not unfounded. For example, when

Sandilands was asked about allowing groups to march that promoted hate speech she replied that Pride would make their decisions: “Based on whatever [QuAIA] put in that application we will determine whether or not they are accepted... Their messaging must indicate that the Parade will not be made unwelcoming to anybody else in any way” (O’Toole 2010: para 6 & 11). Concerns over statements like this led QuAIA’s application committee to tone down the statement and write it in a way that (they hoped) would not raise too many questions, while, at the same time, remain true to the purpose of the group. It became clear that the application form was more than a pro-forma document. I had asked Rosa what she thought of all the questions, rules, and regulations that were contained in the form, to which she replied: “the application felt like a screening process, like a job application and we’re not applying for a job. We want to march in what we feel is rightfully ours and it felt like we were being policed” (Rosa, QuAIA).

While the questions on the form provided me with a fairly direct example of how Parade applicants might encounter institutionalizing practices, a less tangible, but no less effective, form of coordination can be seen in the constraints that are embedded in the application form. I suggest that both time constraints and physical constraints played a role in informing the applicant of how they were meant to fill out the form. In the case of time restraints, the applicant was given 45 minutes to complete (and submit) the online form. Rosa had not seen the form prior to filling it out and was unaware of either the time limit or of an inability to save her application as she worked on the application.

As I have mentioned earlier, the organizational structure of QuAIA is based on a non-hierarchical model. In other words, they make their major decisions as a group and, as a group; they form committees, offering those with an interest or particular skill an opportunity to be part of that committee. This level of engagement around decision-making processes was important to

Rosa: “as an anarchist and as a feminist, I don’t feel like - for me, that kind of politics is not [only about] organizing as an anarchist collective... in QAIA, there’s people from some different political perspectives on the left” (Rosa, QuAIA). She was particularly sensitive to the possibility that she might misrepresent the group or cause undue problems for QuAIA’s participation (by writing something that may be seen as contentious). She also wanted to ensure everyone had an opportunity to give feedback on what they thought should go into the form. These last two points help to underline the disjuncture that Rosa faced; she had agreed to fill out the form, not act as a figurehead for the group,

So I wanted to make sure so we had a subcommittee. I know that I forwarded ‘This is what I’m going to write’ and that sort of thing. And that’s the kind of process you have to go through because I don’t want to speak for the group without the group knowing, and did each and every individual know? No, but in the process of working together, people have trust and this is what happens in other groups I work with. You vet things with each other to make sure that ‘Are we OK with this?’ And because also there are typos and mistakes and someone will say, ‘Well maybe if you put it this way, that’s more closely aligned with what we really mean.’ (Rosa, QuAIA).

There seems to be an assumption that when the applicant is filling out the form they are sitting at a computer, with all the relevant information at their fingertips. However, if one has not filled out the online application form before, the time limits can appear daunting. The absence of a ‘save’ option meant that Rosa was watching the clock as she filled out the form, ‘racing’ to gather the information she required before the time ran out. Unfortunately QuAIA’s activities are not organized around an office, staff, or set hours. This meant that Rosa required additional time to send out email requests, make phone calls, and wait for responses to her questions. Rosa told of how she went back and forth between engaging with the form and emailing the members of QuAIA’s application committee for input,

Dann: *How do you make sense of this, this please indicate the total length of feet required for your group organization.*

Rosa: *How much space are we going to take up in the Parade and I was like, OK, 199 people. I don’t know how we figured that out, but I think I walked around*

my room going OK, one. One going to back to the other going 'OK, all right, one person here and then another person here,' and then just doing an average. OK, 10 people across on the street. OK. I think we sort of went over the head count together. It's like whatever.

Dann: *So would you call someone about that? Did you call someone and ask them?*

Rosa: *I can't remember. I know that we probably talked about it in the subcommittee and it was probably just - I think what I did was, and I did this to keep a record [pointing to a print out of her answers for the application form], so I printed out - I would type things in and then copy it and paste it in another computer application so I had a record. So I typed it up. (Rosa, QuAIA)*

This back and forth process eventually led her to close, reopen, and re-enter the information in the application form a few times before it was finally ready to be submitted.

When she initially handed me a copy of the 2010 application form she commented on the amount of information that she was asked to provide. She felt that she was being forced to answer questions that had nothing to do with her group. For example, halfway through the 'Other Information' section the form asked the applicant to indicate which special effects they planned to use, putting a checkmark next to the relevant choices like smoke machines, bubble makers, snow machines, or strobe lights. Rosa marked 'None' and in the field 'If, other, please specify' she wrote, "Skip a lot of stupid questions." Rosa had no illusions that someone at Pride would read this entry and adjust the form accordingly. Instead, recalling her earlier critique that people used to just show up for the Parade, she explained that this little transgression was a way of voicing her frustration over a seemingly useless application process with the hope that, "Maybe someone will read this, who knows?" (Rosa, QuAIA).

The combination of a lack of relevant questions and the stress of meeting the time constraints required Rosa to make a decision: either add to her already hectic schedule by repeatedly engaging with the form or, circumvent her activist/feminist principles and enter the information once, to the best of her abilities. Seeing as Rosa had to set up an Eventbrite account, a simple 'save' function would have reduced both her stress and her amount of work.

Furthermore, as she noted above, a ‘print’ function was also not available. Fortunately (for my research), her experience with defending herself against negative accusations (she explained that the pro-Zionist critics tended to turn people’s comments around and repeat/report them out of context) meant that she was in the habit of keeping copies of documents and emails. I remarked on her level of organization and how I had benefitted from it, to which she replied,

Well I want a record because once you press send or accept, it’s gone and I just find that really funny because I want to know what I’ve said because they can come back at you - especially when you’re considered a controversial group. (Rosa 2012 emphasis Rosa’s)

Rosa’s experience with the 2010 Parade application form served her well as she had become quite adept at providing the information required –in a non-‘confrontational’ way. Having filled out the Parade application, Rosa was also asked to fill out the 2010 applications for the Dyke march and the Trans March. Later, in 2012, she (along with another person) was asked again to fill out the application forms for the Parade and the Dyke March (albeit, for another group). Despite her success (and experience) in the past, Rosa approached the 2012 form with trepidation, saying to herself, “oh, god, I’ve got to do the thing and I’ve got to think about it.”

To her delight, the 2012 application form had been shortened and any questions that were not deemed to be a ‘Required Field’ had been eliminated. This new application form ensured that every applicant would answer every question, regardless of whether they wanted to or not. For example, this change now required the applicant to provide a first and last name, a cell phone number, and an email in order to submit the form. If the applicant neglected to answer a question before clicking the ‘submit’ button they would receive an onscreen notice saying that the form could not be processed until the (identified) questions had been answered. In a sense, this new application process simplified Rosa’s response as it took the guesswork out of trying to determine which questions to answer (i.e. eliminating any distinction between ‘relevant’ or ‘non-relevant’ questions). I also noticed that the time allotted to fill out the 2012 application form had

been reduced, from 45 minutes to 15 minutes. I had asked Rosa if either of these changes added to her stress and she surprised me by saying that she did not feel as constrained by the new time limitation and that she preferred the simplified form,

Dann: *Did you know you were going to only have 15 minutes?*

Rosa: *No. I didn't know until I got online, but they didn't ask as many questions. It was easier to fill out.*

Dann: *So you got it done in the time allotted?*

Rosa: *It was only five minutes... there was a totally different feeling.*

I can understand her relief. Rosa reported that the first form she filled out (the 2010 Pride Parade application) was the most laborious. Whereas, the applications for the Dyke March and Trans march were easier to deal with because she already had most of the requisite information. It is no surprise that when faced with having to fill out three (slightly different) application forms, an applicant would welcome a more simplified, streamlined process. Despite her earlier complaint (about having to deal with irrelevant or ‘stupid’ questions), the 2012 application form simplified the process by eliminating a number of questions and making each of the remaining questions mandatory. Though it is possible to avoid answering a question by providing false information, the application form discouraged this behaviour by requiring the applicant to sign a legally binding waiver stating that the information provided on the form was correct. This is the crux of the problem, in the process of streamlining the application process; Pride had further reduced a Parade participant’s ability to engage (with the Parade) in a way that was outside of Pride’s construct of an applicant. In effect, an applicant’s ability to maintain their privacy became subject to Pride’s need for (and logic of) accountability.

To recap, Rosa took up the first application form and, by having to engage with the form on its own terms (i.e. how her responses were subject to the logic of the questions) Rosa’s actions were turned from an activist into those of an applicant. Admittedly, she complained about the questions and disagreed with the process and yet, despite her own position, going

through the process of filling out the form meant that she had learned what the boundaries of the application process were and how to provide answers accordingly. This institutionalization of knowledge/experience, as an applicant, then had an impact on her approach to subsequent Parade applications. Simply put, Rosa was able to whip off a series of application forms in 2012 because the simplified forms, and use of required fields first, offered fewer opportunities for individual/group expression (thus reducing her stress by reducing her options); and second, the very act of filling out the form meant that her engagement with the form taught her how to ‘successfully’ fill out the form so that it would be accepted. Rosa was now an ‘applicant.’ She no longer had to think about appropriate responses because the suitable responses were embedded in the structure of the application process and the questions asked on the form. In this way, applying to march in the Parade meant that what Rosa (and QuAIA) could say or do was oriented to the terms and conditions (both figuratively and literally) that were embedded in the text.

Interestingly, Smith points out that it is the static nature of a text that allows it to speak authoritatively; because texts do not change as they move from person to person or from place to place, the purpose of a text can be understood by different people, in different locales (though, it should be underlined, it can still be understood differently). Instead, when a person activates a text (by reading it or filling it out), they become engaged in a textually mediated way of being. Smith refers to this as a text-reader conversation where, “one ‘party’ to the conversation is fixed and nonresponsive to the other; the other party takes on the text, in a sense becoming its voice... and at the same time, responds to, interprets, and acts from it” (2005: 105).

There is a certain static quality to texts as they are inherently inert; and yet, when they are activated, texts have the ability to point the reader in particular directions. For example, when a

child requires surgery the hospital admittance form often asks for the names of the child's mother and father. This identifies two parents, a female and a male, and assumes that there is a biological relationship to the child. However, when that child is adopted -by a gay couple- the form still requires a father and a mother. Permit me to digress.

In 2009 I had to take my (adopted) daughter in for surgery. My (same-sex) husband had scheduled the surgery. When I showed up to admit her, the admittance clerk asked to speak to the mother (then began to address the female friend who had driven us to the hospital). I explained that I was the 'father' and that my friend was not the mother. When my identification did not match the father's name listed on the admittance clerk's computer screen she informed me that I could not be the father as there was already a father's name (my partner's) entered in the 'Father' field. I explained that he was my husband and that I was my daughter's *other* father. She then asked which was the 'real' (i.e. biological) father and wanted to know more about the mother. I explained that my daughter was adopted and that the mother was not in the picture.

My daughter was standing beside me during this exchange.⁵⁹ She was very nervous about going in for surgery and I had hoped to whisk her in and read to her for a little before hand. Instead, this debate went on for approximately 20 minutes with the clerk repeating that, according to her computer, my daughter already had a father and that I could not be her 'other' father. The conversation ended with the clerk demanding the biological mother's name and emphatically stating that, "she cannot have two fathers, the computer won't allow it!" leaving me to storm off with my confused daughter in tow.

This account helps to demonstrate the hidden authoritative nature of a text-reader conversation. Embedded within the form was a heterosexual conceptualization of a family, with one father and one mother. When I was required to engage with the form my own experience of

⁵⁹ This is an abridged account of what happened.

‘family’ butted up against a textual construct of family, one that we did not fit. Instead, the admittance clerk (acting as a cipher for the form when all I required from her was the transmission of my information onto the form) enforced the form’s construct of a family in spite of what she saw before her. Employing an IE framework, here is a little of what my daughter learned from this incident. According to the admittance form, ‘families’ were heterosexual, my partner (having entered his name when he set up the appointment) was the ‘responsible’ or ‘primary’ parent, and that, according to the hospital’s rationale, the dead body of her biological mother superseded my experience as her actual caregiver. The form did not explicitly state any of these claims and yet, the authority-claims that framed my role as a non-parent were reinforced in each of our (thirteen) subsequent encounters with different hospital staff, with every single person asking my daughter a variation of the following question, “Where’s mommy today?”

Focusing the discussion back on Pride’s application process, Rosa’s request to “skip a lot of stupid questions” is emblematic of the limitations of a text-reader conversation. The text asked if QuAIA intended to use a fog machine and coordinated Rosa’s response to the question by providing a check box (using a tick to indicate a ‘yes’). Similar to my example of the hospital admissions form, the Parade application did not explicitly *tell* Rosa that she should use bubbles, fake snow, or a fog machine. Rather, the Parade Opportunity Guide encouraged participants to make their marching contingent ‘fun’ and ‘colourful’ in order to attract attention. In this way the list of options on the application form reinforced a concept of participation that presented these choices as the most *suitable* or *preferable* ways to participate. Despite Rosa’s resistance to such ‘silly’ questions, if QuAIA wished to march in the Parade, she was forced to engage with –and

submit to- the text on its own terms.⁶⁰ The intentional use of the phrase, ‘on its own terms’ will be made clear in the following section.

SECTION 3: WAIVERS (FIGURE 4.1 BOTTOM OF PAGE 4)

Up to now my analysis has focused on a series of disjunctures experienced by Rosa’s/QuAIA’s work as an activist/organization in negotiating the Parade’s application process. By situating the work that goes into filling out an application form within a sequence of textually mediated actions we can see how this form is part of a larger application process. The identification of an actual process then allows us to see how the work of others, work that is beyond the immediate scope of the applicants and participants, is also linked into the application process through a translocal network of (social) ruling relations.

As I have stated in Chapter one a central concern for an institutional ethnographer is to understand how local actions are hooked into a larger -translocal- network of social relations (remembering that the ruling relations are the imposition of extralocal, or external, logic onto the day-to-day work that people do in other locales). And, as noted above, texts (being both static and replicable) allow for the portability of dominant forms of knowledge. With both of these points in mind, this portion of the project will begin to shed light on some of the institutional processes that are embedded in the texts that a Parade applicant encounters. More specifically, Pride Toronto’s “Terms and Conditions” (T&Cs) document serves as an immediate example of how the work of a Parade participant has been coordinated to a set of the ruling relations. What has emerged is an understanding that by engaging with the application form the subject-position of the person is caught-up in a process that re-orient their work to that of the object-position of an ‘applicant’. Focusing on such documents will help to expose the disjuncture between the

⁶⁰ By stating, “its own terms” I do not mean to imply that the text is an active agent. Rather, I am referring to the way in which the text promotes and/or coordinates actions and responses that are in line with a particular set of ruling relations embedded in the text.

experiences of those who wish to participate in the Parade and how their work (of participating) is coordinated to the Parade in ways that often go unrecognized.

It is worth mentioning that the reference to Pride's "Terms and Conditions" is found on page four of the application form (Figure 4.1, above). It is also worth mentioning that the actual Terms and Conditions for marching in the Parade are not listed on the actual application form. Instead, an empty text box accompanies the question, "Type your initials here to agree to Parade Terms and Conditions." A link to the T&Cs is not provided to the reader and the only other mention of the T&Cs can be found by scrolling through the next window (marked "Waiver" and "Agreement") to point 3, which states, "I have read the [2010] Opportunity Guide and believe that this entry will comply with all Parade Terms and Conditions and Guidelines" (see "Agreement" field, Figure 4.1, page 4, above).

For those in the know, the 2010 Opportunity Guide and the 2010 Terms and Conditions are separate documents.⁶¹ Pride's website lists pdf copies of both documents but any knowledge of the distinction between the two was hazy amongst each of the Participants that were asked. While the 2010 Opportunity Guide contained a section on "Rules and Regulations," most of the points mentioned in this section were presented as suggestions (mostly on how to conduct oneself in the Parade); whereas, the points contained in the Terms and Conditions document were wrapped in a legal discourse which informed the reader that their agreement with the conditions listed was 'binding'. Let me emphasize the difference between these two documents in a more concrete way: where the Opportunity Guide is filled with pictures and colours, the Terms and Conditions is a text-heavy document written in a very legal language. For example, the Opportunity Guide lists rules like, "No animals are allowed in the Parade," and, "This tends

⁶¹ This distinction only became evident by having read several years worth of Opportunity Guides and then running across links for both documents on archived pages of Pride Toronto's website. Initially, I had thought that the different references corresponded with different sections in the Opportunity Guide.

to be a wet Parade, even if it's not raining. Waterproof where possible, or use waterproof glue and paint.” (Pride Toronto 2010i: 21); whereas, the gravity of the T&Cs is evident in the following,

In consideration of the acceptance of this application and permission to participate as an entrant in the Pride Toronto 2010 Pride Parade, I, for myself, my heirs, executors, administrators, successors and assigns, hereby release, waive and forever discharge Pride Toronto, the City of Toronto, The Toronto Police, the Chief of Police, the Toronto Transit Commission, The Toronto Parking Authority, and all other associations, sanctioning bodies and sponsoring companies, and all their respective agents, officials, servants, contractors, representatives, employees, volunteers, elected and appointed officials, successors and assigns OF AND FROM ALL claims, demands, damages, costs, expenses, actions and causes of action, whether in law or equity, in respect of death, injury, loss or damage to my person or property HOWSOEVER CAUSED, arising or to arise by reason of my participation in the said event, whether as an exhibitor, spectator, participant, competitor or otherwise, whether prior to, during or subsequent to the event, AND NOTWITHSTANDING that the same may have been contributed to, or occasioned by the negligence of any of the aforesaid” (Pride Toronto 2010j:2).

The invocation of the City of Toronto, The Toronto Police, and any ‘sanctioning bodies’ are examples of how institutional discourses operate through texts. Dorothy Smith suggests that there are two considerations when exploring texts in an IE: 1) how they coordinate sequences of action as work-text-work sequences, and 2) the hierarchical structure of texts. We have already begun to consider Smith’s first point by investigating the application form, explaining how local action is institutionally coordinated through an application process. The next step is to identify points of institutional entry (into the form). By points of institutional entry I am referring to the way in which ruling ideologies are incorporated into texts in a way that frames the work that people within a more institutionalized conception that it is more inline with ruling relations.

To make sense of this second point we need to understand that an institutional ethnographer does not simply see texts as the genesis for social relations. Instead, we view texts as documents that are created by someone, somewhere, for some purpose. Furthermore, as part of a larger process of coordination, texts do not stand alone; they are intertextually linked to

other texts in a hierarchical order in which, “higher-level texts establish the frames and concepts that control and shape lower-level texts” (Smith 2005:226). Smith refers to higher-level texts as ‘boss texts’ because these texts establish concepts, which then enter into, regulate, and shape the development of lower-level texts that people work with. These regulatory concepts also help to produce an institutional reality as they inform the reader on how the text should be read, understood, and taken up. In this investigation we can see how the application form is activated as a local/lower-level text while the Opportunity Guide and the Terms and Conditions serve as examples of higher-level/boss texts, as texts that provide a framework and concepts that shape the application form.

While not entirely accurate, I have characterized both of these documents as higher-level texts because each provided some specific direction for what was needed on the application form. For example, the 2010 Opportunity Guide frames the Parade as a celebration of “Celebrating 30 Years of Pride in Toronto” and requires each of the Parade contingents to tailor the messages on their signage to reflect this theme. This is reflected on the application form by providing a text box for the participants to explain how their group’s message will meet this requirement. The T&Cs document invokes a highly formalized language that outlines the roles and responsibilities of the applicant. Additional points in these two documents are reflected on the application form, essentially regulating the content of the form and providing a framework for how the applicant is to take it up. Where I deviate from Smith’s use of the term is in the relationship between the boss text and the texts that it regulates.

In a discussion on texts and how they coordinate sequences of action Smith provided two examples, “The first considers research practices that exhibit texts as coordinators of sequences of action; the second, research practices that operate in a regulatory hierarchy of texts I call the

intertextual hierarchy” (2006:66). I have found that neither of these examples adequately captures the process that has emerged in this study. For example, when we look at Diagram 4.1 we can see how many different texts inform the application form. However, we can also see that the actual movement of the application form is arrested once it is submitted to Pride. Later in the process (identified as processing interchanges P2: 1 and PI: 3) we can see how other texts are brought in to regulate the actual process (thus, not they are not confined to the regulating the subordinate text as an IE might find). Of the various ‘potential boss texts,’ the City of Toronto’s Non-Discrimination Policy and their Major Cultural Organizations Grant best meet the definition of a boss text.⁶² The problem here is that the regulatory impact of these texts changed throughout the process; despite this less ‘direct’ relationship between the levels of texts, the Non-Discrimination Policy and their Major Cultural Organizations Grant still had a regulatory impact on the application form. While both texts were active in regulating the initial application form, the difference in this account was that the importance (and extend) of such boss texts only came into view once the limits of the application form had been exhausted.⁶³ This is where the identification of higher-level texts proves valuable.

Questioning the content of the application form allows us to see connections to other texts, thus revealing how our immediate experiences are situated within a process of social organizations that is ‘historically committed” (Smith 2005:66). We know that every group that wished to participate in the Parade had to fill out an application form (as the concept of ‘applying’ was established in the Terms and Conditions, Opportunity Guide, and Waiver texts).

⁶² The majority of the analytic discussion on the impact of boss texts in an intertextual hierarchy can be found in chapter 5.

⁶³ I do not want to oversimplify what I am saying here but, in layman’s terms, the debate over QuAIA’s participation in the Parade exposed a piece of the application process because of the poor integration of the framework (established in the boss texts) into the application form. The 2012 sequence of events (Diagram 4.1) shows how this deficiency was socially regulated through changes to both the application form and the application process.

This demonstrates how an applicant's work with the application form is being coordinated to concepts and frames already established in higher-level texts that subsequently, regulate or shape lower level texts. For instance, the application form required the person filling it out to agree to act as the spokesperson for the group and abide by the rules of participation established in the T&C document. Upon reading the Terms and Conditions, Rosa also learned that participation in the Parade required each Parade participant to abide by the City's Non-Discrimination Policy (a policy which was applied to any organization that was eligible for funding under the Major Cultural Organizations Grant). However, when we look at the actual application form the document appears to simply be asking for a name; only later do we understand that this name will act as the contact person for the group, where the concept of a 'contact person' is framed within discourses of a 'legally-binding' relationship with both Pride Toronto and the City.

Moving the focus beyond the application form, to one that maps its intertextual relationship to other texts (like the T&Cs), also helps to show how it is not only Rosa's work that is hooked into an organizational process, we can also see how the work of Pride Toronto's members is also translocally coordinated. For instance, people within Pride Toronto have constructed a multi-point framework (the Terms and Conditions) that outlines the responsibilities of the applicant so that, by the time that Rosa reached point 3 in the "Waiver" section, the 'name' provided in the previous field had taken on a very precise definition of what it meant to be the contact person for the group. As point three states, "I have read the [2010] Opportunity Guide and believe that this entry will comply with all Parade Terms and Conditions and Guidelines," followed by point four, "I take responsibility for all participants in this entry and will explain all appropriate regulations to them" (Ibid.). These two quotes render Pride's relationship to the City visible and stand in stark contrast to how Rosa saw her own role within the group, thus, hooking

her, QuAIA, and Pride Toronto into an external logic of a participant/applicant that was embedded in the application form. No one explicitly told Rosa that she would be legally responsible for QuAIA, nor that her involvement in the Parade could jeopardize Pride's funding, and ultimately, the Parade. Instead, her engagement with the application form invoked a discourse of responsibility, asking, "Who is in charge?" and, by filling in her own initials (thus, acknowledging the T&Cs), Rosa inadvertently answered, "I am in charge." The impact of this agreement is two-fold: the declaration puts Rosa in contradiction with her earlier statement that she was only one part of QuAIA's Parade application committee and that, the very question demonstrates little regard for the fact that QuAIA is organized in a non-hierarchical and inclusive way. Regardless, Rosa agreed to abide by Pride's Terms and Conditions by filling in her initials, and accepted the Waivers by ticking a box.

In addition to the two documents listed above, the act of ticking the 'agreement' box brought another level of coordination into the application process. In particular, one of the points in the Terms and Conditions document required that all participants would now be explicitly subject to the City of Toronto's Non-Discrimination Policy (see Figure 4.4). The next chapter goes into more detail on how this policy was instituted in response to QuAIA's past participation in the Parade. The importance of mentioning it in this section is to demonstrate how intertextual hierarchies can function on many levels. So far I have introduced the application form as a local text that is situated within a larger institutional process; next I introduced the T&Cs and the Opportunity Guide as a way of showing how other texts impacted this process. Finally, we can see from the examples of the Non-discrimination Policy and the Major Cultural Organizations grant, is how the conceptualization of 'discrimination' has entered into the T&Cs and Opportunity Guide and ultimately manifest on the application form as a checkbox. This

institutional reality of ‘discrimination’ then becomes a measure to determine acceptable applicants from non-acceptable applicants. I address this additional ‘tier’ of intertextuality further in the next chapter but what we know from the participant’s accounts was that City Council threatened to defund Pride unless they could demonstrate that adequate measures (i.e. signing a copy of the Non-Discrimination Policy) had been taken to prevent discriminatory participants (and participation) from the Parade. In identifying the City of Toronto’s Non-Discrimination Policy we then expand on the limited/limiting view that Pride Toronto was solely responsible for the structure of application process. In each case, these texts are incorporated into the application form, which makes the coordination of the work of Parade participants, Pride Toronto members, and City staff possible.

In regards to the disjuncture mentioned earlier, initially Rosa had thought that she would fill out an application form and march in the Parade (Diagram 2). However, a focus on the role of texts, and textual hierarchies (i.e. the T&Cs, Opportunity Guide, and non-Discrimination Policy) helped to develop a broader understanding of the application form’s ability to draw people into a process of how they were expected to participate (this is represented in Diagram 4.1 by showing how other texts –each representing extralocal interests- are incorporated into the application form).

In a very rudimentary sense, I have demonstrated how extralocal interests (those present in the Opportunity Guide and the Terms and Conditions) entered the application process through an applicant’s activation of the application form in a way that reframed the experiences of those involved in two ways: conceptualizing Parade participants (like QuAIA’s members) as participants that need to be managed; and, constituting applicants (like Rosa) as Parade officials with a responsibility for managing the Parade’s participants. This process was only revealed by

drawing on the accounts of my research participants as a way to expand the scope of an IE beyond QuAIA's immediate experience with the application form. Consequently, the process of mapping my participant's accounts have identified how particular concepts (as tangible instances) function within a broader network of translocal (and intertextually) institutionalized practices.

Figure 4.4 Non-Discrimination Policy



City Manager's Office
Joseph P. Pennachetti

Strategic & Corporate Policy/Healthy City Office
City Hall, 11th Floor, East Tower
100 Queen Street West
Toronto, ON, M5H 2N2

Rosanna Scotti
Director

Tel: 416-392-8592
Fax: 416-896-3645
www.toronto.ca

Declaration of a Non-Discrimination Policy

The City of Toronto requires that all organizations and individuals adopt this "Declaration of Non-Discrimination" as a condition of receiving funding or other support from the City. This Declaration Form must be formally adopted by the Board of Directors (attach minutes of meeting) and submitted with the application. The name of your organization and the fact that you have adopted this declaration may be included in a public report to City Council.

Declaration:

On behalf of and with the authority of the organization named below, I hereby declare that this organization adopts and upholds the City of Toronto's policy statement which prohibits discrimination and harassment and protects the right to be free of hate activity, based on age, ancestry, citizenship, creed (religion), colour, disability, ethnic origin, family status, gender identity, level of literacy, marital status, place of origin, membership in a union or staff association, political affiliation, race, receipt of public assistance, record of offences, sex, sexual orientation or any other personal characteristics by or within the organization.

Name of Organization: _____

Complete Address: _____

Tel. No. _____

Postal Code: _____

Fax No. _____

Signing Officer (Name): _____

Position: _____

Signature: _____

Signing Officer

Date: _____

Date Declaration approved by the Board of Directors: _____

(Attach minutes)

In addition to adopting this Declaration, all recipients of funding or other supports, are required to develop a Policy on Anti-Racism, Access & Equity, and develop Action Plans, pursuant to the City of Toronto Policy (Clause 5 of Strategic Policies and Priorities Committee Report 6). This Declaration is in keeping with the City of Toronto Human Rights and Harassment Policy & Procedures and Hate Activity Policy & Procedures (Clause 2 of Report 19 of Corporate Services Committee adopted by City Council on December 16 and 17, 1998). If you have any questions about this declaration, please contact the Manager, Diversity Management and Community Engagement at 416-392-6824. MultiLingual Line and TTY call 311. Further information can be found at: www.toronto.ca/diversity and www.toronto.ca/grants

CPIP Program:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Access, Equity and Human Rights (AEHR) | <input type="checkbox"/> Homelessness Partnership Initiative (HPI) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> AIDS Prevention Community Investment Program | <input type="checkbox"/> Recreation Partnership and Investment Program |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Community Safety Investment Program (CSI) | <input type="checkbox"/> Toronto Arts Council |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Community Services Partnerships Program (CSP) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Drug Prevention Community Investment Program | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Economic Development Sector Investment Program (EDSIP) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |

Date Entered: _____

Notes: _____

For Office Use Only
DECLARATION OF NON-DISCRIMINATION

Date: _____
Group/Individual Name: _____

E. PROCESSING THE FORM

Now that Rosa had negotiated the seemingly innocuous fields on the form (fields that we can now see were institutionally laden) she was ready to electronically submit the form. Once she hit the submit button she received an automated email confirming that her application had been received (*Figure 4.5 Parade Application Ticket*). Rosa had thought that submitting the application was the end of the process. However, receipt of this ticket did not mean that QuAIA's entry to the Parade had been approved. What the ticket actually stated was "your application will not be considered complete until full payment has been received and you have received confirmation of acceptance into the Parade" (see *Figure 4.5*). Rosa mentioned that there was some delay in getting a confirmation,

Dann: *Well you got this ticket, right?*

Rosa: *Yes. This just says that you applied and then you get an email, which I can send to you once I find it, that says you've been accepted.*

Dann: *Was it a quick like automatic response or something you got a couple of days later?*

Rosa: *No, it was - in fact, I haven't gotten acknowledgement for applications this year [2012] for the Dyke March and all, and that's in a week! I think we got [the 2010 acceptance notice] a week before. So [while we were waiting] we're like. "Are we going to be rejected? What are we going to do in case we get rejected?" and we were planning to protest or do an action or do a sit-in. (Rosa, QuAIA)*

I had asked Anthony about this 'acceptance process.' He explained that once the form was submitted it went to a committee of Parade Team Leaders, where they reviewed it. Little is known about how this is done. Here some limits in my research must be acknowledged. How the application forms were processed within Pride is something of a black box. Based on my conversations with Anthony, it is obvious that some kind of decision-making process is employed, with a criterion for acceptance or rejection of the applicants. I had made considerable efforts to contact the relevant people in the Pride organization to gain some insight on this but I received no responses. As a result, I can only map the process through QuAIA's stated

experience, Anthony's limited knowledge of the process, and existing public records that reflect the decisions made by Pride.

What we do know is that there is a formal (or official) process of applying to march. An email notifies an applicant that the decision to accept or reject a group will follow the submission of their application. However, mapping the experiences of Rosa, Dave and QUAIA revealed how the 'official' decision-making process (informing who will and won't get to participate in the Parade) is out of step with the reality of the process. In Diagram 4.1 we can see how, alongside Pride's formal process of acceptance and rejection, there was also a latent public and political process that was arguably more important in determining the outcome.

Figure 4.5 Parade Application Ticket

Print and bring this ticket with you

 1217176016230502001	Event	Pride Parade Entry Application Form	
	Date+Time	Saturday, July 03, 2010 at 8:00 AM - Sunday, July 04, 2010 at 11:00 PM (ET)	Name [Applicant]
	Type	Category A - LGBTTIQQ2SA Community - Marching Fee C\$1.00	Payment Status PayPal Completed
	Location	Rosedale Valley Road	
	Order Info	Ordered by [Applicant's Name] on May 24, 2010 at 11:07 PM	

Thank-you!

Your application has now been submitted.

Your application will not be considered complete until full payment has been received and you have received confirmation of acceptance into the Parade.

Questions?
Email: parade@pridetoronto.com or leave a message at:
416-927-7433.

GST # 89267 8046 RT 0001


 1217176016230502001

ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION:

The process of submitting an application suggests that acceptance or rejection will be based on the merits of the application itself. Furthermore, as Dave noted, no one really thought that a group would ever be prevented from participating in the Parade. But as events unfolded, the reality of QuAIA's acceptance or rejection from the Parade was actually subjected more to translocal (i.e. the role of civic and public interests) rather than local (i.e. Pride's role in the formal process) rationales. Simply put, the identification of translocal factors demonstrate how the question of whether the group would or would not march was determined by competing interests that were mobilized for and against them (portions of the following have been mapped in section PI: 2010 QuAIA's Application Form in Diagram 4.1).

The external process arguably began with pro-Zionist reaction to QuAIA's participation in the 2009 Parade. Dave explained that the City of Toronto had received complaints that QuAIA's message was discriminatory as it promoted violence and hate-speech towards Israeli Jews. Therefore, allowing QuAIA to participate in the Parade would mean that Pride Toronto condoned discrimination. If this were so, then by allowing QuAIA to march, Pride would violate a non-discrimination clause that was part of the City's terms for receiving funding. QuAIA had found out that members of Pride Toronto had been secretly meeting with the City to sort out a plan of action. As noted earlier in this chapter (as well as in Chapter three: Timeline), Pride had proposed to ban the term 'Israeli Apartheid' from the Parade as a solution. However, community response to Pride's press conference, where they announced this decision, was largely negative.

Dave noted that QuAIA had heard about the upcoming ban and had organized a meeting with Pride to discuss the implications of their decision.

Dave: *How stupid can they be? Yeah, one should never underestimate the role of incompetence and panic. Really, this [was] not a competent board. When*

people met with them the night before, they were just; they were like little deer in the headlights.

Dann: *What do you mean the night before?*

Dave: *QuAIA met with the Pride board the night before they made their decision to ban us. We said, “look you're going to ban us. You need to hear who we are.” And they were like, “Can't you help us? We don't know what to do.” It was pathetic. It was really pathetic, not competent people; Sandilands is, you know, she's no good. I mean, who would pay their partner \$40,000 and think they were going to get away with it? ... They said, ‘Well, we know that you're not a hate group, but our funding is in jeopardy and what's this got to do with gay rights anyway. We just don't know what to do.’ (Dave, QuAIA)*

At the meeting Pride confirmed that they would be banning the term ‘Israeli Apartheid’ and encouraged QuAIA to consider applying to march under another name. During my interview with Anthony I had referred to this incident as “banning Pride.” Anthony was quick to point out that Pride had never banned QuAIA. In fact, the purpose of their decision was meant to alleviate some of the external pressure while allowing the members of QuAIA to march: “So in the spring of, I guess 2010... when the decision was made to ban the term ‘Israeli Apartheid’ it was an attempt by the board to not ban the group, but to control the messaging” (Anthony, Pride). As Rosa noted, after considerable discussion on the possibility of marching under a different name, the group rejected the idea of removing ‘Israeli Apartheid’ from their moniker and submitted an application using their full name. Rosa explained that, with the threat of rejection looming,

We went through all sorts of scenarios and we had to think of several things. One, we had to think of who's the audience, or which audiences, and what will [marching as QuAIA] yield. We didn't want to not be able to march and, given in 2010 that there was the Pride Coalition for Free Speech, we felt like we had enough community support and not necessarily for our politics, but for our right to march in that Parade because we were a queer group, we're political. (Rosa, QuAIA)

Pride Toronto was caught between a rock and a hard place. By this point (one week before the Parade) the strength of the community's support for QuAIA (organized under the Facebook group “Don't Sanitize Pride: Free Expression Must Prevail”) pressured Pride into

reconsidering their position.

Pride had argued (to City Council) that due diligence (over their concerns of discrimination) had been met as all applicants had inadvertently agreed to the City's non-discrimination policy by signing the application form. In effect, Pride argued that consent to the City's non-discrimination policy was implicit as the Terms and Conditions contained a reference to their policy: "7.d) The Applicant agrees that all messages delivered during the participation in the Parade will remain non-violent and in accordance with the guidelines above, the City of Toronto's Anti-Discrimination Policy and Pride Toronto's Freedom of Expression policy" (Pride Toronto 2010j: 2).

In the lead up to this decision Pride Toronto held a series of community meetings to gauge the GLBTTQIA2's reaction to the phrase Israeli Apartheid. Pride learned that the critique of the phrase put forward by QuAIA's opponents did not adequately reflect the larger community's understanding of Israeli apartheid as 'discriminatory.' Anthony, a member of Pride Toronto and a proponent of QuAIA, explained that Pride was increasingly concerned with the negative repercussions that their decision may have had on Pride's standing in the community. As a way to try and bridge the various concerns Pride had decided to rescind its decision: "I was informed by [X] that the board had just basically changed its position, and that they were going to allow QuAIA to march. And that they were going to be starting this community consultation process. And that everybody would be required to sign, for a second time, the city's antidiscrimination laws" (Anthony, Pride).⁶⁴ Pride Toronto felt that the establishment of a formal community consultation process would shift the negative focus from Pride (as the decision maker) to an arms-length committee set up to address the public debate over discrimination. In

⁶⁴ The community consultation process that Anthony is referring to led to the establishment of the Community Advisory Panel (CAP). I will expand in the role CAP in the next chapter.

the case of the City, Pride Toronto shifted the onus for identifying discrimination by suggesting that each group sign a copy of the City's Non-discrimination Policy, thus, addressing the City's legal concerns with the phrase. On June 28th Rosa, as the applicant, received an email from Pride Toronto outlining these new conditions for participating in the Parade. The email stated,

*Dear Parade Entrant,
Pride Toronto has announced that its recent resolution to restrict the use of certain language during the 2010 Parade has been replaced by the requirement that each participating group read, sign and agree to abide by the City of Toronto's Declaration of a Non-Discrimination Policy, and that all groups that uphold this policy are welcome to participate in the 2010 Pride Parade.
To this end you are requested to sign the attached City of Toronto's Declaration of a Non-Discrimination Policy. As each participating group is also required to develop a policy on Anti-Racism, Access and Equity, we have also attached for your convenience a blank policy for you to complete and include with the form.
Kindly complete these documents to the best of your ability, sign and fax or email back to us at tracey@pridetoronto.com or 1.877.513.6941 by Friday 2nd July, or bring the completed form with you on the day.
Thank you for your cooperation in this matter. Please feel free to raise any questions or concerns you may have.
Warmest regards
Tracey Sandilands| Executive Director*

QuAIA agreed to new conditions and used the provided template to create a group-specific non-discrimination policy. However, Dave explained that these new requirements created some divisions within QuAIA, with some supporting the change while others rejected it,

Dann: *Was there public -- I guess group discussion on [signing the non-discrimination document?]*

Dave: *Yeah... all of a sudden people were very much in the centre of a whirlwind. And so I can remember, there was a discussion about 'should we sign this document.' Because what did it mean, right? And I said, "if you don't sign the document, then we're saying we are -the term Israeli Apartheid- is somehow, contrary to the human rights code. Of course you've got to sign the document." And we won that debate and so signed the document and of course, then we marched. (Dave, QuAIA).*

For Rosa, these twists and turns in the formal and public application process were incredibly frustrating: "And so like the same way that Israel – I'm going to play fast and loose with my analogies, the same way that Israel (under the rubric of security) completely controls

Palestinians' right to move and right to life and liberty, etc., Pride is determining who gets to be in the Parade and they're doing - this process seems to be saying 'Well, we're dealing with millions of people so we have to do this.'" to which Rosa emphatically replied, "No, we don't! Who are we catering to?" (Rosa, QuAIA).

ASSIGNING A SPOT IN THE PARADE

Once accepted, the application form moves on to a Parade Committee. As noted above, in the early years of the Parade, anyone interested in marching in the Parade would just show up and find a spot. But the size and scope of Toronto's event meant that getting a spot in the Parade was no longer as simple as Dave and Rosa remembered, one could no longer "just show up." Anthony explained that organizing the order of thousands of marchers was a big job, work that required a number of full time volunteers. These people sort out the logistics of who will march when and in what order.

Anthony explained that the Parade Committee is headed by a volunteer position that works a considerable number of hours. The 2011 Pride job description for the Volunteer Coordinator notes that from March to June this person is expected to work 5-10 hours a week – with an additional 10-15 hours a month for meetings. These work estimates increase closer to the event date (makepridehappen.com 2011). Similarly, the organizing position for the Dyke March required two coordinators working four to eight hours each (from August to February), and approximately 15-20 hours a week from March to June. Then there is a Site Logistics Assistant. This person is responsible for booking space for the beer gardens, ordering port-a-potties, and other site-related tasks. This is a three-month full-time voluntary position (as with all positions, the hours increase in the lead up to the Parade). While these positions imply short-term commitments, the fact that these people are unpaid volunteers means that this work is limited to those with flexible schedules and/or a certain financial standing.

Knowing that there were many organizational aspects to follow, I drew on two problematic instances that QuAIA had experienced: the act of marching in the Parade and the Dispute Resolution Process. I had already conducted my interview with Anthony so I sent him a follow-up email asking if either he could tell me more about how the contingents were organized in the Parade and how the Dispute Resolution Panel (DRP) process worked, or if he could provide an introduction to the people involved with either of those processes. He explained that different volunteer positions take up a particular aspect of the Parade (and community events). For instance,

The Parade Team Leaders do not have anything to do with the Dispute Resolution Process, but they do receive the applications and place the contingents in their order. This is a very time intensive process and they are volunteers, so I cannot guarantee that there will be time to do this [person to respond to my interview request]. My suggestion would be to speak first to [X], Director of Operations ([Email] -- with a cc to me) (also super busy as you may imagine) as he works closely with them. For the DRP, it's best to talk with [X], who is managing the process for us, at [email]. (Anthony, Pride)

While Anthony could not speak to either of these points he did provide me with insight about how the Parade spots were managed, particularly as the Parade itself played out. It was particularly interesting to hear someone from Pride talk about how their actions were also subject to a set of rules, particularly those of the City of Toronto:

Anthony: *They have rules about -- for example, how close a vehicle can be to a marcher in a Parade, and that's why it keeps stopping, and it keeps getting adjusted, how many vehicles in a row before people, and the heights of things, and noise limitations, and lights out at 11 o'clock, and all kinds of rules.*

Dann: *That's fascinating. It sounds like such a little point but how many times have I watched the Parade and you hear people go, "what the hell's going on." It's stopping and starting and that's adjusting these spaces?*

Anthony: *Yeah.*

Dann: *Who's watching that?*

Anthony: *Well, there's marshals all along the Parade route that are keeping track of that.*

Dann: *And then what is Pride's accountability to making sure those are met. Is there a watchdog?*

Anthony: *Well, we have two co-leads for the Parade. And they're in charge of everything. They decide the lineup and all that kind of stuff. There's always*

people who show up that haven't registered that need to get sent away or people that don't show up. Stuff like that. Or they can't find their spot. Because it actually ends up being half a mile long in Rosedale, right down the Rosedale Valley Road... for hours as they line up. So we do what we can. (Anthony, Pride)

During my observations of the 2012 Parade I noticed that there were a series of marshals going up and down the route shortly before the Parade. When I asked one of the marshals what they were doing she explained that they were making sure the barricades were in place and that there weren't any problems along the route. I noticed that the number of Marshalls going up and down the route seemed to increase the closer we got to the Parade's start time. Interestingly, I overheard one marshal say into his radio that if someone was at the Parade and they were not registered, they could not join.

While Anthony had been active in Pride for the duration of the QuAIA 'issue', his view best reflects the perspective of the activities of Pride as organizers of the Parade. What this meant was that he had less insight about what things looked like from the perspective of the marchers. I learned that participants find out about their spot in the Parade by picking up a marching permit. This permit is issued by Pride (and picked up from Pride Toronto's offices) once a group's application had been approved. The person who filled out the form is responsible for picking it up. In this case, Rosa was responsible for picking up QuAIA's permit to march. This permit (which indicates their approval to march) is taken to one of the registration marshals on the day of the Parade. This permit has the position of their marching contingent on it (i.e. section N #0) and the registration marshal directs them to their spot where the group is expected to set up their float, banners, signs, or other 'special effects.'

When the applicant fills out the form they are given the opportunity to register a preference about who they might want to march with, before, or after (e.g. an LGBT faith group might want to march alongside other faith groups). As Anthony suggested, if a group is unhappy

with something to do with the order or conduct those of marching in the Parade, they are encouraged to bring their issues to the marshals to be addressed. However, QuAIA's experience in 2010 suggested that there were limitations to relying on volunteer marshals when dealing with disputes over order and space. For instance, in 2010 QuAIA found that groups who were hostile to their message were not prepared to respect QuAIA's space in the Parade. Rosa explained that because QuAIA did not expressly state a preference to be near, or away from any groups (on their application form) their marching contingent was situated in close proximity to Kulanu, another marching contingent.

I had asked Dave to tell me about Kulanu. He described the group as a Jewish social group, noting that Kulanu had previously been careful to avoid alienating any of its members by aligning itself politically with the pro-Zionist movement, "the original basis of unity of Kulanu had said that they took no position on the Middle East conflict because there's such huge divergence of positions within Jewish communities" (Dave, QuAIA). Dave then noted that pressures within the pro-Zionist community brought about a change in Kulanu's response to QuAIA, "...but then they were transformed and basically there were a number of QuAIA members who had been around Kulanu but everybody who didn't take a hard Zionist line was forced out" (Dave, QuAIA). When it came to the 2010 Parade Kulanu had issued an open invitation to other pro-Zionist groups to march with their contingent. As a result of Kulanu's proximity, QuAIA found that their marching contingent was repeatedly blitzed by some of the more aggressive members of Kulanu's contingent. Rosa said that the situation was very frustrating and explained that it seemed like a bunch of people showed up to march in the Parade with the express purpose of challenging QuAIA's right to be there, and it seemed as though

many of these agitators had no connection to the queer community. Rosa explained that it was a lack of foresight (on arranging contingents) that caused a considerable amount of stress,

Rosa: *...I'm wondering if they're going to show up at Pride [this year] because they have [in the past]. They did in 2010. In fact, not only did they show up in 2010, they were marching with Kulanu, but they kept coming into our contingent and you ask them to go join their own contingent and they're like, "I have a right to stand here."*

Dann: *Where are the marshals for that?*

Rosa: *Well we got the marshals and we got the cops and we had to constantly do it. They were constantly coming in to agitate. And, in fact, that year the Pride Board as it was and the organization, somehow, we were marching near [Kulanu], which was not a good idea. (Rosa, QuAIA).*

Given the opposition to QuAIA's participation in 2009 from some highly mobilized groups, Pride chair Sandilands had stated that Pride would double its marshals for the Parade in anticipation of such problems. I had asked Anthony about the role of marshals in instances like this to which he clarified his understanding of Pride's policy on marshals responding to problems of aggression or threatening behaviour, "We're volunteers. Nobody's going to put themselves in any physical danger. And so if there's any violence or anything like that, then the first thing they're told to do is call the police. And there's lots of police around" (Anthony, Pride). QuAIA found the response of marshals less than adequate in 2010 and found themselves spending a great deal of time in 2012 training their own members (as marshals) on ways to help maintain order, if necessary. Given their experience in 2010, I asked Rosa if QuAIA had made any specific requests on their application for the 2012 Parade. Though she did not fill out QuAIA's 2012 application, she did note that, on the 2012 Parade application for her contingent, she had requested that they be assigned a position near QuAIA, but that she didn't think the QuAIA applicant had requested that they not be assigned a position near Kulanu, noting that she had talked to QuAIA about this issue, she said, "I think saying we don't want to march near Kulanu... I think that's a really negative thing. And I think that given the change in Pride itself

and given the dynamics of the past, you would hope that they would know better” (Rosa, QuAIA).

F. PREPARING TO MARCH

Marching in a Pride Parade typically involves a great deal of preparation on the part of participants. Pride Toronto typically issued a set of suggestions and instructions for the marching contingents in its annual Opportunity Guide. Some of these suggestions/instructions for the 2010 Guide encouraged marchers to, “Explore costumes, props, a theme, choreography, or moving your group along the route in a different manner ... Flags and banners are fun to make and easily carried. They are excellent and entertaining props” (Pride Toronto 2010i: 20-1). Similar guidelines are present in each of the Opportunity Guides that I have looked at (from 2003 to 2011).⁶⁵ As we can see in the following account, while QuAIA was involved in these sorts of pre-Parade preparations, their work tended to have a note of gravity to it that was not reflected in Pride’s suggestion to ‘explore themes’ or develop ‘choreography,’

Dann: *Now you’re coming up to march in the Parade in 2010. You have banners to make and signs?*

Rosa: *We had banners from 2009 and we had five banners and we marched with those. And we had a sign making [event]... and there were T-shirts. So we decided to use hearts and we made stencils and just spray painted them.*

Dann: *Who did that?*

Rosa: *I did it, [Sheilagh] and several other people. We just had a little placard making party in somebody's backyard.*

Dann: *And who kept the banners from 2009 to 2010?*

Rosa: *I believe [X] had some of them. They've been scattered around. I still have stuff because [X] had [made] huge foam core placards. They're huge. I have half of them in my house still saying - with quotes about apartheid from different people, including Desmond Tutu and it said *Queers Against Israeli Apartheid*. And so we held those up. And there's just a lot that goes into it. People came from Montréal.*

Dann: *Would people do their own banners at home or was there kind of a banner group?*

⁶⁵ In 2012 Pride replaced the Opportunity Guide with a similar set of guidelines, the Rules of Parade Entry Site - R.O.P.E.s.(Pride Toronto 2012b).

Rosa: *No, there was a banner group and what we did in 2009 is someone, my neighbour actually, she got the ideas and stuff that people would come up with and she projected them and traced them and then we just took all of those banners and we all had a painting party. So we painted the banners together. (Rosa, QuAIA).*

It is not surprising to hear that the work of marching in a Parade would include an account of painting parties. That being said, Smith's generous concept of work would also entail an understanding of activities that might otherwise go unnoticed as work.⁶⁶ A broader understanding of work might include making sure that someone brought sunscreen or water, packing a lunch that is appropriate for a long hot day of marching, or thinking about bringing wet-naps to clean up with in case someone threw a pop at you. This last example is a consideration that QuAIA had to attend to that was not anticipated by Pride. Indeed, some indication of Pride's notion of an idealized applicant was showcased in their instructions to marchers from the Opportunity Guide: "Whether you dance or march, be colourful and flamboyant! Please note that *all marching groups will be expected to have added an entertainment element* to their proposed marching plans" (Pride Toronto 2010i: 20, italics mine). Such a statement is at odds with QuAIA's message, demonstrating the conflict between the seriousness of their political activism and the frivolity of colours and choreography. The Parade is not all fun and games for QuAIA, or indeed for many other groups participating in Pride with serious messages.

In my discussions with Rosa, it became clear that a considerable amount of the preparation work for QuAIA involved anticipating how to respond to conflict and, potentially, physical violence. This was based on their past experience. Rosa noted how members of their group had had signs ripped out of their hands, a bottle was thrown in someone's face, and pop

⁶⁶ As Dorothy Smith notes, "'Work' is used in a generous sense to extend to anything done by people that takes time and effort, that they mean to do, that is done under definite conditions and with whatever means and tools, and that they may have to think about" (Smith 2005; 151-152).

was dumped on a marcher's head at the 2009 Dyke March (Rosa, QuAIA). In preparing for the 2010 Parade QuAIA members were careful to coach their participants on how to deal with conflict and how to avoid potentially dangerous situations, most notably to not engage in the debates (the very purpose for them being there) and instead, alert marshals and police to any possible problems.

Of course, the conflict surrounding this issue is not limited to Pride. When I talked to Rosa I mentioned that the ethics committee was concerned that her public persona might allow people to identify her as a participant in this project. The committee wanted to make sure that I discussed this possibility with all of my participants. Not surprisingly (as public advocates), every one of them said that they did not see this as an issue. For example, Rosa asked me how this could impact her negatively and I raised the possibility of stigmatization. She laughed at the concerns with academic ethics committees and replied by pointing to the consent form and stating,

“I’ve already got the stigmatization. I always joke that once you’ve been called an anti-Semite or a self-hating Jew 50 times, the 51st time kind of feels fun. It’s just unbelievable the things they say. I don’t know how many times, because I stand often –we’ve been doing a vigil in front of the Israeli consulate building for [what will be] 12 years in October. And I don’t know how many times we - in the beginning, people used to get spat on, kicked, and we often get the finger. I’m like, ‘Is that the best you can do?’ ” (Rosa, QuAIA).

Rosa’s comment demonstrates how QuAIA’s work requires them to consider other factors – like safety – when preparing to march. They spend a considerable amount of time coaching their members on how to avoid engaging with agitators (i.e. ignore, walk away, find a police or a marshal, but do not engage). This is hardly the ‘festive’ environment that Pride’s Opportunity Guide tries to foster. At no point does the guide state anything about dealing with thrown bottles or aggressive spectators.

This idea of potentially self-managing violence is interesting when we juxtapose QuAIA's concerns for safety with Dave's past experience with providing safety for the Parade. Dave told of how his involvement with Pride Toronto (to some extent) emerged as an organized response to threats of violence, "By '82, I think, because of managing these big and often violent demonstrations, I ended up doing security for Pride for a couple of years. So that may have been '82 or '83, something like that, because I always organized the marshals and things like that. It wasn't anything like the military operations that one needed for those nighttime Right to Privacy demonstrations. But still we had to keep people safe." (Dave, QuAIA) For Dave, marshaling was about external threats; for QuAIA, thirty years later, marshaling was also about the internal policing of those involved in the Parade. Pride Chair Sandilands had talked about doubling the marshals in anticipation of conflict in 2010 for this very reason. Yet, as Anthony reported, the policies for marshals not 'to put themselves in harm's way', combined with the experience of QuAIA in being swarmed by hostile groups in 2009, suggests that Pride had not really addressed these new developments. As a result, groups engaging with contentious issues (like QuAIA) have to spend some time preparing to essentially marshal themselves.

CONCLUSION

*"But it's like **tensions were high in 2010**. There was so much tension and a lot riding on it. And then you have to, as an activist, you have to like – there's a lot of compromise and contradiction you're always holding especially in those moments. And it was hard. People were really burnt out. And, of course, those moments also exacerbate and put under a bright light the political differences among people in the group and the approaches and the experience" (Rosa, QuAIA).*

Pride's 2010 Opportunity Guide makes everything sound so easy, "This year we celebrate 30 years of passion and drive to put on one of the world's best Parades. So come on out by getting a group together, and show your pride in your city, your community, and yourself by taking part in this year's Pride Parade!" (2010:19) However, QuAIA's experience with

attempting to march in the Parade was far more difficult than simply getting a group together and far more complicated than Pride's easy-going sentiment suggests. The group must fit itself within one of the form's categories; there must be a person willing to take responsibility for other's actions, etc. Yet, as I have already intimated, QuAIA was not simply subjected to the fields on the application form. Instead, by identifying a process of action we can see how notions of a Parade participant were connected to a ruling discourse that was embedded in (and routinized through) the application process.

Diagram 4.1 shows how Rosa's participation as an applicant occurs early in this process. However, when we look for Rosa (or QuAIA for that matter) at other points in this process, we can see how the moniker of 'applicant' relegates the work of QuAIA members to the periphery. The process moves forward, weighing the merits of the application, and, if successful, a marching permit is issued.

On the day of the Parade itself, groups had to make sure they had all their paperwork in order to present for registration. This included the ticket, their permit to march, and a signed copy of the Terms and Conditions. Furthermore, while they had already agreed to abide by the City of Toronto's Non-Discrimination Policy in the application form, as noted above, QuAIA (and presumably all other groups, as this was a late addition to the 2010 Terms and Conditions) had received an email about six days before the Parade requesting that they sign a copy of the City of Toronto's Non-discrimination Policy, and bring a copy of it with them when they showed up to register for the Parade. This email also provided a template for a generic non-discrimination policy, which required each group to develop their own non-discrimination policy, with a copy to be faxed to Pride Toronto's offices or presented at the Parade upon registration. All of these forms are present at the end of the application process in Diagram 4.1.

Once the registration marshal vetted all of this paperwork, QuAIA's application to march in the Parade would finally be accepted. Only at this point are QuAIA members brought back in to the process by being subjected to (i.e. negotiating with or navigating through) a series of seemingly invisible measures that have marked them as 'successful' applicants, ready to observe the strictures of the Parade as they prepare to march.

Sticking with this concept of the applicant, we can see how the text objectifies the subject-position of an applicant (in general) by:

- Invoking an idealization of a participant/applicant, through recommendations of what to wear (bright colours) and how to act (be flamboyant!),
- Replicating the form, by requiring that specific fields be filled out, regardless of a person's reticence to provide personal information; and,
- Sending the form on to another locale to be used, by hitting the "submit" button and waiting for an approval response from Pride Toronto, thus
- Producing an institutionalized applicant as outlined in the texts like Pride's Terms and Conditions.

If we examine the QuAIA application form for Pride 2010 we see a group of about 199 marchers, we do not see the idiosyncrasies, or the political passions of the various members that make up QuAIA. What is left out of the account is their membership structure and how a large number of their contingent, while supporters of the issue (or of QuAIA; or of QuAIA's right to participate; or of free speech), are not necessarily QuAIA members. As Dave explained, many were marching with QuAIA in protest of Pride's decision to censor messages in the Parade, not necessarily in support of QuAIA's message. In the process of applying to march in the Parade, QuAIA members are stripped of their sense of their distinctiveness. As an 'applicant' they are connected to, and coordinated with, the work of others, "caught up in a web of conceptually ordered practices linked to ruling interests" (Devault 2006:297). As Dorothy Smith suggested, "...*The application form (rather like an interrogation) shapes how the organization gets represented textually, that is, how it takes on a textual reality fitted to the various institutions it*

will hook up into... The form limits engagement with others, preventing QuAIA from making their case...” (Smith 2012: personal communication).

Earlier in this chapter I mentioned a statement made by Traci Sandilands, that Pride could not comment on the status of QuAIA’s participation in the 2010 Parade as they had not yet filled out an application form. Up to this point Pride’s response to QuAIA was limited; QuAIA was institutionally irrelevant until they filled out an application form. This analysis demonstrates that the application form was a way of subjecting QuAIA to a broader system of accountability.

In this way Pride’s concept of a Parade ‘participant’ stands in for what the applicant knows about herself (or others). To quote G.W. Smith, “texts speak in the absence of speakers [while] meaning is detached from local contexts” (2006:175). Because the application form ‘speaks in the absence of a speaker,’ the application process then has the ability to coordinate the actions of participants across locales in a way that coincides with existing constructs of a Pride Parade. Not only does it reframe the role of the participant within a discourse of ‘applicant’, it promotes a regime of participation expressed by bright colours and ‘fun’ messages, it standardizes the look of the Parade by establishing things like the size (and commensurate entry fee) of a ‘large’ float entry, and it invokes an idealized assumption of body types by fitting people into a particular square-foot per-person per-group ratio. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, this is not simply a case of QuAIA being subject to the whims of Pride Toronto. As I will demonstrate, the process of institutionalization is more insidious in that the interests of both the City and other powerful actors in civil society also played key roles in supporting and/or promoting the discourse of an ideal Pride Parade participant.

5. COORDINATION AND TRANSLOCAL SETTINGS

The discussion in the previous chapter relied on an expose of the application form to demonstrate how people's actions were subject to a process of institutionalization. I have suggested that, by investigating work from the standpoint of those who are doing the work, we can see how textual hierarchies imbue the application form with a set of concerns and rationales that stand as something separate from those of QuAIA. However, in filling out and submitting the application form, QuAIA's interests and actions are inadvertently brought into concert with those stated in Pride's Terms and Conditions document. In IE terms I have identified this as a processing interchange, where the activation of the text produces an institutionalized account that can be passed on and taken up by others.⁶⁷ However, any singular focus on a text or a series of texts would limit the scope of our understanding to that of the organization.

Luken and Vaughn note that there are two steps in an institutional ethnography: first, research begins with locating the problematic from which to explore experience by collecting data about people's everyday activities. Second, the researcher traces the extra-local discursive relations, which may be textually related" (2006:301). What this means is that to produce an account of the institution I would need to move beyond the local, beyond what can be immediately known or seen. Up to this point I have focused on the tacit structuring of social relations between QuAIA (through Rosa) and Pride.⁶⁸ In this chapter I will expand my discussion on the application process by demonstrating how the work of both QuAIA *and* Pride Toronto is coordinated to a set of ruling relations in the work being done by Toronto's City Councilors.

⁶⁷ This discussion on processing interchanges is not meant to infer that they did not occur in the preceding ethnographic description. Rather, economies of research mean that I can only introduce so many concepts before readers lose interest and ask, "Where is the good stuff?" For that reason, the reader is encouraged to extrapolate from the examples provided in this chapter to other points that have been mentioned elsewhere.

⁶⁸ Social relations in this sense do not refer to the interpersonal relationships between the members of QuAIA and those of Pride Toronto. The term is meant to signify how people's actions are relationally connected with the work/actions of others and that this relationship is a translocal (i.e. a 'social' construct) (Devault 2006:294).

More specifically, I will focus on the City's Non-Discrimination Policy and, the City Council's decision to de/fund Pride to show how the work of an applicant is coordinated to that of Toronto's City Councilors.⁶⁹

I have tried to demonstrate, with Diagram 4.1, that there is a process at work. This process indicates a sense of movement towards an outcome. However, only some of the work that is being done is visible from the locale of the Parade applicants. In connecting the work of QuAIA with that of Pride Toronto other relations have emerged. I suggest that there are three major processing interchanges that work to coordinate actions across locales. The first processing interchange (Diagram 4.1 PI 1: 2010 Filling Out the Form) has been discussed in the previous chapter. PI 1 identified the most obvious interchange in which a member of QuAIA activated the application form and submitted it to Pride. Then, near the end of the mapped process, we see how the re-emergence of the application form is enacted through a process of acceptance, which in turn is represented in the granting of a marching permit. What is interesting about this processing interchange is that the movement of the actual text seems to be arrested with Pride and only reemerges at the end of the application process in the guise of a permit. The question of *how* the permit comes to replace the application form and stand as a sign of approval indicates that there are additional hidden (or at the very least, unseen or unrecognized) processes at work. The two processing interchanges that I will focus on in this chapter represent what I have come to think of as 'major spheres of action'.⁷⁰ Each PI

⁶⁹ Luken and Vaughan's work (2006) provides an example of the problems with tracing a discourse that is not reducible to any one single point or text. In this case, many of the actors and texts are not reducible to the one application form. Instead, these social relations only make sense by investigating their own particular (re: local) context, how that context is situated within a larger network of social relations, and how a broad network of social relations comes to inform the application process.

⁷⁰ My use of the term sphere is meant to be evocative, leading the reader to think of work that is seemingly performed in a bubble, creating an illusion of separateness. In this way, the air inside the bubble is only separated from the air outside the bubble by the existence of a very thin and fragile boundary. Piercing this boundary breaks

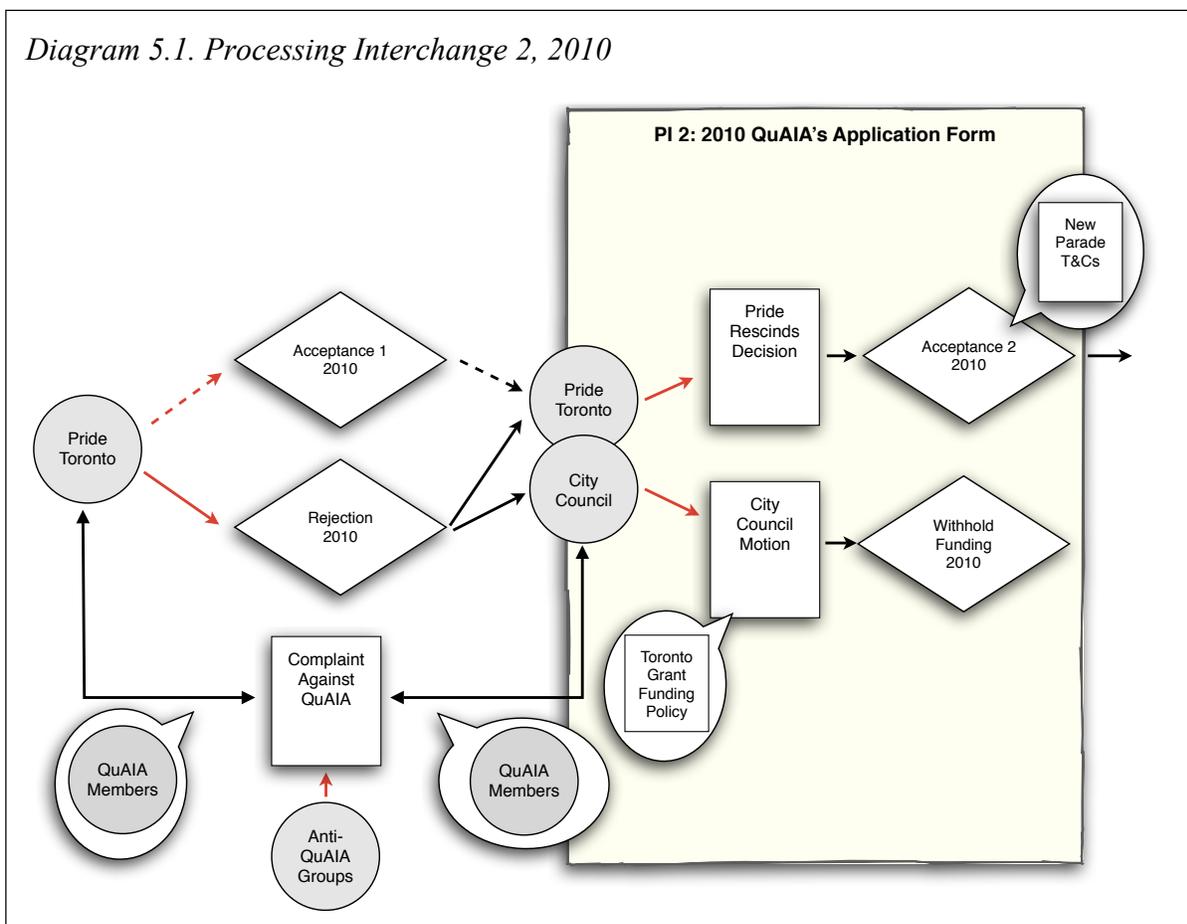
encompasses a set of work/actions that are generally unseen or hidden but, nonetheless, are connected to the work of the Parade applicant.

The rest of this chapter is divided into two main parts. The first section will discuss the role that the City of Toronto had in Pride's decision to initially reject, and then accept QuAIA's application to march in the 2010 Pride Parade (mapped as Diagram 5.1. Processing Interchange 2, 2010). I demonstrate how the work of Pride is hooked in to that of the Toronto's City Council through a relationship that is based on the imposition of the City's funding criteria onto Pride. The second section (mapped as Diagram 5.2. Processing Interchange 3, 2012) shows how the tenuous nature of this relationship allowed for possible transgressions (from the ruling relations), which in turn contributed to changes in the 2012 Parade application process, thus, further subjecting the work of all those involved to a more rigorous institutionalization of the application process.

the illusion that the air inside is different than that outside, or more to the point, breaks the illusion that the work performed in one sphere is separate than that done in another sphere.

A. TORONTO CITY COUNCIL

“They have Rules...” (Anthony, Pride)



The initial public accounts of problems over QuAIA’s participation in the Parade often presented the decision to allow QuAIA to march as being within the scope of Pride Toronto’s mandate. However, as we have seen, Pride Toronto’s ‘decisions’ constituted a flurry of press releases with each decision contradicting or overturning previous ones. For example, in a (January 19th) press release titled, “Pride Toronto seeks public input on community engagement, political involvement and corporate participation” Pride officials explained that, having received criticisms against QuAIA’s participation in the 2009 Pride Parade, Pride had sought legal advice and concluded that, “we [are] unable to take a position,” and that, for the 2010 Parade, they

would, "...declar[re] neutrality and an intention to allow participation of any group which properly followed Pride's application procedures (Pride Toronto 2010a: para. 4). This was followed by a March 10th press release, which stated that, "In reaching out to the community, we have received exciting feedback on many topics over the past year," part of this feedback included accusations of promoting hate speech, leading Pride to announce the implementation of an Ethics Committee to ensure that a participant's signs or messages did not constitute hate-speech (Pride Toronto 2010b: para. 3); on March 23 another Pride press release stated that, "The Board of Directors of Pride Toronto has listened to feedback from the community" and had decided to reverse their position on forming the Ethics Committee (Pride Toronto 2010c: para. 1). Two months later (May 25th) Pride issued another press release stating that they had again consulted with the community and found that concerns for safety were an issue, resulting in the decision to ban the phrase 'Israeli Apartheid' from the Parade (Pride Toronto 2010d), a concern that was reiterated in a June 7th press release, "based on incidents during last year's Parade and ongoing written and verbal threats to the safety of participants, the potential risk of violence in this year's activities is of heightened concern" (Pride Toronto 2010f: point 5).⁷¹ Finally, on June 23rd, Pride issued a press release stating that, after meeting with some of the community's 'leaders' the Pride board had found a way to appease claims of hate-speech and voted in favour of revoking their ban on the phrase 'Israeli Apartheid.' While these statements repeatedly invoked Pride Toronto's consultation with the members of the public to justify their decisions, the ever-changing stance raised some questions for me, foremost, "Who were the people that Pride was consulting?"

⁷¹ This press release included a list of twenty concerns that the Board had weighed in making its decision. This particular justification to ban the term (concerns over safety) was particularly confounding. As I have indicated in chapter four, the violent "incidents during last year's Parade" that Pride is referring to were aimed at QuAIA. In effect, Pride was inadvertently citing the violence done to QuAIA as a justification for banning the term in order to 'protect' QuAIA.

Based on what I heard in the interviews, Pride was dealing with input from a number of sources, aside from the critics of QuAIA and the hundreds of GLBTTQQA2 community members, there were lawyers, PR consultants, focus groups, journalists, police, and Toronto city councilors and city staff. It is the relationship between Pride and these last two that I would like to focus on now.

When Pride initially decided in favour of allowing QuAIA to march, the pro-Zionist organizations brought the debate to the City. This is the point in Diagram 5.1 (above) where we can see an institutional shift in perspective from the locale of Pride Toronto to that of the City. I had asked Rosa why she thought the pro-Zionist groups had turned to city council, she felt it was obvious – they wanted to shut down discussion, rather than participate in finding solutions,

Dann: *Let's go back to the city's vote [on disallowing the term 'Israeli Apartheid']. What kind of impact is that going to have for QAIA?*

Rosa: *I've been trying to think about that. I think they're trying to make - I think it's trying to create an atmosphere of shaming people by saying, 'How dare you call it apartheid,' hoping that it will go away. But when you're committed to something like that, the more they try and shut you down, the more you know there's something to it. (Rosa, QuAIA).*

One of the people most responsible for redirecting the focus of the anti-QuAIA initiative onto the city was Martin Gladstone, a Toronto lawyer. As noted earlier, Gladstone filmed QuAIA as they marched in the 2009 Parade. He used this footage to assemble his video, *Reclaiming Our Pride*, which he then distributed to all members of Toronto City Council in the early part of 2010. He used the anti-Semitic representation of QuAIA in his film to argue that QuAIA promoted hate-speech; consequently, by allowing QuAIA to participate in the Parade, Pride was violating the City's Non-Discrimination policy. He hoped to sway Councilors and have them put pressure on Pride to ban QuAIA from the Parade. The basic argument was that, if the pro-Zionist groups could convince City Council that QuAIA's actions were discriminatory, they would render Pride ineligible for City funding.

This attempt to have QuAIA banned by discrediting Pride brought Pride's relationship with its funders into the debate, "So this video was circulated to a lot of Jewish groups in the city. And they basically started this kind of campaign to write to city councilors and to our sponsors to say that QuAIA should not be in the Parade and that Pride's funding should be withdrawn or that the corporate support should be withdrawn, because [the City and Corporate donors] were tacitly supporting a racist organization" (Anthony, Pride).⁷² While there was talk of the loss of corporate donations, the specifics were vague as Pride's Director (Sandilands at the time) refused to provide any details. However, Pride's relationship to the City was not so indefinable. This was a topic that all of my participants had something to say about. Anthony's comments on this relationship were particularly helpful.

Anthony explained that about 5% of Pride's total budget came from City funding. In 2005 the City of Toronto added Pride to its list of Major Cultural Organizations. This designation meant that Pride had access to City funding that was earmarked to be distributed amongst a list of (10) Major Cultural Organizations. The stipulations of this designation are as follows, "Organizations funded under the Major Cultural Organizations Grant Program are required to demonstrate a consistent level of professional standards, artistic excellence, and international achievement as well as sound financial management system, diverse funding base and board accountability" (Pennachetti 2011:4).

Funding under a Major Cultural Organizations Grant (MCO Grant) is administered in two ways: through in-kind donations from the City and by applying to various components of the City's MCO Grant (i.e. applying for a culture, accessibility, and/or equity grant).⁷³ The total

⁷² Rosa noted how Gladstone's video misrepresented QuAIA's involvement in the 2009 Parade by presenting images and chants out of context (see Chapter 4: QuAIA Takes up the Form, and Figure 4.2: The Swastika).

⁷³ This grant is referred to in a number of ways. Depending on the document, the grant has been called the Economic Development/Major Cultural Organization Grant, the Culture and Access and Equity Grants, the Major

amount of this grant has changed annually (see Table 5.1 for a breakdown of total grants by year), but a City report listed the 2009 in-kind donations, and grant as \$170,000.00 (for in-kind donations) and \$126,370.00 (money) (Mammoliti 2010a: para. 7). While access to the grants was beneficial to Pride Anthony explained that Pride's dependence on this grant meant that their relationship to the City was rather one-sided, "Well, we've had to comply with a lot of regulations in all kinds of ways [but] the city provides a lot of services in kind in addition to its grant. So when they tell us we have to do that, we do that" (Anthony, Pride). One of Pride's fears was that, if they were denied the funding there was also a chance that they would be ineligible for the City's in-kind donations and support.

While the focus of the debate was on the threat of losing the money, Anthony explained that Pride needed both the money *and the cooperation* of the City in the form of free services and permits to mount the Parade (as any shortfall due to the loss of in-kind support and permits could not simply be addressed through fundraising). With this in mind it is understandable how the threat of losing this grant might act as a strong motivator on Pride's decision/s to accept or reject QuAIA's application. In this way, Pride's interests were inextricably oriented to those of the City. This meant that Pride was increasingly vulnerable as pro-Zionist groups were able to side-step Pride's authority by capitalizing on Pride's dependent relationship to the City.

Cultural Grant, and simply the Cultural Grant. It appears as though the allocation of money changes per year, based on three criteria, culture, access, and equity. For the sake of continuity I will refer to this as the Major Cultural Organizations Grant as the recipient must be designated a 'major cultural event' to qualify, "major cultural organizations, such as Pride... are recognized as essential cultural ambassadors and infrastructure for the City. Funding is provided for cultural attractions that have a significant impact for the benefit of Torontonians and towards cultural tourism enhancement" (Mammoliti 2010a: para. 5).

Table 5.1. Pride Toronto: Grant Funding Breakdown by Year			
Grant Revenues	2009	2010	2011
Government of Canada:			
<i>Marquee Tourism Events Program</i>	\$360,000	\$ (13,782)	\$ 9,096
<i>Canadian Heritage</i>	-	\$165,900	-
<i>Canada Council for the Arts</i>	\$32,200	\$100	-
<i>Service Canada</i>	\$5,320	-	-
Province of Ontario:			
<i>Ministry of Tourism – Tourism Development Fund</i>	\$401,000*	\$300,000	\$400,000
<i>Ontario Trillium Foundation</i>	-	\$78,000	\$(34,662)
City of Toronto:			
<i>Economic Development – Major Cultural Grant</i>	\$121,380	\$123,807	\$123,807
<i>Tourism Toronto</i>	\$46,900	\$50,000	-
<i>World Pride Grant</i>		\$5,000	-
<i>Access, Equity and Human Rights Grant</i>	\$5,000	-	-
Total	\$971,800	\$709,025	\$498,241
* This was divided as Ontario Ministry of Tourism- Celebrate Ontario \$300,000; Ontario Tourism Marketing Partnership Fund \$50,000; and, Ontario Cultural Attractions Fund \$51,000.			

(DE)FUNDING PRIDE

“so once they made the decision, then they had to invent all sorts of good reasons for having done so.” (Dave, QuAIA)

In early February, Gladstone’s efforts to garner Council’s support started to get results. City councilor Kyle Rae issued a letter to Pride rescinding his earlier support for QuAIA’s right to march. Rae noted that he had watched Gladstone’s video and did not think that QuAIA’s message belonged in the Pride Parade, “Free speech is to be encouraged, but free speech of this nature is not in keeping with the expression of Pride. There are other venues where Queers against Israeli Apartheid can express their opinion... I would encourage the Board to review the

Parade entrance requirements to ensure that Pride's mission, vision and values are reflected in the contingent's participation" (Rae 2010: para. 4-5). Soon after a number of city councilors embraced the messages in the video and echoed Gladstone's claim, that QuAIA promoted hatred towards Israelis. QuAIA attempted to refute these accusations by posting the following on their website,

Gladstone has been lobbying city councilors, media, Members of Parliament, and Pride sponsors to ban QuAIA from Pride, and has used this fabrication [QuAIA's alleged anti-Semitism] as the basis of his demand. The Toronto Sun reprinted this lie without seeking comment from QuAIA or verifying the accuracy of the claim. Gladstone has also reported that QuAIA marchers chanted "fist by fist, blow by blow, apartheid state has got to go." The actual chant was "brick by brick, wall by wall, Israeli apartheid is going to fall." Again, Gladstone is trying to create an atmosphere of violence that is based on falsehoods. (QuAIA 2010: para. 4).

Thus QuAIA faced at least two arguments in favour of banning them from the Pride Parade, (a) that their message constituted 'hate speech', and (b) that the interests of the group had nothing to do with the Pride Parade. Both attempted to draw on city by-laws and processes to get the City and/or Pride to ban QuAIA from the upcoming 2010 Parade.

These complaints created a public relations nightmare for Pride, one its board seemed to be keen to respond to, and, perhaps more importantly, be seen to be responding to. This consideration is not directly evident in the application process that was mapped in chapter four. Instead, Pride's repeated willingness (repeated in that they changed their position a number of times) to accept QuAIA into the Parade demonstrates that what was evident, was that the success of the application had less to do with the specifics of how an application form was filled out (i.e. the information put down) than it did with whether or not the group stood in contrast to the existing ruling relations. What I mean to say is that, when we consider the amount of criticisms and conflict that QuAIA experienced *before* they even filled out the form, we can see how the work that Rosa (as well as the rest of QuAIA) put into the form was only one part of what was

needed to ensure success. In this case, QuAIA was not only fighting to have their form accepted; they were also forced into demonstrating how the acceptance of their group (into the Parade) was not fundamentally a challenge to the existing ruling relations.

As I have already suggested, the success of QuAIA's acceptance depended on proving that their message of Israeli Apartheid was socially acceptable and that the social tenor of the group did not stand apart from other, seemingly more 'conventional', Parade participants. Both of these arguments were employed to justify rejection of their application and it seemed as though both would need to be dealt with before QuAIA's application could be accepted. In a very rudimentary sense QuAIA was subject to the Parade's logic of trying to show that they did indeed fit within the established parameters of what it meant to be a 'good' Parade participant.

With this in mind, the first hurdle to cross was QuAIA's need to demonstrate that their message was socially acceptable. As we saw in chapter four, they were able to draw enough support (where levels of support for QuAIA was commensurate with a tacit social acceptance of what QuAIA stood for) from both the immediate GLBTTQQA2 community and society at large.⁷⁴ When Pride was willing to accept this claim, the critics of QuAIA were forced to refocus their efforts on City Hall, thus, QuAIA and Pride were both subjected to a type of translocal logic, one that hooked the work of each groups into a network of rationales or interests that were conducive to the work being done at Toronto's City Hall. The primary method used to bring these three groups in line with each other was through Pride's funding relationship with the City, a move that manifested in a debate over whether the City of Toronto should fund or defund Pride based on the acceptability and appropriateness of QuAIA.

⁷⁴ I cautiously state that support was a 'tacit' acceptance as some supporters were clear in stating that though they did not necessarily agree with the claim, they felt that QuAIA had the right to publicly make the claim.

As noted earlier, Councilor Kyle Rae had privately warned Pride about the possibility of losing its funding and urged them to “review the Parade entrance requirements to ensure that Pride’s mission, vision and values are reflected in the contingent’s participation” (Rae 2010: para. 4-5). With pressure on Pride not producing results, Councilors Kyle Rae, Rob Ford, and Giorgio Mammoliti began to speak more publicly about defunding the organization if they decided to allow QuAIA to march. Pride’s response to this ‘soft’ pressure from City Council was the Ethics Committee proposal. However, this policy quickly came under fire from community members who questioned the Pride Board’s right to determine what could be said at the Parade. Anthony cited a lack of experience as the reason the Pride proposed such an ineffectual solution, “It was just a poorly conceived vehicle for trying to deal with the negative publicity. I don’t think it was really that well thought through. They just wanted to get rid of a problem” (Anthony, Pride).

Dave raised an interesting point about the effects of Mammolitti’s public statement. Up to this point the specifics of the debate over QuAIA’s participation were not widely reported on in the general media. However, Dave explained that the possibility of Pride’s funding being in jeopardy (because of QuAIA) made the story more newsworthy. This debate gained wider attention on April 18, 2012 with an article published in the *Toronto Star* entitled “City may cut Pride funding over ‘Israeli apartheid’ marchers” (Dale 2010). According to Dave, “that was the first time that Pride funding was actually publicly thrown into the mix, even though that had been going on in the background” (Dave, QuAIA). In the article City staffers stated that they had issued a warning to Pride that QuAIA may contravene city policies and that Pride’s funding may be revoked.⁷⁵ Dave saw this article as a turning point in the debate as the City had previously

⁷⁵ The City staff members interviewed were Mike Williams (general manager of economic development and culture) and Ceta Ramkhalawansingh, (city manager of diversity management and community engagement) (Dale 2010).

avoided making any public statements on the issue. This shifted the public's perceptions of the debate from what was initially seen as a fight between QuAIA, and the pro-Zionist groups to a more nuanced understanding of the possible effects on the Parade and what was at stake.

When it did not look like Pride was going to re-reverse their decision Councilor Mammoliti issued an ultimatum, reminding everybody what *was* at stake, "On April 28th, Mammoliti said that he would introduce a motion, that the city would withdraw funding from Pride unless it moved to ban QuAIA. And he did that on May 12th, and then [the motion] sort of got ushered off to Miller's executive committee and languished there" (Dave, QuAIA). Mammoliti's motion initially asked that funds be withheld or withdrawn unless Pride Toronto agreed to reject QuAIA's application. His motion was then revised and re-submitted with two recommendations to council, requesting that,

City Council direct the City Clerk to advise the Pride organizers that the City of Toronto's 2010 funding and support will be revoked if Pride Toronto does not invoke the City of Toronto's anti-discriminating policies.

City Council direct that if the Pride Committee confirms to the General Manager, Economic Development and Culture, that it has received and rejected an application to march from QuAIA prior to June 14, 2010, there be no further consideration of this matter by the Executive Committee. (Mammoliti 2010a)

Anthony described this period as a particularly stressful time, with Pride trying its best to mitigate the damage done by reversing their previous decision to vet signs, and not alienate any more of its supporters. In response to Mammoliti's motion, on May 21, 2010 the Pride Board met and voted on a resolution. Stating that the loss of funding would bankrupt Pride they issued a press release on March 25th, explaining that, "The City of Toronto Executive Committee is considering a motion proposed by Councilor G. Mammoliti to revoke Pride Toronto's funding (\$120,000) and support if Queers Against Israeli Apartheid (QuAIA) participate in the 2010 Parade" (Pride Toronto 2010c: para. 9). Citing the possible loss of not only City funding, but also in-kind donations, provincial funding, corporate sponsorships, Parade entrance fees, and the

possibility of losing access to the Parade venue, Pride Toronto felt that it had no choice but to decide the following,

Pride Toronto will not allow the term “Israeli Apartheid” or any combination of such notion in the Parade. Any group who wishes to participate and march for Queer Palestinians or are against Israel state activities related to Queer Rights are welcome to do so without the use of the term “Israeli Apartheid”. Should the conditions of the above resolution change, Pride Toronto Board of Directors will revisit this motion. (Ibid.)

This strategy on the part of Pride was also unsuccessful. Two days later ten of the Pride Parade’s (1981) founders signed an open letter denouncing Pride’s actions, noting that this move to censor participants was contrary to the initial intent of the Pride Parade. In a demonstration of solidarity, on June 7, the 2010 Honorary Parade Marshals, along with more than 20 past honorary Marshals and guests (calling themselves the Refuseniks) lead a march to the Pride offices to return their awards.

Earlier in this chapter I had stated that QuAIA’s acceptance depended on establishing that their message was socially acceptable and that their participation in the Parade was seen (by Parade standards) as conventional. The following two comments demonstrate that QuAIA was making progress on both of these counts. The first comment helps to establish their claim over the right to participate while the second shows the level of public acceptance,

We announced, “Permit or not, we were going to march. And so if you wanted to arrest us,” I think I said it publicly, “if you want to arrest me for being in Pride, here I am, come and do it!” That produced a spectre of -- like major kafuffle in Pride... We met with police actually, QuAIA met with the police and they said, “We're not going to arrest anybody. We don't have any jurisdiction here. If anybody wants to march, as long as they're not breaking the law, we can't keep you out of the Parade.” (Dave, QuAIA),

and,

“And so this group -- what was it called? This other group sprang up out of nowhere, this ad hoc group [the Refuseniks]... They staged this event and many of the former people that won awards for Pride returned their awards” (Anthony, Pride).

Rather than seeing Pride's changing position towards QuAIA as a double cross, Anthony shed some light on the contradictory positions that Pride had taken up (both for and against QuAIA) over time. He explained that Pride was ill-equipped to deal with this issue and that the Board was divided on whether or not QuAIA should be accepted or rejected. The question was, should they allow QuAIA to march and risk bankruptcy, or should they ban QuAIA from the Parade and further alienate Anthony explained that Pride's decision to disallow the term 'Israeli Apartheid' was meant to be a compromise, "...when the decision was made to ban the term Israeli Apartheid... it was an attempt by the board to not ban the group, but to control the messaging. And to basically say that, we wanted to approve all -- we wanted every group to submit their messaging to us for approval before we would say that they were accepted in the Parade. [Pause] And I will tell you, I was not in support of that decision" (Anthony, Pride). Anthony felt that Pride had been backed into a corner and was forced into make a decision, having lost a lot of trust in the community, while, at the same time, straining their relationship with the City. At this point, Pride received a phone call from Brent Hawkes.

Continuing with my earlier question, "Who were the people that Pride was consulting with?" we know that Pride met with Martin Gladstone and some of the pro-Zionist critics of QuAIA, they had also met with QuAIA, members of the LGBTTQQIA2 community, and they were consulting the City Councilors and staff on how to address the threats to their funding. This phone call brings in three more people: Maura Lawless (executive director of the 519 Church Street Community Centre), Doug Elliott (a well known human rights lawyer), and Brent Hawkes (a minister with the Metropolitan Community Church). Anthony recounted the phone conversation with Hawkes, "...and he said that some members of the community were beginning to think about how to approach this. And they really wanted to help Pride solve its PR problem

and stuff like that. And they knew that [some Pride members] had basically spoken in defense of free speech and letting anyone say what they wanted in the Parade” (Anthony, Pride).

Anthony explained that some of the Pride members had been talking with Lawless, Elliott and Hawkes and felt that they had a solution that would address the City’s concerns and not alienate any more of the community. They proposed a short term and long term solution. The first suggestion was to implement a more rigorous application of the City of Toronto’s Non-Discrimination policy. The second proposed to deal with the fall out between Pride and the community by establishing a Community Advisory Panel (CAP) mandated with the task of implementing some type of conflict resolution process.⁷⁶

By June 23, the public pressure had increased to the point where Pride Toronto issued another press release rescinding their ban on the phrase ‘Israeli Apartheid.’ In its stead, Pride Toronto took up the suggestions and passed a motion requiring the City to determine whether or not a group contravened the city’s anti-discrimination policy,

Be it resolved that the motion of May 21st regarding language restrictions of groups participating in the 2010 Pride Parade be replaced by the requirement that each participating group read and sign and confirm to abide by the City of Toronto’s Declaration of a Non-Discrimination Policy and that all groups that uphold this policy are welcome to participate in the 2010 Pride Parade. Any groups that refuse to sign will not be permitted to participate. (Xtra June 23, 2010, “Pride Toronto reverses ban on “Israeli apartheid”).

Requiring each group to sign the non-discrimination document essentially shifted responsibility for determining who could and could not participate back onto the city, at least in terms of assessing who was and was not in compliance with the city’s non-discrimination policy. Anthony’s response to this was quite enthusiastic, “Yeah, so I mean I was pleased. I thought ‘Great, best outcome.’ Yes, it meant that Pride was flip-flopping in a way. But I would rather that the outcome was one that I didn’t want to see.” (Anthony, Pride).

⁷⁶ Both of these propositions will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

I had asked Anthony about the outcome of Mammoliti's motion to defund Pride. He explained that, in the end, the City had decided to deliver the grant,

...they withheld the grant, like, by a few weeks. I mean the thing is the grant comes very late in our year... So we usually only find out we're getting the grant two or three weeks before the festival. And we might just get the check on the weekend of the festival. But it's never been like, we had it in hand... The timing is very risky for us of that particular grant. And the thing is, we have to make these commitments to spend the money. We have to sign the contracts with the performers and the infrastructure. And it's hard to scale back at the very last moment because we didn't get our grants. So the thing is we've always assumed we've gotten the grant. We've always gotten the grant. And if we hadn't gotten the grant, it would have been a big problem. But we really didn't have much -- a very clear plan to address that problem. (Anthony, Pride)

A key question that needs to be addressed is why city pressure seemed to have so much influence over the Pride Board. In their interactions with Pride, QuAIA members reported that the substance of the issue was not really the motivating factor. Instead, Dave felt that Pride's varied decisions were a result of their disorganization and concern for funding. The following two quotes demonstrate how these issues were linked,

If you look at their justifications for the banning, fundamentally what was going on is that they were being pressured. Right, most of the Pride -- what we've seen as happening is that Pride had become this multi-million dollar major event, so who wants to manage such an event? Who wants to be on the board of Pride? This is kind of the new liberal, "I want this on my resume, I managed major event" stuff, so all of these people came in because it was kind of a cool thing to do. It looked good on the resumes, made all sorts of connections. They get to talk to city Hall. They get to talk to funders. You know, it's a win-win situation and people had no idea whatsoever of gay politics or the community or anything. It's like this self-serving thing. So suddenly they found themselves faced with a dicey political situation that might affect funding of the organization. And that's what drove this. It was all about funding. Most of the people on the Pride board couldn't give a fuck about Israel or Palestine either way [laughing]. They really couldn't. It wasn't an ideological in the "Smith" version of what ideology means -- a decision. It was a very practical decision. And so once they made the decision, then they had to invent all sorts of good reasons for having done so. Because... [the] reasons came after the fact. And they all fell apart... they were just making it up as they went along." (Dave, QuAIA).

And,

Dave: *They were enormously inept, Pride was [me laughing]. They organized the press conference on the outside in front of the Pride offices. Which then if you*

had a demonstration the press conference is going to be disrupted. But inside behind closed doors, you can keep people out. Doing it outside -- stupid.

Dann: *Did they learn from that?*

Dave: *No, they didn't learn anything, they were dumb as bricks. And so there was a big demonstration outside. And of course that became the story. They came up with all sorts of really bogus reasons claiming that they were losing funding all that kind stuff. None of which was true. (Dave, QuAIA)*

While Anthony did talk about his frustration with the lack of Pride's organizational skills, he did not dismiss the possibility of losing funding as "None of which was true." He explained that one of the reasons that Pride reacted so strongly to funding pressures in 2010 was that the Parade was over-extended financially, "part of the reason that the budget was so high in 2010 was they projected a lot more revenues. They projected a lot more sponsorship. They projected all those beer sales and stuff like that" (Anthony, Pride). These were best-case projections, which, as Pride learned later, were not realistic. The question of how unrealistic was only made apparent when Pride's 2009/2010 financial audit was released, showing that the 2010 Pride week had a deficit of \$431,808. Pride felt that they had to take on extra costs as they were celebrating the Parade's 30th anniversary and needed to establish a profile that reflected their capacity to host the World Pride event in 2014. In other words, expectations were high in both a public and professional manner, consequently, more hype and celebration went hand-in-hand with more expenditures, "The thing is 2010 was our 30th anniversary. So we had the biggest Festival we ever had. We expanded to include the Queen's Park. We had a stage on the Queen's Park for two days! We brought in Cyndi Lauper. She cost us \$100,000. But we got money for that. We had 10 staff" (Anthony, Pride).

Anthony explained that the 2010 experience tempered Pride's 'bigger is better' approach over the next few years. For instance, Pride was mandated to eliminate the deficit within three years. This led them to make decisions based on more conservative estimates of funding and

revenue, “we're only going to project what we are pretty sure we know we can actually do.” This was evident in the drastically reduced budget for the 2011 Parade.⁷⁷ What was validating (for Pride) was that the scaled down event was publicly lauded as a hit, “So the 2011 festival was great. So why should -- it was actually one of the -- I mean, I don't know if you've heard, but I think most people thought it was one of the best festivals we've ever had [Dann: Yeah, the feedback was really positive] So you know, that's a \$1.5 million festival. Why do we need to do more? We don't!” (Anthony, Pride).

Meanwhile, at City Hall, the process around the cultural grant was also subject to a new level of politicization. To illustrate this point, when I had asked Carol about a particular grant application process she replied that she knew nothing about it. I was surprised to hear this as I had thought that the Councilors all voted on the allocation of the grant. Carol's response detailed how different people each played some part in processing the grant and noted that by the time the grant came before council the decision to support or reject it had already been made, thus, voting was usually pro-forma. This helps to explain Anthony's frustration over the City's vacillating on whether Pride was to get the grant or not,

I just said [in an interview earlier today], it's a political decision. The grants process is adjudicated by an independent arm's length peer assessment process by artists or artists of the artistic program... So that group has found that we meet the criteria and they recommended to city council. City council usually doesn't even debate -- or it's just literally approved until 2010. It was always that way. There was never any question or any debate or anything. They never looked at any single -- because, you know, it's the -- that program funds the 10 major arts organizations according to the city. (Anthony, Pride).

However, the pro-forma assumption of voting (in favour of allocating this grant) was challenged in 2010 and 2011.

⁷⁷ Total expenditures for the 2010 Parade were \$3,411,982 with a deficit of \$431,808; total expenditures for the 2011 Parade were \$1,911,214 with a surplus of \$211,500 (see table 3.1 for more details).

As it turned out, Councilor Kyle Rae was the Councilor responsible for over-seeing the MCO Grant for Pride, which put him in a key position to influence the events. His shift on the QuAIA issue helped bring council pressure to bear on Pride, but this wasn't the only council influence. In fact, councilors Mammoliti and Ford had long been critics of the culture grant program (indeed, of all funding for arts and culture) and had a long record of voting conservatively on sexually progressive policies. As Carol explained, "This [was] probably one of the most difficult policy situations because not only was it the Queers Against Israeli Apartheid brand, it was also the 'Queers' brand so you have councilors who are quite openly homophobic, and have been in the past. So the layering of that became quite catalytic" (Carol, City Council). In this way, their opposition to QuAIA may have represented both the influence of pro-Zionist organizations (on them politically and morally), but it may also represent a convenient intersection of their political and moral positions with their neoliberal penchant for arts budget cuts.

THE CITY OF TORONTO'S NON-DISCRIMINATION POLICY

"'Ban Totally Nude Toronto. People have to wear their clothes! Ban this, ban that.' there started to be a little pile on the ban, the ban wagon." (Carol, City Council)

Despite the efforts of mobilized pro-Zionist forces in civil society, some support on council, and various attempts by the Pride Board, QuAIA's application to march was eventually processed and they participated in the 2010 Toronto Pride Parade. In response to pressure from the City, the Pride Board had first tried to vet all messages that would appear in the Parade, and then tried to ban the term 'Israeli Apartheid' specifically. But in each case they were forced to back down, due to a push back from GLBTTQQA2 community members, particularly high profile ones with a long history of involvement with Pride. As this played out, the discourse increasingly was cast in terms invoking the city's non-discrimination policy. As will be

underlined, by attending to the uses of the city's non-discrimination policy, we can uncover the process of how ruling relations operate, namely, how the Non-Discrimination policy brings QuAIA into direction relation with the interests of the city thus, subjugating QuAIA's interests to those embedded in the City's policy.

As noted in Chapter four, the 2010 Parade applicants signed a catch-all 'terms and conditions' clause that included agreement with and adherence to the City of Toronto's non-discrimination policy. As the Pride Board's attempts to appease the pro-Zionist forces failed, their last ditch response was to insist that 2010 participants sign another copy of the policy and bring it with them to the Parade, as well as develop their own anti-discrimination statement. Failure to do either would exclude the applicant from marching. This was the short-term solution that Hawkes et al had suggested when they met with Pride. Their argument was that Pride was not in a position to interpret the non-discrimination policy. By having each group directly sign (and create) a Non-Discrimination policy Pride was able to shift the onus for interpreting this policy back onto the City. As noted earlier, QuAIA, feeling that their positions did adhere to the City of Toronto's non-discrimination policy, signed the forms and were permitted to march. Their opponents were furious. Councilor Rob Ford would later claim that Pride Toronto had 'tricked' City Council by stating that they would disallow the use of "Israeli Apartheid' in the Parade and, at the last minute, changed their position once it was understood that the City would provide the funds.

On July 7, 2010 Councilor Mammoliti proposed a motion (seconded by Councilor Rob Ford) to not fund the 2011 Pride Parade. The motion was passed with significant revisions, one of which stated that funding would be withheld until after the 2011 Parade to ensure that all participants complied with the City's Anti-Discrimination Policy. This formalized the City's

role in influencing who would and would not march in the Parade. It also ended up sparking two further administrative processes. On the Pride side, the Pride Board established a Community Advisory Panel to gauge the GLBTTQIA2's opinion on the use of the term 'Israeli Apartheid,' and to provide Pride with some direction on how to handle any future conflicts. On the council side, concern over just how to interpret the City's Anti-Discrimination policy and apply it in this specific case would lead to the commissioning of a City Manager's Report on the issue. Specifically, councilors wanted to know clearly and categorically whether the term 'Israeli Apartheid' violated their Anti-Discrimination policy or not. Both processes would produce unintended results, ones that would further institutionalize the application process.

THE COMMUNITY ADVISORY PANEL

The Community Advisory Panel (CAP) was set up by Pride in September 2010 expressly to look into accountability issues and gauge public response. It initially came out of internal consultation between some of the Pride members and other prominent members of the community, trying to establish a mutually acceptable solution to the situation and Pride Toronto's public perceptions. As for accountability, the City of Toronto advised Pride to deal with its lack of processes for dealing with conflict. City Staff met with CAP and confirmed this view of its mandate. As Gary understood the City's position, Pride needed to establish a formalized process for that could address issues of conflict, "because that wasn't about QuAIA. That was about Pride, right. The community panel process was about a range of issues that Pride was dealing with at that moment." (Gary, City Staff).

Gary's statement provides a contrast to how Pride understood CAP's purpose. Anthony argued that CAP was not only about dealing with the fallout arising from the conflict around QuAIA, they were also expected to make a decision on whether or not QuAIA should be allowed

to participate. When I had asked Anthony to comment on CAP's mandate he expressed frustration with what they did (and did not) do,

Well, yeah, that's the thing. You know, as far as I was concerned, the main purpose of CAP was to deal with QuAIA actually. So yes, they said they were going to look at governance and all the other stuff. But that's not what we really needed them to do. We needed them to solve our QuAIA issue and give us a public positioning that was acceptable to people who were critical of Pride. Or had become critical of Pride because there was a lot of misunderstanding about what Pride actually banned or didn't ban. And then over reaction on the side – 'oh, now they're all censoring everything.' Anyway, the following February... they delivered this report. And they talk about everything except a specific solution for QuAIA. So we basically just had to accept their findings...

On February 17, CAP released a 232 page report, containing 133 recommendations for Pride. In the case of QuAIA, CAP found that public opinions were divided on the matter, "CAP was firmly of the view that a decision to either exclude or include QuAIA would have to be based on some clear reason or principle, based on the law or on clear rules established by Pride and fairly enforced" (Community Advisory Panel 2011:122). CAP argued that because neither side were able produce any legal reasons, they concluded that, "Since QuAIA could only be included or excluded on a principled basis, we determined that we could best serve the community by identifying and articulating those principles for Pride Toronto. It should be for the proposed dispute resolution process, and not CAP, to rule on any application of those principles" (Ibid. 122). While CAP did not provide a definitive answer on what Pride should do about QuAIA, their consultations with community members did lead to some conclusions.

They argued that, in changing their position on QuAIA, Pride had lost the trust of the community. To regain this trust, Pride would need to take responsibility for its wavering. This needed to be addressed in two ways, through a public apology and by demonstrating that Pride was committed to finding a solution to deal with any future conflicts. However, Anthony raised

a concern about CAP's findings, suggesting that they weren't necessarily representative of the community,

Dann: *But where did those findings come from? Where did --?*

Anthony: *They came from community consultations that they had where we were specifically asked not to attend as members of Pride. That's fine with me. With people who had an axe to grind. They were not at all representative of -- like go on Yonge Street on Pride Day and you'll see, even the number of queer people are in the minority. Those are the people Pride serves. It's not just the 10 people or so who were upset because they didn't get the stage that they wanted or whatever.
So it just...*

Dann: *Kind of opened the floodgate?*

Anthony: *Yeah, I think the whole process was flawed. (Anthony, Pride)*

Anthony was not the only one to raise questions about the validity of the community advisory process. In this way the creation of CAP provided an opportunity for everyone to air their grievances with/about Pride Toronto and the Parade, arguing to restructure Pride, eliminate corporate funding, and be more accountable, etc. On one hand, some of this was rooted in genuine community dissatisfaction with the direction of recent Parades. As Rosa noted, "I think the controversy around QAIA lit that match under the tinder box of discontent in the queer community with how Pride had evolved into this happy Pride. And I think there's quite a bit of it and not just here [Rosa cited similar discontent over Pride events in other cities] (Rosa 481-484). On the other hand, opening up the debate about who had a right to march in the Parade allowed others to weigh in with their views on who they wanted see (i.e. groups beyond QuAIA) banned. Anthony was one to the people who did not think that everyone should have a say in how the Parade was run, simply put, "I'm not fine with little old ladies who live in North York who just write letters because the rabbi tells them" (Anthony, Pride).

Carol, a long time city councilor with strong links to the GLBTTQQA2 community/ies echoed Anthony's concern with the effect of making this debate public, "All these things came together at the same time and parts of the community felt that the Pride leadership was

abandoning the queer community...” however, Carol described the unfolding of the event as a set of layers, where dealing with one problem meant peeling it back, only to expose another layer to the problem. In this way, Carol suggested that QuAIA was more of a proxy for a wider range of issues than as the actual focus for debate. More to the point, one of these ‘other layers’ came out as an opportunity for those with more conservative views to try and influence the Parade, explaining that, “...The homophobic community felt that, ‘finally, we could bash the Pride Parade’ because they had what they felt was the critics of Israel’s policies hook” (Carol, City Council). Or,

Carol: *When this happened then all of a sudden, when the request came to the city to ban QuAIA, then there was other layerings, “Okay, Ban the nude guys” I forget their name.*

Dann: *Totally Nude Toronto, Totally Naked Toronto.*

Carol: *Yes, “Ban Totally Nude Toronto. People have to wear their clothes! Ban this, ban that.” there started to be a little pile on the ban, the ban wagon.*

Dann: *[Laughing!] I think you just gave me a title for a paper, the Ban Wagon.*

Carol: *Yeah, the Ban Wagon.*

Dann: *That’s great. What was the conversation then? I didn’t realize this. I know it had been raised in the media as “here are other groups who’ve also had problems” like TNT or a few of the other ones. But I didn’t know it had come to the point where it was actually being talked about.*

Carol: *Oh I think somebody, well councilors said, “Oh yeah. There are a lot of things going on in that Parade that shouldn’t happen.” So you get that, and that was another layer.*

Dann: *Would people talk to you about this?*

Carol: *You just hear that. Yeah, you hear the mumbling or the grumbling on this. Someone would say, “Oh Yeah, lets add more!” A certain councilor wants to now add something else on there [motioning to Mammoliti’s motion]. (Carol, City Council)*

This specter of homophobia made it difficult to distinguish between those who had a valid argument about Pride or QuAIA -but still had a stake in the success of the Parade- from others who had no (or very little) interest in seeing Pride succeed. The blurring of interests could be seen in the marching contingent for the Jewish social group Kulanu. Rosa explained that Kulanu ended up including members of B’nai Brith and the Jewish Defense League (JDL). Both

of these groups had an established track record of rallying against progressive gay legislation (i.e. legislation dealing with sexual discrimination in the workplace and same-sex marriage). She suspected that many of the people involved in Kulanu's group were not sympathetic to Pride and had only responded in order to bolster Kulanu's numbers and register their disapproval at QuAIA being allowed to march.⁷⁸ Dave's frustration was that this meant that Kulanu's group included people who had never been involved in the Parade, many of them not having ever seen the Parade. These were some of the people who were vocal in arguing that QuAIA's political message was not appropriate for the Parade and that QuAIA didn't belong. Rosa reported that while it was not clear what role Kulanu played, a great many less than progressive groups accompanied them,

Rosa: *Well B'nai Brith got involved, but in terms of individuals who are nasty, the JDL is nasty and why they were in that Parade last year, I think Kulanu made a big mistake and there have been some comments on the internet about the JDL. People are like, "Well they can be there" and so on. And it's like, "They're homophobic and they're also misogynist"....*

Dann: *Did Kulanu invite them or did they apply to march separately, do you know?*

Rosa: *They marched with Kulanu because a call went out to the Jewish community to support Kulanu. I don't know that that call went out in the queer community ...*

Dann: *So you say Kulanu made a mistake.*

Rosa: *I think they made a mistake by allowing them to take part, but I don't know that Kulanu - I can't say that Kulanu actually went and asked the JDL, "Can you come?" I don't know that so I wouldn't say that because I don't know how comfortable or uncomfortable they might be. (Rosa 1212-1248)*

Interestingly, Gary provided a slightly different perspective on the question of who was involved, "I actually think it's a bigger can of worms in that it's about how, in a very diverse community, do we manage when the needs or imperatives of equity seeking groups collide? And that's not a Pride issue. That's not a queer community issue. That's a broad community issue" (Gary, City Staff). This gets at the heart of the CAP findings, that Pride is charged with

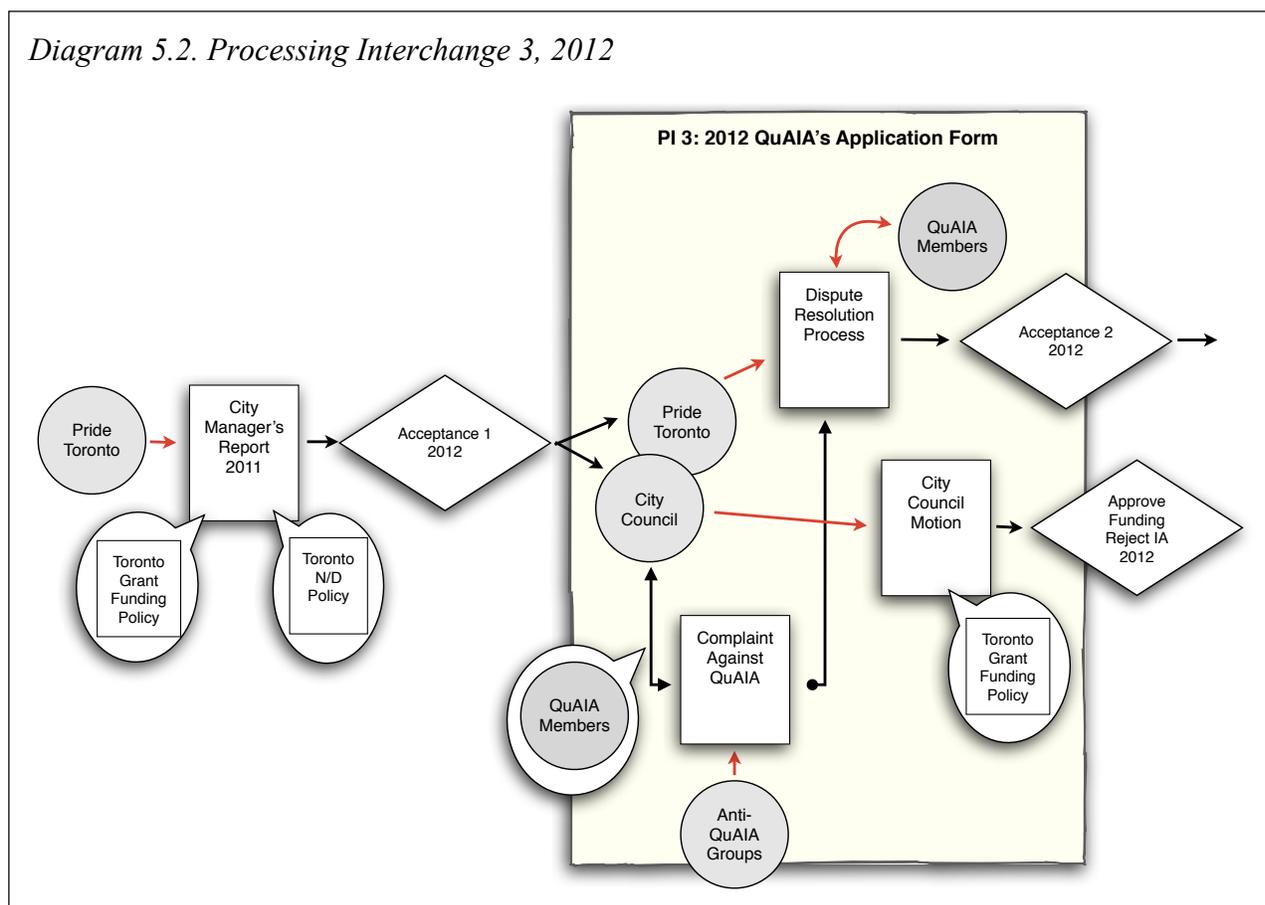
⁷⁸ Sue Anne Levy, an out lesbian reporter for the Sun, published an open letter and used her column to encourage pro-Zionist supporters to show up to the Parade and join Kulanu's marching contingent.

representing a very diverse community, but, after thirty years, has no substantive processes in place to ensure that it does so. The Community Advisory Panel report may have been the most direct way of making this claim but it was not the only one to come to similar conclusions.

B. THE CITY MANAGER'S REPORT

So when we thought it through, it made more sense to time our withdrawal from the Parade in such a way that would be most politically advantageous. And what we did was we waited until the city manager's report came out.

Diagram 5.2. Processing Interchange 3, 2012



On April 2, 2011 a staff report was presented to the City of Toronto's Executive Committee. This report reviewed Pride Toronto's compliance with the City of Toronto's non-discrimination policy, and was a direct result of Councilor Mammoliti's successful motion (July 7, 2010) to withdraw Pride's funding for the 2011 Parade if Pride did not comply with the City's

policies. That was the first directive and, as it was voted on at the time, the new status quo policy was to withhold funding and only release it after the Parade, as a way of ensuring that Pride did not contravene any of the City's policies. The other two directives required the City Manager to advise Pride on what was expected of them to meet these policies; and, to advise Pride on whether or not QuAIA's name, message, and/or banners and signs contravened the City's Non-Discrimination policy (Mammoliti 2010b). I suggest that the City Manager's Report was one more way in which Pride and QuAIA were subject to ruling relations as the conclusions in this report would have an influence on both Pride's ability to accept or reject an application, and on the work of QuAIA through its effect on the application process itself.

The city staff viewed the exercise as very important, with a host of different departments giving input and signing off on the results. Gary had extensive knowledge to report and was able to provide some interesting answers. For instance, he explained that the inclusion of four signatures on the report was unusual. By having four senior staff sign off, those involved were demonstrating to City Council the extent and level of engagement that was brought to bear on their recommendations: "we don't have four contacts on a report, but on this one we felt it was important for council to know that, you know, equity diversity and human rights considerations and a lens had been brought to it, legal, cultural, and then grants administration overall" (Gary, City Staff). In terms of who actually produced the report, Gary reported that it was a collective effort: "In this case, it was an Equity Diversity and Human Rights lead, with clearly Culture, (who administers the funding for Pride), City Legal (because of many of the issues), and the someone from a corporate grants policy perspective. We're all involved in writing the report." (Gary, City Staff).

Interestingly, the city staff saw producing the report as an administrative exercise, one that involved clarifying how the City policies should be applied in general, and might apply applied in this case. As Gary noted, “the report was not intended to be in favour or against QuAIA or Pride. It was staff reporting on what are our policies are and how they are applied in a particular situation” (Gary, City Staff). I had asked about the City’s accountability to the report and was surprised to learn that, even though they had commissioned it, the City Councillors were not bound by its content. On the process of what happens with reports like these,

Gary: *Committee and council do with our reports as they see fit. That’s their – you know, our job ends when the report is signed and submitted. And then it is up to the legislative process to determine what happens to that report.*

Dann: *Okay, so these reports are not binding in any way?*

Gary: *Not until council does something with them.*

Dann: *That’s the –*

Gary: *In and of themselves, yeah, no – that’s just, this is just – I guess kind of the equivalent is a bill in the House. It’s not legislation; it doesn’t mean anything until the House approves it. (Gary, City Staff)*

Gary explained that the report was meant to ‘advise’ Council in making a decision, but, as Gary explained, the decision of what council would do anything with the report would be a political one. For instance, I had made a comment about the report coming out in favour of QuAIA. Gary was quick to remind me that the report was neither in favour nor against QuAIA, the report was a reiteration of City policy. Hence, one’s political agenda meant that, “Many people see the report *many* different ways” (Gary, City Staff). Keeping this distinction in mind, there were some concrete positions offered to City Council. City Manager’s report found that Based on the criteria for discrimination outlined by the City the phrase ‘Israeli Apartheid’ does not violate the City’s Non-Discrimination policy, additionally, the phrase does not violate the Criminal Code or the Human Rights Code (Ontario), therefore, “The group does not promote discrimination and The City Staff has therefore concluded that the participation of QUAIA in the

Pride Parade based solely on the phrase "Israeli Apartheid" does not violate the City's Anti-Discrimination Policy" (Pennachetti 2011:1).

Many people thought that this would end Council debate about funding Pride and the participation of QuAIA in the Parade, but it did not. Rob Ford, one of the key forces mobilizing pro-Zionist sentiment within Council, had been elected Mayor in October of 2010. His continued antipathy to QuAIA and the Pride Parade in general remained clear in various comments to the press since he had come to office. At the meeting where the City Manager's report was presented, the city's legal counsel argued that, given the report findings, denying funding to Pride based on the question of QuAIA would leave the city open to libel, but the mayor responded that he was not concerned with legal reprisals. Despite the city manager's findings, Mayor Ford announced that City Council would withhold Pride's funding until after the Parade to ensure that QuAIA did not march. As with the 2010 application process, the 2011 bureaucratic process at the city that was supposed to clarify who could participate in a city-funded event under what terms, but the official process was trumped by a parallel political process.⁷⁹ In this case, the politics involved the election of a Mayor who ran on a 'cut-the-fat' campaign whose history as a City Councilor demonstrated his opposition not merely to QuAIA, but to public spending on arts and culture and the public promotion of what he considered lifestyle issues.

⁷⁹ At the same time, the official process was renewed when City Council directed the City Manager to produce another report for the Executive Committee, clarifying how the city's anti-discrimination policies should be applied. The results, reported in May 2012, were no more encouraging for those on council opposed to QuAIA. Basically, the City Manager reported "neither the Declaration nor legislation provide the City with the jurisdiction or authority to investigate or make findings of discrimination or hate regarding a third party organization, even if the City has a contract/grants agreement with them" (Pennachetti 2012; 7). If Council felt a contracted third party had violated the Anti-Discrimination Declaration, the most it could do would be to cut funding. However the deciding factor would be whether the third party group had adopted dispute resolution procedures in line with council recommendations, demonstrating the continuing influence of the city on such organizations.

At this point it became clear to QuAIA that the debates over their participation were being used as a justification for defunding Pride. Mayor Rob Ford seemed determined to deny Pride its city funding if it allowed QuAIA to march. Another important development was the release of Pride's financial audit revealing a significant deficit. QuAIA members spent some time discussing how to move forward given these parallel developments. As Dave noted,

The question was did we want to fight that same battle over again. We knew the city manager's report was coming down and that that was going to be relatively favourable. It appeared to be relatively favourable. They were known to actually read it. And so the question was -- and Pride was under really serious attack from [Mayor] Ford at this point. And we recognized that we were being used as kind of the pretext for all of this stuff. Ford wants to cut the arts in general and so anything that would allow him to cut a major festival was quite welcome from their point of view. (Dave, QuAIA)

Pride's finances figured prominently in QuAIA's deliberations,

Pride said they wouldn't ban. But then Pride was, at that point, in a really serious financial situation. Because of Sandilands' mismanagement and the city was saying we're going to cut off funding. And not only the \$125,000 or so that they get for their cultural funding but also maybe the \$300,000 in-kind stuff (police and all this kind of thing), they would pull all of that which could have -- had that passed -- sunk the organization, would bankrupt it. It would have bankrupted Pride... It would have been a [poor] victory for us to win the right to march in the Parade that didn't happen. (Dave, QuAIA)

In the end, QuAIA decided not to march in 2011, but in making their decision public, they attempted to extract as much political capital from the decision as possible. Instead of revealing their decision when the city manager's report was released, they waited for two days before issuing a press release. The report's release had gotten some coverage in the press but not surprisingly Ford and his allies were downplaying it. But when QuAIA announced two days later that even though they had won their right to participate in the Parade, it didn't mean they had to, it pushed the city manager's report back into the headlines for anyone who might have missed it the first time,

And for a day we were kinda the lead story all over the place... which then sent the Ford camp into complete disarray because they didn't know how to deal with this, because all

of a sudden, they lost their pretext. But they still -- they had this momentum by Ford and Mammoliti and a few others, they were still trying to defund Pride. But without the pretext, they essentially exposed themselves as more and more... as homophobes. (Dave, QuAIA)

But QuAIA's decision to not march in 2011 did not just affect them. As Dave notes, "it meant that all those other people who had organized in defense of us in 2010 and 2011, then could really focus on defending Pride from the general cuts and organizing the broadest kind of coalition against Ford. And so, we were seen as the ones that had permitted them, freed them up to do that" (Dave, QuAIA). In the end, Rob Ford and his supporters on council seemed to overplay their hand. When Councilor Mammoliti was discovered videotaping the 2011 Dyke March the general response from the public was that it seemed kind of 'creepy'. Mammoliti claimed he was there to assure that Pride abided by the city's non-discrimination policy, but with QuAIA absent his critique of other groups indicated that he was opposed to the presence of any political messages in the Parade. An *Xtra* story following the Parade reported Councilor Wong-Tam's response to Mammoliti, "Wong-Tam says there is something disturbing about a heterosexual man chasing around lesbians 'in a stalking, cat-like manner.' 'The optics of what he did are just so weird and creepy,' she says. 'He doesn't have the political currency that he thinks he does. This is a man who has not been kind to the LGBT community. He has gone out of his way to slander us, and he continues to do so.' (Houston 2011: para. 11-12). The article also includes an interview with Bernie Faber (the former head of the Canadian Jewish Congress), in which Faber says, "Look it's time to move on" (Ibid. para. 5). I noted that Pride's response to this issue had also changed by the 2011 Parade. I had asked Anthony if he could tell me more about this,

Dann: *So what's changed then between 2010 when Pride Toronto made the decision to vet signs and ban the use of Israeli Apartheid, and now?*

Anthony: *Well, A) [the people in charge are different] and, B) I think we all have a much greater understanding of the forces at play. The fact the QuAIA voluntarily withdrew. We appreciate that. We didn't ask them to.*

Dann: *Right. And I know Pride wrote an open letter [in 2011] to the city council stating why they shouldn't withhold the grant...What was the city's response to that?*

Anthony: *It's got no response. The letter was to the Councilors. We had meetings with I'd say the majority of the Councilors that we knew -- we even met with Mammoliti. But we didn't meet with a lot of people that we knew were just going to automatically vote with Ford.*

We were basically targeting -- we met first with the people who were supportive and they helped us strategize about how to -- getting more of the people who were sort of in the middle at the time on side with us, getting them to understand the issue.

And maybe it was about, you know -- it's a PR thing. It's about getting them to see a face. And allowing them to answer questions in a comfortable setting that's not on the floor of council where everyone's all excited and stuff like that.

DISPUTE RESOLUTION PROCESS

Despite many efforts to quash the controversy surrounding QuAIA, the Pride Board found itself still facing political fallout well into 2011. The Community Advisory Panel, struck ostensibly to put the QuAIA issue to rest, instead vindicated QuAIA and said little else about them. However, as I have indicated above, CAP was not interested in putting out little fires. Instead, they suggested that the best route was to pre-empt future problems (like QuAIA) by implementing a process that was equipped to deal with possible disputes, such as a binding 'dispute resolution process' (DRP). Here it should be noted that most of my research was conducted before this process was enacted so some post-research conversations were had to gather some (however minor) understanding of the process. That being said, my intention is not to provide an account of this process (to do this justice would require an entirely separate research project). Instead, I am interested in the IE implications that have emerged out of the introduction of the process. In brief, the DRP was an arms length body, mandated by Pride, and set up to arbitrate on conflicts that had to do with either Pride or the Parade. This process was open to anyone, thus, anyone unhappy with QuAIA's involvement in the Parade, was eligible to

make a complaint. People who were trained in the dispute resolution process would adjudicate these complaints. The DRP committee would review the complaint, and judge the merit of its argument on the basis of the evidence put forth. Furthermore, the establishment of the DRP fulfilled the City's requirement that Pride implement a process for dealing with disputes. QuAIA immediately found the adoption of DRP by Pride to be a worrying development,

The one worry that came up in 2011 was around the Community Advisory Panel and the Complaints Resolution Committee. They announced that they would be open to complaints from the year before. And that could have derailed the whole thing because if the Zionists had complained about our participation the year before, and the community - the Disputes Resolution Committee had made some sort of ruling that QuAIA was not welcome, then the whole issue about our right to be in the Parade would have been the central issue again. So, we certainly communicated through channels of people that we knew on the board that this was a really stupid decision that they were playing with fire near the dynamite. And that if anybody in Pride had any connections with the Zionist camp, they should tell them that uh, you know, this wouldn't be a good idea to make a complaint. So that was communicated very clearly through different channels. (Dave, QuAIA)

QuAIA had wanted to focus attention on Ford's attack on community arts funding, and the speculated reasons for it (i.e. homophobia). They were worried that if anyone did file a complaint it would refocus the debate on QuAIA and essentially, let the Mayor off the hook. In the end, despite its creation before the 2011 Pride Parade, the DRP received no complaints that year. As Dave explains:

As it turned out, people like Gladstone in fact refused to use the Dispute Resolution Committee because they quite rightly realized that if they made a complaint what would really be debated there would be whether Israel was an apartheid state. Gladstone actually said it. He said, "If I make one complaint there, what I'm actually doing is putting Israel on trial. (Dave, QuAIA)

Given its absence in 2011, some wondered about QuAIA's possible participation in the 2012 Parade. I raised this question with Dave, asking if QuAIA had made any decisions about whether they were going to participate or not. He explained that the group had discussed,

Yeah: whether, how, and all of those kinds of things. Should we go in the Parade? Would that reconstitute Ford's coalition at City Hall? What would the financial effect on

Pride be? On the other hand if we don't, would that mean that our not participating in 2011 would be seen as a defeat rather than a tactical maneuver? What message do we want to get across and what's the best way to do it? There are a whole lot of things that need to be sorted out in the next couple of months. (Dave, QuAIA)

This comment brings to mind my earlier conversation about the relevance of Pride's suggestions to make participating in the Parade fun. When we consider the weight of their decision, concerns over the dilemma of balloons or streamers seems to pale in comparison. After much discussion QuAIA decided to apply to the 2012 Parade and learned first hand about the DRP process. This was the first time that the DRP was invoked. Concerns were immediately raised about who had a right to use the process. While some (like Dave and Anthony) saw the possibility for the process to be co-opted, Gary (a City administrator) provided a different perspective, one that was not rooted in a clear dichotomy. He explained that,

I actually think it's a bigger can of worms in that it's about how in a very diverse community do we manage when the needs or imperatives of equity seeking groups collide? And that's not a Pride issue. That's not a queer community issue. That's a broad community issue. And that's a good discussion, right, that's a necessary discussion. So I think hopefully out of all of this discussion, that the debate will kind of go up a level in that broader discussion. (Gary, City Staff)

As the DRP process unfolded, it was hard for even well informed participants to get clear information about who was using it and who they represented. At first it appeared as if there would be a number of individually registered complaints against QuAIA, how these complainants would be heard was also unclear (i.e. as all the complaints were against QuAIA, would they be heard separately or together?). Furthermore, Kulanu was initially the only 'known quantity' to register a complaint,⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Part of the process of registering a complaint with the DRP involved an agreement to make that form/complaint public. Unfortunately, the DRP published the entire form online without redacting the Head of Kulanu's personal contact information. Remembering that Rosa was particularly sensitive to this type of problem, she was very critical of the DRP panel, claiming that their irresponsibility could have led to the complainant being harmed. This error resulted in Kulanu removing their complaint and B'nai Brith submitting one in its stead. One of the individual complaints was withdrawn before the hearing while the other was dismissed (for a number of clerical reasons).

Dann: *I was reading a statement from the main guy, Doug Elliott, about Kulanu's [DRP] application; did he say that there were two others?*

Rosa: *There were two individuals.*

Dann: *And do you know who those people are?*

Rosa: *I don't know them, but they're two guys. I don't know if they're queer because it seems – I've been in and out of town and I've been really busy with some other stuff and so I'm not sure that for the dispute resolution process you have to be part of the queer community. You could be anyone. (Rosa, QuAIA)*

In the end, the only complaint heard came from the Zionist advocacy group, B'nai Brith. Council for the group tried to use Gladstone's video as 'evidence' of discriminatory actions but the film was inadmissible and, as Martin Gladstone had refused to appear, as such, the validity of the content was merely hearsay. The DRP summed B'nai Brith's complaint as essentially that,

negative public discussion by QuAIA [of Israel] affects the Jewish community within Canada, and thus impliedly it should be seen as creating a disadvantage for the Canadian Jewish community, and thus discriminates against Canadian Jews in general. (DRP 2012:13).

After examining the complaint and hearing from QuAIA and their legal representative, the DRP concluded that:

- *The activities of QuAIA are not contrary to the core missions or policies of Pride Toronto;*
- *The activities of QuAIA described in the Complaint, and at the hearing, are not likely to present images or messages that promote, condone, or may promote or condone violence, hatred, degradation, or negative stereotypes of a person or group, contrary to the City of Toronto's Anti-Discrimination Policy, or the Ontario Human Rights Code;*
- *Therefore, that the Complaint of B'nai Brith is dismissed. (DRP 2012: 15-16).*

Incidentally, this was the second time that QuAIA had successfully defended their claim that the use of Israeli Apartheid was not contrary to public opinion and that they, as a politically motivated group had a right to be in the Parade. Despite the ruling, the DRP came under fire from other activists in the queer community. They were concerned that Pride had ceded its accountability to the GLBTTQQA2 people that it was supposed to represent. Simply put, Pride no longer made the decision about whether or not a group was able to participate in the Parade.

Instead, Pride has shifted the onus of decision-making onto the DRP. And, as Nick Mule (a representative of Queer Ontario) pointed out, this new process had the effect of subjecting the right of all GLBBTTQQA2 Parade participants to a legally binding process that privileged those with the skills to maneuver within such a discourse,

For its part Pride Toronto is currently and hastily implementing a dispute resolution process (DRP) – an ill-informed mechanism that was recommended in a report written for Pride Toronto by the questionably-formed Community Advisory Panel (CAP) – which amounts to a veritable witch-hunt. Indeed, it will let a quasi-judicial body of legal experts (not all of whom are LGBTQ-identified) to rule on the admissibility of groups within the Pride Festival, based on the public complaints that are brought forward to them by any individual or group. (Mulé 2011)

And,

... the presiding panelists, following strict legal procedures, will only consider the pre-collected evidence that is filed by the parties during the proceeding, without bothering to look into any of the issues or concerns that may arise during or as a result of the proceedings. This places parties at a particular disadvantage if they were unable to foresee an issue or concern when preparing their cases. (Queer Ontario, 2011a)

At this point in late 2012, the acceptance and rejection process for Pride had changed dramatically (see Diagram 5.12 PI:3 QuAIA's 2012 Experience). With the most recent changes in 2012, here we can see how the professional actions of Pride Members were institutionalized (routinized) beyond their control - and despite their varied interests- to fall in line with the requirements of the City's funding regulations. What I mean to say is that we can now see how some of Pride's decision-making power -or autonomy- was usurped when translocal processes (imbued with the logic policies and politics) came to speak on the acceptance or rejection of applicants.

Having made my argument, I would like to present an admittedly simplified, but none-the-less visceral, representation of what I mean when I talk about the institutionalization of the application process. Simply put, Table 5.2 demonstrates the impact that the events surrounding the 2010 Parade had on Pride's Terms and Conditions. In effect, the T&Cs are a set of rules and

regulations that are meant to ‘guide’ Parade applicants as they negotiate their way through the application process, informing their actions from the time they activate the form through to marching in the Parade. However, as I have discussed, 2010 was a catalytic year. The data in Table 5.2 represents this change by tracking the amount of content in the Terms and Conditions document over a ten-year period. It is interesting to note how in 2003, the Terms and Conditions that participants had to agree to took up half a page on the application form. It consisted of five points, totaling 610 words. The Terms and Conditions only saw marginal increased between 2003 and 2010 (from 610 words to 1,288). Within one year the content in the 2011 Terms and Conditions had almost quadrupled to 5,264 words with the 2012 terms and conditions coming in at 5,307 words (almost nine times the content in the 2003 document) and consisted of innumerable points spread across fifteen pages, eight of which outlined the participant’s commitment to the Dispute Resolution Process.

Table 5.2. A Yearly Account of the Terms and Conditions

Year of Terms and Conditions	Word Count*
2003	610
2004	618
2005	641
2006	708
2007	826
2008	1,038
2009**	343
2010	1,288
2011	5,264
2012	5,307

* All figures are based on the text taken from the relevant Terms and Conditions for each year and do not include the information in the corresponding Opportunity Guides.

** This decrease was due to the deletion of some T&Cs while others were moved to the 2009 Opportunity Guide.

When we look at the changes made to the 2012 application form we can see how a number of questions had been eliminated. As I had mentioned, Rosa felt that this streamlining made the work of filling out the form easier. One specific change worth mentioning is in the ‘waivers’ section. While the 2010 waiver section contained a list of nine point (218 words) and an ‘agreement’ checkbox, the 2012 application form removed the separate points and included the following three waivers (each with its own ‘agreement’ checkbox that the applicant ticks),⁸¹

- *In submitting my application to the Pride Toronto 2012 Parade, I agree to abide by the Pride Parade Terms and Conditions available at www.pridetoronto.com/docs*
- *In submitting my application to the Pride Toronto 2012 Parade, I acknowledge that I am aware of and that I agree to abide by the 2012 Dispute Resolution Process as outlined under the “DRP” section at www.pridetoronto.com/docs*
- *In submitting my application to the Pride Toronto 2012 Parade, I agree to abide by the Antidiscrimination agreement available at www.pridetoronto.com/docs*

What is not immediately evident in the above three waivers are the implications of the fifteen pages of ‘guidelines’ that they point to. Or, to employ a more institutionally ethnographic turn of phrase, mapping the application process helps to expose the ways in which people’s work (as Parade participants) is subject to a translocal form of social organization, consequently, we now have a better understanding of how the act of ticking three little boxes draws the applicant in to a network of social relations that stretch far beyond what is represented in the three waivers listed on the application form. With the 2012 application form a new process of acceptance and rejection was initiated, one that required all participants to subject themselves to, City regulations, political agendas, and the Dispute Resolution Process.

In light of the discussion of the first two points above, the DRP is yet another institutionally rationalized way of structuring the knowing, doing of people’s daily work. In

⁸¹ This discussion draws on the 2012 application form for the simple reason that I was not able to obtain a copy of the 2011 form. It is possible that the general tone of this analysis might also be applicable to the 2011 form.

response to the use of the DRP in 2012, longtime queer activist, Pride founder, and academic Gary Kinsman complained:

I'm really quite disturbed about this. That [Pride has] new types of criteria that can be used to bar people — rather than welcoming people into our movements to express their political views, as long as they're not expressing hatred or bigotry, it's a bit frightening.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I expanded my discussion on the application process by demonstrating how the work of both QuAIA *and* Pride Toronto were coordinated to the work being done by Toronto's City Councilors. More specifically, I focused on the City's Non-Discrimination policy and, the City Council's decision to de/fund Pride to show how the work of an applicant was connected to the City. I tried to demonstrate (in Diagram 5.1) that there was a process at work. This process indicated a sense of movement towards an outcome. However, only some of the work being done was visible from the locale of the Parade applicants. In connecting the work of QuAIA with that of Pride Toronto other relations emerged.

To make such relations visible, I reviewed three major processing interchanges that worked to coordinate actions across locales. The first processing interchange focused on filling out the Pride Toronto application form and was the subject of chapter 4. The two processing interchanges taken up in this chapter focused on the relationship between Pride Toronto and the City of Toronto. This was handled in two sections. The first section discussed the role that the City of Toronto had in Pride's decision to initially reject, and then accept QuAIA's application to march in the 2010 Pride Parade (mapped as Diagram 5.1. Processing Interchange 2, 2010). I demonstrated how the work of Pride was hooked in to Toronto City Council through a relationship based on the imposition of the City's funding criteria on Pride. The second section (mapped as Diagram 5.2. Processing Interchange 3, 2012) showed how the tenuous nature of this relationship allowed for possible transgressions (from the ruling relations), which in turn

contributed to changes in the 2012 Parade application process, thus, further subjecting the work of all those involved to a deeper institutionalization of the application process.

In concrete terms, the chapter reviewed and analyzed the twists and turns in QuAIA's attempts to march in the Toronto Pride Parade. What we saw was that, as QuAIA was able to muster support from both the immediate GLBTQQIA2 community and society at large, Pride Toronto was eventually forced to accept their application to march in 2010. But when Pride appeared willing to accept QuAIA, their critics refocused their efforts on City Hall, with the result that both QuAIA and Pride were subjected to a type of translocal logic, one that hooked the work of each group into a network of rationales or interests that were conducive to the work being done at Toronto's City Hall. I have argued that a primary method used to bring these three groups in line with each other was Pride's funding relationship with the City, a move that manifested in a debate over whether the City of Toronto should fund or defund Pride based on the acceptability and appropriateness of QuAIA, judged through the lens of the city's Non-Discrimination Policy.

The struggle would result in a remarkable 'creation' of texts and processes, producing an Ethics Committee, a City Manager's Report, a Community Advisory Panel, a Dispute Resolution Panel, and a Review of the City of Toronto's Policies on Anti-Discrimination. QuAIA would find itself vindicated of accusations of hate speech through two separate investigations, one with the city and one with Toronto Pride, and did march in 2010. But its 'victory' also served to further institutionalize Toronto Pride's relationship with the City of Toronto, subjecting Pride participants to influence from the city and beyond. By attending to the uses of the city's Non-Discrimination policy, I have uncovered the process of how ruling relations operate, namely, how the Non-Discrimination Policy brought QuAIA into direct relation with the interests of the

city thus, subjugating QuAIA's interests to those embedded in the City's policy. These interests were themselves varied, from pro-Zionist pressure on individual City councilors, to a convenient alignment with anti-tax and arguably homophobic interests on council.

6. CONCLUSION

A. A DISJUNCTURE BETWEEN DISCOURSE, THEORY, AND LIVED EXPERIENCES

“Pride events are no longer organized to advance queer social movement politics. Pride planners, along with local officials and business elites, seem much more concerned with reorganizing the event to bolster the local tourist industry” (Grundy 2004; para. 1).

My initial interest in exploring this topic was framed by my own (past) experience with, and knowledge of, Pride Toronto as well as the media accounts of what was happening. Broadly speaking, I thought QuAIA’s experience could be best understood in terms of the ongoing academic debate about assimilation versus liberation in the historic gay and lesbian community, and a more contemporary popular complaint about the apparently increasing corporatization of queer events and identity. In the latter view, public critics argue that there is a particular group of people who are interested in shaping the Toronto Pride Parade in a ‘corporate’ way. For example, the former Pride Toronto Executive Director Traci Sandilands talked about her plans to restructure Pride Toronto by bringing it in line with a more corporate image. Her rationale was that “you need money to do what you want to do and in order to get money you need corporate sponsors. In order to fulfill the obligations in terms of the sponsorships you have to become a bit more commercial. The one thing feeds the other and it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy” (Rau 2009). Sandilands argued that one of the ways to meet these requirements was to hire a public relations consultant (a line item added to Pride Toronto’s 2009 budget), as well as to contract out some of Pride’s main fundraising events with the justification that a professional events planning organization could produce a more ‘high-end’ event.

What makes my initial line of inquiry noteworthy is that the interests of this pro-corporate group were not necessarily the driving force behind the seemingly ‘corporate’ changes to the Parade. Rather, my naive rationale was challenged by what each of my participants had to

say (at numerous points). What emerged from my conversations with those involved was that there were a wide variety of competing interests (both direct and indirect) that were shaping the Parade, and, in turn, shaping QuAIA's experiences and in/ability to participate in the Parade. This project has tried to map the translocal connections that demonstrate the over-simplistic theorizing that has been applied to the QuAIA debate. Namely, there is more to the story than simply Pride.

Initially this institutional ethnography was to be an exploration of the disconnection between QuAIA –as a political activist group- and the Parade –as a family-friendly event. I had meant to explain how institutional processes had been used to try and shape QuAIA's participation (or non-participation) in the Parade. Instead of doggedly following my own suppositions I have employed the tenets of institutional ethnography to pursue an open inquiry that has, subsequently, been influenced by what I have learned along the way.

In this way, my project proceeds from what QuAIA members know about their lives and their daily activities to understanding how what they know (and do) has been caught in a larger (trans-local) web of what others know (and are doing). This is a form of knowledge that often gets subsumed by a dominant discourse. Championing this position of knowledge allows us to see how dominant discourses impinge upon us. In a nutshell, this portion of the project is about re-inserting the subjective-position of QuAIA members in the face of authoritative accounts. For too long queer scholarship has bandied about terms like 'corporatization,' 'assimilation', 'liberation', and, more recently, 'neoliberalism' as a way to fit people's experiences into pre-existing theory. Instead of using terms like 'neoliberalism' as a filter to see what is going on we need to explore people's subjectivities to examine how people's lives are socially organized. This allows us to identify the political climate as well as the personal connections, public and

private. While these examples may not stand as a proverbial lynchpin of social coordination, each demonstrates the points that I have made above. Namely, if we conduct the type of research that poses a question, and are intractable in seeking the answer, we are bound to find exactly what we anticipated and nothing more. However, when we approach our inquiries in a flexible manner, allowing for a hermeneutical construction of knowledge, and relegate our theories of what has happened to the backburner, we are more likely to uncover answers to questions that we did not even know to ask.

What makes this topic worth exploring as a piece of institutional ethnography is the multitude of ruling relations that are brought to bear on the debate over QuAIA's participation in the Parade. Councilor Carol saw this 'multitude of competing interests' as a series of layers that could be peeled back. In this way Smith's idea of ruling relations are like an onion in which each peel exposes another deeper layer underneath. Carol explained that each layer hid a set of interests that were only known once the subsequent layer was exposed. For instance, in July 2010 Councilor Mammoliti introduced a motion to withhold city funding for the Parade (Mammoliti 2010). He justified his motion by claiming that Pride Toronto's acquiescence to let QuAIA march would contravene the city's policy against funding hate-speech groups (QuAIA). And yet, when we peel back a layer, Carol points out that Mammoliti's stance against homosexuals called into question the 'truth' behind his claim,

[Mammoliti] was very busy during this period of time. Having someone who, I don't think I'm wrong when I say that he's clearly homophobic, or he's stated in the past, having him as lead on this issue complicated everything more in trying to find resolve to that... Because, what would the reason be? This is where you have the layering, this is what made it so difficult (Carol, City Council).

This investigation has uncovered a number of 'layers' so far. First we have QuAIA's position to contend with, as well as Pride Toronto's. At this level Pride initially had no objections to letting QuAIA march in the Parade and the issue remained a local one. Then,

peeling back a layer, we are able to identify how translocal relations between the City of Toronto and the invocation of funding regulations and city policies about hate speech were intertwined with homophobia and political/moral debates that had little to do with QuAIA's participation. Carol cleverly drove this point home when she expressed her frustration over the complexity of this issue, "This is probably one of the most difficult policy situations because not only was it the Queers Against Israeli Apartheid brand, it was also the 'Queers' brand so you have councilors who are quite openly homophobic, and have been in the past. So the layering of that became quite catalytic" (Carol, City Council). Now we can see how the initial concern over QuAIA's participation in the Parade was hooked into a discourse on the merits of Christian morality and a debate on sexuality rights, and still, there are more layers to explore.

One of the biggest problems that the pro-Zionist lobbyists faced in dealing with QuAIA was that they needed to establish a public perception of QuAIA as an anti-Jewish group promoting hate-speech. What made this difficult was that, in challenging QuAIA, the pro-Zionist organizations were (possibly) opening up the issue in a way that might allow for debate of Israel's policies towards Palestinians. Dave explained how this process hampered the anti-QuAIA movement, "As it turned out, people like Gladstone in fact refused to use the... Dispute Resolution Committee because they quite rightly realized that if they made a complaint what would really be debated there would be whether Israel was an apartheid state. Gladstone actually said it. He said 'If I make one complaint there, what I'm actually doing is putting Israel on trial'" (Dave, QuAIA). While QuAIA was hooked into a pro-Zionist lobbyists' account, these lobbyists were struggling to avoid being hooked into an anti-apartheid account... layers upon layers.

Peeling back all of these layers revealed a set of ruling relations that challenged the oversimplified debate about QuAIA's ability to participate in the Parade. On the local level we have a

group that wanted to participate in the Parade. They were told that, if they did march, their involvement in the Parade might jeopardize Pride Toronto's ability to continue organizing the Parade. This was a lot for one group to bear. However, when we begin to construct an account that goes beyond the local settings we can see how QuAIA and Pride have both been subjected to policies that were created elsewhere and else when. This is not a question of whether the Parade is an appropriate place for a political statement or whether QuAIA represents the interests of the larger community. Instead, an understanding has begun to emerge that shows how QuAIA's exclusion was linked into a network of translocal policies and politics.

B. A DISCREPANCY BETWEEN INTERESTS

As a spectator, the Parade appears to be inclusive. It has drag queens, lesbians, gay men, AIDS advocacy groups, unions, etc. These are all of the things that one might expect to see at such an event. However, an IE approach demonstrates that there is more to the Parade than what is simply 'seen' and that there are more people involved than those in attendance. To expand on our own knowledge we must learn to look beyond what we are doing in one locale to see how it is connected with the doings in other locales.

I would like to end this discussion by emphasizing the need to set aside ideals of what the Parade should be, or historical accounts of what the Parade was or might have been. Gays and lesbians used to say that this was 'our' Parade but, as these interviews demonstrate, any discussion about the Parade's current iteration necessitates a shift in perspective, as well as ownership. The Parade is no longer a simple event that can be organized by a handful of people in someone's living room, demonstrating how the logistics of putting on a Parade this size requires a whole new set of relationships. These relationships have an impact on what Pride Toronto can and cannot do, by trading autonomy for support. Such connections mean that the

Parade has changed, the people involved have changed, and the social conditions that led to the creation of the Parade are no longer the same. Essentially, it has not been just ‘our’ Parade for a long time. There are schedules which dictate when it will be, regulations on who can participate, maps that direct the structural organization of the event, and even rules which inform the very message that the Parade is meant to convey (i.e. framing my participation in the Parade as a celebration of my cultural heritage rather than being seen as a political challenge to normativity).

While the experiences of QuAIA members are not generalizable, I would suggest that their lived-experiences, none-the-less, can provide us with some useful lessons, lessons that at once expand our knowledge of a process of exclusion at the same time as they point to ways of transforming or countering such processes. It is apparent that once the Parade reached a certain size at least part of the organizing decisions were taken out of the hands of Pride Toronto. In this way, we can see how QuAIA –as well as Pride- is part of a series of social relations that prevent them from ‘just’ participating in the Parade. This was a new relationship in which specific regulations required specific actions. As one of the organizers with Pride Toronto explained, gaining the city’s support meant that Pride would have to make some concessions,

***Anthony:** ... Well, we've had to comply with a lot of regulations in all kinds of ways. The city provides a lot of services in kind in addition to its grant so when they tell us we have to do that, we do that.*

***Dann:** What are some of the regulations that you have to --?*

***Anthony:** They have rules about -- for example, how close a vehicle can be to a marcher in a Parade, and that's why it keeps stopping, and it keeps getting adjusted, how many vehicles in a row before people, and the heights of things, and noise limitations, and lights out at 11 o'clock, and all kinds of rules.*

Obviously the individuals involved in this story have each had some impact on what has happened. There are the interests of QuAIA members like Dave or Pride Toronto members like Anthony, but beyond the over-simplified dispute between QuAIA and Pride Toronto there are also the interests of others like Martin Gladstone, Mayor Ford, and our pro-Parade City

Councilor Carol. And yet, expanding the focus to include a larger set of individuals still fails to illuminate just how each person's actions are embedded in a network of transnational relations. To understand how this has happened, we need to understand how the various stories are all caught up in a network of unequal social relations – just what institutional ethnography excels at.

C. TEXTS, INTERCHANGES AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

An IE involves examining texts and mapping the intersection of such texts with forms of social power. Our story began with a group of queers who wanted to bring their political message into 'their' Parade. As group participant Dave noted, it never occurred to anyone that they might be refused entry. But their message activated a host of powers beyond Pride that was eventually brought to bear on the decisions about their participation. What appeared to be a relationship between Pride and an applicant group is revealed through this institutional ethnography to be much more. In recounting their struggle to participate, and exploring how Pride and the City operate and interact, I was able to expose the social relations of power influencing the decisions that were made over this multi-year period.

Most directly this was demonstrated in chapters 4 and 5. In chapter 4 I utilized Rosa's testimony about her experience applying to march on behalf of QuAIA to demonstrate how people's actions are subject to a process of institutionalization. By investigating work from the standpoint of those who were doing the work, we saw how intertextual hierarchies imbued the application form with a set of concerns and rationales that stood as something separate from those of QuAIA, attempting to create an 'idealized applicant'. In filling out and submitting the application form, QuAIA's interests and actions were inadvertently brought into concert with those stated in Pride's Terms and Conditions document. In IE terms I identified this as a

processing interchange, where the activation of the text produced an institutionalized account that could be passed on and taken up by others.

Then in chapter 5 I explored how QuAIA and Pride's relationship was affected by translocal forces, like the City of Toronto and pro-Zionist organizations. Specifically I analyzed the role that the City of Toronto had in Pride's decision to initially reject, and then accept QuAIA's application to march in the 2010 Pride Parade. I demonstrated how the work of Pride was hooked in to that of the City through a relationship based on whether or not Pride met the City's funding criteria, including a focus on the factors that made Pride vulnerable to such pressures (e.g. financial over reach and mismanagement). I then showed how the tenuous nature of this relationship allowed for possible transgressions (from the ruling relations), which in turn contributed to changes in the 2012 application process, thus, further coordinating the work of all parties through the application process.

Chapters 4 and 5 appear somewhat distinct, almost as if they are developing along parallel lines. In chapter 4 Rosa struggles to fill out the application form, chafing under a process that seems to be trying to redefine who she is and the group she is acting for. The effect is an attempt to objectify, concretize, and standardize applicants into an 'ideal' Parade participant, constituting them as a particular kind of actor. Meanwhile, in chapter 5 Pride Toronto and the Toronto City Council go back and forth defining and redefining their relationship, accompanied by dizzying invention of processes and texts. But, as I have laboured to demonstrate, the two arenas are inextricably linked. The shifting contents and length of the form, the particular boxes and clauses that must be ticked off, the late addition of further processes – all these reflect the coordinating power of translocal forces working through the City of Toronto, with agendas as varied as pro-Zionist, anti-tax, and homophobia. Yet at the same

time, the back and forth between QuAIA, Toronto Pride, and the City of Toronto over documents and processes also demonstrates the power of resistance to such efforts at translocal influence, particularly on the part of QuAIA and elements of civil society.

This thesis has attempted to make a contribution to understanding just what happened to QuAIA when they repeatedly attempted to participate in Toronto's Pride Parade, as well as why things turned out as they did. Empirically, it has stitched together an account of what happened, from the perspective of a number of different people who participated in the events. But it has not limited its analysis to their testimony. Instead, in IE fashion, I have attempted to uncover the social relations influencing the events, relations that are often unseen or only partially observed by the participants. In doing so, I have drawn from interviews with participants, texts of various kinds, and relevant media coverage. Academically, the thesis offers a more nuanced treatment of the social struggles that affect contemporary Pride Parades by tracking the concrete disagreements and conflicts of the specific people and organizations of this case, rather than relying on the more conventional theory-heavy accounts that explain away events by subsuming under them conflicts between assimilationists and liberationists, or as the product of pressures induced by neoliberalism. And finally, practically speaking, the thesis offers valuable insight into the complex reactions that any group with what could be seen as a provocative social message might expect to encounter in attempting to participate in a modern Pride Parade, or, indeed, any parade, as well as some of the reasons this may be occurring.

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APPENDIX A: EMAIL SCRIPT

EMAIL SCRIPT

[This script will follow an 'introduction' email that will be made through either a community contact or a participant in the research. They will make the initial contact with the participant and, if interested, the contact will provide an introduction through an email. For example, the success of this research project depended on the participation of a particular person. Through a contact in the community I have been able to establish their interest in participating in this project. Below is an example of the exchange (with particulars deleted).]

Dann,

I've spoken with [X] and s/he's agreed to do an interview with you.

I've included her/him on this post so that you can connect with her/him directly.

Many thanks again [participant].

Sincerely,

[Y]

Hi [X],

Thanks for your interest in my research. I'm not sure how much [my contact] has told you about what I'm doing so I'll give you a brief rundown.

Background

I am currently completing my MA through the University of Victoria. This particular research is focusing on the group Queers Against Israeli Apartheid (QuAIA) and their participation in Toronto's Pride Parade.

In a nutshell, I am conducting an institutional ethnography on QuAIA's participation in Toronto's Pride Parade. One of the main tenets of an institutional ethnography is that people's every day actions are hooked into larger networks of coordination. This approach allows us to avoid over simplified cause-and-effect research by developing a much broader understanding of how things come to be as they are. For example, this project initially started out by trying to understand how QuAIA came to be banned by Pride Toronto (from the 2010 Parade). Upon further consideration, what has emerged is an understanding that a much broader network of factors have influenced Pride Toronto's seemingly decontextualized decision to ban or censor QuAIA.

I suggest that there is a need to develop a more thorough understanding of how a 'network' of funding criteria, community participants, politicians, lobby groups etc. have all had a hand in determining QuAIA's right to participate in the Parade.

Your Role

More specifically, using QuAIA as a proxy for this critique, I am interested in learning how Pride Toronto come to make its decision to ban or censor QuAIA and what factors influenced this decision. One area to pursue (that I'm hoping you can either speak to or point me in the direction of) is the role

that Toronto's City Council had to play in this, namely, how did the actions of City Council affect Pride Toronto's decision to ban or censor QuAIA, how did the City come to its decision to withhold funding, and how was this decision communicated to Pride Toronto.

Much of my knowledge is gleaned from media accounts and your ability to provide a more insider account of what was going on at the civic level would be invaluable.

I understand that your time is limited and would be looking to do an interview of no more than sixty to ninety minutes. With your permission, I would like to record the interview. Recording the sessions will facilitate discussion and provide a more complete record than taking notes would. However, recording is entirely optional and you will be asked to indicate your preference on the consent form that will be discussed in more detail prior to conducting the actual interview.

Consent

Your agreement to participate in an interview is voluntary and any information that you share will be kept in confidence. You may withdraw or refuse to participate in any portion of this research project at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study your data (or any identified portion) will be deleted/shredded and will not be used in the final report.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. This means that any identifying information will be altered in both the transcripts and the final report to maintain as high a level of anonymity as possible. Only myself (as the principle researcher) will have access to the raw data and any identifying characteristics will not be released to the university or anyone else.

Physical data will be kept under lock and key when not in use and electronic data will be password protected. Physical data will be shredded and electronic data deleted after a five year period.

Because there is the possibility that some of what you have to say has already been made public, a copy of the transcribed interview will be provided for your inspection. This will give you the opportunity to alter or eliminate any portions of the transcript that you feel may compromise your identity.

Given the public nature of the topic, and the limited size of the population that participants will be drawn from, I ask that you respect the confidentiality of other (known) participants and avoid acknowledging their participation in any way.

Risks and benefits

Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you through the time you commit. Your time is valuable and is greatly appreciated. I will attempt to keep your time commitments to a minimum.

I understand that the information that you are being asked to provide may be sensitive. If at any time you find the material being discussed upsetting in any way, you are free to take a break in order to regain composure or end the interview indefinitely.

As noted above, there is the possibility that your public persona may compromise your confidentiality. This means that there is some risk that your participation could result in the loss of SoCal status or lead to stigmatation. While I have outlined (above) the ways in which I intend to maintain your confidentiality I would like to reiterate that at any point you are free to end the interview, take a break, or excise any portion of the interview that you feel might cause you harm or reflect badly on you in any way.

The potential benefits of your participation in this research are purely subjective and might include an increased understanding of the institutional process' that are involved in organizing Toronto's pride Parade.

I can be reached by either email (hoxsey@uvic.ca) or by phone (647-302-6689) incase you have any additional questions.

I'm very flexible on times and locations and am able to meet when it is most convenient to you.

Thanks,

Dann Hoxsey