An Uncomfortable City:

A Community-Based Investigation of Hostile Architecture

by

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Bachelor of Arts (Honours), University of Calgary, 2015

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Abstract

Hostile architecture is a medium through which social exclusion is enacted in the public and common areas of our cities. By limiting who is allowed to occupy space, and how they may do so, it functions to define the contours of inclusion in urban space-- all of which is predicated on one's engagement with the zones of consumerism that have overtaken the cities' commons. As a result, those without the means to partake are pushed aside, despite the inner-cities' historical relationships with the poor, unhoused, and marginalized.

The purpose of this study is to explore how lived experiences and knowledge of discriminatory architecture can inform a sociological analysis of hostile architecture. By exploring hostile architecture in Calgary, this thesis addresses a specific question: How do people with lived experience of homelessness understand hostile architecture? Through Community-Based Participatory Research and Photovoice, this question is addressed through collaboration with community members with lived experience of homelessness.

Collectively, we conclude that those with lived experiences of homelessness understand hostile architecture in a multitude of ways. Amongst these understandings is the notion that hostile architecture not only excludes and displaces the unhoused and marginalized, but that it is also part and parcel of the wider range of hostilities against those experiencing homeless. One key theoretical concept grounds the research. Henri Lefebvre's 'Right to the City' is used as a starting point in discussing what an equitable city might look like. I maintain that the lived experiences and knowledge held by those with experiences of homelessness can sensitize the public, and inform regional and national policymakers about this exclusionary mechanism.

Keywords: Hostile Architecture, CBPAR, Lived Experience, Homelessness, The Right to the City, Urban Sociology, Radical Imagination, Photovoice

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Dedication

I wholeheartedly dedicate this work to my late best friend Timothy, for showing me how to *make the most of it*.

This work is also for my mum, Mabel. You are a woman with a wealth of empathy, strength, and grace. You are my inspiration.

(Vass_Kallal, 2020)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Common (Adjective): A definition (Oxford Dictionary, 2021)

- Shared by, coming from, or done by more than one.
- Belonging to, open to, or affecting the whole of a community or the public.

How *common* are the public spaces in your city?[1] Before settling on any answers, consider the two following vignettes:

> Following a long and hectic week, you're out for a leisurely walk on a sunny but brisk weekend afternoon. Finding yourself downtown, you decide to track down a place to sit as you'd like to catch up on some reading. After a few moments you come across a public bench- except it's barely a bench, it's more of a long-tilted beam that one could lean against. It looks odd and uninviting, but you brush aside these worries and attempt to find a comfortable position on this beam masquerading as a seat. After a minute or two, physical discomfort arises as you awkwardly hold your body in place. You move to another bench, except this one features armrests that are situated oddly close together and it has no back support. Considering your last experience with an uncomfortable bench, you are sure this one wouldn't be much better. Exasperated, you decide to cut your losses and resign to finding a cafe. You must purchase something but at least you can comfortably enjoy your afternoon. There isn't much thought on your experience after you've had the first sip of your latte while allowing your body to fully melt into your cozy and welcoming cafe chair.
>
> Now envision a similar weekend afternoon, however this time you simply do not have the money to spare on a latte. In fact, you don't even have money to pay for a place to sleep once the sun goes down. Rather than going for a leisurely walk, you are carrying most of your possessions and have been moving along on foot for quite some time. There used to be a few good spots to rest downtown, but they have been redesigned or blocked off from the public completely. You might try to make do with whichever uncomfortable bench you resign to,

[1] Or the nearest city.

> though with the lack of options you worry about the security of your possessions in high traffic and unwelcoming areas. You must work in the morning and need to make sure you make it through the night with your uniform and bus tickets, so you force your overtired body to keep moving until you find an isolated place to rest.

If public spaces are to be truly common, then we should be questioning the ubiquity of park curfews and intentionally uncomfortable public benches. There are people that use public parks at night and occupy public benches frequently, but not all public spaces are designed for all the people who encompass the public. Rather, public space has *always* been a site of contention. For as long as there has been public space, there have been alternative uses of these spaces which are actively deterred. Public parks are frequently built and patrolled to prevent people from setting up camp, and public benches are made uncomfortable to prevent sleeping. What is being contested in these instances, is the right to the city, and more specifically the right to occupy the city commons.

1.1 Interrogating the Commonality of the Inner-city

Under the dominant neo-liberal ideology of Western societies, the right to public spaces in the city is predicated on capital accumulation and consumerism. Consequently, the general public must re-engage economically in these spaces in order to validate their presence within the city commons (Smith, et al., 2017). The public is welcome to occupy spaces as long as they are customers, employees, or business owners. In concrete terms, access and use of public space is not a right, it is a privilege predicated on class position (Banerjee, 2001). Effectively, the city commons are not very common at all.

Figure 1.1

Google search suggestions for the phrase 'homeless deterrent technology'- January 15th, 2021

One medium through which this message is conveyed is hostile architecture. Some can afford to avoid it and remain unacquainted, while others cannot afford to avoid it, and hence it becomes part of their daily existence. Hostile architecture is a significant yet understudied phenomenon that signifies 'right' and 'wrong' ways to occupy the inner-city commons. Shaped by the capitalist mode of production, the use of hostile architecture in cities suggests that public spaces are not to be occupied by all, but instead those who can participate in the economic vitality of the city. Although urban environments have long been crafted towards influencing behaviour, design strategies for excluding particular groups are continually evolving and their implementation may be on the rise (Rosenberger 2020).

These structures include procrustean benches, oddly placed armrests, spikes, sloped benches, and even strategically placed art, all of which sends the same message: *you can be here, but only momentarily, so don't get too comfortable.* This notion of the poor being managed away from the city commons speaks towards the inner-city as a site of struggle, in which requirements for inclusion are formed and contested (Chellew, 2019).

Considering not everyone has the privilege of a fixed address, this is a problem. There are many in our communities that need to rest on public benches for more than 10 minutes at a time. Just as there are many that need to access heat, for which a nearby

heating grate may be the only option during a deep winter cold spell. If that same bench is made purposely uncomfortable, or the same heating grate is blocked off with metal figures, then sleep and warmth could be improbable. Conceivably, the inner-city commons have a distinctive use value for those without secure shelter compared to those who have it (Purcell, 2013). This is not to suggest that the solution to homelessness is to accept that people do in fact live without stable housing, but to question who gets to use public space and for what purposes. While hostile architecture might appear to only be an issue for those experiencing homelessness, the increasing privatization of the inner-city commons has the potential to intersect with other pre-existing social inequities such as class and physical ability (Andreou, 2015; Bickford, 2000; Brenner, 2012; Iveson, 2008; Karyotis, 2019; Purcell, 2013; Thorn, 2011).

The use of the term "hostile" is not a neutral word, rather it is an allegation that a physical structure is purposely antagonistic and even possibly discriminatory. Here I share a brief anecdote. During the proposal stage of this thesis, I set out to see what was being said about hostile architecture around my city. On one mid-winter afternoon I stumbled across comments on a public Calgary.ca forum discussing the proposed Green Line CTrain extension.[2] The comments offered suggestions for the location and appearance of the proposed train stations, illustrating a range of perspectives on public transit.[3] Two comments in particular, stopped me dead in my tracks (no pun intended):

[2] The CTrain is a light rail transit system In Calgary, Alberta. The Green Line extension is a project to develop a CTrain transit line to the southeastern portion of the city. The Green Line would also connect with the pre-existing Red Line and Blue Line.

[3] The city of Calgary offers a fully searchable "Research and Engagement Library" that can be found here: https://www.calgary.ca/cfod/csc/research-library.html?q=#

Figure 1.2

Anonymous comments from the "What we Heard Report" Verbatim Comments (March 4-April 30, 2020)

Would like to see more hostile architecture on Centre Street to prevent hobos from loitering in the area.
Very concerned that hobos from downtown will come up to the area and start causing trouble to the neighbourhood.

Seeing this comment, written so plainly, reminded me of how cold it was outside at the time and how a train station could provide immediate reprieve from the elements. The use of the term *hobo* was also not lost on me. After the initial shock that hostile architecture is something that people in my city might want, I thought of how little I had heard the term *hobo* since junior high school. At that time, it was an insult adolescents used to disparage those experiencing homelessness as dirty and unintelligent. An early lesson in "othering." Similarly, a latent effect of hostile architecture is to implicitly demarcate the contours of who counts as a member of the community and who is the "Other." For some, perhaps including the person who wrote that comment, the presence of people experiencing homelessness brings up feelings of discomfort, guilt, and sadly, disgust.

Reflecting on these lessons and experiences, I maintain that the antagonistic intent of hostile architecture is to re-define what spaces can be considered common within the inner-city (Rosenberger, 2020), and how these common spaces can be used. Hostile architecture disproportionately affects the lives of people experiencing homelessness; a community of people who re-purpose the city for their livelihood. It works to penalize the marginalized and underserved by "designing against alternative uses of the city with the explicit purpose of excluding from public space those who engage in unsanctioned or undesired behaviours" (Smith and Walters, 2018, p. 2983), and those that merely occupy space differently. As a result, social stratification

and inequity within the inner-city commons are reinforced between those with perceived economic mobility and those who are excluded due to their class position (Emerson, 2003; Liebenberg, 2015; Licht, 2017).

1.2 Formulating Inquiry from Radical Imagination

> *There is also no doubt that the knowledge of urban reality can relate to the possible (or possibilities) and not only to what is finished or from the past.*-- Lefebvre, 1996, p. 22

Every researcher comes with a set of pre-existing notions of the world that inform their research. Critical theory, including Black Feminist, Marxist, and Anarchist thought have helped me to grapple with my own personal identity.

The role of theory in my current research is to organize my notions and observations, allowing me to articulate my day-to-day wonders and research in a more comprehensive way (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014). Personally, it is hard to ignore the political underpinnings of hostile architecture as it represents the growing exclusivity of the city commons (it is also hard to think of how a space can be both common and exclusive). The purpose of this study is not to situate the experiences of research collaborators in a pre-existing theory, but to explore alternative conceptions of the city. Alternative, as opposed to dominant and hegemonic perspectives of the city. With a focus on power and social spatiality, Henri Lefebvre introduces the concept of the 'right to the city,' a useful tool in exploring the allowances provided to inhabitants by their city and its common areas. This multidisciplinary concept has been taken up by grassroots movements and academics alike to explore an array of topics such as the Occupy protests, graffiti (Zieleniec, 2017), and community gardens (Hite et al., 2017).

What links Lefebvre's (1996) 'right to the city' with this research is the radical imagination of a *reclaimed* city-- one that is crafted by and for all its inhabitants. Here, radical imagination refers to the ability to imagine the world, not as it is, but how it could be (Bookchin, 2005; Graeber, 2007). While there are insufficiencies in our existing inner cities, Lefebvre provides an optimistic view on what the city *can* be.

1.3 Theoretical Groundwork: Henri Lefebvre's 'Right to the City'

> *Even if we do not join up all the economic and political dots, the privatization of public space, the intrusion of the market into the realm of public culture, has seemingly done much to undermine the variety and uniqueness of urban centres.*-- Allen, 2006, p. 442

The following section will present a brief discussion of urban space and power from Henri Lefebvre's pivotal text *Le Droit à la Ville* (1968),[4] as well as his later work in *La production de l'espace* (1974).[5]

Before exploring Lefebvre's Right to the city, it is important to understand his conception of space. In the *Social Production of Space*, Lefebvre lays the groundwork with the following assertions: "(social) space is a (social) product;" and "in addition to being a means of production, it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (1991, p.26). Otherwise put, social space is both a process and a product. Social spaces are '*oeuvre;*' they are artifacts of previous cycles of engagement, not unlike a piece of art. There are a few salient implications of this. First, public space is not a natural fact. However, through the process of reification, it can be maintained ideologically and physically in such a way that alternative uses of it are concealed or penalized. Second,

[4] Translated into English in 1996 as *The Right to the City in Writings on cities.*
[5] Translated into English in 1991 as *The Social Production of Space.*

public space is not neutral, but rather the material outcome of social relations and distributions of power which prioritize certain forms and uses of space over others (Lefebvre, 1991).

In our neoliberal milieu, urban space is a mechanism through which capitalism is reinforced and is itself a product of capitalism. In order to *renew* membership within commodified urban spaces, one must re-engage with the economic apparatus. This is further complicated by the increasing privatization of the city commons, where blurry collaborations between businesses and governments make the idea of common public space even more vague. Still more, as public space continues to fall into the hands of private firms, new zones of consumerism push out those who were once local to the inner-city (Smith and Low, 2006). Fundamentally, space in the city commons is complicated by class struggle, demolishing the idea of cities as common spaces (Fricaudet, 2019), wherein the city concerns itself only with consumerism and capital, much to the detriment of our shared 'right to the city.'

Throughout his works, Lefebvre's Marxian roots are apparent within his conceptualization of the city, as he emphasizes that social space is itself a commodity, distinguishing between those who inhabit or occupy urban space, and those who own it (Purcell, 2013). Lefebvre states that "until now, only those individual needs, motivated by the so-called society of consumption (a bureaucratic society of managed consumption) have prospected" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 57). Here, he is calling into question the degree of equity within the city, allowing for critical inquiry into the relationships between social space and power dynamics. Considering this, the right to the city is not a contractual agreement, rather it may emerge through the struggle of the working and underclasses and the reclaiming of urban space (Purcell, 2014; King, 2018). Here I must

stress that for Lefebvre, the right to the city refers to a *future city,* not to cities as they are now. Put otherwise, currently cities are functioning as they *should,* considering historical and ongoing inequitable distributions of power. Rather, the 'right to the city' is a call to explore "new social paths towards a better kind of urban living" (Venturini et al., 2019, p.72), as such its politic is one that emphasizes radical imagination.

Lefebvre's 'right to the city' provides a framework for critiquing the inequitable outcomes of hostile architecture, while accommodating the possibility of a more equitable city. Then, what *could* our cities look like? My radical reading of Lefebvre suggests that the city be a site of plurality; a site where chance encounters encourage diverse identities and perspectives to meet. Or as Lefebvre states, "urban life suggests meanings, the confrontation of difference, reciprocal knowledge, and acknowledgement (including ideological and political confrontation) ways of living, 'patterns' which coexist in the city" (1996, p. 75). The point of the ''right to the city' is not to bolster the authority of individual citizens, but instead it is to envision a city managed by its own inhabitants (Venturini, et al., 2019). Lefebvre's *Right to the City* offers the groundwork for critiquing inequitable urban space, and for all of us to envision and move towards the types of urban life that we seek. In essence, the 'right to the city' is the right to fully inhabit a space and to have access to the resources that allow one to fully inhabit that space.

1.4 Integrating Personal Experience

This project spawns from my adoration for Calgary's inner-city and the vibrancy I know it possesses. I grew up in an inner-city neighbourhood of Calgary that was marked by mixed-income housing and enough free activities to satisfy my childhood

whims. There wasn't any money for leisure, so my neighbourhood streets fulfilled many needs. On these streets, I explored, made friends, and got lost. We rarely had a car, and I often walked alone, always documenting the small changes that had already begun to take place within the inner-city. As a first-generation Canadian, daughter to Western African parents, I always knew that my household was not quite the same as my neighbours, but these were my stomping grounds; I always felt at home. More recently, life has moved me to different areas of the city.

During a brief stint in the suburbs, I grew to resent its sanitized nature. Against this new backdrop, my family sorely stuck out. Returning home to the inner-city, I discovered my childhood stomping grounds no longer existed. Mixed-income apartments that once housed people from a variety of backgrounds had since been turned into fancy high rise condos and luxury services. Cheap dive bars were transformed into exclusive cocktail joints. Thrift stores had transformed into businesses I had little business in. Once lively street life transformed into a landscape dampened by sterility. When I was a child, you could lie on a bench, hide from the rain under an awning, and play under a bridge. Maliciously placed angles, spikes, and jagged rocks had now made this impossible. To experience exclusion within the suburbs, only to return to an inner-city that had become increasingly hostile was jarring. I wondered: "why is it so important for the inner city of Calgary to be sanitized and homogenized?" If working poor folks like me are noticing this, then I can only imagine what it must be for those who persistently sleep rough in these same inner-city commons.

1.5 Coming to Community-Based Participatory Research

During my undergrad I completed an honours thesis; it was a quantitative study on the perceptions of homelessness held by University of Calgary students. I formulated survey questions based on what the proposed root of homelessness was, as in whether homelessness was caused by individual deficiencies, societal failings , mental illness, and/or pure luck. I knew what I believed and wanted to know what my peers thought. I also collected demographic information and area of study in order to predict *who* thought *what*. For instance, my analysis found that Arts majors mostly believed homelessness was rooted in societal failings, while engineering majors mostly believed it was a person's own failings that caused them to become homelessness. While this was a great learning experience, as a person living in historically marginalized body, I felt that I had in some ways reinforced that it was ok to do research without the people that are directly affected by that research,[6] which was the direct opposite of "*nothing about us, without us*."[7] In no way were the voices of people who have experienced homelessness reflected in my undergraduate thesis. I have grown to understand that I was wrong for doing that.

These experiences are intrinsically tied to my research, and the position I chose to take within it. I needed a method that was anti-hierarchical by design.[8] Also, by adopting Lefebvre's lens for examining the underlying power struggle for the city and how this same city can also be a place for collaboration I sought a methodology

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[6] So much is said about black women in academia and mainstream discourse- particularly, poor black women- without their consideration. But this is a topic for another day.

[7] Popularized by disability activists, the slogan 'nothing about us, without us' is a call for direct participation of marginalized groups in policy making that affects them.

[8] I also sought a methodology that I felt allowed for *dissonance*. One that doesn't force people into statistics, overarching theories or familiar narratives. Essentially, a method that doesn't need everything to "fit together," but instead allows experiences to be shared openly.

compatible with this potential. As Lefebvre states, "urban life suggests meetings, the confrontation of differences, reciprocal knowledge and acknowledgement (including ideological and political confrontation), ways of living, 'patterns' which coexist in the city" (p. 10). The potential of a future negotiated city relies on collaborative social action in the present.

As such, this project is grounded in the practices and epistemology of Community-Based Participatory Action Research (CBPAR). CBPAR is an umbrella term that encompasses a variety of research methodologies, including participatory research, participatory action research, feminist participatory research, action research, and collaborative inquiry. These methodologies are powerful and necessary, as Kirby and McKenna (1989) state, "We live in a world in which knowledge is used to maintain oppressive relations. Info [sic] is interpreted and organized in such a way that the views of a small group of people are presented as objective knowledge" (p. 15). On the flip side, by democratizing and mobilizing knowledge, progressive social movements can shift these oppressive relations. *The purpose of this study is to explore how lived experiences and knowledge of discriminatory architecture can inform a sociological analysis of hostile architecture.* By examining hostile architecture in Calgary, the lived experiences of those who have dealt with homelessness can be mobilized to sensitize the public to this critical issue, and inform regional and national policies.

On this basis, I formulated three preliminary research questions:

i. How do people with lived experience of homelessness understand hostile architecture?
    a. How has hostile architecture shaped their lives?

ii. What might their lived experiences contribute to a critical sociological understanding of this architecture?

iii. How can grassroots advocacy and community engagement improve policies regarding hostile architecture?

While earlier work on hostile architecture has focused on its uses, and whether it should be used, here the focus is exclusively on how those with experience with homelessness understand and contest architecture. My collaborators in this study are four grassroots advocates with lived experience of homelessness. Hostile architecture directly affects people experiencing homelessness, so it is necessary that people with lived experience can document their own concerns and hopes for the future.

The objectives of this research are to: (1) identify and explore hostile architecture in the inner-city of Calgary, (2) raise awareness about hostile architecture and inform city architecture policy (3) influence regional policy makers and organizations that work with homelessness, (4) examine relations of power underlying hostile architecture, while elucidating the lived experiences of marginalized individuals through qualitative sociological research.

The manner of data collection in this qualitative study is photovoice, a participatory action research (PAR) method developed by Wang and Burris in the early 1990s as part of their work with women living in the rural farming communities of Yunnan (Liebenberg, 2018). Wang (1999) describes photovoice as reflective photography that enables research collaborators to "record and reflect community strengths and concerns; promote knowledge and critical dialogue about community issues and their impact on individuals through group discussion of images; and reach and inform policymakers to bring about change" (p. 185). For data collection, each

research collaborator was asked to walk through and photograph the inner-city commons of Calgary, paying particular attention to areas that they frequent in their daily life that may contain hostile design. This raw data in the form of photos, videos, and/or notes was then used to guide our consequent research conversations. Research conversations were digitally recorded and transcribed before being sent back to each research collaborator.

1.6 Ethics approval

Ethics approval was obtained from the University of Victoria Research Ethics Board. Research collaborators were offered written and verbal information about the study, and consent was received. To ensure confidentiality, some collaborators have chosen pseudonyms.

1.7 Discussion of Terms

This thesis is written using language and terminology that is collaboratively decided upon by myself and my research collaborators. This is done to move past academic exclusivity, and towards knowledge democratization. Rather than creating hard and fast definitions for this thesis, the following section presents a flexible discussion on key terms that ground this research.

First, we must define the inner-city commons, the setting of focus in this thesis. The inner-city commons refer to all public spaces in the inner city, including public walkways, parks, sidewalks, and gathering areas.[9]

[9] POPs, or Privately owned public spaces complicate this definition, as it is not always transparent whether or not these spaces function as private or public spaces at any given time.

The terms 'people experiencing homelessness,' 'homeless people,' and 'unhoused people,' refer to people without access to stable, secure, and private housing. These terms have been selected due to their usage by the collaborators, and their ubiquity in the homelessness advocacy community and throughout the literature on homelessness.

Next, for the proposal for this research, I created a wordy preliminary definition of hostile architecture as follows:

> The ways in which various physical structures are constructed, or in most instances, how elements are installed onto pre-existing physical structures to control the use of space for certain functions, and/or by certain groups of people (Henihan, 2018; Licht, 2017; Lo, 2017; Petty, 2016).

Though this definition does not fully capture the hostility of such structures, it offered an analytical starting place and later served to document how my understanding of the phenomenon shifted over time. Later, one of the research collaborators, Nigel, presented this definition that he had formulated prior to this research: "Hostile design is the relocation of the population through urban design."[10] This definition is succinct, yet it calls upon us to broaden our concept of hostile architecture, as being a part of a larger grid wall of hostility towards homeless people. His use of the word *design*, rather than architecture, expresses how hostility against homeless people is woven throughout the entire fabric of society. Both the preliminary definition, and the one that Nigel shared with the research collaborators, encompass the myriad of ever-evolving terms for the same phenomenon including, defensive, disciplinary, exclusionary, homeless deterrence technology or deterrent architecture (Andreou, 2015; Petty, 2016; Licht, 2017). Examples of hostile architecture include 'un-sleepable benches,' defined in our

[10] Both definitions guide this research. See chapter four for more discussion on Nigel's definition.

research as any bench where a person could not lie across it and sleep. 'Anti-homeless,' or 'anti-hobo' spikes, are defined as a series of sharp or pyramid shaped fixtures that impede lying or sitting. Lastly, 'fins,' also referred to as 'pig ears,' are defined as raised fixtures that impede lying down and are also directed at restricting skateboarders.

The term 'community' is used frequently in this thesis but is one I still have difficulty defining. During an informal conversation with a group of women who had come together to discuss class-based barriers to higher education, we were tasked with defining community. We all had a sense of what it meant, but found that creating a succinct definition was nearly impossible. The one thing that we could all agree on was that community is not fixed, and it is not always dependent on geographical location. Other characteristics of community emerged: community is a process (Follett, 1919); community is sharing resources; community is creating and maintaining networks; and community is reciprocal emotional labour. Thereupon, instead of a definition, I present these ideas as characteristics of community.

Lastly, neo-liberalism is yet another term that is well used, but not always defined. In this thesis neoliberalism refers to:

> …the deepening penetration of capitalism into political and social institutions as well as cultural consciousness itself. Neoliberalism is the intensification of the influence and dominance of capital; it is the elevation of capitalism, as a mode of production, into an ethic, a set of political imperatives, and a cultural logic. It is also a project: a project to strengthen, restore, or, in some cases, constitute anew the power of economic elites (Thompson, 2005, p. 23).

1.8 Significance of the Study

As graduate students, we are expected to defend the significance and merit of our research. During the proposal stage of this thesis, I had a hard time putting into

words why exploring hostile architecture in my hometown was important to me. I always felt as though hostile architecture is a small symptom of a larger societal ailment. I have felt that at its core it seeks to exclude people who are already living on the margins. Quite literally, hostile architecture encourages the overtired and vulnerable to move along, exacting a forced restlessness that further burdens one's mental, emotional and physical health. An endless 'spatial churning' (Herring, 2019, p. 785).

Later, I found myself concluding the first research conversation with one of the research collaborators, Randy. After we discussed a few of the logistics of the project I asked him if he had any closing questions, and he promptly inquired:

> "What made you choose this project as your thesis?"

I experienced this inquiry as actually containing two separate but overlapping questions. One, why do I care about hostile architecture? And two, why do I think I should be the one to write about it? I strung together a disjointed, albeit honest reply:

> "I guess more of a disclosure; I did grow up pretty poor… I guess I have always felt a solidarity with people who are working class, under class, or poverty class. So that's kind of where it came from. I also have a very weird attachment to the development of Calgary…So I think it's just kind of been like a journey of understanding the world, coming to terms, understanding issues of class and stuff, and also yeah, I just try to give back to my community as well. I'm still trying to figure it out…"

Randy nodded, then followed up with another question:

> "Alright. Then let me ask you one more, let's just say somebody else takes the exact same topic as you, what would your backup been?"

Without as much as a thought, I answered once again off the cuff:

"Oh, I don't have a backup. This is what I wanna look at right now. That's the thing."

Randy affirms my response:

"That's a good answer."

It stands that the significance of this thesis is to uncover antagonistic mechanisms that exclude marginalized individuals, while providing a space for these individuals to share their experiences. At the time of writing, there is no known study on how hostile architecture is experienced by people dealing with homelessness. Though the topic of hostile architecture has been taken up in the media and academia- there is very little discourse on how those that are homeless experience exclusionary measures. By sensitizing the public to hostile architecture, we may begin to combat the stigma that surrounds homelessness and tear down barriers that impede community.

It is my belief that research has a duty to "begin to reflect the experience and concerns of people who've traditionally been marginalized by the research process and by what gets counted as knowledge" (Kirby and Mckenna, 1989, p. 22). We need more studies that not only recognize that marginalized individuals possess very powerful and irreplaceable insights, but also aim to honour and uplift the communities they represent.

In the next chapter, I present a review of the literature of which this project is situated within. Following this, in chapter three, I present a contextualization of the city of Calgary as a site for this research. In chapter four, we present our methodology. In chapter five, the research collaborators are introduced through an Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), a data analysis method that emphasizes the

experiences of the research collaborators. In chapter six I present a discussion of themes through analysis of photos and interview texts. I conclude chapter seven, with the major points of this thesis, and provide propositions for the city, as well suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

First, in this review of the literature I put forward an overview of research centred on lived experiences of homelessness. Second, I present a discussion of critical socio-spatial literature. Third, the growing body of discourse on hostile architecture is presented. Fourth, I provide a discussion of homelessness and social exclusion. Fifth, arguments for architecture as a crime deterrent are presented. Sixth, I explore socio-political resistance in public spaces. Finally, concluding this literature review is a brief outline of Henri Lefebvre's critical conception of the city.

2.1 Research on the Lived experiences of homelessness

There is growing consciousness that it is necessary to include the voices of marginalized people in research that pertains to their communities; respecting intersectionality,[11] and putting into practice the slogan *'nothing about us, without us.'* This idea has gained traction throughout various disciplines, but particularly in the areas of

[11] The term 'intersectionality,' coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), is well established as a concept useful in recognizing how identities and social locations interplay and influence how we move through the world. Crenshaw, a Black woman, created the concept in order to describe how multiple oppressions are experienced. When looking at issues of homelessness, an intersectional lens allows us to recognize how race, class, ability, and gender all facilitate differing experiences of homelessness. This concept has real empirical implications. For one, women are more likely to be part of the 'hidden homeless' community, than other gender identities. Due to gendered violence, women dealing with homelessness have unique safety needs, and tend to stay with friends, family, or in specialized women's shelters. LGBTQ individuals have unique struggles as they are also the targets of violence, and experience further social exclusion due to homophobia and transphobia. Relationships between race and homelessness are also crucial to explore, as it has been shown that unhoused BIPOC individuals experience more health issues, and earlier onset of homelessness than their white counterparts. Corrigan, et al. (2015) found, when looking at an inner-city Chicago neighbourhood, that Black people experiencing homelessness were more likely to have an untreated chronic health issue than their non-Black counterparts, leading to higher mortality and morbidity rates. Likewise, the Calgary based project on homelessness by Thurston, Soo, and Turner (2013) found that the mean age of Indigenous participants was approximately five years lower than that of non-Indigenous participants. Additionally, they found that there were more people that identified as female in the Indigenous homeless community than in the non-Indigenous homeless community.

public health and medicine where Participatory Action Research (PAR) has been widely used (Lazarus, et al., 2014; Baum, 2016; Berge et al., 2009). For instance, one insightful study by Corrigan, et al. (2015) examines how African Americans struggling with both mental health issues and homelessness experience the healthcare system. The emergent themes that defined the community's concerns included alienation from mainstream health care, bureaucratic barriers to accessing already scarce health resources, and experiences of stigmatization from health care providers. Propositions to alleviate these concerns were discussed collaboratively, highlighting the importance of self-advocacy. Or as Corrigan et al. state that "the obverse of stigma is personal empowerment "(p. 9). The resulting discussion presented two straightforward solutions: increased support from healthcare providers and empowering others in the homeless community to become their own advocates. Likewise, a study by Martin et al. (2019) provides an illustrative account of homelessness in Western Australia in order to "counter the invisibility of people's lived experience in community, service delivery, and policy discourses, participants were asked what they wanted others to know about their circumstances" (p. 167). By doing this the researchers were better able to understand the impacts of colonization, dispossession, and racism on the lives of Aboriginal Australians dealing with chronic homelessness. They summarize their findings:

> However, despite policy and program descriptions which promised joined up service delivery, the people in the parks were clear that their needs were basic—secure and suitable housing, safety, and an expectation that the response from services like the police would meet the minimum community standard. Police procedural responses which move people on do not reflect service integration principles or practices; instead, they symbolize an "out of sight, out of mind" response. Yet, while services operate in isolation, the people in the parks' voices continue to be inaudible, their lived experience erased from the broader discourse, and they are blamed. (p. 168).

It is apparent that understanding the experiences of the unhoused can help clarify what policy processes can better address the problem. Additionally, gaining understanding of the physical and social setting in which research partners and participants are situated is fundamental.

Similarly, Garcia et al. (2013) undertook a case study of youth living on Los Angeles' Skid Row, in order to survey how service providers could better assist this chronically underserved community.[12] They partnered with The United Coalition East Prevention Project (UCEPP), who are described as:

> a program of Social Model Recovery Systems, Inc., [that] was founded in 1996 to address alcohol- and other drug-related problems in the Skid Row area. Within a social justice framework, UCEPP mobilizes vulnerable populations by engaging them in grassroots community organizing, assessment, research, and civic engagement with the aim of achieving change that promotes neighborhood wellness, cohesiveness, and safety.

Together, the research team, the UCEPP, and the homeless youth community of Skid Row centred their study around how civic engagement and grassroots community organization can better inform service providers in the area. Because of this focus, homeless youth were fundamental in formulating steps to effecting policy change. The steps were defined as follows: creating a "problem definition, creating awareness and getting on the policy agenda" (Garcia et al., 2013, pp. 21-22). The problem definition included a grid wall of interrelated issues including, but not limited to, harassment and unequal treatment from educators and law enforcement, and lack of access to parks and "other resources available to youth in more affluent neighbourhoods."

[12] Skid Row is a 50 square block portion of inner-city Los Angeles. It is most known for its extreme poverty and large homeless population (Skid Row Housing Trust, 2020).

Next, to create awareness and in order to mobilize these understandings, results of the survey were shared via public hearings at museums and universities. After engaging with the public, two policy goals were established: equitable treatment of homeless youth throughout the Los Angeles Unified School District; and creating a safe and healthy place to play. Though this project did not result in immediate policy change, persistence in mobilizing knowledge created in this study led to eventual positive outcomes. Service providers, educators, and law enforcement were sensitised to the concerns of the homeless youth, and a park was created (albeit with strict time limits that complicate this victory). By referring to the experiences and expertise of the homeless youth, this study illustrated the strength of researcher-community collaborations.

In a comparable manner, a psychological study by Collins, Clifasefi, Stanton, the LEAP Advisory Board, and Gil-Kashiwabara (2018) discusses the effectiveness of CBPAR. In this two-fold study CBPAR is broken down into its principles, strengths, weaknesses, and possible applications. Secondly, a case study is presented in order to explore the disconnect between the goals of homeless individuals with alcohol dependency seeking recovery and the rigidity of abstinence-based approaches. As CBPAR and its principles are discussed throughout this thesis, we will focus on its effectiveness here, which has been defined as five advantages:

1. CBPAR expands upon the mandates of patient- centred research and practice.
2. CBPAR can strengthen psychology's ethical framework.
3. CBPAR improves the validity of research methods.
4. CBPAR is well positioned to increase the effectiveness of psychological interventions for individuals and their communities.

5. CBPAR may close the research-practice gap (Collins et al., 2018, pp. 13-16).

What I take from this list, is that CBPAR is particularly well suited at approaching sensitive topics because of its emphasis on the partnership between the researcher and the community member. This partnership allows researchers to move past researching subjects towards researching *with* participants. Collins, et al. also illustrate the emphasis on participant experience, finding that many of the participants would prefer alcohol harm reduction and quality of life improvements, which were seen as more realistic and sustainable over the long term, to abstinence-based programs that did not recognize the realities of homelessness. While CBPAR is a powerful and inclusive methodology, it is not without its challenges, which are summarized here into four elements:

1. Co-defining the ethical framework.
2. Managing multiple role relationships.
3. Protecting privacy and confidentiality.
4. Conflicts of interest (Collins et al., 2018, pp. 17-20).

First, co-defining ethical frameworks can be difficult as research ethics are largely defined through iterative engagement with university Research Ethics Boards (REBs), which can exclude members of the community from these important discussions. This particular challenge is not unique to CBPAR, though it is in opposition to its anti-hierarchical epistemology. The last three elements are highly related and pose a unique challenge when conducting a CBPAR project, as practitioners may find themselves as both a researcher and community member. Here I propose that confirming ongoing consent may help alleviate these challenges. By referring back to and keeping in communication with research partners and participants at regular intervals, researchers

create a system of checks and balances, increasing the likelihood that they are working ethically and inclusively.

But of course, not all studies with those with lived experiences of homelessness are collaborative in nature, as such outcomes greatly differ. A qualitative content analysis by Hassan et al. (2019) examines data collected from semi-structured life history interviews with twenty-two homeless individuals with drug dependencies in Tehran, Iran. The objective was to look for themes that might illuminate the "deeplife [sic] experiences of street people with addictions'' while providing insight for city planners and policymakers in "designing social interventions'' (p. 66). Themes included instability at the previous home, distrust of the public, social exclusion, economic vulnerability, and most predominantly the experience of being stigmatized. One particularly noteworthy finding:

> …the participants resort to streets seeking for safety, peace and especially, dignity and honor of their own families. This finding is quite in contrast with the common conceptualization of addiction and homelessness as results of individual moral weaknesses; a concept that has a strong contribution to stigmatizing our participants. In other words, homelessness is not always a passive and reactive phenomenon but people with addictions may choose homelessness for reducing the problems families encounter because of their addictions. (p. 69)

While these themes and findings together paint a picture of life on the streets of Tehran, this study can be seen as *extractive*. Because data were analyzed without the participants, the findings lack voice and instead are rooted in dominant narratives of homelessness as tragic, yet somewhat pathological. Content analysis can be a helpful tool in deductive research by highlighting similarities between literature, theory, and chunks of data. On the other hand, data can become abstracted from what was actually communicated by participants.

A life history study by Cunningham and Slade (2016), utilized participant photography to 'explore the lived experience of homeless men in relation to how they engaged in day-to-day occupations when sleeping rough or hostel dwelling' (p. 27). It should be noted this occupation perspective refers here to the standpoint of humans as beings who perform and engage in activities that impact their health and wellbeing, within the context of their environments (Kielhofner, 2009). Through collaboration with five men dealing with homelessness, participants described their experiences of occupational engagement. Unsurprisingly, they found that most of the men's time was spent partaking in "survival occupations," such as acquiring money and basic needs. But they also found that time could be occupied for enjoyment (e.g., hobbies), and as self-management in order to avoid possibly harmful activities (p. 20). By using a participatory method, the researchers were better able to learn how each participant used their time, and what time meant to them. While the findings were not novel, it is apparent that the researchers prioritized showcasing the experiences of participants over developing a digestible grand theory of occupational engagement and homelessness. Ultimately, this study highlighted the importance of accomplishment, helping to depict homelessness beyond the dominant imagery of laziness or personal pathology.

Another collaborative study that undertook a narrative analysis of in-depth life story interviews of 11 homeless youth by Toolis and Hammack (2015) sought to examine how self-narratives can "act as a tool for cultural reproduction and resistance" (p. 52). More specifically, with a focus on identity interpretation, they sought to assess how people--through narrative--make sense of their marginalized social positioning. Amongst their findings is the idea of counter-narration as a way to

counteract and/or subvert the effects of societal stigmatization. Parallel to Corrigan et al. (2015) and Hassan et al. (2019), the perception of stigmatization is a recurring theme throughout work on lived experiences of homelessness (Meij et al., 2020; Milaney et al., 2019). While homeless people experience many and varying forms of deprivation, the experience of being stigmatized is widely recognized by most. Throughout the literature, many who have experienced homelessness speak of the double process of being demonized as a result of their social positionality, but at the same time made to feel invisible. This is perhaps tied to how people understand homelessness, as whether homelessness is the result of societal or personal shortcomings has been discussed at length. Regardless, the idea that homelessness is the result of personal deficiencies or pathology is held by some people, which can be felt by people experiencing homelessness, especially in public spaces where differing perspectives come to meet.

2.2 Problematizing Public Space

The topic of spatial design and its influence on social life is not new to the social sciences. From Georg Simmel's (1908) treatise "Sociology of Space"--where he breaks down the 'five aspects of space' that influence social interaction--to the enduring critical perspectives of the Chicago School, the importance of social and public spaces has been well established. These spaces constitute an arena wherein differing perspectives meet, and problems are collectively addressed (Bickford, 2000). For this reason, I maintain that public spaces are physically and ideologically crucial in aiding communication and facilitating knowledge democratization. It then follows that the ongoing privatization and exclusivity of public space is of great concern to critical urban researchers and

others. This project is informed by the growing body of critical urban research which Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer (2011) define as follows:

> In the most general terms, critical approaches to urban studies are concerned: (a) to analyze the systemic, yet historically specific, intersections between capitalism and urbanization processes; (b) to examine the changing balance of social forces, power relations, socio-spatial inequalities and political–institutional arrangements that shape, and are in turn shaped by, the evolution of capitalist urbanization; (c) to expose the marginalizations, exclusions, and injustices (whether of class, ethnicity, "race," gender, sexuality, nationality, or otherwise) that are inscribed and naturalized within existing urban configurations; (d) to decipher the contradictions, crisis tendencies, and lines of potential or actual conflict within contemporary cities; and on this basis, (e) to demarcate and politicize the strategically essential possibilities for more progressive, socially just, emancipatory, and sustainable formations of urban life. (p. 5)

More so, critical urban researchers have expressed unease over the influence of neoliberalism on city life. The concern here centres upon the market-oriented, individualistic nature of neoliberalism, through which modern cities have redefined inhabitants as consumers. Adding to the already complicated *right* to public space, is the increase in privately owned public space (also referred to as POPS). Introduced in NYC in the 1960's as a zoning practice associated with urban revitalization plans (Lee, 2020; Sezer and Niksic, 2017), POPS have also aided in shifting the focus of cities from inhabitant-first to consumer-first. Prominent critical geographer David Harvey laments this increasing privatization:

> Increasingly, we see the right to the city falling into the hands of private or quasi-private interests. In New York City, for example, the billionaire mayor, Michael Bloomberg, is reshaping the city along lines favourable to developers, Wall Street and transnational capitalist-class elements, and promoting the city as an optimal location for high-value businesses and a fantastic destination for tourists. He is, in effect, turning Manhattan into one vast gated community for the rich. In Mexico City, Carlos Slim had the downtown streets re-cobbled to suit the tourist gaze. Not only affluent

> individuals exercise direct power. In the town of New Haven, strapped for resources for urban reinvestment, it is Yale, one of the wealthiest universities in the world, that is redesigning much of the urban fabric to suit its needs. Johns Hopkins is doing the same for East Baltimore, and Columbia University plans to do so for areas of New York, sparking neighbourhood resistance movements in both cases. The right to the city, as it is now constituted, is too narrowly confined, restricted in most cases to small political and economic elite who are in a position to shape cities more and more after their own desires. (2008, p. 53)

Blurring the lines between public and private spaces, these hybrid spaces have increased the number of common areas in cities, such as plazas and parks (Lee, 2020). While this seems like an overall positive outcome, these spaces operate along varying degrees of exclusivity, and the rules of engagement are not always widely available to the public. Because of this, policies differ across POPS and even within them depending on *who* they are being applied to at any given time.

Related, but not included within critical urban perspectives, is the prominent New Urbanism movement, a response to what can be described as the neo-liberalization of post WWII urban development (e.g., suburban tract housing, urban sprawl, automobile dependency, and socioeconomic segregation). New Urbanism is a planning and development methodology based on creating user friendly and sustainable cities through urban design. The New Urbanists advocate for accessible public parks, mixed-use zoning, creative uses of infills, and highly walkable city-blocks (CNU, n.d.). Moreover, by centering on 'human-scale' development (urban spaces that are optimized for human use), New Urbanists prioritize placemaking to enhance quality of life in the city. Placemaking is the overarching process of creating spaces that people want to "live, work, play, and learn in." Though a review of the literature did not turn up any results on hostile architecture through the lens of New Urbanism, it is suggested that it is an approach critical of exclusionary public spaces. New Urbanism provides a

pragmatic approach to interrogating the equitability of cities. This is reflected within this section of The Charter of the New Urbanism:

We advocate the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice (CNU 'Who We Are').

Interestingly, the New Urbanism movement has been criticized for not acknowledging the real-life socio-economic conditions of certain neighborhoods. For instance, rapid redevelopment tends to raise property values which has proven to be detrimental to those who lived in these previously affordable neighborhoods (Imbroscio, 2010; Kim and Larsen, 2017). In a similar vein, the movement has been faulted for ignoring issues of homelessness.

Critical urban research that does centre issues of homelessness looks at how discrimination and exclusionary mechanisms such as hostile design function within the context of the city. It has been argued that through an array of means, cities are spatially segregated, with neighborhoods differing along race and class-based lines (Stuart, 2014). As a result, underserved neighborhoods continue to be disregarded as revitalization investments are concentrated in areas which can generate more financial returns, also referred to as 'splintering urbanism' (Graham and Marvin, 2001).

It has been suggested that since the global financial meltdown of 2008, cities have grown increasingly punitive, targeted at specific classes, social groups, racialized populations, housing tenures, and migration statuses (Madden, 2020, p. 677). We have seen how, based on social positionality, the pandemic has affected people differently.

For instance, those who can work at home, thus lowering chances of becoming infected with the virus, have fared much better than those who are considered essential workers (grocery stores and the like) and required to leave their homes. Also, those who (including me) live pay cheque-to-pay cheque, and owe rent monthly have also been faced with a reality not recognized by those who can comfortably afford their homes. Given the lack of support available before and during this pandemic, people have and will continue to experience economic precarity. One does not have to go far to find evidence of the devastation that COVID-19 has caused across the globe. From job insecurity, outrageous hospital bills, to the catastrophic number of lives lost, the pandemic has caused a disruption so great, that simply resuming business as usual seems unlikely.

Ultimately, critical urban research is founded on critiquing the historical and ongoing inequities within the city that reproduce social injustices (Brenner, 2009). Apart from that, the ongoing (at the time of writing) COVID-19 pandemic has renewed attention to the "fundamental brittleness of neoliberal urbanism," illuminating the flaws embedded in our political-economic infrastructure (Madden, 2020, p. 677).

2.3 Unyielding Hostile Designs

> *In other words, the 'sight' and 'scene' of homelessness appear as stains and blights on the city space, whilst the infiltration of capital in public space appears customary and common sense.*-- Smith and Hall, 2017, p. 2221

Largely, critical researchers describe hostile architecture as a means of barring undesired or unwanted groups from particular spaces (Aubrey, 2020; Rosenberger, 2017; Smith and Walters, 2017; Petty, 2016; Licht, 2017; Bergamaschi et al., 2014; Savicic

and Savic, 2013; Thorn, 2011; Lockton, 2011; Doherty, 2008; Tosi, 2007; Mitchell, 1995, 2003). Architecture of this sort can be constructed with barring features or can include architecture in which modifications are made to obstruct prior uses (Licht, 2017). This can range from overtly exclusionary uses of space and structure--such as in the case of gated communities--to more strategic installations of plant pots and art that block access to particular corners, particularly ones that obstruct the public from seeking impromptu shelter, comfort, or warmth (Licht, 2017). The most well-known examples in the literature include benches with multiple closely situated bars, often adjacent to the backrest that prevent people from laying across them; or brutalist concrete blocks referred to as Camden Benches (Peršak and Di Ronco, 2017; Willcocks and Gamman, 2011). Terms such as "anti-hobo benches," "unsleepable benches," and "anti-bum benches" are oft-times attached to such structures (Rosenberger, 2020; Licht, 2017). More examples include the installation of spikes across heat vents, directly under areas that are receded from popular walkways, or areas protected by awnings, that prevent or discourage people-watching and panhandling (Petty, 2016; Licht, 2017). Further examples include garbage and recycling bins designed to impede retrieval; these often take the form of awnings and other lid shapes that make it challenging to reach inside. "Such anti-picking features could deter the presence of those who look to the bins as potential sources of discarded food, or those searching for recyclable materials that can be traded in for money" (Rosenberger, 2020, p. 887). Andreou (2015) explains the purposiveness of hostile architecture:

> Defensive architecture is revealing on several levels because it is not the product of accident or thoughtlessness, but a thought process. It is a sort of unkindness that is considered, designed, approved, funded, and made real with the explicit motive to exclude and harass. It reveals how

> corporate hygiene has overridden human considerations, especially in retail districts. It is a symptom of the clash of private and public, of necessity and property (n.p.).

Notwithstanding critique, persistent new methods of hostile architecture have been developed; now perhaps taking on less invasive forms due to previous negative reactions from the public (Licht, 2017). Milder hostile designs make use of colour and sound in order to discourage congregation and other 'undesirable' behaviours. Examples here include the use of bright lights and classical music or high-frequency sounds that discourage young people from lingering (Licht, 2017). Urban geographers have also begun to examine a phenomenon called 'soft policies of exclusion', in which vagrancy laws are unevenly applied to prevent people from sleeping outside or to keep particular groups of people out of particular parts of town (Mitchell, 2003; Thorn, 2011; Licht, 2017; Rishbeth and Rogaly, 2017). Or as Stuart (2014) states, "the argument is now well-rehearsed: due to increasing pressure to redevelop and revitalise the urban core, municipal leaders have enlisted the police to systematically 'purify' streets and sidewalks" (1909). In Canada, critics began to map[13] the incidences of "neo-vagrancy laws," illustrating the ubiquity of such laws across the country. Alarmingly, most major Canadian cities have laws criminalizing panhandling, salvaging (collecting discarded items), squeegeeing (cleaning windshields at red lights for money) and sleeping in public places (Homelesshub, n.d., n.p.).

By broadening the number of survival behaviours of homeless people that can be subject to criminal law, police, bylaw officers and even security guards can target this population. This phenomenon has been referred to as *pervasive penalty* (Herring

[13] To access the interactive map, visit http://covid19-phi.ca/mapTwo.html

et al., 2019), and the penalty for homeless people can be fines (which can rarely be paid), move-along orders, jail time, and physical harm. Providing a unique look into the issue of 'complaint driven policing,' Herring's (2019) enactive ethnography of both homelessness and policing in California found that the prioritization of 'quality-of-life ordinances' proved to be detrimental to the homeless population as they further criminalized the poor. Additionally, by pushing the poor and marginalized along, these orders result in increased conflict over already scarce public space.

A closely related mechanism used to restrict access to public areas is "zoning," which allows cities to allocate spaces for specific uses while barring others (Bickford, 2000; Thorn, 2011). More specifically, Peršak and Di Ronco (2017) describe the motivation behind zoning as being to "prevent incivilities said to arise from the behaviour of the homeless (such as going through trash and sleeping rough) by prohibiting the homeless in certain areas of the city – areas that belong to the city centre and attract tourists" (p. 330). In a notable example of zoning, in 2014 the Ft. Lauderdale City Commission made it illegal for anyone to sleep publicly downtown, stating that infractions are punishable by $500 USD and/or sixty days in jail.

2.4 Soft(er) Mechanisms of Exclusion

> *Portrayals of minorities as defiling and threatening have for long been used to order society internally and to demarcate the boundaries of society, beyond which lie those who do not belong*.-- Sibley, 1995, p. 49

Architecture can reflect biases that favour particular groups of people over others; simply put, "architecture is not neutral, but social and political. As a result, architecture can serve to maintain and reproduce social values and classifications through exclusion and segregation" (Shah et al., 2007, p. 14). Hostile architecture can be

understood as a means of keeping the realities of homelessness away from the view of the public. Or as Licht (2017) puts it, "we are trying to exclude those who are creating sympathetic feelings in us" (34). Throughout the literature, hostile architecture is described as an exclusionary practice that speaks to outdated social mores that function to keep certain groups out of the mainstream social community (Bickford, 2000; Licht, 2017). Those critical of hostile architecture have detected a lack of empathy on the part of those that build structures to marginalize those already on the periphery of society. It has been argued that not only does hostile architecture have a salient psychological effect on those who are barred access, it fails to keep communities safe, and in itself "harbours isolation and bleakness" (Andreou, 2015, n.p.).

There is a clear critique of the growing exclusionary mechanisms built into public spaces, which is succinctly expressed by Smith et al. (2017) "when cities are focused on presenting and creating a safe, sanitized and controlled public realm they lose those qualities of civil interaction and diversity that characterize the public realm...This further narrows the definition of who is and who should be allowed in public space, with broader implications for democratic inclusion" (p. 2983). The creeping control of public spaces denotes who is included and who is othered. Many maintain that hostile architecture results in the dehumanization of individuals and is inherently disrespectful to those already on the outskirts of social life (Kriel et al., 2017). It is important to note that critics of hostile architecture see it as an issue that affects more than just homeless people.

> ...There is a wider problem, too. These measures do not and cannot distinguish the 'vagrant' posterior from others considered more deserving. When we make it impossible for the dispossessed to rest their weary bodies at a bus shelter, we also make it impossible for the elderly, for the infirm, for the pregnant woman who has had a dizzy spell. By making the city less

> accepting of the human frame, we make it less welcoming to all humans. By making our environment more hostile, we become more hostile within it. (Andreou, 2015, n.p.)

Similarly, Smith and Walters (2017) note that "the new hallmark of urban furniture is that it must be so uncomfortable as to render prolonged sitting unappealing and lying down impossible" (p. 2984). In response to the growing hostility of public spaces, critical researchers maintain that everyone should have a right to public spaces and that everyone should have equal access to these spaces (Smith and Walters, 2017; Andreou, 2015; Mitchell, 2003). This right must of course be exercised within limitations as social spaces cannot be used for a number of personal or leisurely reasons. For instance, playing loud music at night and accosting strangers as they pass is clearly not acceptable. Though we may have a "prima facie right to do some things in public spaces--for example, we have the right to protest against social injustices, and to wander while enjoying the environment--these rights must be weighed against other people's prima facie rights. Such as the right for people to have some control over the areas in which they live and to feel safe" (Licht, 2017, p. 37).

Mechanisms of exclusion have taken many forms throughout history, which demonstrates the continuing need to establish the conditions of inclusion and to obfuscate differences. This is reflected in public spaces--which are not fully open due to segregation--where varying groups have historically sought inclusion (Mitchell, 1995). Ongoing historical categorizations of difference include but are not limited to: 'black' versus 'white;' 'cleanliness' versus 'disease;' and 'familiar' versus 'foreign.' In each of these examples, the dominant group establishes themselves as the norm, and the other as deviant or lesser. This of course extends to the differentiation between the 'haves' and the 'nots, which is only reinforced by the use of socio-spatial segregation (Sibley,

1995). Put otherwise," fear becomes attached to certain bodies (the poor, homeless, etc.) and is expressed in a form of spatial organization" (Jayne and Ward, 2017, p. 26).

Throughout the literature, it is often noted that hostile designs may be used by cities as a 'revitalization' method, and as a result, poor and marginalized individuals that lack the resources to engage economically in these 'revived' spaces are "managed away through both explicit and implicit design features" (Ross and Boston, 2017; Smith et al., 2017, p. 2982; Karjanen, 2016). As a consequence of the sometimes-obscured function of hostile architecture, the marginalized are excluded, not by force or by law, but by 'softer' suggestions of exclusion. The notion of the poor being managed away from the city commons speaks towards the inner-city as a site of struggle, in which requirements for inclusion are formed and contested (Chellew, 2019). In the neoliberal context, this means that access to public spaces is entirely predicated on capital accumulation and consumerism, which is further encouraged by the propping up of new commercial zones near common spaces. Hence those without access to stable housing, are deemed ineligible to access particular common spaces as they cannot contribute to consumerism and have therefore no financial value for the city. Additionally, poor and marginalized individuals are often considered to be aesthetically disagreeable, and something to be kept away from customers, tourists and potential business owners (Peršak and Di Ronco, 2017). The public is welcome to occupy spaces, as long as they are customers, workers, or business owners. In concrete terms, access and use of public space is not a right, it is a privilege predicated on class position (Banerjee, 2001). Consequently, the general public must continuously engage economically in order to validate their presence within the inner-city commons. (Smith, Naomi, and Walters 2017).

Thorn (2011) provides a real-life example of the commodification of public space through his analysis of a Swedish urban campaign titled, 'THINK'. This 'revitalization' campaign toted the slogan "The City as a Common Living Room," to encourage citizens to keep the inner-city commons clean. What is particularly interesting about the THINK campaign, was the way in which the inner-city commons were visually depicted as analogous to a private living room. In one of the images a middle-aged, sharply dressed couple greets a guest into their lavish home. The woman holds a tray and glasses of champagne in her hands while beneath her, the floor of the living room covered in litter. The adjacent text reads that "It is time to think about what the streets look like when tourists come to town" (Thorn, 2011). Suggested here is that expectations surrounding public space are extremely value laden. There is a 'right' and 'wrong' way to occupy spaces, which appear to be based on socio-economic differences. More specifically, these images make it very clear that the accepted citizen is one with a fixed address and disposable income. A citizen with the ability to leave the city commons after they have engaged with the economic apparatus. Otherwise put, the inner-city commons have a specific agenda--protected by the interests of those with economic power--against those that do not contribute to such interests (Peršak and Di Ronco, 2017). Throughout critical literature, there is a shared notion that the 'right to the city is only a right to consume, a detriment to the democratic city (Mitchell, 1995; Bickford, 2000; Smith et al., 2017; Peršak and Di Ronco, 2017; Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer, 2011).

2.5 Tough Love and Crime Deterrence

Conversely, there are arguments that describe hostile architecture as a sort of necessary evil, whereby it is acceptable in a number of contexts (Licht, 2017; Willcocks and Gamman, 2011). Stemming from "Design with Intent," a method based on how

built structures influence our behaviour (Lockton, Harrison, and Stanton, 2008), a popular sentiment for those in favour of hostile architecture is the matter of crime prevention. This is an area where some maintain that "crime or merely threats against safety in public spaces should be prevented before being committed" (Thorn, 2011, p.992). Influenced by Oscar Newman's (1972) concept of "Defensible Space," which is composed of urban design principles and a general theory of crime, criminologists and designers alike have implemented 'anti-crime' designs around the world (Donnelly, 2010). Newman's Defensible Space framework--usually discussed in relation to its usage in multi-dwelling units--has had mixed results in its implementations, yet interestingly "one of the more widely known and enthusiastically received theories in the field of man-environment relations is the idea of defensible space: the notion that crime can be controlled through environmental design" (Merry, 1981, p. 397). This enthusiasm can be seen in the strategies of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), an intentional design strategy that uses components of the built environment to influence and restrict behaviour in urban space to prevent crime and protect property (Chellew, 2019). CPTED is a multi-disciplinary group, composed of policymakers, architects, urban planners, and law enforcement (Bader, 2020).

Furthermore, CPTED implements what its practitioners call the 'three core design strategies,' which are as follows: natural access control; natural surveillance; and territorial reinforcement. Natural strategies refer to the everyday use of the built environment where outcomes such as access control and surveillance are a by-product. Access control reduces the possibility of crime by restricting access to space. Similarly, natural surveillance works to eliminate 'blind spots,' in which crime could occur. Lastly, territorial reinforcement uses physical design to create a sense of

boundary in urban space by using design features to separate public from private space (Crowe and Zahm, 2013). These 'core design strategies' are strongly influenced by Rational Choice and Routine Activities theories. Rational Choice and Routine Activities theories both begin with the presupposition that human beings are inherently rational. Accordingly, criminal behaviour is understood to be motivated by opportunity—arising from what is perceived as favourable environmental and situational factors by the individuals who offend. (Bryant, 2011). Cozen (2008) claims that by creating more 'walkable cities' we are creating more opportunities for crime, but it is not just environmental factors that are used in CPTED risk assessments. Providing a look into the sociological factors used in CPTED risk assessment, he states:

> …this instrument uses local crime data to assess the likelihood and consequences of crime in a specified area. A police intelligence 'hot spot adjustment' is then applied to focus the crime analysis to the area surrounding the site. The model applies the Social Economic Index For Areas (SEIFA), which is an index developed for communities throughout Australia by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. This rating includes socio-economic indicators such as levels of educational attainment, occupation structure rates unemployment, [sic] levels of home ownership and income and is applied to the area to produce a 'context rating' (p. 437).

Although CPTED has experienced lasting popularity, its discriminatory nature has gained many detractors.[14] The use of exclusionary design has specifically been challenged in recent years by urban researchers (Bader, 2020; Chellew 2016,2019; Cozen and Love, 2017; Licht and Persson, 2017; Lockton, 2011; Mehta, 2014; Petty, 2016; Rosenberger, 2017; Savicic and Savic, 2014; Smith and Walters, 2017; Thorn 2011).

[14] Additionally, the efficacy of CPTED has been debated, with some stating that it does little to reduce the rate of criminal activity (Fennelly and Perry, 2018; Ekblom, 2011).

Crowe and Zahm's (2013) conference report focuses on hostile architecture's impact on homeless people. A review of the report reads as follows:

> First-generation CPTED is the quintessential hostile architecture: architecture or physical barriers prohibiting access to certain areas, enhanced lighting, and landscaping for natural surveillance, and creating laws that punish panhandling, loitering, and more. Second Generation CPTED was developed as a response to the public outcry against First Generation measures. CPTED admits that First Generation does little more than forcibly relocate the homeless, so they have begun work on Second Generation CPTED, which identifies the need for a network providing necessary services to the homeless (p. 50).

While CPTED practitioners have acknowledged the exclusionary effect of hostile architecture, some maintain that while we do have an ethical duty not to purposely exclude the poor, we do not have to 'allow' them to be everywhere (Licht, 2017, p. 34). Here it is maintained that allowing homeless people to sleep outside could be detrimental to their own health and well-being, and that hostile architecture may encourage rough sleepers to seek beds at shelters (Licht, 2017). In a similar vein, it has been suggested by those in support of hostile architecture that defensive designs do not automatically indicate abhorrence toward the marginalized, but rather that some defensive measures aim to prevent specific behaviours in specific spaces, not discriminate against entire groups (Licht, 2017). In response to these sentiments, Rosenberger (2020) states,

> There is a debate about whether things such as anti-sleep benches or anti-homeless spikes are ultimately harmful or helpful to unhoused people themselves. Defenders of anti-homeless design sometimes claim that it is a form of 'tough love,' discouraging the unhoused from sleeping rough, and nudging them to seek help. Critics, such as myself, instead claim that anti-homeless design works in conjunction with anti-homeless law to push the unhoused out of public spaces and into more secluded and more dangerous margins of the city (p. 891).

Here, I believe, Rosenberger is referring to the wider range of hostilities against homeless people, of which hostile design is part of reinforcing.

2.6 Socio-spatial Occupation and Imagination as Resistance

> *The reclamation of social space, whether in terms of common ground for community use and subsistence or the establishment of autonomous spaces, has been a site of continuous struggle throughout history. The creation of "new commons" is a potentially productive and practical way of discussing alternatives to, and ways out of capitalism.*-- Pusey, 2010, p. 183

It has been well argued that social space plays a large role in the reproduction of social relations, or as the cultural geographer Don Mitchell puts it, "public space occupies an important ideological position in democratic societies" (1995, p. 116). It is significant that despite continued efforts to sanitize the city commons, marginalized individuals have persisted in reclaiming space through occupation. Otherwise stated, the marginalized "have their own strategies which challenge the domination of space by the majority. If only briefly and in prescribed locales" (Sibley, 1995, p. 46). From organized demonstrations such as 'Occupy Wall Street' or the Occupied Social Centres (OSCs) throughout Europe, to more spontaneous activity such as squatting and tent cities, the act of occupying and reclaiming space is well established in the literature as prefigurative and resistant political action (Hodkinson and Chatterton, 2006; Mitchell, 2012; Prujit, 2012; Iveson, 2013; Vasudevan, 2015; Smith et al., 2017; Bogado, Manzano, and Solanas 2019). Prefiguration refers to the act of developing practices and conditions towards a more equitable and autonomous way of life. Emphasis is placed on practices that "seek to re-articulate the city as a 'flexible resource' for other forms of political, social and economic organization" (Vasudevan, 2015, p.318). While the strategies of

occupation are indicative of prefigurative politics, what is distinct is that the concern of these movements is not to become the dominant culture, it is to advocate for liberation through self-determination.

Furthermore, occupation demonstrates that public places can be repurposed to reflect and encourage political engagement and plurality. Many groups practice alternative micro-spatial activities and promote a 're-thinking' of the city through guerilla housing co-ops, community gardens, local bartering economies, and street art (Iveson, 2013). Although the physical presence of these movements is often temporary, spaces that were once occupied retain their symbolism as a reflection of political imagination and alternative ways of living (Smith et al., 2017). Ultimately, Occupy movements attempt to organize their actions democratically and seek to shift society towards equitable and inclusive social transformation (Bogado et al., 2019).

Chapter 3: The Forces of the Inner-City

To me, Calgary is a city that feels new. Nothing timeworn is revered, and as a result it's a city addicted to demolition and reconstruction. Stories of my upbringing are not typically tied to buildings that currently exist, instead my recollections are tied to general areas, or a city block where something *used* to be.

--From the authors field notes, October 2020

This research takes place in the inner-city of Calgary, the largest city in the province of Alberta with a population of 1.2 million at the time of writing. The inner-city of Calgary is loosely defined but is generally considered to by bounded by 32nd Avenue on the north-end, Deerfoot Trail and Bow River on the east-end, Glenmore Reservoir and Glenmore Trail on the south-end, and Sarcee Trail on the west-end (Inner-City Calgary Real Estate, n.d.). Rather than being defined by socioeconomics, it has been suggested that the inner-city of Calgary reflects the neighbourhoods incorporated into the city by 1961 and their proximity to the downtown core.[15] Congruently, Calgary has multiple development plans for the inner-city area, so much so that they all tend to overlap and reference each other. Overall, these plans tend to focus on revitalizing the business sector through urban redevelopment. Provided next is an account of Calgary, starting with an overview of four major urban development plans for the inner-city, in order to emphasize Calgary's ongoing re-construction.

[15] As per the Oxford definition of inner-city: *the area near the center of a city, especially when associated with social and economic problems.*

3.1 Contextualizing Calgary's Urban Development

In the past few decades, Alberta's economic prosperity has been heavily dependent on the oil industry, but due to downward shifts in the industry, the downtown core of Calgary has experienced a sharp rise in office and shopfront vacancy rates (Bloomberg, 2021). In early 2021, it was reported that Calgary has one of the highest downtown vacancy rates in Canada. In 2014 the downtown office vacancy rate was 6.1 percent, but, by the end of 2020, this number had increased to 26.9 percent, with experts stating that the city was on track to reach a 30 percent vacancy rate within the next 2 years (Small and MacVicar, 2021; CBC/Radio Canada, 2021). Along with vacancy rates at an all-time high, Calgary's downtown has suffered from a diminishing nightlife scene. To address this "long road to [economic] recovery", the city has devised The Greater Calgary Downtown Plan.[16] In April 2021 the city published the 10 revitalization 'principles' that guide the initiative:

i. Economic vitality and innovation: Creating exciting places that attract business and talent.
ii. Identity and place: Design neighbourhoods that Calgarians are proud to call home
iii. Opportunity and choice: Giving everyone access to housing options and neighborhood amenities
iv. Health and wellness: Ensure everyone has access to health care, medical services and more.
v. Social interaction: Build gathering places for events and neighbourhood get-togethers.
vi. The green network and natural environments: Protect and restore the green network and natural areas.
vii. Mobility for all: Provide options that address mobility needs for all ages and abilities
viii. Climate mitigation and adaptation: Support the transition to a low-carbon economy and adapt to extreme weather.

[16] At the time of writing there was little information on this overarching plan.

ix. Quality urban design: Connect buildings, streets, and places to meet the needs of people and businesses.

x. Resilient and prepared: Adapt, survive, and thrive in the face of chronic stresses and acute shocks to our city.

(The City of Calgary, 2021.)

Encompassed in the Greater Downtown Plan is '*Calgary's Downtown Strategy,' which* defines 4 major areas of focus:

i. *Downtown the place*: Making downtown a destination for Calgarians and visitors to enjoy.

ii. *Working downtown*: Ensuring our policies and services support business success.

iii. *Living downtown*: Enhancing the quality of life for people living downtown.

iv. *Connecting downtown*: Connecting people, goods, information, and ideas.

(The City of Calgary, n.d.)

Downtown the place emphasizes the development of common areas in Calgary's inner-city. Specifically, it is stated that:

> …investing in the future of public spaces is a fundamental piece of the Downtown Strategy in order to support and incentivize private investment, generate visits and spending, and provide amenities and services to enhance the quality of life for people living and working in Calgary's downtown.
>
> (The City of Calgary, n.d.)

The ideal downtown area is framed as being largely a business zone, a place where people should go to spend money as well a place where private money should be invested. Supporting this is the focus of the incentivization of private investment. The explicit reference to attracting private investment is not surprising considering the economic decline Calgary has been experiencing. However, my interest is in what is being left unsaid in this first focus area. While revitalizing the business core is not antithetical to creating an inclusive and accessible downtown core, there is nothing said about downtown as a site for (free) community gathering or how these new

spaces might contribute to the sense of commonality within the inner-city. Instead, this focus area situates the city's inhabitants as customers first, while their connection to a shared space is auxiliary. Likewise, *working downtown* situates inhabitants as employees and employers; *living downtown* situates inhabitants as renters and property owners; and *connecting downtown* situates inhabitants as commuters. First and foremost, the Downtown Strategy is centered on bringing more capital into the downtown area.

An intersecting revitalization plan called *The Future of Stephens Avenue* is described as the proposed flagship project for the overarching Calgary Downtown Plan. Scheduled for 2023, this new plan is largely focused on "activating" the Stephens Avenue area by improving its walkability as well as incentivizing the use of empty lots and buildings as more retail properties. Stephen Avenue is already a major pedestrian mall, lined with a variety of stores and businesses. The plan for this area differs from other initiatives in the city because it emphasizes the development of mixed-use and mixed-income units, rather than solely privately funded commercial and retail spaces. This plan appears to be inspired by various public spaces around the world, including many that make use of public furniture much more amenable than what exists today on Stephen Avenue. At the time of writing, much of the public seating on Stephen Avenue has been removed and has yet to be replaced.

A recently concluded urban development plan called the '*9 Block Program*,' was casually described to me by a community member as a "plan to gentrify the 9 blocks that surround City Hall." Officially, it is defined as an initiative to "improve the vibrancy and safety of the nine blocks that surround City Hall" (The City of Calgary, n.d.) In addition to City Hall, notable buildings within this area include the New

Central Library, Bow Valley College, Olympic Plaza, The Glenbow Museum, and the Arts Commons gallery. Due to the institutions, public spaces, and transit stops found in this region, the 9-block area is a hub for visitors and locals alike. Unveiled in November 2018, the New Central Library has been a popular addition to the city, renowned for its architectural design and functional meeting spaces. Olympic Plaza is a large park built for the 1988 Winter Olympics that serves as a gathering place during most of the year and which has a free public ice-skating rink during the winter. The free downtown corridor portion of the CTrain runs through the middle of the 9-block area, also serving as a gateway to and from the eastern and western portions of the city.

Formed in partnership with the City of Calgary, University of Calgary, the Calgary Downtown Association, Calgary Municipal Land Corporation and Bow Valley College, the objectives of the *'9 Block Program'* were to:

i. Facilitate innovative collaboration between The City and its community partners.
ii. Improve safety (perceived and real) and support the reduction social disorder in the area.
iii. Improve vibrancy at all times of the day.

(The City of Calgary, n.d.)

In the fall of 2020, the city launched an offshoot of the program, titled the *Downtown Ambassador Pilot*. The primary focus areas of this six-month pilot were listed as "outreach, safety, and cleanliness, [as well as] providing a presence to the area" (City of Calgary, 2020). During this time, it is indicated that downtown ambassadors interacted with over 600 Calgarians, "including more than 300 members of Calgary's vulnerable population, and over 120 interactions with surrounding businesses on both ground and Plus 15 levels" (City of Calgary, 2020). While it is unclear as to what suggestions came up during these exchanges or how this feedback was incorporated, it

is specified that the ambassadors mostly conducted program introductions and wellness checks, as well as "connecting individuals with social services, referrals to relevant programming and welcoming visitors" (City of Calgary, 2020). While these may seem like positive outcomes, the only documented outcome of the Downtown Ambassador Pilot and 9 Block Program is a canopy and lighting addition to a transit stop in front of the University of Calgary's School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape (SAPL).

The program ran until the end of 2020 and has now been integrated into two of the previously mentioned plans, *The Future of Stephens Avenue* and *The Downtown Strategy*. It is unclear how the specific framework of this pilot was effectively incorporated into these existing plans.

3.2 Calgary's Zoning and Bylaw Practices

Land use bylaws and incentive zoning have also shaped Calgary's inner-city. Imitating cities such as New York and Chicago, the city of Calgary has offered incentives to businesses called the *Bonus System* since the 1980's, encouraging them to develop urban space in the inner-city. As a result, a great number of what are considered to be common spaces within the inner-city, are actually Privately-Owned "Public Spaces", or POPS. There are numerous POPS in Calgary, though they are not always easy to identify. These POPS include open space at-grade (ground level) and at the level of the Plus Fifteen walkway; arcades (defined as "a covered over, grade level pedestrian walkway with supporting columns"); pedestrian spaces (which tend to refer to sidewalk and street corner widenings); public plazas (defined as public pedestrian

space open to the sky and at grade level); and sculptures in public spaces (City of Calgary, 2007).

Blurring the line between public and semi-public spaces, these spaces are accessible by the public but are subject to the rules set by the private property-owner. [17] Consequently, the inclusion of all city inhabitants, specifically those experiencing homelessness, is not guaranteed within these spaces.

Likewise, Calgary has a number of bylaws that can unequally affect those experiencing homelessness. Public behaviour bylaws stipulate that fines ranging from $50- $300 can be levied to any persons caught loitering or placing their feet on a public table, bench, planter, or sculptures. Similar to the sit-lie ordinances of various US cities, these public behaviour bylaws penalize those living in poverty and/or experiencing homelessness. Calgary also has panhandling bylaws that state when and where a person may panhandle, which are as follows:

- Panhandling is not allowed within 10 metres of the entrance to a bank, an automated teller machine, a transit stop or pedestrian walkway (pedestrian walkways include +15, or any below or above grade walkway, but not a sidewalk).
- Panhandling is not allowed between 8 p.m. and 8 a.m.
- A panhandler cannot obstruct the passage of, walk next to or follow the person being solicited.
- A panhandler cannot solicit money from an occupant in a motor vehicle.
- A panhandler cannot continue to engage a person who has declined the solicitation.

(The City of Calgary, n.d.)

It is reasonable that cities desire to maintain safety and order in public spaces, which is where bylaws come into play. Unfortunately, the behaviours targeted by these

[17] E.g., corridors, elevators, and doorways that separate the public from the private sphere.

bylaws are often necessary, as is the case of the homeless community who re-purpose public spaces for survival. Subsequently unable to pay the fines, these individuals continue to carry the burden of accrued tickets and pending warrants (Robinson, 2017; O'Grady et al., 2013).

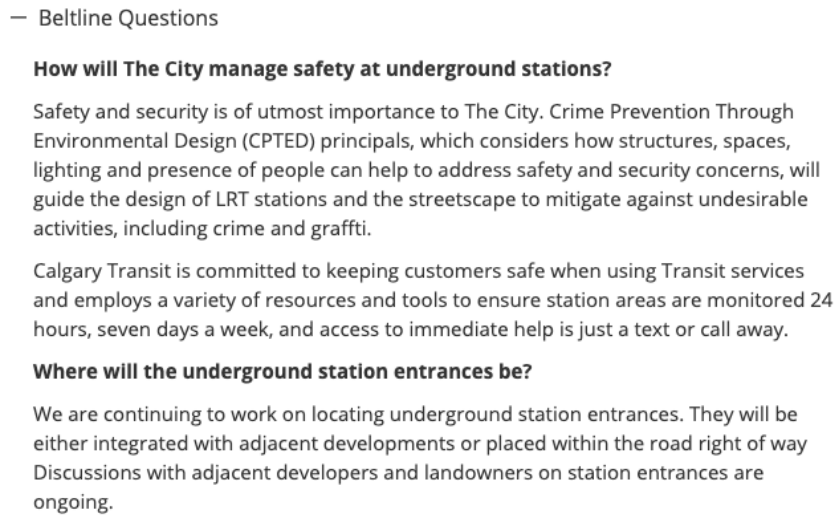
3.3 Defensive Calgary: Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

Safety is a recurring theme in Calgary's ongoing urban development. It should be noted that with the increase in population, the volume of crime has also increased. By most accounts the severity and rate of crime has stayed relatively stable in the last five years (The city of Calgary, n.d.).[18] Regardless, it is logical that city officials seek to maximize actual and perceived levels of safety throughout the city. Looking into how Calgary handles issues of urban safety, I found that a set of principles called Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) are commonly referred to by the city. The image below depicts one of the city's responses to safety inquiries on the proposed CTrain Green Line extension.

[18] In 2020, due to the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns, crime rates briefly declined before rebounding back to the average rate (CBC News).

Figure 3.1

Beltline Transit Q&A. The City of Calgary, n.d.



— Beltline Questions

How will The City manage safety at underground stations?

Safety and security is of utmost importance to The City. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) principals, which considers how structures, spaces, lighting and presence of people can help to address safety and security concerns, will guide the design of LRT stations and the streetscape to mitigate against undesirable activities, including crime and graffti.

Calgary Transit is committed to keeping customers safe when using Transit services and employs a variety of resources and tools to ensure station areas are monitored 24 hours, seven days a week, and access to immediate help is just a text or call away.

Where will the underground station entrances be?

We are continuing to work on locating underground station entrances. They will be either integrated with adjacent developments or placed within the road right of way Discussions with adjacent developers and landowners on station entrances are ongoing.

As discussed in chapter two, CPTED is a safety approach based on the idea that specific environmental features can deter criminal behaviour. In some ways, CPTED can be understood as a precursor to--as well as a justification for--hostile architecture. It is an approach that stresses territoriality and hypervigilance. The International CPTED Association (ICA) was founded in Calgary in 1996 to promote the use of CPTED globally and support local organizations, practitioners, and communities that "utilise CPTED principles to create safer communities and environments" (The International Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design Association, n.p.). They offer accredited programs, publications, webinars, and conferences. Moreover, the Calgary Police recommends CPTED as an approach for crime prevention. A brochure by the Calgary Police describes the perceived value of CPTED as follows:

> CPTED enhances safety by influencing the physical design of our environment and encouraging positive social interaction. CPTED recognizes that our environment directly affects our behaviour, whether or not we are aware of it, because we constantly respond to what is around us. These responses help us to interact safely in our communities.

> An environment designed using CPTED principles reduces opportunities for criminal acts to take place and helps us to feel safer. By doing so, it improves our quality of life.
>
> CPTED uses many different strategies that work together to create safer communities. It complements crime prevention strategies such as locks and bars, police, and security personnel and, ultimately, increases our freedom to use our communities [sic].[19]
>
> (Calgary Police Services Crime Prevention Unit, n.p.)

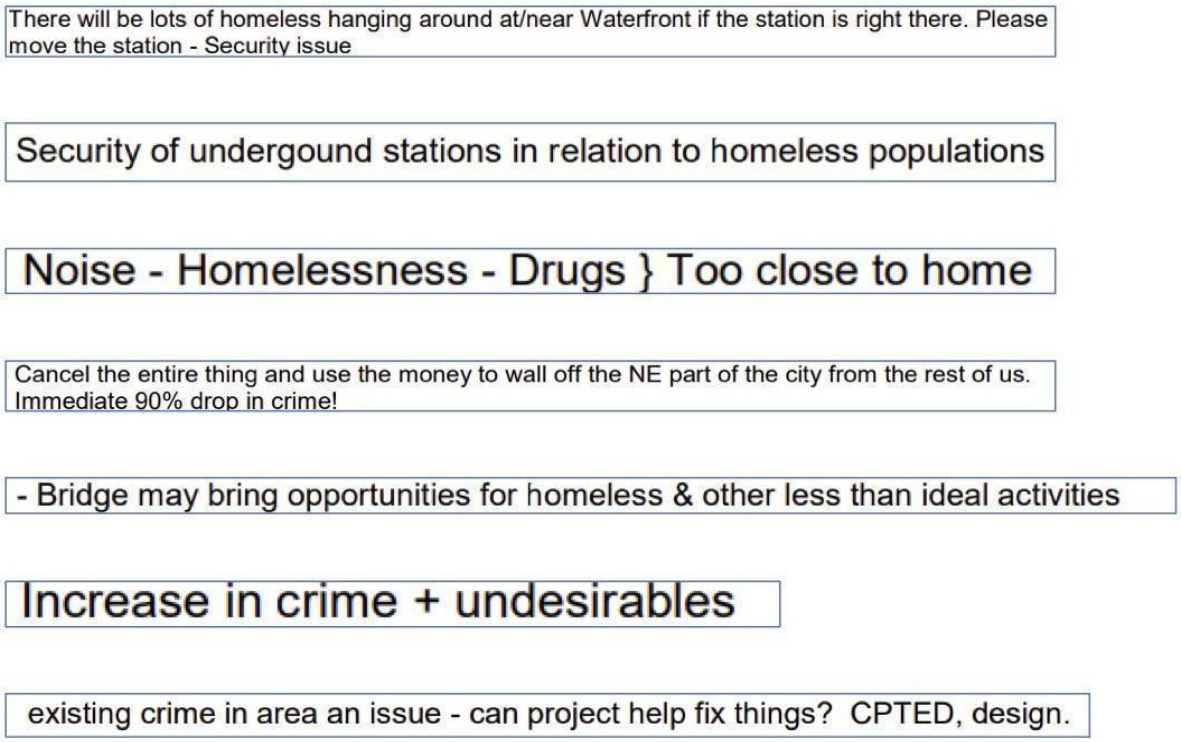
On the brochure, there is also information on training, site assessment and the basic principles of CPTED. It should be noted that there is no reference to using spikes, unsleepable benches, or dissuading people experiencing homelessness from using public spaces. Instead, there are mentions of bars, locks, fences, thorny plants, and natural surveillance, all intended to decrease opportunities for crime and increase perceived levels of safety.

Returning to the comments on the 2020 'What We Heard' report on the proposed Green Line, with about 79 mentions of crime, safety, and security in the 41-page report- it is evident that crime and safety are pressing concerns for many Calgarians. More specifically, these concerns focus on poor and homeless people gaining access to areas previously inaccessible to them via the CTrain. The following image is a compilation of anonymous comments as they appear on the report.

[19] Curiously enough, who is included in the 'freedom to use our communities' is not explicitly stated.

Figure 3.2

Calgary.ca Open Forum Comments (What We Heard 2020 Report)



The potential for the new CTrain stations to increase traffic in previously quiet areas has been a major point of contention for the proposed Green line extension. Some want the train stations to be built underground, in order to avoid running through the popular summertime gathering place of Prince's Island Park, while others would prefer it to be at grade in order to eliminate dark or concealed corners. However, it is not just crime that people are concerned about as some do not want to see poor or homeless individuals at all. Simply, Calgarians harbouring these concerns are bothered at the idea of the poor or homeless individuals having potentially easier access to their neighbourhoods.[20]

[20] There is long-standing discrimination against various neighbourhoods that comprise the Northeast (NE) quadrant of Calgary due to its historical association with new immigrants, working class, and

3.4 A publicized Instance of Hostile Architecture in Calgary

CPTED is ever-present in Calgary, but what can be said about hostile architecture in the city?

In a neighbourhood called Kensington, a few minutes away from my childhood home, there is a grocery store with a large promenade and sizable concrete ledges suitable for sitting. For as long as I can remember, this has been a popular spot to hang out or rest, whether waiting for a ride, having a coffee, panhandling, or chatting with friends. This changed momentarily in 2017 when rubber barriers were placed on top of the ledges, and signs that read "Absolutely No Panhandling or Loitering" were mounted. Many residents of this inner-city neighbourhood petitioned for the removal of these "anti-people barriers." CBC News featured the concerns of a number of residents who felt that these barriers were hostile, ugly, and unnecessary. One featured tweet states: "ugly anti-people features aren't CPTED," alluding to the fact that public safety does not have to be at the expense of our unhoused community members. The rubber barriers were installed because some customers did feel unsafe in the area and business owners had cited the "consistent population," outside the Safeway who would "sit, smoke, and litter." In response to the backlash, the Kensington communications director stated that the barriers were part of a pilot project and, subsequently, the barriers were removed (Lee, 2017, n.p.).

poverty class communities.

3.5 Homelessness in Calgary

According to the most recent point-in-time count (2018), there are approximately 2911 people experiencing homelessness in Calgary. It is estimated that 125 of these individuals are completely unsheltered. As with any homelessness counts, figures must be taken with a grain of salt as it is difficult to accurately account for every person experiencing homelessness. Calgary's point-in-time counts only include those who are considered to be experiencing 'absolute homelessness' and do not account for the continuum of living conditions that represent homelessness.[21] There are a few forms of homelessness and some are more hidden than others. For instance, individuals staying in substandard rooming houses or precariously with friends or family, defined as relative homelessness, are much less visible than those who frequently access shelters or sleep rough, defined as absolute homelessness. (The City of Calgary, 2008).

In 2008, Calgary launched its 10-year plan to end homelessness--the first plan of its kind in Canada--in response to the rapidly increasing rate of homelessness in the city.[22] Implemented by the Calgary Homeless Foundation (CHF), this housing first program created 2184 new housing spaces and designed a more coordinated system of care across 23 agencies. According to the CHF's estimates, the total number of people without any accommodations (via shelters or housing programs) dropped by 49% between 2008 and 2012. Also, based on point-in-time counts in 2008 and 2018, the plan is reported to have slowed the rate of homelessness in the city by 32%.

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[21] More specifically, absolute homelessness refers to "individuals living in the street with no physical shelter of their own, including those who spend their nights in emergency shelters." Relative homelessness refers to "people living in spaces that do not meet the basic health and safety standards" (The City of Calgary, 2008, p. 3).

[22] In 2009 Medicine Hat launched its 10-year plan to end homelessness. By most accounts this plan has been much more successful than its Calgary predecessor, as it has been stated that chronic homelessness was eliminated in Medicine Hat by 2015 (Medicine Hat Community Housing Society, n.d.).

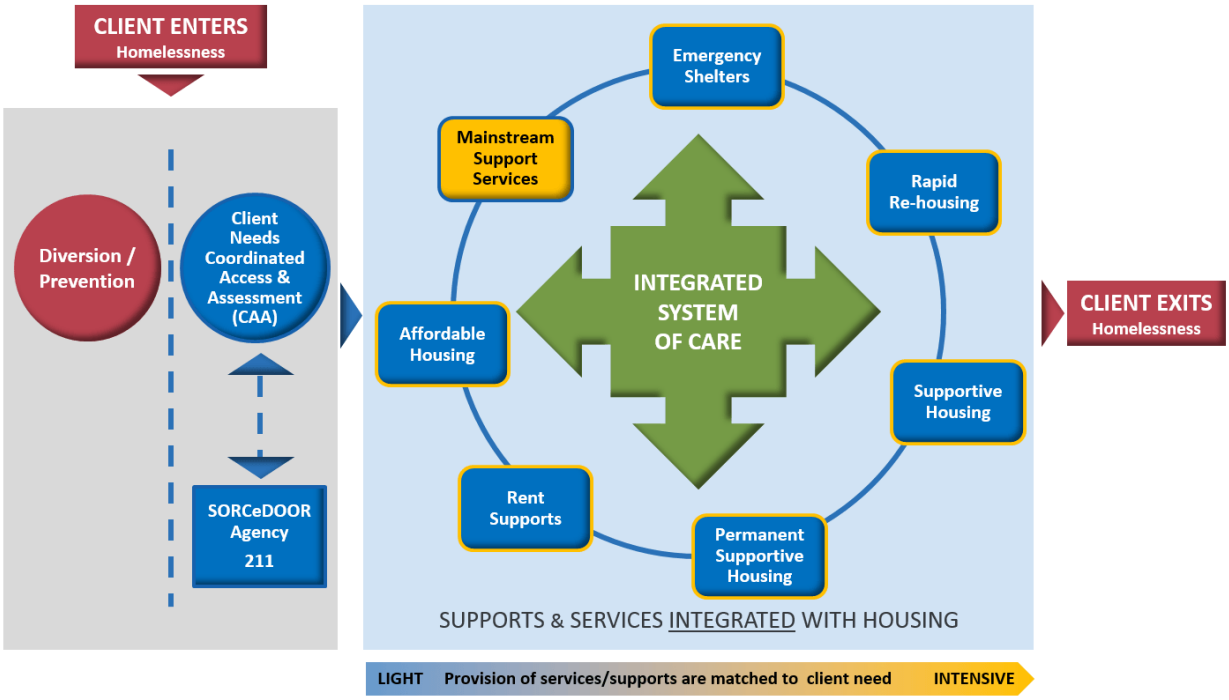
In summer of 2020, Mayor Naheed Nenshi pitched a new two-step plan to end homelessness in Calgary in two years. Given the decline in prices in real estate due to COVID-19, there is a current opportunity for the City of Calgary or other publicly funded organizations to acquire 6 hotels and a number of apartment buildings. Under the first phase of the plan, the city would require government funding totalling $59 million. The funds would be used to purchase enough units to house the estimated 600 people who are currently experiencing homelessness. Under the second phase, the city would require $500 million in funding from the federal and provincial government in order to develop an additional 4,800 units over the next several years. Nenshi states that while the proposed plan appears costly, housing people would allow the city to redirect funding from emergency housing to other crucial areas. At the time of writing, the federal government has expressed an interest in the project, but further details have not yet been disclosed.

3.51 The Homeless-Serving System of Care

Coordinated under the CHF, a number of outreach services are available in Calgary for those experiencing homelessness and/or poverty. The "Homeless-Serving System of Care" is described as an "interrelated network of agencies and people working together to ensure those at risk of or experiencing homelessness have timely access to the right housing and the right resources" (Calgary Homeless Foundation, 2016).

Figure 3.3

Calgary Homeless. Foundation-Serving System of Care, n.p.



As the second step of entry into the system, the Safe Communities Opportunity and Resource Centre (SORCe) is a "multi-agency collaborative that connects people experiencing or at risk of homelessness, to programs and services that can help to address the barriers to stable housing." The SORCe operates on a first come, first-serve basis and is open Monday to Friday, with the exception of the first Thursday of every month. To access programs and services (including subsidized housing), potential clients are required to complete an onboarding (intake) process which includes completing a 'client profile questionnaire' that is shared with all participating agencies. These agencies include Alberta Health Services (AHS), Alberta Justice and Solicitor General, Calgary Catholic Immigration Society, Calgary Police Service (CPS), Calgary Public Library, Distress Centre Calgary, The Drop-in Centre (DI), Inn from the Cold, and Woods Homes. I find it concerning that identifying information is sent to the CPS,

as this may dissuade people from accessing services should they have unpaid tickets or pending warrants.

Major shelters in the city include the Drop-in Centre, The Mustard Seed, The Alpha House, and YW Sheriff King Home. The DI provides access to a wide array of services and resources including emergency shelter, housing programs, counselling, and employment support. The Mustard Seed is a shelter that integrates Christian theology and practices into its outreach activities. The Alpha house is a detox shelter, focused on substance abuse recovery. The YMCA King Shelter provides emergency shelter, essentials, and counselling to women and children. Although not listed as a partner to the Calgary Homeless Foundation, the Alex is an organization established in 1973 to focus on the unique health and social issues that affect those living in poverty or experiencing homelessness (The Alex, n.d.).

3.52 Homelessness Activism in Calgary

There are a few--sometimes short-lived--homelessness activist groups in the city and two will be briefly profiled here. One of the most enduring and public-facing groups is the Client Action Committee (CAC). The CAC was created in 2012 to share experiences of homelessness, promote social justice and awareness, and to serve as an advisory committee to the CHF. Unmistakably, this collective is a pillar of the Calgary homeless community. Their collaborative advocacy works to encourage community discourse, influence policy, and empower individuals (Client Action Committee, 2020). In 2015, they released an emotional and thought-provoking documentary about discrimination against homeless people titled "*Do You See Me?*"[23] Since 2015, the

[23] To watch Do You See Me? (2015), visit: https://www.calgaryhomeless.com/do-you-see-me-human-

collective has coordinated the "Longest Night of the Year," a citywide memorial service for those who have passed away while experiencing homelessness. The collective is also responsible for ensuring that a polling station is available for individuals experiencing homelessness through the DI, making this shelter the first in Canada to provide a polling station. Finally, the CAC wrote the Calgary Homeless Charter of Rights[24] and created training modules based around the Charter, which they have delivered both online and in-person to outreach agencies and other sector partners, including the Alberta Health Services and Calgary Police Service.

Another activist group is #BeTheChangeYYC, a grassroots initiative founded in the summer of 2015 to provide food, water, hygiene implements, clothing, harm reduction supplies, resource guides, and referrals to access housing, detox, and shelters to those experiencing homelessness. The founding member, Chaz Smith, who has lived experience of homelessness, is committed to 'helping end homelessness' through direct support and advocacy. Their approach to outreach is hands-on and they are extremely attuned to the needs of the Calgary homeless community.[25] Members of the #BeTheChangeYYC team can often be found walking the inner-city streets and alleys of Calgary handing out essentials and creating relationships with the homeless community (#BeTheChangeYYC, n.d.).

rights-and-discrimination-on-the-streets-of-calgary/

[24] See Appendix A for The Client Action Committee Homeless Charter of Rights

[25] For instance, considering the harsh Calgary winters, they hand out sleeping mats to those sleeping outside.

Chapter 4: Methodology

More specifically, sociological thought seeks an understanding and reconstitution of the integrative capacities of the urban as well as the conditions of practical participation.-- Lefevre, 1996, p. 61

I assert that the methodology suited for researching social exclusion and oppression should always be "grounded in a political awareness of the need for change" (Kirby and McKenna, 1989, p. 63). For this reason, the methodology of this study is grounded in Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPAR).

4.1 Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPAR)

CBPAR is a strong strategy for sustaining non-hierarchical community relationships, facilitating dynamic co-learning, and practising researcher reflexivity. Additionally, it is a methodology well suited in mobilizing community knowledge and interests. It is a socially conscious and prefigurative strategy to research that involves collaborative action between researchers and communities. CBPAR specialists have recognized the potential for research to reproduce gender, ethnic, and socio-economic subjugation (Muhammed et al. 2014). CBPAR proponents cite Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality as a way to acknowledge researcher identity, social inequities, and the complexities of researcher-community relationships (Muhammed et al., 2014). CBPAR's emphasis on non-hierarchical research relationships reduces or eliminates the traditional power dynamic between the researcher ("knowledge holder/gatherer") and research collaborators (traditionally, the "subjects" which is a rather dehumanizing term and does not situate them as knowledge holders). Other forms of socially constructed inequality, such as racism, sexism, and classism, are reduced as well.

Furthermore, its practitioners are committed to identifying and addressing social determinants of race, gender, and class-based discrimination (Minkler et al. , 2012). As a person who has experienced race, gender, and class-based discrimination, it is important to me to not only recognize, but also to challenge socially constructed inequalities in my research. In this research, to avoid tokenizing collaborators they were not prompted to discuss their social positions, instead through conversation these concerns and experiences emerged naturally.

As a result of historical abuses of power, as well as the fact that researchers may have power and privilege because of their class or other social positions, it is impossible to discuss research without talking about power and influence (Kirby and Mckenna, 1989). Considering this, a core feature of CBPAR is power sharing, a principle whereby researchers practice cultural humility and self-reflexivity. The focus on diffusing power in research challenges the insider-outsider dichotomy that has often been the hallmark of sociological inquiries on marginalized populations (Muhammed et al, 2014). By doing so, CBPAR facilitates co-learning through the creation of authentic relationships between research partners and collaborators. In this research, collaborators are regarded as experts or knowledge keepers. My role is to facilitate a conversation that explores and honours their experiences and knowledge. Research conversations were intentionally casual in order to foster power-sharing. This allowed us to move past the traditional 'researcher and subject' dynamic as collaborators were urged to provide input on all aspects of the project.

The CBPAR approach helps researchers move beyond the traditional academic understanding of knowledge created in vacuity, and begin to claim and incorporate the personal and political context from which knowledge springs as part of the data

gathering process. CBPAR fundamentally maintains that power-sharing is a key factor in building integrative and effective academic-community partnerships while ensuring that research remains rigorous. This is done by engaging with accessible processes amenable to the communities that we collaborate with (Liebenberg, 2018).

As researchers, it is our responsibility to minimize the harm done to communities by acknowledging the power we hold and acting conscientiously. Research has a responsibility to reflect the "experience and concerns of people who've traditionally been marginalized by the research process" (Kirby and Mckenna, 1989, p. 22). Likewise, it might be possible for researchers and community members to construct coalition movements that act to "resist various forms of domination and inequality and open a path toward a more cooperative and democratic urban future" (Purcell, 2013, p. 560). These potentialities are supported by the practice of reciprocity in research. Reciprocity refers to "the respectful nature of good research relationships and exchanges that are essential in participatory and other types of research" (Maiter et al, 2008, p. 307). Accordingly, researchers must ensure that the topic of inquiry reflects the needs and concerns of the community involved. Following this, 'participants' or collaborators must derive some value for their participation in the research (Maiter et al, 2008). Outcomes of CBPAR can be liberating for both the community and the researchers involved; when research is done conscientiously the community can envision a more inclusive way of life.

4.2 Recruitment of Research Collaborators

After deciding that CBPAR was the most suitable method for this research, I needed to determine who my collaborators might be. Seeking to raise awareness of

hostile architecture while sharing the experiences and thoughts of those who are homeless, I originally thought that perhaps my partners could be individuals who were currently experiencing homelessness. I quickly learned that this was not feasible, for a few overlapping reasons. First and foremost, COVID-19 has changed the ways we meet and interact with one another. Attempting to arrange meetings with a community of people whose lives are marked by precarity could be unreasonable. The requirements of participation in this project do not match up with the reality of living without shelter. As I spoke with friends and acquaintances familiar with the outreach sector, it only became more apparent that I would have to shift the design of the project from individuals currently experiencing homelessness to people with previous lived experience of homelessness. This shift helped alleviate the concerns embedded in my original recruitment parameters.

This project includes 4 research collaborators who are community advocates and activists with lived experience of homelessness. These individuals were selected using purposive sampling and were contacted directly or via a neutral 3rd party.[26] In the first instance, I acquired email addresses through contact information provided by homeless serving agencies and advocacy groups and sent out invitations to these addresses. Third party recruitment relied on an associate familiar with the various outreach agencies in the city. This associate sent out invitations on my behalf to individuals with lived experience of homelessness who fit the inclusion criteria of this project. Prior to this project, there were no pre-existing relationships between me and any of the 4 recruited partners. A diverse range of individuals were invited, although partners were required to be over the age of 18 able to provide informed consent. Interested parties contacted

[26] Approximately 9-12 people were contacted directly or via the 3rd party recruiter.

me directly via email and written consent was obtained digitally. After this point, virtual one-on-one opening research conversations were scheduled with each collaborator.

During the opening research conversation, collaborators were introduced to the project and informed on the data collection method (photovoice). These semi-structured one-on-one interviews were held in order to exchange background information between myself and the recruited partners.[27] Here we discussed ourselves, hostile architecture, general concerns, and hopes for the project. Research conversations were digitally recorded and manually transcribed. In keeping with the spirit of CBPAR, research partners have full agency regarding anonymity. For instance, research partners may choose to have part or all identifying information removed from photographs and/or videos or all personal identifying information not removed. In this research, all four collaborators elected to allow identifying information in the final report, though one collaborator, T.K., chose a pseudonym.[28] All collaborators were given a one-time honorarium in the form of a $60 gift card of their choosing, directly following opening conversations. In order to adhere to ethical guidelines, my application to the Human Research Ethics Board (HREB) indicated that this project would require ongoing consent from each collaborator. Ongoing consent was given by each collaborator through continued response to invitations for feedback (see appendix D). Each collaborator met with me virtually for one opening conversation. Randy came back for two follow-up conversations, Nigel and T.K. came back for one follow up conversation, and Fran did not return for a follow up conversation though continued communication

[27] See appendix B for the Opening Conversation Guide.
[28] See appendix D for the Participant Consent Form.

via email, affirming her ongoing consent. In total, eight research conversations were held over a two month period.

4.3 Data Collection: Photovoice

The manner of data collection in this qualitative study is Photovoice, a participatory action research (PAR) method developed by Wang and Burris in the early 1990's as part of their work with women living in the rural farming communities of Yunnan (Liebenberg, 2018). Wang (1999) describes photovoice as reflective photography that enables research partners to "record and reflect community strengths and concerns; promote knowledge and critical dialogue about community issues and their impact on individuals through group discussion of images; and reach and inform policymakers to bring about change" (185). This potential for change is due in part to the "strong advocacy component" of photovoice methods, wherein participants are regarded as experts and co-producers of knowledge alongside the researcher (Seitz and Strack, 2016, p. 34). Each research collaborator (including myself) was tasked with taking photographs and/or videos of hostile architecture in the inner-city of Calgary during the opening conversation. These images were then used to guide subsequent virtual research conversations. Subsequent research conversations were scheduled during the opening conversation, or later via email. In the case that a partner could not collect images, I provided images I had taken in order to guide the research conversations. This led to research conversations that resembled more of a photo elicitation interview (PEI) than a traditional photovoice interview.[30] This was the case in

[30] Photo elicitation interviews use photographs or "other visual mediums in an interview to generate verbal discussion to create data and knowledge" (Glaw et al., 2017, p. 1)

my conversation with Randy, and to some degree Nigel who was unable to collect images but was able to share older images that he had posted on his Twitter.[31] Initially, I planned on asking a set of questions for each image, but quickly found that this disrupted the flow of conversation.[32] Instead, I sent each partner my images and the questions in advance, so that they could still be addressed but in a more natural and conversational manner.

4.4 Data Analysis: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Interview data in this research was analyzed entirely by Jessica Annan. While collaborators were invited to participate in this stage of the project, due to time constraints (as each collaborator was busy and could not commit to the time it would take to analyze interview data), this was not possible. Leading up to the data analysis stage, each collaborator was sent copies of their transcript, which they could then edit or amend. Completed drafts of chapters were also sent to each collaborator, and a final draft of the thesis was sent to each collaborator before being submitted to my advisory committee. Data (interview transcripts and photos) were analyzed according to interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). This decision was made after the first round of interviews was transcribed. At first, I considered doing a broad thematic analysis of data, but after speaking with research collaborators, I realized how much more important it was to truly focus my analysis on experience, rather than overarching themes. In other words, it was crucial to listen to collaborators as *experiencers,* and therefore experts, on the phenomena of hostile designs and homelessness in Calgary.

[31] T.K. shared four images of one instance of hostile architecture.
[32] See Appendix C for the Photovoice Interview Guide.

The IPA approach allows me to explore the past experiences and current reflections of research partners in a way that was compatible with the objectives of this thesis.

Data was first coded in-vivo, which refers to the practice of deriving codes and themes from the words of the 'participant,' or in this case research collaborator. The second round of coding was done line by line, wherein lines of data are summarized into codes. Finally, data was coded again, this time focusing on the experience of the research collaborator. This iterative coding was done manually in order to 'stay close to the data,' allow for comparison across partners, and support the reliability and validity of emergent codes.

The following chapter presents my first encounters with each of the four research collaborators.

Chapter 5: Meeting the Research Collaborators

In this chapter I provide an account of the opening one-on-one research conversations I held with each collaborator. The title of each collaborator's section is derived from their own words (in vivo) in order to give a sense of what grassroots advocacy might mean to them.

5.1 Bringing the What If Factor--Randy

The first research collaborator that I meet is Randy. Well established as an advocate for homeless people, he heard about this project through a mutual colleague of ours. He reached out to me via email, closing his email with a short and simple statement that sets the stage for our subsequent conversations: "*what good is knowledge if you don't share it*". At this point I had yet to conduct a research interview and was nervous that some collaborators might be irritated by my numerous questions. Although I had prepared thoroughly, I still had many thoughts swirling around in my head and I was anxious about whether the collaborators would want to engage with this topic. This short message helped to quiet some of my anxieties. The following is a reflective account of our collaboration.

Once we meet virtually, I feel even more that we share a similar interest in discovering possibilities. The possibilities of this project, of advocacy, and of more inclusive public spaces. Randy seems energized by being approached for his knowledge and experience. I get the feeling that he is very open to participating in community-based initiatives in order to educate the public on issues that affect the homeless community, even though he has not been homeless for quite some time. He expresses

both positive and affirming feelings when reflecting on his advocacy work. Recognizing the tremendous value of his work, he shares:

> Randy: I am just an all-around activist. I am a former Volunteer of the Year Award winner. I could pretty much take an hour just describing all of the things I've been involved with. I have to say I have done a lot.

As busy as he is, Randy still makes sure to distribute his knowledge across all the advocacy groups he is a member of:

> Randy: I come back every once in a while, just to get back in, sort of give a report of what I've learned from other groups and stuff like that.

As we get to know each other, I find myself oscillating between anxiety and ease. I fear sounding amateur at best and ignorant at worst, as I slowly grow into the role of a researcher. Yet, his openness continues to alleviate some of my social anxieties. Randy responds with thoughtful and insightful answers, even when the questions become jumbled with unnecessary qualifiers that I add out of fear of saying something untoward. I awkwardly ask how, aside from his name, he identifies himself. A confusing question, but I do feel confident in my adherence to allowing people to choose their own terms.[34]

> Randy: Oh, I am a Canadian Métis male.

I, as I do with each collaborator, share how I situate myself:

> Jessica: I identify as a black female. Born in Canada. My parents are from Ghana.

[34] In my research I acknowledge intersectionality, though I reject "collecting" demographic information. Instead, I seek to understand how my partners situate themselves in the context of our research topic.

After the brief introductions, we move on to discussing Calgary's inner-city. Though now years removed from life on the streets of Calgary, Randy notices the structural changes of the inner-city core. He recounts a conversation with a fellow advocate who is also a part of this project, named Nigel. During this conversation, Nigel shares his definition of these structural changes with Randy. This definition, created years before, is the same one that largely informs the current study: The relocation of the population through urban design. During the proposal stage of this thesis, I created a wordy definition that I hoped captured the issue of hostile architecture. I take this moment in our conversation as an opportunity to share this definition and ask Randy for his opinion.[35] He advises that the proposal definition is "right on the button," and provides me with vital education on the importance of public spaces:

> Jessica: I've been reading and stuff and trying to make sure it covers what I think the issue is. It's not just about maybe impeding certain actions, it's also to impede certain actions by certain people. And I felt the need to put that in there or else it just seems too broad. I think the hostile architecture is pretty directed at people who are marginalized, like somebody who's making 100 grand a year may not gonna notice, and that's kind of a part of the issue.
>
> Randy: Well, and not necessarily that. I've been downtown walking around with people and I hear in the background, "Wasn't there a bench here before?" I hate to use the term normal people, but the non-homeless type, you know what I mean. I've heard it from them, "Wasn't there a bench here before? 'Cause didn't we sit here on our lunches," and stuff like that, so some people do notice it, but it's mostly those who tend to use the areas a lot more often, like with the downtown example, a lot of the people who work within the buildings, coming down for their lunches, they would recognize that if a bench was missing, they would recognize stuff like that. But like you were

[35] The proposal definition: Hostile architecture refers to the ways in which various physical structures are constructed, or in most instances, how elements are installed onto pre-existing physical structures to control the use of space for certain functions, and/or by certain groups of people (Henihan, 2018; Licht, 2017; Lo, 2017; Petty, 2016).

> mentioning, the average person coming downtown, they wouldn't notice that four benches are missing.

I acknowledge that my narrow perception of public space as mostly useful to those that are experiencing homelessness is extremely short-sighted. In this exchange, I unwittingly displayed my own unawareness, but this exchange reminds me that a truly emancipatory inner-city commons should be able to satisfy the needs of diverse groups, at varying times. This means having urban spaces and fixtures that welcome the inner-city office worker during lunch time, the tourist, the local perusing new shops, and the person who re-imagines these spaces as a place to gather after dusk.

Later, he laments how both he and Nigel had noticed the creeping issue of hostile architecture, yet pre-existing obligation made it difficult to have the time and resources to begin to tackle the issue:

> Randy: I noticed these things and there was really nothing we as a group were able to do because we had our focuses on other projects. And it was always something we wanted to work on and work about. When [redacted] sent me the email regarding your thesis project, I'm like, "well, this is kind of perfect. Maybe there's something that can come from this." So, I definitely wanna give my information. It's like I said to you, "what's good having information and knowledge, if you don't share it.

As part of these opening conversations, I also shared the research questions I had formulated for my proposal. In particular, the question of how people with lived experience of homelessness understand hostile architecture, and in what ways has it shaped their lives. Randy promptly responds with a slight humour in his tone:

> Randy: I'll be blunt with you. How do we think? We think it's a fucking joke. I'm not gonna sugar coat nothing here, 'cause it is a big factor. It is something a lot of people deal with, and it pisses a lot of people off for that same fact. Last week, I was able to sit on this bench, by the waterside and

> feed the ducks. Some people like to do that. So, I'll be honest, my friends and I, we would walk to certain benches back in the day to smoke a joint. Now it's not a big deal, but back then we would... And then we notice, why is that [bench] no longer here anymore? Is it 'cause they don't want people sitting here anymore? And now we'd have to go maybe another 20 minutes to find another place to sit… So yeah, it greatly affected some people, because a lot of the times you have a nagging injury, and you need a spot to sit and rest. And if there's no more place to sit and rest 'cause they've tweaked the benches. Yeah, it affects so many aspects, whether it be just a place to rest, a place to sit down to have your lunch. Or "I'll meet you at the bench behind the McDonald's there, we'll be there at 2 o'clock," it's a place to meet your friends, right? So, they were not just places for us to sit. For some of us, they are landmarks. Easy way to tell, "okay, when you get to this, you'll see a bench there."

I gather from Randy that the lack of welcoming public furniture can range from being an inconvenience, as was the case when looking for a place to gather with friends and enjoy cannabis. Or it may be a factor in whether someone with an untreated injury or medical condition can find a place to rest, and possibly grab the attention of a passerby who may offer vital help. Or conceivably, the lack of public furniture can result in the city streets becoming unfamiliar when you have no anchor points in the city and cannot find your bearings.

After briefly reviewing the types of hostile architecture that we have noticed around the city--mostly unsleepable benches--we move towards a discussion of possible routes to addressing the issue. Through his experiences of speaking to audiences across the country on issues that affect the homeless community Randy maintains that sharing knowledge, while imperative, can often fall on deaf ears. He asserts that despite our efforts to sensitize the public to hostile architecture and its implications for public space, personal choice to regulate privately owned property is impossible to ignore:

Randy: See, now with this, I think cities, you have a chance to work with on, but individual property owners who decide to put up the so-called the hobo spikes, there's nothing that could really be done about that. That's their choice. That's their decision, whether I agree with it or not. Unfortunately, it's their choice, but when it comes to city-owned parks, a city-owned bench is city owned property. That's something that this has a chance to reach. I think, like I was saying, reaching out to business owners is gonna be preaching to deaf ears, they don't care. They've spent how many millions of dollars on this building, they don't want it messed up by a couple of people outside, and I completely understand that. And well, with the city, I think it's up to the city's responsibility to make sure that all sides are equally met in this. Imagine little Sally... Do you know what I mean? She's not gonna be too keen on coming downtown and seeing people lying on benches, and she could be the kind of person that says, "why aren't we doing something to prevent these people from sleeping on benches?" And then there's the other side of the public is like, "well, why are the benches not available for them to lie on?"

Recognizing this, Randy contends that there are more chances for real change if policymakers can be reached directly in addition to informing the public. For him, city officials have a responsibility to their residents and, as such, are more likely to pay attention to social issues if packaged the 'right' way. Randy is very knowledgeable on how to strategically communicate with policymakers so that they will listen. Specifically, he focuses on seeing different pathways to enacting change within the city. He maintains that because cities have their own agenda, it is crucial that advocates learn how to package a message in a way that is palatable to policymakers**.**

He begins to explain this strategic approach to advocacy in the following passage:

Randy: In a situation like this, it's kind of tell them what they wanna hear. Put your own spin on it. 'Cause when we're dealing with cities, planners and politicians, that's something I've started to understand, they wanna hear what they wanna hear. But you could put your own twist and your

own flair and your own information on it, but they want a specific set of guidelines. So, it's difficult dealing with cities, it really is.

If there is one thing about Randy, he is always ready to consider "the what-if's" and new ways of getting his message heard. On the other hand, he finds that because of his relational way of communicating, it can be difficult to get through to others during this more distant and digital age.[36] Randy contends that this increasingly digitalized age has real implications on how we mobilize and disseminate knowledge:

Randy: Getting back to how to address the public. What do we do? Plan forums, informational packages…It would have been easier, but now with this new age we're living in, you can't gather, it's hard to really give a good presentation… I'm not keen on that because I do a lot of speaking as well, and when I do, I like to be able to see the audience. If I notice somebody's kind of slumped, well, okay, obviously I know what I'm saying is not reaching them properly. How can I change the way I'm approaching it to interact with them, to draw them into what I'm saying? So, it is so difficult to do that over this [video communications], right? 'Cause for all I know, I could be sitting here with my phone in my hand playing.

However, approaching policymakers, whether in person or digitally, is not a sure path to enacting social change. Concluding our first meeting, Randy imparts a practical message on the potential of this project:

Who knows, you may be able to pull on the right heartstring at a time like this. Because a lot of people are stepping up right now. We need more accessible housing for those with no incomes. We need more spaces for those who are homeless because they can't cope with this because there's no this or no that… so this actually could be a beneficial time. Even though you may think it may not be, it actually might be a good thing. Like I said, you gotta pull on heartstrings… 'Cause you never know. Calgary likes to try to be ahead in certain things. Like Calgary's 10-year plan for

[36] As a result of COVID-19.

homelessness, they were way ahead of everybody else on that. The Homeless Charter of Rights, we were ahead on that. There are so many projects.

5.2 Healing Starts with A Sense of Belonging--T.K.

The second collaborator I met is T.K. Her passion is immediately felt during our initial contact over the phone when she tells me of the ongoing lack of washrooms and access to clean clothes for homeless people. All of which has only become worse during COVID, as water fountains have been shut off in the interest of public health and businesses that previously allowed access to their washrooms are often closed. At this moment, T.K. has already begun to broaden what it means for a space to be hostile to those experiencing homelessness. Recalling the numerous moments when she was denied the use of washrooms, T.K. wonders how others in this position are supposed to take showers or launder their clothes:

T.K.: I noticed that the people that are out there on the streets, they have nowhere to shower. They have nowhere to change their clothes. And that's where my heart really goes out to. I have a home that I can have a shower in, that I can take care of myself… So that's really mainly where my concern is, is access to services for people who really, really do need it, and it is that population. And then to put that hostile architecture up, they [homeless people] can't get comfortable anywhere. There's no heating, there's no place for them to lay down comfortably, right?

She demands answers as to how one can be expected to maintain their personal hygiene when there are no accessible ways to do so. T.K.'s description brings the physical detriments of living without shelter to the forefront of my mind as we speak. If I ever feel too far removed from the topic of hostile design, I remember the physical toll that homelessness takes on the body, focusing on my own corporeal needs and how impossible they would be to meet if I could not make next month's rent.

During our first research conversation I learned that much of T.K.'s work is centred around helping individuals and groups access the resources and services that they need. This work has taken multiple forms, including advocating for those currently experiencing homelessness and those battling substance abuse, educating outreach programs, and cleaning the streets of Calgary. Moving through our introductions I ask T.K. how she identifies, a question she interrogates thusly:

> T.K: Are we talking about the diversity thing as in today's lingo?

Aware of the open-endedness of this question, I attempt to clarify:

> Jessica: Oh yeah, like your pronouns, nationality, however you choose to identify really.

Punctuated by my growing consciousness that in my fervour to allow for subjectivity, my delivery of this question is undeniably unclear. This is not to say that my intention to allow collaborators to self-identify is not meaningful, as although awkward, the question allows me to explore what identity might mean to each research individual and also what they are comfortable sharing. T.K. responds:

> T.K.: I'm female…Yes, so I'm very old-fashioned so those kinds of things weren't really…So if we're just going to get jiggy with it, I guess I identify as she/her. Because I wanna be politically correct.

This response presses me to recognize how language evolves, and therefore how the terms that we commonly use to identify ourselves shift with time. For example, I am sure that I would have answered my own question differently even a few years ago.

Recalling Randy's acknowledgment of this new digital age, I cannot ignore the age gap that exists between myself and each of the research collaborators.[37]

Moving swiftly through our first meeting, T.K. voluntarily recounts her devastating passage into homelessness due to the breakdown of her marriage, which resulted in her being separated from her children. Around the same time, a close friend of T.K. 's passed away and later, her twin sister whom she was close with moved away. In order to deal with isolation and feelings of abandonment, T.K. recounts how she turned to substances, which led to addiction. Subsequently, she lost her apartment.

My chest tightens as I am reminded of how quickly life can spiral out of control. So many of us are just a paycheck or a breakup away from losing our abodes, yet to be without one is deeply stigmatizing. This stigmatization undergirds the social exclusion of homeless people. In the following passage T.K. describes how, through no choice of her own, she felt as if she, and others in a similar circumstance, were cast out from society:

> T.K.: While I was on the streets, I met Doctors, Nurses, Engineers, Teachers. People don't start off as pieces of garbage, but they sure get categorized as a piece of shit. You're such a castaway! A throwaway! You're the lowest form of life. There was one particular woman, her family was in an horrific car crash, and the family was killed, the entire family. She was the sole survivor, so the cost of burying the entire family consumed her house, her job, everything, and because she ended up in the hospital by the time she woke up, learned how to walk, talk, feed herself again and the medications that she was on, learning to walk, the rehabilitation, the hospital bills, everything, she lost her house, she lost her friends, people, the continuum flow of people coming in, "I'm sorry, I'm sorry" they just stopped after a while, people, they dissipated. The next thing she knows, by the time she finally did get released from the hospital, like eight months to a year later, I forget what the woman said, but because this nurse judged her and judged her harshly. But she was dropped

[37] As I did not collect demographic data, I can only confirm that all four partners were over the age of 40.

off at a shelter because they could no longer...That continuum of care ceased to exist. She had lost her job. She had lost her housing. Got dropped off at a shelter and that she was now addicted to opioids because that's the pain medication to assist her from the multiple injuries, the fractures, the pins in her body that were holding her together and helped her to walk again. And now she's grieving, her entire family wiped out from this head-on collision, and nobody, nobody, absolutely nobody left to talk to in a group with, hold her hand. And that judgement from that nurse, and then she got to tell her story. But here she is, a street addicted junkie because somebody ran a light.

This narrative further illuminates the effects of social exclusion on those dealing with homelessness, and by doing this I feel that T.K. is also calling attention to the lack of trauma-informed social support. Trauma, much like poverty and homelessness, is a matter that generates discomfort for most onlookers and as a result also stigmatizes. T.K. and I both sit with our feelings in silence for a short while before she reorients the conversation towards the unsettling reality of being a woman who is alone and living on the streets of Calgary. Once again, I am confronted with the fact that there is much more hostility against the poor than unsleepable benches. As without prompting, T.K. weaves together the daily hostilities she experienced while homeless. She portrays how life in this context kept in her in a relentless state of hypervigilance:

T.K.: You are always moving. You have to have eyes in the back of your head, so you're constantly looking into windows, you're constantly looking into... Well for myself that's what I did, I was always looking in the reflections of windows, into the reflections of cars to see who was behind me, I never wore my hood up because I couldn't hear. I needed to know who was following me. And I never walked with anybody because if I associated with somebody else, and that person wasn't liked, it made me a target… Yeah it was one of the darkest, coldest, meanest places that... Yeah, yeah. It's a very hostile environment. I was always... And you're always on so your brain gets very, very tired… It's exhausting. It's absolutely exhausting. You're always in defense mode.

Interestingly, and contrary to much of what I had read in literature on homelessness, T.K. maintains that travelling through the city alone was much safer than with a group:

T.K: You're totally safer to be by yourself.

Jessica: Really?

Hearing the surprise in my tone, she continues:

T.K.: You're an idiot if you get in a group. You've just tattooed 'victim' on your forehead. You single yourself out because if this gang doesn't like that gang and you're walking alone, you're just asking to get picked off, right, yeah… Don't get involved in shit.

I sense that, similar to myself, T.K. is an introvert, preferring to stick to herself in order to have enough space to observe the world and act accordingly without undue interference. But I also realize that her decision to walk alone is likely not just a personal preference:

T.K.: …And the reason why women don't go into shelters is because I've been jumped in the shelter.

I had heard of these terrifying occurrences many times before. After discussing what, in our opinions, has been the (mis)handling of COVID-19 in Alberta, [38] I ask T.K. what hostile architecture means to her, and she answers:

T.K.: To me it's... As a community, it's just, it's treating people like animals really. You know if a man goes to a park and he takes his shoes off, over lunch hour, that's fine. But, if somebody has a backpack and they look a little too dishevelled, immediately CPS or a bylaw officer over there, to write him a ticket.

[38] At the time that T.K. and I met, the province had lifted some restrictions, resulting in a sharp uptick in COVID-19 transmission and ICU admissions.

Immediately, her account reminds me of the short story I wrote for the research proposal, and that I consequently used in the introduction to this thesis. Not only that, but I am also reminded of my Google search for the phrase 'homeless deterrent technology' that turned up 'homeless repellant spray' as a related search. A true testament to the notion that homeless people are, in fact, treated like pests, or in T.K.'s words, animals. But this is not the only metaphor T.K. draws upon to describe the systemic exclusion of homeless people. Strikingly, she also asserts that this exclusion is analogous to racism, calling upon the iconic story of Rosa Parks:

> T.K.: It goes right back to the lady in the bus, right? It's just modernized. It's like, remember, you can sit on the bus, but you can't sit here. It's no different. It's racism! So, it's the same thing, it's like, so when do you draw the... It's a form of racism. "You're having hard times, you piece of shit!" So, that's what it says to society, right? And it's like, we start to judge, we start to judge people. It's a NIMBY-attitude, right? Not in my neighborhood.
>
> So, the second somebody's having a hard time instead of forming together like a community like what we should be doing, we should be helping each other out, your neighbor is struggling? Let them come over for a meal. The reality is, that is how we should be raising [children]. It takes a village to raise a child. So, now that child's grown up and they're having hard times: "Fuck off get out of here." We're not checking up on people. We're making it like, "Oh yeah, oh my God, did you see so and so? They're just... Oh?" Right? And I'm sorry, but when did that start happening? I know I did it. And that's when we start teaching our children that it's okay to treat people like shit. It took me till I was homeless for me to realize that that's not okay. Actually, it took me a long time, I had to unlearn all those behaviors, because they were taught to me. We have to unteach people that hostile architecture is not okay, it's not okay. They're human beings. They're not animals.

I believe that I completely understand what she is communicating at this moment. As a first generation, black female, I feel that she is calling out class-based exclusion as being

just as brutal and systemic as race-based exclusion. I find myself nodding my head in understanding, soaking in the weight of her sentiment. Hostile architecture can do much more than impede survival activities, it can also serve as a reminder to people dealing with homelessness that their current social position brands them as peripheral to mainstream society. In this passage, T.K. touches on many aspects of social exclusion. Her subversion of the well-known adage "It takes a village to raise a child" speaks towards the idea that while many in society may find it unbearable to see a child in need, once that same child has grown up society no longer wants to be privy to their ongoing needs.

NIMBYism is a concept that cannot be ignored when discussing hostile architecture. It refers to the phenomenon of community members being unwilling to have othered and marginalized groups of people in their neighbourhoods. This tends to look like a disapproval of outreach services and accessible transit in traditionally quiet (read: well-off) neighbourhoods. Just as suggested by some of the anonymous comments on the 'What we Heard' report, and as Randy mentioned, some people simply do not want to see homeless people occupying public spaces at all (e.g., resting on benches). As T.K. and I move into discussing the implications of social exclusion, we focus less on architecture and more on the range of hostile actions against homeless people. It is necessary to imagine how demoralising it must be to carry the weight of the harsh words, dirty looks, and potential attacks when also living without basic essentials. T.K. shares one of many encounters of being targeted due to being homeless, in this instance by law enforcement:

> T.K.: I got treated like an animal. I really did. Very hostile, very hostile. You know, I remember going into a bank to get warm in wintertime one time, and I was leaned up against the wall and I did nod off, and a cop came in and kicked me in the foot... Kicked me. It wasn't, "Excuse me,

ma'am, wake up." Right? He kicked me! Why are you kicking me? What the hell? Right? You can see that I've got a backpack, you know I'm homeless, right? What's up with that? Do you recognize me? No, I'm not a mischief maker. So, why the hell do you kick me? I'm maybe 120 pounds of wringing wet... You've got three other cops with you, two of them sitting outside... And I get that their job is hard, and I get that they get a lot of flak. I understand all of that, but to walk in and kick a woman who has nodded off in the bank, and it's cold out, it's winter. Really? I mean, come on!

When I hear T.K. speak on her experiences of being excluded and demoralized, I feel as though, through her advocacy, she wants the mainstream public to recognize the humanity in people dealing with homelessness, rather than simply pushing them to the margins of society:

T.K: …when they see you as a real person sitting there, coming back and being clean and having that opportunity and saying, "Thank you, I really like your input." Let me go out and talk to some of these people, let me have those conversations about like, well, I will go out and help you guys clean up your garbage, I will come out and help you clean up where people have defecated behind your building. We will help you, work with you in the community to make sure that your neighborhoods are restored, and we're really sorry that that kinda stuff happens. But you have to remember people get angry when they don't feel heard, when they're hurt, when they're lost. These are people who have nothing, and they've lost their jobs, and maybe there's some tragedy that happened in their lives… They're angry, they're hurt, they feel victimized, they're beaten, they're raped, they're violated, and they're fed up, they don't feel like anybody cares. That's why. They're frustrated...

Despite the fact that she recognizes that not everyone is concerned with the plight of homelessness, she believes that the only way to help people is through an inclusive, community approach. Like Randy, T.K. ultimately finds the goal of eliminating hostile designs in the city unlikely, as private property owners can maintain their spaces as they see fit. Still, the fact remains for T.K. that community engagement is

the best tool we have for effecting positive social change. She describes advocacy as having the potential to bridge gaps between individuals and the broader community. I get the sense that, perhaps for T.K., advocacy can help disrupt the demoralizing narratives that continue to persecute homeless people and other marginalized communities. I think that, for her, advocacy is about healing communities.

5.3 Giving Back to Community--Fran

The third collaborator to contact me is Fran. She promptly begins our first and only meeting by requesting that I send the final thesis to the 'Vulnerable People's Unit' at the CPS, as well as the CAC. Following this, she shares about her experience as an advocate for those experiencing homelessness in Calgary. Her work has included, but is not limited to, educating homeless-serving agencies, outreach for homeless people and those dealing with substance abuse, and street clean ups:

> Fran: I haven't been active with the [homeless-serving agency], for this last year as a result of COVID. I did an interview last week concerning COVID and how it has affected people in shelters and homeless, and the homeless population.
>
> I also do work with [an organization that advocates for addicts]. So, we do outreach like, three or four times a month in downtown Calgary and in the Suburbs now actually, at most of the malls and we just do harm reduction work and try to get people if they need or want help, we try to steer them in the right direction to resources in the city.

She reveals to me that throughout her almost 11-year tenure as an advocate, she has felt tokenized as an Indigenous woman:

> Fran: Sometimes it gets a little bit frustrating 'cause it's so slow and it's basic. I feel like that sometimes… I wanna say I'm a token Indian. So that's quite frustrating, but the issues are real, and

I feel that if we can touch... If we can touch somebody in decision making positions, then I guess it's all worth it.

I gather that, for Fran, there are undoubtedly barriers to effecting social change. The amount of work that goes into mobilizing knowledge in hopes of influencing policy- particularly when representing marginalized communities- is immense. Firstly, there is a great deal of bureaucracy (e.g., administrative tasks, prep work, and gaining access to policymakers) that must be dealt with. Secondly, it is uncertain whether your message will be heard as it is intended to be. The third and most critical point is that race, sex, and class-based oppressions continue to thrive in the political sphere, where historically marginalized groups must work even harder to bring attention to the matters that affect their communities.

To allow more space for Fran to introduce herself, I ask how she self-identifies:

Fran: I'm a Treaty 4 indigenous woman from Saskatchewan. I'm Cree-Lakota. I've lived in Calgary for about 20 years now. I was born on the Canadian side, but I have dual citizenship with the United States. So, I'm from Pine Ridge Indian reservation in South Dakota.

Jessica: I identify as an African-Canadian female. My parents are from Ghana. I'm the first to be born here.

Fran resumes, sharing the personal and social benefits of her advocacy:

Fran: It's really good in terms of my recovery… giving back to the community and just actually reaching the youth out there that are hurting, that are lost, that are in full addiction. It's pretty sad but at the same time, meeting people and they're so grateful for the services and just knowing that somebody out there cares about them, and checks up on them.

The notion of checking up on our neighbours is one that is shared between Fran and T.K. Bearing in mind the self-sacrificing work that is done by Fran and her colleagues

for the city, I ask if she feels supported by the municipal or provincial governments in her endeavours. She expounds with an example regarding the controversial safe-consumption site:

> Fran: Oh no, not at all... We've had a lot of challenges with respect to funding issues, but also being an ally for the safe injection site, and I sat on the Beltline Community Network Team there, and it was... I was alone in the room with another 100 people at least, or maybe not that quite high, maybe 50 people, but it was all about shutting down the safe injection site, and what a nuisance that that was in the Sheldon Chumir community.[39] Yeah, that was quite tough actually… It's kept a lot of people alive. Do you know that we have lost more people to the fentanyl crisis than we have to COVID in Alberta?

My current apartment and two of my jobs are located in the Beltline area, so I can attest to the amount of discussion the safe-consumption site has created. There has been an undeniable uptick in particular types of crime in the area since the site was added, though this area is close to a slew of bars and pubs which had already contributed to the atmosphere of a loud, high traffic area.[40] Regardless, many find the site to be a nuisance and possibly even a security issue for residents of the neighbourhood. This is unfortunate as the site has been proven to save lives in the silent pandemic that is the opioid crisis (Reiger, 2019). Fran centres her advocacy on facilitating access to support and resources that literally make the difference between life and death. Intrinsically, the stakes are high in her work. Her role makes the

[39] The Sheldon Chumir, also known locally as the "the new 8th and 8th clinic," is an inner-city health centre in Calgary. In 2017 a safe-consumption site was added to its premises.

[40] In 2019 it was reported that the safe-consumption site contributed to an increase in disorderly conduct complaints, drug-related arrests, and break and enters (Franklin, 2019).

difference between vulnerable community members silently passing away or being given the resources to actualize a more sustainable and fulfilling life.

We move from discussing access to the safe consumption site- and how important it is that the site remain in the inner-city- to how hard it is in general for homeless people to comfortably move around the city. I learn that Fran fundamentally perceives hostile architecture as invasive:

> Fran: I think that it is really intrusive, and it was specifically to ensure that homeless people weren't using the CTrain platform that was put there. Even in city parks, people are arrested for putting their feet on a bench to try and rest their bodies. It's exhausting! It's exhausting surviving on the street. You never have enough sleep. Even if you do utilize shelters, you're kicked out of the shelter or awakened at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning every day, so you're continuously exhausted and you go out in the community, you wanna sit down or access a park, You're always vulnerable.

Hostile architecture tells people where and how they are allowed to occupy common spaces, and also diverts and delays the movement of the homeless community. In addition to being denied access to shelter, these individuals are forced to constantly move. Understandably, hostile architecture might mean one thing to the general public and another to a person seeking warmth in the inner-city during the winter. But, similar to Randy, Fran sees hostile architecture as an issue that affects more than only the homeless community:

> Fran: I'm sure it does nothing for tourism. The tourist industry... I mean, Stephen Avenue is one of the biggest gathering streets in the city. It is *the* street in the city, and for sure, it must interfere with the tourism industry. No place to sit.

She also astutely points out that hostile architecture has several implications for people living with physical disabilities, even more so if they are also homeless:

Fran: You know what? For safety and concern issues for people out there, for people with disabilities that are homeless just to have access to places where people can sit like you just can't... You know, you can't go into restaurants anymore, now that it's open again it's probably a little bit better to access restaurants but still.

COVID-19 has created a new set of barriers to access, as businesses close, leaving fewer options for seating and washrooms for homeless people. However, Fran feels as though the homeless-serving system of care in Calgary has issues that predate COVID-19. She describes her concerns with one inner-city service agency:

Fran: I think the [agency] is useless, I really do, unfortunately… They're at the Old City Police Station downtown by the library, City Hall Station and they were supposed to be the one stop, one place wraparound system so that services are not overlapping. So, you go there to make an appointment, to make an appointment. Do you know what I mean? It's just a long process... and the downside of it is that you have to go through the [agency] to be on any kind of list like for housing. For example, if you're getting subsidized housing or get on a subsidized list, you have to go through the [agency], a person cannot just walk into another service provider agency anywhere in this city and apply for their housing. Supposedly, so that they can decide at one stop who gets and who doesn't. So apparently there's meetings like once or twice a month, for housing, and people get processed that way… It narrows the options for people, and if you don't meet the right criteria or if you've had a bad day and piss somebody off, chances are you're not gonna get a house.

This is not the first time I had heard that things move slowly in the world of outreach, with people sometimes remaining on waiting lists for housing for years. The idea that narrow criteria can designate some people as deserving and others as undeserving is unsettling and we discuss if it might be possible for individuals to access service directly.

Running out of time, I ask for her thoughts on this project:

> Jessica: Do you have any questions, concerns, anything you wanna talk about?
>
> Fran: I think with respect to hostile architecture, I thought it was just such a really good commentary and a really good endeavour to bring to light, to write about it, 'cause it's really aggravating and frustrating.

5.4 Blending Art with Activism--Nigel

The fourth and final collaborator I meet is Nigel. Straightaway, I feel that Nigel has a powerful pedagogical spirit. At the beginning of our introduction, he tells me that he has been living in his apartment for five years after being homeless off and on for about ten years. During his experiences on the streets of Calgary, what stood out to him was the fact that homeless people are indeed treated differently throughout different facets of social life. Whether it be having their survival behaviours banned or being targeted by law enforcement, homeless people experience varying forms of social exclusion- all of which has informed his current advocacy.

Nigel is well versed on and excited by the topic of hostile architecture, so it does not take long for us to begin to discuss its occurrence in Calgary.

Figure 5.1

Examples of hostile architecture from Nigel's twitter- May 2018

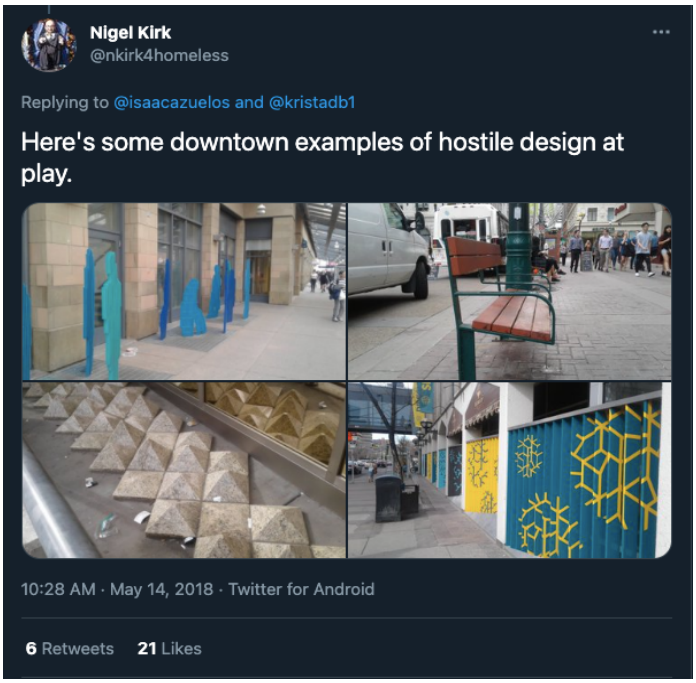


Figure 5.2

Unsleepable bench: Nigel's twitter- May 2018)

He suggests that the opening of the New Central Library in November 2018 created a prime opportunity to discuss hostile architecture in the inner-city. Around this time, he developed his definition of hostile design, the same one that Randy had cited in our first meeting:

> Nigel: [hostile architecture is] the relocation of the population through urban design.

Expanding on his definition, he continues:

> Nigel: It's basically architecture that's designed to keep a target group of people or a community out of certain places. Whether it be the homeless community, whether it be youth, whether it be... I suppose in some sense, you could even consider redlining a form of hostile architecture, it's not specifically architecture, but it's a form of urban planning to try and remove a target population from there.

When asked about his opinion on the previous working definition I had created from my proposal, Nigel suggests that it's not just about architecture, but rather a range of hostile urban practices, that constitutes hostile design:

> Nigel: It's not necessarily limited to architectural structures, like I imagine that there are ways to design roads, and pathways, and just in general any part of city planning, to be inclusive or exclusive to certain members of the community… And that's why I go back to the urban planning style, 'cause that's when I bring up redlining. Yeah, redlining isn't exactly architecture or a building structure, but it's designing a community to exclude certain communities. So, in Halifax, they redlined the place so badly that the entire neighborhood, what used to be Africville in Halifax, now has almost no members of the black community living there, and it's been completely whitewashed despite the fact that for the longest time, it was a predominantly black neighborhood.

The literature supports his notion as redlining, and particular zoning and bylaw practices, function in a similar way to un-sleepable benches and anti-hobo spikes- they

function to reposition particular groups within the city. Much like T.K.'s experiences of being demoralized and targeted when unhoused, Nigel sees these overarching hostile practices against homeless people as a way to control the criteria of inclusion and exclusion in mainstream society. Likewise, he believes that police harassment of homeless people, just like hostile architecture, is under-recognized. He speaks of a time when he was witness to an incident of police harassment:

Nigel: I tried talking to the guy in charge of bylaw a few years ago and he's just in denial that they write more tickets to people with no fixed address than others on any of their by-laws… so I pointed out, well, the loitering bylaw. Loitering is not very well defined. There's where you can smoke, where you can't smoke bylaws, and it's like, and don't get me wrong. I'm all for making sure that people aren't unduly exposed to cigarette smoke, but apparently you can't smoke outside the Tim Horton's around the corner, you have to go all the way to the edge of the sidewalk where the road is, even if you're already five meters away from the door, and that's not anything that's spelt out, but I've watched my friends get ticketed by bylaw for smoking against the building, even though there are five meters away from the door instead of right up on the edge of the sidewalk where the sidewalk meets the road… But in all fairness, my friend also happened to be indigenous so that might have played a part in why he was picked out for being ticketed too.

Here, my concern grows over the fact that bylaws can at times be needlessly complicated and not readily available to the public. As a result, there is room for bad faith interpretations of bylaws. Considering inequities in access to information, Nigel's advocacy is very much centred on raising awareness of issues that affect the homeless community, both amongst the general public and those who are currently homeless. The latter is particularly crucial, as underserved populations may not fully recognize the various forms of systemic oppression directed towards them as a group.

> Nigel: I'm hoping that it's starting to become a bit more of a conversation now as it's been increased. One of the biggest things that we're noticing is ashtrays are now being locked. A lot of buildings now have installed new ashtrays that lock and all that stuff, so people who wanna roll themselves a cigarette can't just dig through the ashtrays and roll themselves a cigarette. So, I think that's something that's being noticed, but I'm not sure if it's ever really been thought of as a hostile design, where I very much consider it hostile design. Here in Bowness and in Kensington and in other neighborhoods, they actually have garbage bins that have little rims around them that say, put your bottles here so that homeless people don't have to dig through the garbage to grab empties and recyclables and all that stuff. And I'm like, that's like inviting design, why don't we have more of that?

I understand his use of the phrase 'inviting design' to signify that he wants hostile architecture on public property to be reassessed and that he seeks a radically inclusive and compassionate cityscape. Regardless, he has a pragmatic approach to realizing his inclusive city predicated on civic engagement. As with the other collaborators, he acknowledges the barriers to taking the political route:

> Nigel: The homeless do vote, but city councillors and people who are running for public office seem to be convinced that they don't, so they don't ever actually do anything to get us civically engaged. And I remember, 'cause I had this conversation with Kent Hehr, trying to push for Human Rights Amendments to protect the homeless from discrimination and he's like, "Well, I'm a minority in the Provincial Government, and so the Conservatives are never gonna listen to us and besides the homeless don't vote."[41]

It seems that he is suggesting that even though much of the homeless community wishes to be politically engaged, governing officials are ambivalent to hearing their

[41] Kent Hehr is a politician from Alberta, who since 2015 has served as Member of Parliament for the riding of Calgary Centre. A large portion of the inner-city lies within the Calgary Centre riding.

voices. Curious, I inquire into the accessibility of polling stations for those experiencing homelessness. Nigel describes to me how he and his colleagues worked to provide a polling station for those experiencing homelessness:

> Nigel: Well, we only recently started putting polling stations in, near shelters. The Salvation Army never had one, they'd vote at City Hall. The Mustard Seed doesn't have a polling station there, although I think they did have it for one day during advance voting, they had the bus come in. But it was again, during the day when most people aren't at the shelter because the Mustard Seed kicks people out during the day. So, the DI is the only shelter I know of that at least regularly in federal elections has put up a polling station in the drop-in center, on election day. And we made sure that there's also advanced polling buses, and we now have a team that goes on voting day to the DI and tries to encourage people to vote… And we were like, if you don't have photo ID, that's fine, we can partner you with one of the staff here who will write you a letter confirming your identity. We can do that.

Even though Nigel and his colleagues have made significant positive changes for the homeless community, he suggests that barriers to change could be due in part to the fractured state of homeless outreach and activism in Calgary:

> Nigel: Unlike other cities, Calgary doesn't have much of a homelessness activist scene. Most of the work being done is being done by advocacy groups that are not necessarily made up of people of lived experience. The few grassroots groups that are out there that do, if not specifically have a homelessness lens, at least have a poverty lens and try to be homeless-inclusive, are very limited budget wise in the... And manpower in the resources that we have. The [advocacy group] is very limited in the scope of what it can do because we don't have a lot of the budget, and we don't have a lot of the bureaucratic support, and I don't think it's deliberate on the intention of the Calgary Homeless Foundation. I think, the Calgary Homeless Foundation supports the work that they do, but because of the process and procedure of trying to propose projects and getting them approved and all that stuff, it can be very, very cumbersome, and as well…the [advocacy group] often finds that it doesn't get the proper support it needs ideologically, even sometimes.

Curious, I inquire as to what he means by ideological support. He continues:

> Nigel: It's like I loved the previous executive director, [redacted], but me and her butted heads all the time because she did not wanna think of homelessness as a community or a culture. She was in straight up denial that homelessness is a culture… That it has unique cultural traits. Because I think mostly when we think of a culture, we think of cultures that we're born into, and no one's really born into homelessness. But if you're homeless for a bit, you adapt pretty quickly into the lifestyle of being homeless, and that doesn't always mean shoplifting, but that means you know where to go to get certain things if you need them, where to gather. So that's away from the police or where the police are less likely to find you. Those kind of things you learn pretty quickly, it's kind of like a gathering at the river of sorts.

I consider that the director, though with the best intentions, mostly saw homelessness for its devastating characteristics and was unable to recognize that it is indeed a culture predicated on local knowledge as a means of survival.

To close off our opening research conversation, I ask Nigel what his hopes for this project are:

> Jessica: So, what are your hopes for this project?

> Nigel: I know a lot of research just comes down to recommendations that may or may not be ignored, so at the very least, I'd like to see recommendations to stop teaching hostile design and hostile architecture in post-secondary schools. But I'd also like to see greater awareness of this subject and the impacts it has on the homeless community, both within the mainstream of society and within the homeless community. I would like this to be something that the homeless community actually thinks about more often and stands up against more often instead of just kind of passively accepting that this is the way it is, or in many cases, not even recognizing it when it's happening. So, I'd like to see members of the homeless community learn to recognize it when it's happening and be empowered to be proactive in fighting it… I wanna create an online map of

> where all the hostile architecture is. And I even wanna label, "Does it stop someone from sleeping? Does it stop someone from using the bathroom? What's its purpose? I want something similar to what they've got in Toronto where they've got a giant map of all the hostile design in Toronto.

Like the other research partners, he tempers his expectations of this project with the reality of working with policymakers. However, he ultimately seeks to raise awareness of hostile designs, both for the public who may not notice these ubiquitous structures, and for those who are homeless, who may not be fully conscious of how urban design controls their movements through the city.

Follow-up conversations occurred with three of the four partners. T.K. and myself contributed recent photos to this project, while Nigel provided me with tweets containing images of hostile architecture from 2018. Randy was unable to collect and share photos due to problems with his mobile phone, so instead we explored the pictures I took in order to discuss our concerns. Lastly, Fran did not return for a follow up conversation, but was given regular updates on the project.

Nonetheless, everyone's contribution is equally valuable. One of the many reasons that I chose to undertake a CBPAR project was to participate in a collaborative method that recognizes that partners may have differing levels of involvement in the project, while still recognizing the value in each partner's contribution. As not every member was able to participate in the photovoice aspect of the project, the focus on this aspect was dialed back in order to meet partners 'where they are at' and focus instead on their experiences and insights. This means that while photos did guide our conversations and analysis, this research relies heavily on the interview texts as data.

Chapter 6: Assessing the State of the Commons

This chapter is divided into three sections. Supported by photographic evidence showing hostile architecture in the inner-city of Calgary, I first discuss the implications of these structures on the "urban commons" (any public spaces within an urban area) and demonstrate how these and exclusionary actions are directed at those experiencing poverty or homelessness. Second, I discuss how the lack of a true "urban commons" influences the exclusion of the poor and homeless. Finally, I address some key barriers faced by grassroots advocacy in effecting change.

6.1 Critiquing Hostile Architecture

Since I was young, I have made a pastime out of walking in the inner-city. But during these times that I walked, stopping to collect images of hostile designs, I felt more and more like a stranger in my hometown. Not that the landscape was unfamiliar but, rather, I felt an unspoken expectation that I was just to pass through, and not to hang around any given spot for *too* long. On each walk, after about 3 hours of wandering, I would feel a strong sense of disorientation and then, sometimes, I would retreat home. Regardless of how my journey concluded, the sting of knowing that I *could* retreat home while others could not, hurt the same each time. Other times, I fought (and lost) the pull to become a customer so I might spend a few dollars here or there to feel more entrenched in the normative flow of the city. Moving along with a coffee in hand, I felt a little less like a stranger.

--From the authors field notes- April 15th, 2021

Hostile architecture is pervasive in the train stations and bus stops of Calgary. Just glance out the window while you ride the CTrain through the downtown corridor and you will notice, from station to station, various instances of hostile architecture. The most common form is the ubiquitous "un-sleepable" bench (Figure 1).

Figure 6.1

(1) Unsleepable bench on the City Hall CTrain Platform– Taken by the author- March 2021; (2) Unsleepable bench on 4th street and 11st street SW – Taken by the author December 2020; (3) Unsleepable bench on 8th Avenue and 5th street SE– Taken by the author- April 2021; (4). Unsleepable bench on 7th avenue and 1st street SW – Taken by the author March 2021; (5) Unsleepable bench on 7th avenue and 9th street SW – Taken by the author April 2021.

Inside the transit shelters and along inner-city streets, we see low oddly-curved benches with short metal armrests in the middle. Other benches are long, slim, and slanted, again with short metal armrests across the middle. These low armrests are difficult to use, and also make it impossible to lie down across the bench. Below are excerpts from the thoughts of some research collaborators on these un-sleepable benches.

> Randy: I noticed these things and how they start sloping benches more… When you sit at benches like this, you see them kind of at a bad, crazy slope.

T.K.: Well so if somebody's suddenly exhausted, and the ground is really cold, or it's frozen and they decide to lay down in a bus shelter just to get out of the cold, they lay down on the bench. So now they started putting the handles in-between so that they can't lay down.

Nigel: I've seen some people say, "well, in most cases, I'm pretty thankful for an armrest because I've got mobility issues and they're helpful." But those aren't armrests, they're way too low to be armrests, they're not gonna be useful to anyone with mobility issues, for any practical purposes, they're just too low to the bench there. The only reason I can see for that is to keep people from laying down on them. And because they also control the width of each seating area, it could be ableist or fatphobic if someone's a little bit more on the heavy side or something, and they might not be able to fit in those things...

It stands to reason that these un-sleepable benches impeded the survival activities of those without secure shelter. This is not surprising given that crime deterrence architecture (e.g., CPTED and hostile architecture) limits the possible usages of a space or structure. The rationale is that certain actions can be curtailed by the placing of boundaries, limiting how a space or structure can be interacted with. In the case of un-sleepable benches, partitions, limited bench length, and angled seats are intentional. For T.K. and Nigel, the unsleepable benches are just one of many ways that the homeless community is denied even the most basic and necessary of comforts—rest. While permitting people to sleep on benches is not the solution to homelessness, the lack of options available to those experiencing homelessness mean that, at times, an amendable bench is the only place to rest one's tired and weary body.[42] Additionally, these procrustean beds are not inclusive of other bodies, as Nigel pointed out. Low and

[42] I assert, through this research that the removal of hostile architecture from our inner cities is an immediate response to the social exclusion of the unhoused and marginalized, and but that such removal will not change the systemic structures that create poverty and homelessness in the first place.

closely situated armrests prevent sleep, and limit people's ability to use the benches regularly. This may be the case for people who have mobility issues, use walkers or wheelchairs, or are simply larger than what the structure boundaries allow for. This is how something as innocuous as a bench can threaten the sense of commonality within the inner-city.

During casual conversations with friends familiar with the inner-city, the use of art as hostile architecture came up regularly. Through these discussions, I learned that while we do see anti-homeless spikes, and unsleepable benches, art also alters the use of space. Strategically placed statuettes immediately come to mind, like those welded over heating vents on the Centre Street platform. Figure 2 depicts a series of large metal statues. In the shape of people, these statues take the place of where warmth could have been accessible to real people experiencing homelessness.

Figure 6.2

(1) and (2) Art in the way of heating vents on the Centre Street CTrain Platform– Taken by T.K. February 2021

These metal silhouettes were often referenced by the research collaborators:

> T.K.: They've started stagnating big metal objects so they can't lay down on the heat vents. Where are you gonna go? All of the buildings are locked… There's no heating, there's no place for them to lay down comfortably, right? That's really an asshole move…When you don't have any heat sources and people are locked out and you can't get into malls and stuff. Take the mustard seed, for example, they drop people off downtown at 5:30-6:00 clock in the morning. And it's a cold winter's morning, and that is a source of heat blowing up, where are they supposed to go? Shopping malls won't let them in because of covid.

> Randy: [I've] seen some of the changes [downtown], for example the art they put on Center Street platform over the grates.

> Fran: Well, I think [hostile architecture] really has interfered with people that are rogues, they are people that don't access shelters. And for people that are up and out all night, who used to use the CTrain platforms for warmth. You know the statues, the steel statue artwork that's put at, I think it's Center Street CTrain station, right downtown.

> Nigel: Yeah, I remember about 10 years ago, a girl and I were spending the night drinking before I had my no drinking while homeless rule, and we crashed on there, so they would have gone up within the past 10 years, but I can't remember exactly when I started seeing them up there.

Examining this occurrence of hostile architecture, I wonder if art is being used to "soften the blow" of hostile architecture by benevolently repurposing a space with the positive invocations of art to hide the blatant hostility of exclusionary designs. Public art usually is thought to enhance the daily experiences of inhabiting or interacting with public spaces. In these instances, it is instead used to inhibit conceivable and necessary uses of public space and directly hampers the adaptability and commonality of the inner-city.

Nevertheless, within our research group, there were conflicting views on what specific characteristics make an urban space hostile. For instance, while Nigel, T.K., and Fran cited the obstruction of the heating vents on the Centre Street platform, Randy saw it differently:

> Randy: I know a lot of people who will go an extra block or two to avoid that station because of that fact. Me, it doesn't bother me. But yeah, I could see how that could be very offensive to some people walking by and seeing 12, 13, homeless people, half of them may be under the influence of something, it could be a scary situation. The way I think of it, if that's my business, do I want all these people hanging out in front of my business scaring away my customers? I'll say it, these are my people, this is where I come from. But in the same sense, now You're affecting my business, my livelihood. Now I wouldn't want them hanging out in front of my store, I'll be perfectly honest, and I hear a lot of: "Why would you say that?" Because I need to survive, I need to make my livelihood, otherwise I may end up on the streets as well. So, get away from the front of my door

Although these metal silhouettes are on public property and are far from the entrances to private businesses, Randy's acknowledgement of everyone's needs, not just those experiencing homelessness, is one that cannot be ignored. Hostile architecture and CPTED often succeed in their intent to increase real and perceived levels of safety by limiting the use of public space. As much as I seek urban spaces that are inclusive to all, there is no denying that inner cities often do have higher crime rates than suburban areas. Having lived in the inner-city of Calgary for most of my life, I can attest to this increased volume of crime and, as such, I think it is justified for individuals and property owners to take reasonable measures in protecting their own security or that of their property. However, I do not think that creating more hostile spaces is the answer. Like Randy, I believe in the importance of a solution that is fair to all. However, in our neoliberal context, as long as socially constructed inequities continue to be reproduced

and cemented, it is necessary that we focus on creating hospitable urban spaces for our most underserved individuals.

The previous examples of hostile architecture are relatively easy to define according to the survival activities that they impede, but not all forms of urban design are as simple to categorize. In the introduction, we defined 'fins' (Figure 6.3) as 'raised fixtures that impede lying down and are also intended to eliminate skateboarding.' Interestingly, aside from a mention by Nigel, no collaborators labeled fins as hostile architecture. Instead, the other collaborators suggests that fins are more likely to be a deterrent solely against skateboarders and are actually easily circumvented by using a backpack, a thick article of clothing, or a blanket:

> T.K.: So those metal bars, that wouldn't be a deterrent, really. Not really, because you can put your knapsack down…And I don't know too many homeless people who skateboard.

Figure 6.3

(1) Deterrence Fins outline Bard Scott Park on 12th avenue and 9th street SW– April 2021- Taken by the author; (2) Alcove Pyramids on 7th avenue and 7th street CTrain station SW –March 2021- Taken by the author

The alcove pyramids (Figure 6.3) also generated varied opinions, as a few collaborators could pinpoint exactly what activities were obstructed by their presence:

Randy: I see that as a deterrent from people standing there and taking a piss in the corner. A Little alcove you're hidden in, if you wanna smoke your pipe or fix a shot it's a good spot you know?

Nigel: I'm glad that they're not sharp points, but the fact is they're still there for the purpose of keeping people from laying down in there outside of the wind. That's what I see it for, because it's not gonna be much of a smoking deterrent because they're spread far enough apart that you can walk around and... Well, an average able-bodied person can walk around them. But it's like a little alcove that's out of the wind, so it's there specifically to keep people from hiding from the wind kind of thing. It is there to keep people from laying down and try to sleep in an area where it's not

> gonna be as windy, especially downtown where because of all the buildings there, Seventh Avenue is like one giant wind tunnel that just funnels everything through it.

It is interesting that Nigel, Randy, and myself perceived this alcove's fins to be hostile, but could not exactly identify why fins were put there, rather than a more obstructive structure like a piece of 'art,' or why other alcoves remained open. It is possible that due to its proximity to the CTrain platform, the fins were installed to deter people from hiding in this small, recessed portion of the platform for any reason. Smoking is not permitted on or near train platforms and bus stations, and (of course) public urination is prohibited as well. The latter is hard to avoid given the marked lack of public washrooms in the inner-city of Calgary and this is a concern to our research group:

> Randy: Very rare to find any [bathrooms] downtown…try to find a bathroom downtown. The vast majority of the homeless population is downtown. So, why do you think a lot of individuals, I hate to say it, but take a piss behind a bush or in buildings?

> T.K.: There's the bathing issue, not being able to change into clean clothes, no washrooms, or facilities to be able to use.

> Fran: There is a lack of public bathrooms and a lack of public fountains

Access to washrooms is not universal. This is a major problem, one which COVID-19 has only amplified. With businesses closed, those experiencing homelessness have less access to washrooms than ever before. It goes without saying that access to clean washrooms is a human right and has been declared as such in 2015 by the United Nations (Human Rights Watch, 2017). For members of our community to be denied this right is disheartening. In our first conversation, T.K. shared intimate stories of what it

was like to be a woman without access to washrooms or feminine hygiene products. Unfortunately, her stories are not uncommon. The lack of access to washrooms is another way that dignity is robbed from the marginalized. Imagine what it would feel like to know that if you needed to use the bathroom, you might have to beg someone (like a business owner) for permission, or find a less-than-ideal way to have your needs met.

Furthermore, two of the collaborators commented on the lack of seating options available along Stephen Avenue, a popular pedestrian mall and destination for locals and tourists alike. Figure 4 depicts the lack of seating in this high traffic area.

Figure 6.4

(1) No place to sit on Stephen Avenue- March 2021- Photo taken by author.

Below are excerpts from conversations with research collaborators related to the lack of seating on Stephen Avenue:

> Randy: They are definitely gonna need places to sit, especially towards West Kerby because there is a senior centre there. And if that street has got stores and shops, a lot more seniors from that building are gonna wanna come down into that little area. So, if there's nowhere for them to sit, I can't really see them wanting to go to that area.

> Fran: All the benches are removed on Stephen Avenue. Almost everywhere you go now, it's just such a diversion, specifically directed at the homeless population. I think it's terrible.

The removal of seating on Stephen Avenue predates COVID-19, so it is possible that there were, at some point, plans to replace the removed seating. It is relevant to note that the majority of these benches did not contain partitions that were justified as armrests, although the bench seats were slanted.

6.11 Assembling the Ingots of Social Exclusion

I have maintained that urban space is neither a neutral nor a random act; rather it is brought into existence by urban planners, political entities, and those who have authority over property (Smith and Walters, 2018). Traditionally, measures to revitalize cities were seen as a process of "purification, designed to exclude groups variously identified as polluting" (Sibley, 1995, p. 57). These othered bodies may include the poor, the homeless, the underclass (or lumpenproletariat), the working class, and racial minorities. Not only are these bodies othered and excluded, but they are also marked as dangerous. This cultivation of "fear of the other" helps to define the contours of inclusion by reconfirming cultural and economic hegemony and enhancing territoriality

(Bakrasta, 2011). Similarly, as stated by Sibley, "collective expressions of a fear of others, for example, call on images which constitute bad objects for the self and thus contribute to the definition of the self" (Sibley, 1995, p. 44). Borrowing from critical urban thought, I suggest that the ideal and typified city inhabitant is a *prosumer*, an individual that is both a producer (of goods and capital) and a consumer (Gerhardt, 2020; Roberts, 2016). The ideal inhabitant and the othered body are in contention for the right to occupy and re-appropriate the urban centre and the "urban commons". During our research conversations, Randy called upon urban folklore and pointed out that a possible motivation for hostile architecture and exclusionary practices is to create 'presentable' spaces for consumers:

> Randy: If you want to move the population somewhere else, it makes your downtown core look better and more presentable, so to speak. If you don't have the, let's say, 'homeless ruffians,' running around sitting on every bench …I hate to say it but, dirtying up the city, it doesn't look good when tourists come, especially when it's stampede time… The usual stampede round-up, right? Get rid of a lot of people so the streets look a little cleaner when thousands of people come in. It's kind of the same thing with these benches and art displays. Keep the population moving so they don't hang around… it's kind of like the old urban legend type deal where the week or two before Stampede, the police really start hitting the downtown scene looking for people with warrants for the two weeks and then after Stampede they let them loose. There's no way to really confirm that. That's just something that, like the inside line that we have been saying for years and it does seem to look like that sometimes.

The Calgary Stampede is an annual rodeo, exhibition, and festival founded nearly a century ago and that is held every July all across Calgary but focused near the inner-city. During this time, Calgary becomes a lively, country western-themed party that

attracts both tourists and locals by the hundreds of thousands to the downtown area. Accordingly, the city experiences a great deal of economic growth during the stampede, and many Calgarians look forward to this revenue increase for the city and private businesses. It is timely that this rumoured 'round-up' story has been shared with me by Randy since when I was a child, I had also heard two similar narratives. The first was that during the 1988 Winter Olympics, known as Calgary '88, homeless people were given one-way bus tickets to British Columbia, the neighbouring Canadian province. The second was that, during the early 90's, Premier Ralph Klein was offering welfare recipients one-way bus tickets to British Columbia (Clarke, 2008; Lenskyj, 2000). While I cannot speak to the accuracy of these stories, together with Randy's passage, they might illustrate how consumers are given precedence for urban spaces over the homeless community, who are aware of this via the urban legend, which has become important cultural knowledge, passed down across generations.

I believe that Harvey (2008) would not be surprised by these narratives, as he contends that urban space has always been a site for class struggle. Because cities have been formed around the geographical and social concentration of surplus value, urbanization is a 'class phenomenon.' Furthermore, as surplus value must be extracted from somewhere and by somebody, control over its distribution typically lies in a few hands (p. 24). This means that power in the city, in contrast to a rural community, is not distributed evenly as it is concentrated in the hands of those with economic and political power. Thus, existing social disparities that are contingent on political and economic hegemony are reinforced (Smith et at., 2017). According to Peršak and Di Ronco (2017), homeless people in this context are like the "Achilles' heel" of politicians and policymakers, as this community does not significantly contribute to consumerism

but still occupies space within the consumerist urban spaces. More so, their presence is considered unfavourable when it comes to attracting and retaining consumers in gentrified or newly revitalized areas. As a result of being demonized for their survival activities and stigmatized on account of being without shelter, homeless people are displaced through "softer situational measures meant to discourage or disable the homeless from engaging in their activities (basically from being homeless) at their doorstep" (p. 336)

Social exclusion can take place anywhere, however this inner-city variant is distinctive as it continuously pushes along individuals who once occupied these same spaces, thereby compounding their already peripheral social position. Returning to Nigel's definition of hostile designs (*the relocation of the population through urban design*), these urban spaces and their accompanying rules of engagement effectively displace communities that have long staked claim to the inner-city before it was considered to be prime real estate. I argue that stories of displacement all illustrate how public space is so much a site of contention and this is echoed by Randy's belief that the issue of hostile architecture is unlikely to be remedied quickly. As he states, "it's like putting a band-aid on a gusher. The problems are already there." I understand his statement to be indicative of the wider issue of hostility against the poor, of which hostile architecture is one small symptom of. This issue is inherently tied to cultural and economic hegemony that justifies the exclusion of the poor and homeless, and which is well-maintained under the neoliberal milieu.

When I assess hostile architecture at the macro level in which it is embedded, I see that the result of intersecting cross beams of social exclusion, lack of resources, and

chronic precarity is levied on those experiencing homelessness, as they find themselves lodged within a "grid wall" of hostility.

6.12 The Grid Wall of Hostility Against Homeless People

Social control and exclusion measures against those experiencing homelessness can range from outright criminalization to 'softer' situational measures, all of which discourage or impede these individuals from engaging in survival activities (Peršak and Di Ronco, 2017, p. 336). Throughout this thesis, I have alluded to hostility against homeless people as being akin to a grid wall, where intersecting actions and processes uphold systemic discrimination against the poor and unhoused. This includes, but is not limited to, displacement practices, threats of violence, panhandling and sit-lie bylaws, social exclusion, 'othering,' and hostile architecture. While I do not claim to know how every part of this grid wall is experienced, I have recognised a salient aspect that underwrites this grid wall of hostility against homeless people. This encompassing aspect of hostility is the stigmatization of the poor and unhoused. In a previous study, in which I assessed what opinions of homelessness were held by students at the University of Calgary, I explored what it meant to believe that homelessness was caused by one's personal shortcomings. The underlying assumption of this view of homelessness is that it is the direct result of laziness, substance abuse, or some other display of deviancy. In this context, hostile architecture is just one of many suggestions that poverty and homelessness should be kept hidden, far away from the sensibilities of the non-deviant and 'deserving' public. At worst, hostile architecture demonstrates that the survival actions of the poor and unhoused are worthy of criminalization. As Nigel asserts, hostile architecture "accuses target populations of being criminals, rather than

civilians trying to survive." I recognize the criminalization of the poor and unhoused to be indicative of the legal-- and therefore authorized-- codification of stigma. This legal embodiment has been much debated, specifically *the punitive turn,* which since the late 1970s saw the substitution of rehabilitation and reintegration with repression and exclusion, first within the penal state before becoming a managerial style (Dassé, 2019, p. 6). The *broken windows theory,* which can and has been used to justify over-policing of poor and racialized neighbourhoods. To the rise in *penal populism,* whereby politicians leverage their platforms partially on what penal policies are sought after by their constituents, regardless of whether these policies are effective or appropriate (Dobrynina, 2016, p. 98).[43] In the experiences of Fran, Nigel, and T.K., the threat of being targeted and displaced by law enforcement was never far.

> Fran: Police brutality against homeless people is a predominant thing in the homeless population. People are scared of the police. And Indigenous people specifically are afraid of the police. All the Starlight Tours that started in Saskatoon like 20 years ago, there was a documentary made about Neil Stonechild, who was taken. He was driven out into the country at minus 40 below and left there to freeze to death. And that has continued to happen in Calgary. I hear stories about that all the time. Police removing people from the downtown area and driving them out to industrialized centers or even out of the town. So, it's pretty scary.
>
> Nigel: It's something every homeless person knows, is that we're targeted more frequently by the police, but that's a conversation that hasn't gone outside of the homeless community in any depth though.

[43] It has been argued that 'Canada missed the punitive turn,' as there has been little change in the direction or severity of sentencing (Meyer and O'Malley, 2005). Others have maintained that under the penal populism of Stephen Harper (Former Prime Minister of Canada 2006-2015), the country did shift towards a more 'fear based' and punitive judicial system (Prince, 2015)

> T.K.: I know for me when I walked around, because I couldn't find any shelter at all, the first thing I did was I got on a CTrain and I remember, because I got on the CTrain it was warm, I fell asleep. And when I fell asleep, I got woken up by being kicked by CTrain police. And then taken downtown. And handcuffed. And when I was handcuffed, it was because I didn't have my ID on me, because somebody had stolen my purse.

This is not to say that all hostilities against the poor and homeless come from law enforcement, or that hostilities are contained within the inner-city. Outside of the inner-city, we see fortified communities which serve as further indication that the cultivation of fear of the poor and unhoused is distributed throughout the city. Take for instance the gated upscale communities, such as Stonepine and Spring Valley Lane, which are physically and symbolically demarcated from the homeless and lower classes. Of course, this desire of other residents for separation from the poor and homeless is not exclusive to Calgary. For example, a 2018 petition started by Beverley Hills' students in Los Angeles, California demanding that a proposed Metro transit line be moved or defunded. This petition opposed a plan to create a tunnel underneath the Beverly Hills High School that would reduce commute times for communities that depended on public transit. Detractors citied the chance of an explosion in the tunnel (which was found to be unlikely), as well as potential safety concerns because unfamiliar (e.g., poor and working class) individuals would now be present (despite being in transit) in this homogenized upper-class neighbourhood (Los Angeles Times, 2018). It seems that no matter where homeless people go, they are deemed as strangers in their own town. This alone pushes me to question the inclusivity and commonality of the public space.

6.2 The Commonality of Urban Space

I began this thesis with a rhetorical question: *How common are the public spaces in your city?* The purpose of this question, and the following vignettes, was to stress the importance of the commons as an open and shared space. According to Lefebvre (1996), "there is no urban reality without a centre, without a gathering together of all that can be born into space and that can be produced in it, without an encounter, actual or possible, of all 'objects' and 'subjects'" (p. 195). I share in this appreciation of the commons as a site of chance encounters between unknown bodies. Regrettably, opportunities for spontaneous meetings are diminished by segregation and social exclusion. Zieleniec (2018) is pessimistic about the lack of commonality within the city, asserting that we live in a culture "dominated by the privatization of experience, of consumption, in planned, designed space, commodified and policed to ensure order, control and stability to meet the needs of the market and of capital" (p. 10). This statement is profound, illustrating how much one's standard of life in the city is facilitated through access to revitalized urban spaces. Without capital, there is no access, and without access, you are denied experiences that are deemed as culturally important or necessary. For Zieleniec, this is to the detriment of truly common spaces as cities lose their "spatial solidarity" due to the increasing homogenization of the urban environment (p. 10). This may sound counterintuitive because homogeneity might look like solidarity, but as marginalized groups continue to be relegated to the periphery, this solidarity is only surface deep.

The issue with the lack of commons within cities is multidimensional. For one, by overriding the inhabitant with the consumer, democracy is undermined. Urban space can be understood as the 'epicentre of social antagonism,' wherein, during any

historical period, it reflects the power relations of that moment (Venturini et al., 2019, p. 71). To understand the urban centre as place of sociological, political, and economic struggle, one need not look further than the recent uptick in protests and demonstrations that have characterized the last few years when groups have gathered in urban centres throughout the world to protest police brutality against BIPOC (Black and Indigenous People of Colour), the ongoing oppression of Palestine, and more recently, COVID-19 related policy. It is as though, every other day, I am able to hear the rallying cries of groups mobilizing from my inner-city apartment suite. While these collectives may seem to differ greatly, they share an appropriation of public space for the purpose of empowerment through knowledge democratization and mobilization. These demonstrations all play (at least) two roles: to mobilize communities and to raise awareness of an issue. With these objectives in mind, the urban centre becomes the obvious location to facilitate these gatherings due to the concentration of population, services, and shops, which help ensure a sizable audience, and its centrality, to ensure that a majority of community members can participate. I also believe there is something to be said about the recognizability of inner-city spaces. In this digital age, it is hard to ignore the motivation to hold demonstrations in recognizable and iconic locations. Lefebvre puts it best here:

> The aesthetic qualities of these urban cores play an important role in their maintenance. They do not only contain monuments and institutional headquarters, but also spaces appropriated for entertainments, parades, promenades, festivities. In this way the urban core becomes a high quality consumption product for foreigners, tourists, people from the outskirts and suburbanites. It survives because of this double role: as place of consumption and consumption of place. Thus, centres enter more completely into exchange and exchange value, not without retaining their use value due to spaces provided for specific activities. They become centres of consumption (Lefevre, 1996, p. 9).

These same qualities of the inner-city, which make it advantageous for community mobilization, make it easily co-optable by the market--to the extent that we might almost forget to question it. Rather than having inner-city space be for everyone, and therefore truly common, we have allowed our urban centres to be divided up and sold to the highest bidder. The winning bidder then sets out the rules of engagement within these formerly open spaces. In this way, the city commons can proclaim to be inclusive and open (you are free to come), all the while remaining sterilized and controlled (but you might not be allowed to stay). Because of this, we see spaces that, in Nigel's words, are "*inviting for a whole bunch of workers to hang out during their lunch break, but not really inviting for anyone else*." Many cities have combined gentrification processes--often branded as revitalization plans--with punitive strategies towards incivilities. This is done in an effort to change the image of the city into a place that is attractive to young professionals, families, and tourists (Peršak and Di Ronco, 2017). These changes may be well-intentioned, as in the case of creating safer cities and aesthetically pleasing pedestrian malls, but they often fall short of improving the quality of life for the most underserved members of society. If creating safer cities means handing out more tickets to those who must enact their survival behaviours in public, or if creating more walkable blocks involves re-zoning in such a way that rental prices skyrocket in a previously low-income neighbourhood, then we are moving away from urban solidarity. At best, the lack of a true commons is entwined with hostilities within urban space, while, at worst, it is a human rights concern.

6.21 The Right to the City

The right to the city refers to one's right to "fully inhabit" city spaces, and to have a space that satisfies one's needs as an inhabitant. This research considers one's re-appropriation of inner-city spaces as part of the right to the city. Unfortunately, this process is impeded by hostile architecture.

Following these assumptions, private property rights are an expropriation of urban space because they take what should belong to the community (urban spaces) by transferring agency and control over these spaces over to individual owners (Lefebvre, 1996). For Lefebvre, the right to re-appropriation of urban space (more broadly than just private property rights) is justifiable (Purcell, 2014, p. 149). In this context, the term "right" does not refer to a single legal claim, but to multiple rights: the right to access public space, the right to chance encounter, and the right to knowledge (Brenner et al., p. 34). Throughout this thesis, I have avoided using the term "citizen" when referring to inhabitants of the city. This is because to speak of citizenship is to speak of rights afforded through a jurisdictional process that can, in turn, limit the inclusion of all community members. Instead, we focus our research on those who occupy urban space, the city's inhabitants (Purcell, 2014).

There are numerous ways that inhabitants can reclaim or re-appropriate public space. During my brief time in Victoria, BC, I became intensely interested in tent cities as a way, not only, to reclaim space, but to send a message about the ongoing housing and rental crisis that plagues the city (CBC Radio Canada, 2016; Kines, 2020). Examples from the literature include occupied social centres, heterogeneous zones, the Occupy movement, and urban squatting. Aside from meeting (not always completely) the basic needs of their inhabitants, these examples of re-appropriation challenge dominant

notions of citizenship and ownership. Though they do not always succeed or are not particularly long-lived, these re-appropriation practices illustrate the possibility of alternate ways for social living. For T.K., the right to the city is also a right to community:

> T.K.: People are part of the community, and when you start treating people with stigma, you're pushing them out of the community. So even the Vietnam war vets proved coming home, they needed that sense of connection in order to heal, so if our government right now is putting money into rehabilitation into treatment centers, into their community, shouldn't we be more mindful of hostile architecture because really, that connection is building that sense of community. That's how people heal. A sense of belonging. That's where it starts. That's where the healing starts, a sense of connection.

Much like in the examples of re-claiming the city, I believe that, for T.K., a shared sense of belonging and ownership underscores her vision of an emancipatory city.

6.22 Doing the (Place)work

> Recently someone described a major drop-in centre as being like a jail. Once you get past the large metal fencing, biometrics (fingerprints) are taken at admittance--much like a movie prison. Once inside, there is little room for autonomy--much like a real prison.
>
> If you want to have a nap, you cannot decide on your own when to take one. Should you need to engage in cultural or spiritual practices, such as smudging sage, or burning Palo Santo or incense. There is no space to do so.
>
> --From my field notes- January 9th, 2021

Speaking with the collaborators and others in our community, I found that a conversation on placemaking is needed. In this research, placemaking or "placework"

refers to the process of creating adaptable and inclusive spaces for people, by prioritizing function over form and inviting ongoing collaboration (Project for Public Spaces, 2007). This concept has helped ground my radical imagination towards practical propositions for improving the inclusivity of our urban spaces. Iveson and Low (2016) provide a set of social justice principles for public spaces that I find both informative and practical:

i. Distribution and Redistribution: are public spaces equally accessible to all, regardless of people's income or where they live?
ii. Recognition: are some identities and ways of being in the city unfairly denigrated or stigmatised? Is there recognition that urban inhabitants have different identities and cultures?
iii. Encounter: do public spaces create opportunities for encounters across different identities, without discrimination and harassment?
iv. Care and Repair: are public spaces cared for, and are the resources for care and repair fairly distributed?
v. Procedural justice: is the planning of public spaces open to all in a democratic process? (p. 16-21).

These propositions are a call to craft urban space by and for inhabitants, instead of by and for the market. The problem with the latter is that, historically, marginalized and underserved groups are disregarded in favour of consumerism and business revitalization (Mehdipanah et al., 2017). Consequently, the needs and concerns of these groups are minimized while public space continues to serve the interests of those with economic and political influence.

To understand how one place can be made to suit the needs of diverse groups of people, I reflect on Lefebvre's use of the phrase "the plasticity of space." Space,

specifically public and urban space, can be modelled and appropriated according to the material and cultural conditions of various groups at various times (1996, p. 13). Take, for instance, Santa Barbara County, where 27% of the homeless community live in vehicles, despite how sleeping in a car overnight is prohibited. As a result, the Safe Parking Program was created as a way to acknowledge and accommodate the material conditions of this community. The program used empty parking lots to make space for 133 vehicles, available to anyone who needed a place to park overnight. The program also serves as a year-long shelter, connecting people to rapid re-housing programs, and helps individuals avoid undue tickets and jail time (Ballard and Batko, 2020). Another example is the Raincity Housing in Vancouver. In 2014, the organization gained international attention for their guerilla marketing campaign that featured public benches that could be turned into temporary shelters. Across these re-appropriated benches reads "This is a Bench," but once the back of the bench is lifted, varying messages such as "Find a Home Here" and "This is a Bedroom" can be found (Lus, 2014). These messages along with their official slogan "Where Every Person is Part of a Community," serve a multifaceted purpose. First, these benches help to begin a conversation on homelessness from a community-based perspective. Second, and most practically, they provide an adaptable space for community members to appropriate according to their immediate needs. These benches can serve as a small gathering spot, an artful and thought-provoking monument, a place to wait for the bus, and a place to sleep.

Through my research partners, I learned of an anticipated monument for those who have passed away while experiencing homelessness called the *Calgary Homeless Memorial Project*. While this project has been delayed due to COVID-19, the proposal

highlights the importance of placemaking. Organized by the Client Action Committee (CAC), the plan is to create a memorial within the downtown core to be both central and accessible via the CTrain (which is free to ride throughout downtown). Additionally, the monument would provide a bench where people could gather and rest comfortably, serving as recognition for those who have lost their lives, for those who are currently homeless, and for those who are mourning the loss of loved ones as a result of homelessness (Shaw, n.d.).

6.23 Talk of the Town – Breaking Barriers

In my radical exploration of urban spaces, the right to the city is predicated on the right to influence the development of the city. This influence refers to being heard, acknowledged and to have ideas meaningfully reflected in what the city might look like. In order to realize this, what is needed is a participatory urban life.[44] Predicated on placemaking, cultural plurality, and accessibility. I focus on these aspects of an idealized urban life because in order to 'open up' our public spaces, we must address the fear of 'the other' that hinders the possibility of more inclusive urban spaces. Often, when we speak of new facilities that support those experiencing homelessness, or those battling addiction, we are confronted with NIMBYism (Not in My Back Yard), when reasonable solutions are rejected solely on the basis of their proximity to those who perceive the issue to not be their responsibility.[45] I argue that one way to combat NIMBYism is by sharing our experiences and knowledge. In other words, we must

[44] Albeit complicated by the unfamiliar terrain resulting from the ongoing COVID-19 global pandemic.
[45] Nimby refers to "a person who objects to the siting of something perceived as unpleasant or hazardous in the area where they live, especially while raising no such objections to similar developments elsewhere." (Oxford definition, 2021)

combat NIMBYism through acts of communing. The internet is an amazing tool for communing, but there is always the risk of "preaching to the choir", or not reaching those outside of our own circles as it is those groups who are more likely to be uninformed or misinformed. On the other hand, instead of leveraging the digital space, physical public space can facilitate powerful discussions between individuals and groups, whether via planned or chance encounters, that might not be possible if not for access to shared spaces. If cities are indeed becoming more segregated, then we are not being given the chance to meet with those who are different from us and, therefore, have our preconceived notions challenged. When these preconceived notions continue to be passed down through generations, they become cemented and more difficult to refute. As this cultivation of fear continues, it becomes so normalized that simply not wanting poor and homeless people in your neighbourhood, lest they bring down property prices, seems rational. One argument in favour of mixed-income and mixed-used neighbourhoods suggests that neighbourhoods with higher concentrations of people experiencing poverty result in a collective lower quality of life, leading to higher crime rates. Additionally, this segregation, as a result of poor city planning, amplifies tensions between the 'haves' and 'have nots' (de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford, 2010). This argument is probably a bit of a simplification on class-based tensions, but it does illustrate how communities are only as equitable (and safe) as their most underserved neighbours. Economic and cultural integration- especially within the inner-city- is paramount.

While I have stressed the importance of communing, it is apparent that not all inhabitants will eventually agree on every urban issue. Even within groups that come together under shared aims, resolving disagreements while communing can be

challenging. Randy describes how hard it is to be heard, even within his own advocacy circles:

> Randy: When you got 10 people that are just extremely passionate, how do you get a word in edgewise in an hour and a half meeting? You know what I mean? So, a lot of us will discuss our stuff outside and send it in to [the advocacy group], it's like "we had a discussion, this is what we thought, this is a way we could work with this." 'Cause sometimes it's really hard. I'll say something and it'll seem like to somebody else at the table like I'm attacking them because I don't agree with how they came about it, so it seems like it's a personal attack on them. But it's not.

There are not any easy work-arounds for disagreements other than to continue discussing, especially when it comes to issues like homelessness and access to services and resources. Disagreements arising from differences in personal opinion cannot be avoided and, other times, tensions can arise from the in-group hierarchy, as Randy describes here:

> Randy: I ended up leaving the organization. I ended up having disagreements with a few members, being the fact that I was the new guy, I kinda got rushed through the system, I got rushed to do outreach 'cause I was already doing it on my own. I already had all the certifications they wanted, so I got rushed through that. I was there for two years barely and I became the first vice chair of the organization. So, a lot of people were very upset with that. New guard comes in, and the old guard is upset. You know, worried about their spot.

It is likely that Randy was moved up the ranks in order for the group to mobilize his strengths, specifically his leadership drive, experience, and relational skills. Having set roles within groups can help organizations to work more efficiently and instill accountability through roles. However, because members of these advocacy groups

assemble to share their thoughts equally, this can understandably lead to in-group tensions.

The concern with in-group organization is that it may reflect inequities that are present in mainstream society. In our neoliberal milieu, it can be difficult to avoid the pitfalls of rank within grassroots organizations. While ranking within groups can foster personal empowerment through recognition and accountability, it can leave less public-facing members feeling as though their voices are being stifled.

6.3 Additional Barriers to Grassroots Advocacy and Social Change

In writing this thesis, I have worried about falling into what McNay, inspired by Bourdieu (2000), calls 'social weightlessness': a theoretical loftiness "that is far removed from the actual practices and dynamics of everyday life, that, ultimately, its own analytical relevance and normative validity is thrown into question" (McNay, 2014, p. 4). He suggests that in order to avoid this in our work, we must situate our political and sociological presuppositions of the world within the social world in which they are contained. I understand this to be a call to take a standpoint within our research, and to not pretend as if we exist outside of the world we are exploring, lest we fall into ambivalence. The standpoint I take draws on my experiences as a black, poverty class, first generation woman, as well as the experiences shared with me by my research partners. As such, the barriers that I have chosen to emphasize all function to dampen the degree to which marginalized and underrepresented groups participate in grassroots and mainstream advocacy.

6.31 Tokenization

Recalling my meeting with Fran in which she shared how she felt tokenized as an Indigenous woman, I reflect on how social positionality can affect grassroots advocacy. For this reason, the first barrier I would like to discuss is the tokenization of the poor, the unhoused, and racialized minorities. At the basis of tokenism is essentialism, wherein people belonging to certain groups are believed to share intrinsic traits beyond what is observable. I have experienced much tokenism in my life, from being told to study Haitian immigrants in Canada (which I know close to nothing about), to being asked awkwardly by an employer to be a soundboard to determine if a particular album cover was racist or not. In both instances, I was the only black person in the cohort or roster and I was not included in the brainstorming process of either plan. Essentially, tokenized bodies are allowed access to specific spaces, but are then expected to perform a predetermined role (Gonzalez, 2018). T.K. shares a story of extreme tokenization:

> T.K.: I was asked to do a thing for [a local news station], and I was happy to talk about addictions. It was for opening up the safe consumption site and to talk about what our outreach team did. He asked me a personal question when they were loading the camera up, and so I answered thinking that that was not on film, so he looked like he was loading the camera. But he was actually filming the personal question, which I did not think I was on film. And he asked me questions in the interview, which I don't know if they even had the camera rolling or not. They cut all of the questions that they asked me about that I thought I was being interviewed for…. Then they had me walk down the alley and then walk back up the alley, then he said, "This is so-and-so" and they showed me walking down the alley and then they said, "she blah, blah, blah." And had my voice talking about my personal stuff, the question he asked me about personally. And then it "says she works with... " And talked about what I do, right? Here at the Chumir. So, it made it sound like I was a drug addict. Seeking services from the group that I actually worked for. I was so angry, so I

> phoned the guy and I said, "What was that all about? That made me look really bad." and he goes, "Oh, I don't think so." They didn't recant it. They took nothing back.

The experience of pushing through and being given a seat at the table, only to feel like one is speaking to a wall, inarguably leads to frustration. T.K.'s experience illustrates the ongoing stigmatization of people battling drug addiction, as well as the stigmatization of being homeless. T.K.'s voice was butchered to create a different narrative that robbed her of her agency and placed her in a box. Unfortunately, experiences like this are common amongst those who advocate for marginalized groups. As T.K. proclaims, "people seem to use marginalized people for tokenism for their own personal gain and find nothing wrong with it." This shared experience of being tokenized speaks towards the notion that cultural identities are "defined by their relationships to dominant hegemonies" (Gonzalez, 2018, p. 393). Since these identities are defined by those with cultural, political, and economic influence, they are not neutral and, inevitably, they restrict and demoralize marginalized groups. Gonzalez (2018) suggests that one way for marginalized individuals to reclaim their identities is through the production of an 'identarian script' that is cognizant of history but ambivalent to dominant (e.g., colonial) discourses. Though I find this to be an astute recommendation, it does not consider that inequity is so deeply embedded in our social fabric that identity can be difficult to negotiate, for fear of losing one's spot at the metaphorical table, and its resources.

6.32 Unbalanced Negotiations

An inescapable constraint to grassroots advocacy is access to resources i.e., funding. In the past few years, the Alberta government, under the leadership of the

United Conservative Party (UCP), has made significant cuts to services for people experiencing homelessness. In 2019, funding to the Calgary Homeless Foundation was cut by 8%, equating to a $3.2 million reduction (Jeffrey, 2019). In 2020, UCP announced that they would be cutting $53 million in funding to affordable housing maintenance over a three-year period (Komadina, 2020). In late March 2021, the UCP announced their intention to cut funding to social housing and other services for those experiencing homelessness by 22%, which would amount to a staggering $193 million reduction. If this budget cut is approved, outreach agencies in the province will not have enough funds to create and maintain public and supportive housing for 11.4% of Albertans who are currently in core housing need (Gurnett, 2021). Randy maintains that even before these more recent cuts, funding to services for the homeless had been slashed drastically. He also argues that the 2008 global economic downturn made it much harder to participate in grassroots outreach, as independent Calgarians who once provided free food and other essentials for the poor and homeless could no longer afford to do so. Additionally, for activists who are experiencing homelessness or poverty, the lack of support makes it much harder to stay afloat while advocating for the groups they represent.

Not only are the scales tipped in regard to funding access, but unequal distributions of power between grassroots collectives, other organizations and the political bodies that they consult can lead to disrupted lines of communication. Given these circumstances, grassroots groups who strategize from the margins often must "re-package" their messages to have their ideas heard, if only partially. Randy once again stresses the importance of strategizing:

> Randy: It's kind of like I always believe they want what they want. They only wanna hear what they wanna hear. And I learned a long time ago, when it comes to dealing with directors, CEOs,

executives, all these bigwigs in the organizations. They just wanna hear what they wanna hear, so you have to put your own twist on it. You could put your own little bits and pieces of what you want them to hear in there, but you gotta give them 90% of what they want. I've noticed that, if I'm gonna talk about trees, I'm gonna talk about what they want to hear, how majestic they look and everything, and then maybe I'll throw in, well, you know a couple of trees get rotten and fall down, and then go back to their point. Sneak something in that just makes them think differently.

Nevertheless, repackaging the message does not guarantee that it will be heard and acted upon:

T.K.: We can envision how we want things to be built, and then it comes back and it's absolutely nothing like we envisioned, or we hoped for, because they just turn around and do it however the hell they want anyway. I really think, well, what's the point? Why did you even ask us? It's such an insult. It really is. Why did [they] even come to us and ask?

I argue that the dominant top-down form of policymaking and urban planning inherently excludes marginalized and underserved communities who do not have the means to be equally represented in decision-making processes. This is not to say that they are not equipped to be part of policymaking, but rather that due to our neoliberal context, the amount of authority groups possess is often proportionate to their access to funding.

Chapter 7: Paving the Way to the Commons

This thesis has sought to explore three central questions. First, how do those with lived experience of homeless understand hostile architecture? Second, how might these understandings contribute to a sociological analysis? Third, considering the work of the collaborators, how might grassroots advocacy and community engagement improve policies regarding hostile architecture? In exploring the first and second questions through semi-structured interviews and photos, I conclude that there are multiple understandings of hostile architecture. Amongst these many understandings is the viewpoint that hostile architecture does impede the survival activities of those experiencing homeless, and that it is also indicative of the far-reaching range of hostilities against this community. Put otherwise, those experiencing homelessness-- not unlike other marginalized groups-- are living in a "matrix of domination," where they must contend with other forms of social injustice such as racism, sexism, ability, and homophobia, as well as classism (Hill Collins, 1991,p. 18).

Thus, each collaborator brought a unique and intersectional perspective on these structures which has informed my own understanding, both personally and sociologically.[46] This is precisely why it is necessary to consult with those with lived experiences when seeking to research any marginalized community. Randy puts it best here:

> Randy: It doesn't matter what it is, if you're looking for help fixing your brakes, you're not gonna go see a doctor, you're gonna talk to a mechanic. So, there's a big experience factor. It really doesn't

[46] I argue that CBPAR is an inherently intersectional method due to its emphasis on reflexivity. This is partly exemplified by how, despite my refusal to 'collect demographic data,' through conversation I found that each collaborator's social positionality influenced their own experiences as understandings of hostile architecture emerged candidly.

> matter what the project is, getting the input of the individuals that it will affect and those who have already been affected by the changes is key. So lived experience is key, no matter what the situation is. I heard of an expression a long time ago, and I still love it. "Nothing About Us Without Us." I think without any kind of lived experience information, it doesn't matter what the project is, it just doesn't make sense.

The knowledge shared with me by the collaborators altered the direction of this research. My proposal definition of hostile architecture did not fully epitomize the hostility and dehumanizing function of these structures. What I learned from Nigel's definition was hostile architecture works in tandem with other exclusionary mechanisms to displace the homeless population. Ultimately, while I initially sought to explore uncomfortable benches, I eventually found an uncomfortable city fortified by a grid wall of hostilities, which took the form of criminalization, displacement and tokenization.

Nonetheless, there are many more facets of this wall that obstruct the livelihoods of those who have experienced or are currently experiencing homelessness. I have also maintained that many of these facets are in part upheld by our neoliberal epoch. We can pinpoint how the need to control and sanitize the city has resulted in an increasingly homogenized urban life (Zieleniec 2008). Specifically, redlining, zoning and other forms of spatial segregation, as well as the prioritization of vehicles over pedestrians, the omnipresence of POPs, and NIMBYism. In this same vein, my supervisor Dr. Carroll pointed out to me that perhaps there are some connecting threads between the phenomenon of McDonaldization and hostile architecture.[47] Both function to move

[47] The McDonaldization of society (Ritzer, 1993/2011) suggests that there is creeping presence of fast food business models into other areas of social life. Influenced by Max Weber, Ritzer critiques the ways in which the hyper efficiency of the fast food business model has influenced social institutions.

people through urban spaces, by creating unappealing spaces, and prioritizing 'paying customers' over inhabitants. These neoliberal mechanisms have normalized the idea that the right to the city, is more of a temporary permit to *some* city spaces. I believe that this would be disconcerting for Lefevre, as the urban commons are central to urban society. He states, "the ruling classes or fractions of the ruling classes intervene actively and voluntarily in this process, possessing capital (the means of production) and managing not only the economic use of capital and productive investments, but also the whole society, using part of the wealth produced in 'culture', art, knowledge, ideology" (Lefebvre, 1991,p. 10). By this same token, if urban spaces are a product and a process (or oeuvre), then the right to partake in the process of modelling the inner city commons is hindered by those with (monopolized) authority over space and property.

Reflecting back on the brochure on CPTED by the CPS, I argue that the 'freedom to use our communities' may be born out of a fundamental shift—where the use value of urban spaces takes precedence over its exchange value. Until we can see our urban spaces as a common good, "a place for collective emancipation and freedom," these spaces will only be 'inclusive' for a select few (Fricaudet, 2019, p. 58). I believe that in the truest sense of the word public, that 'public space' be defined (and function as) as "those spaces accessible by all without the need to consume or in any other way justify one's presence" (Smith et al. 2017, p. 2983).

7.1 Supporting the Commons through Knowledge Mobilization and Democratization

I have no problem talking about what I know. What good is knowledge and information if you don't share it.

--Excerpt from Randy's introductory email, March 11, 2021

There is a need to engage imaginatively with the potential of urban spaces and to ensure that the urban centre remains as a place of encounters, communication and knowledge democratization (Zieleniec, 2018). Partly corresponding with the third question-- how grassroots advocacy and community engagement can move us in the direction of social change-- Pusey (2010) suggests that through the act of "communing," we can begin transforming our cities from ones "based on capitalism and its endless accumulation" to societies based on mutual aid and collaboration (p. 184). In this context, communing refers to the act of sharing experiences and personal reflections with others. By mobilizing community strengths and knowledge on hostile architecture, I believe that our research can help facilitate a conversation on communing in Calgary.

One objective of this thesis is to raise awareness of hostile architecture, which means that the knowledge produced in our research must be accessible. To meet this objective, I have focused my efforts on knowledge mobilization and democratization. This can be as simple as pointing out how a particular structure may be hostile when walking through the city with friends or sharing articles about the topic on social media. For Randy, it is critical that we commit to sharing knowledge widely:

> Randy: It all comes down to the sharing of information. You can know it yourself; you can learn everything you need to know in this project, but if you don't pass it on to share it with other people, what's the point? So, it's a matter of having people hear what you're saying and getting your message out there. I've talked to hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of people and if only one person listened to what I said, that person's gonna talk to hundreds, and hundreds, and hundreds of people. And maybe one or two are gonna hear what they say and so on, and so forth. He tells two friends, and she tells two friends. Like the old saying. It's just word of mouth right now, that's how grassroots works, it's all word of mouth…. That's all we can do is keep learning and pass on what we know, 'cause that's what it's all about. Information and knowledge are meant

to be shared, and I'll go back to it till I'm blue in the face, it's not worth it if you don't share it. So, every little piece of knowledge and information is worth it, maybe you might find somebody who knows a way to get rid of those homeless spikes, just from talking to somebody, you never know... You never know who's gonna hear your voice.

Nigel shares a similar sentiment on the importance of opening up the conversation:

Nigel: I was talking about it on Twitter, 'cause everybody was talking about how so many Albertans seem uninformed, in particular, the people who are most likely to be screwed over by the conservatives, and I'm like... It's like, why would millennials support the United Conservative Party? And I'm like, well, or poor people especially they're talking like, "but why would people who are poor support the UCP party," and I'm like, "Well, let's see. Fast forward magazine? Discontinued. 24? Discontinued. Metro? Discontinued. Epoch times? The ultra-right-wing newspapers? Still available, still free? And people are wondering "why, why aren't people who are in poverty as informed as everyone else?" because everything reliable is put behind a paywall, so all we have to rely on is what people say online on their blogs for free and 95% of that is BS because accurate information costs money and I get it, journalists need to be paid. I fully support that, but it creates that barrier that keeps people who are in poverty from accessing accurate information. I mean, even an academic journal costs like 300 per journal.

In this research, we have shared a map of hostile architecture widely via social media (Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter) and are looking to add crowd-sourcing capabilities to the site so that visitors can collaborate on the map. Information on this map project will also be included in the next issue of my zine, scheduled for Fall 2021.[48] Additionally, I have had the opportunity to discuss our research at the

[48] A zine is a DIY, self-published magazine. To access the web version of my zine focused on BIPOC art and text in Calgary see: https://www.starroots.net/

Canadian Sociological Association (CSA) Congress 2021, as part of a roundtable session on social class. Our research has been further mobilized through the CSA, via a student spotlight initiative that shares the work of graduate students to a wider audience.[49] I also presented our research at the second annual Working-Class Academics Conference in July 2021, a platform devoted to highlighting the work of working-class individuals.

But there is more knowledge mobilization to be done. Fran requested that we send the completed thesis to the Vulnerable People's Unit of CPS, in order to educate them on how exclusionary practices contribute to the plight of homelessness. We also know that it is paramount to get this research to policymakers and organizations who service those experiencing homelessness. We have considered sending this research to the Calgary Municipal Land Corporation (CMLC), the organization who oversees the development of the East Village (a once low-income neighbourhood that has since been gentrified), as well as the City of Calgary via the online engagement portal. The final thesis and hostile designs map will also be shared with directors at the DI, The Alpha House, and The Alex, via pre-existing contacts within these organizations.

Though we have mobilized and will continue to mobilize knowledge from this research, we cannot neglect the fact that it is still very difficult for those currently experiencing homelessness to access information. Much of the mobilization work has been done virtually, and while I do print copies of my zine and distribute them to

[49] The student spotlight can be found here: https://www.csa-scs.ca/files/webapps/csapress/student/jessica-annan/

local businesses free of charge, the likelihood that those experiencing homelessness will be able to access it are very low.

I urge that future studies with appropriate funding should work with people who are currently experiencing homelessness in order to further explore the necessary topic of hostile architecture.

7.11 Mapping Hostile Designs

One of the tools that we have used to mobilize knowledge from this research is *cultural mapping*. Cultural mapping refers to the plotting of cultural resources and artifacts, allowing for different points of views and ways of understanding yet supporting agency in understanding rights and uses of spaces (Gieseking, 2013).

Scrolling through the hostile architecture hashtag on Instagram prior to writing this thesis, I stumbled across *#DefensiveTO,* a hashtag dedicated to mapping hostile architecture in Toronto. Inspired, I made plans to do the same in Calgary. Later I found out that Nigel, also inspired by *#DefensiveTO,* had already set up a site to map hostile architecture in downtown Calgary, though he had not had the opportunity to fully develop it:

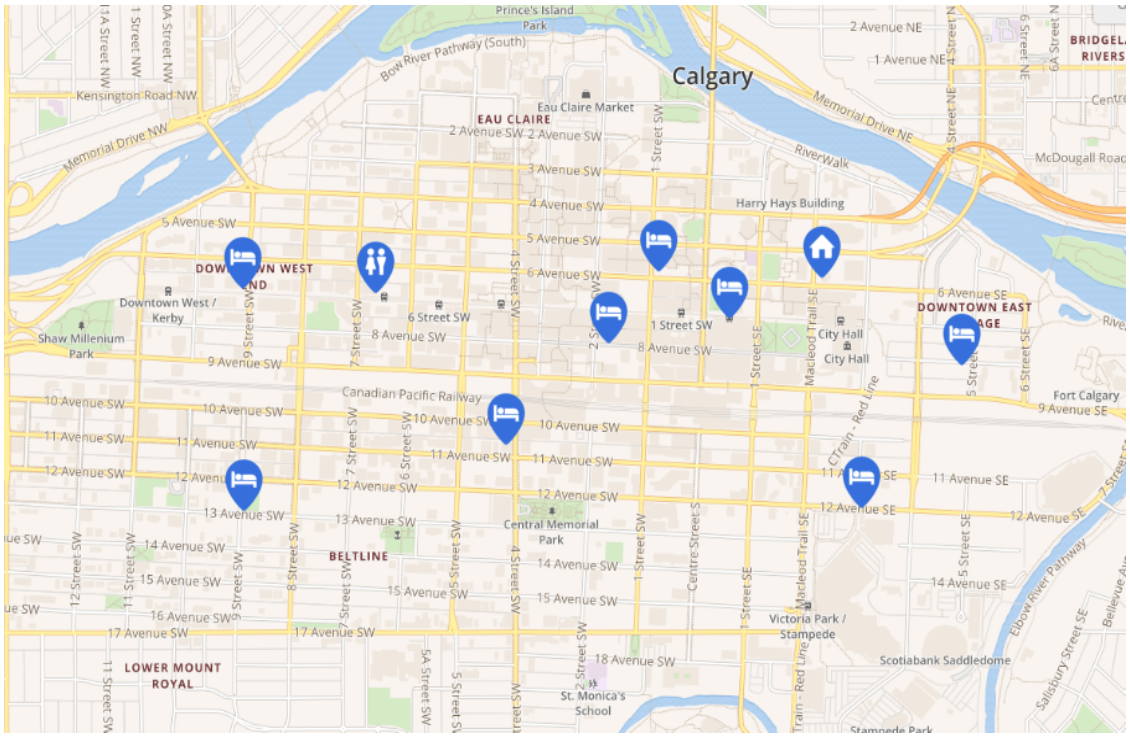
> Nigel: I wanna create an online map of where all the hostile architecture is. And I even wanna label, "Does it stop someone from sleeping? Does it stop someone from using the bathroom? What's its purpose?"

We both agreed that it was necessary to have a way to pinpoint known hostile architecture within our own inner-city, which aligns with Lefebvre's assertion that "knowledge of urban reality can relate to the possible (or possibilities), and not only to what is finished or from the past" (1996, p. 22). The knowledge of 'what is' can aid

us in exploring 'what could be.' Mapping hostile architecture can help us to sensitize the public, track the dispersion of hostile architecture throughout the downtown core, and encourage community collaboration to strategize on how this issue should be tackled. Furthermore, by creating a map, we are able to build a knowledge base, our own artifact, on the state of hostile architecture in Calgary which can be used for future research.

Figure 7.1

Hostile Designs map of Calgary- May 2021



After Nigel gave me administrative access to the map, I added 7 locations of hostile architecture and their accompanying background information.[50] We plan to continue to add more items to our hostile designs map and create a Calgary hashtag

[50] To access Nigel's community map 'Hostile Design Calgary' see: https://maphub.net/nkirk4homeless/hostile-design-calgary

on Instagram and Twitter. As mentioned, I plan on including an article on hostile architecture and how to access the map in my next zine.

7.12 Radical Imagination

The outcomes of community knowledge mobilization and democratization are contingent on the degree to which the community can recognize their strengths (Collins, 2018). These strengths can be tangible resources, such as pre-existing platforms or networks for sharing messages, while more abstract examples could include the community's capacity to envision an alternative, more positive way of life. I would like to focus now on the latter.

Figure 7.2

A meme shared by Nigel.

Radical imagination, and resulting grassroots action (such as communing), are routes to re-claiming the city through everyday acts. As stated before, as we de-alienate ourselves from urban space, we must be able to imagine how urban spaces might function differently. Analogous to this perspective is Lefebvre's idea of *transduction,* which he describes as:

> …an intellectual operation which can be methodically carried out and which differs from classical induction, deduction, the construction of 'models', simulation as well as the simple statement of hypothesis. Transduction elaborates and constructs a theoretical object, a possible object from information related to reality and a problematic posed by this reality. Transduction assumes an incessant feedback between the conceptual framework used and empirical observations (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 59)

In Calgary, I have seen this idea take many forms, such as the Little Free Libraries program. This is an initiative that provides free and readily accessible books, placed in small boxes, throughout the city. Operating on a "take one, leave one" basis, it is an effective way to share culture, art, and knowledge with all members of the community. Community fridges are another example, funded and stocked "by the community for the community." I have also seen online mutual aid systems that have taken advantage of social media to create networks of solidarity and reciprocity within the city.

The collaborators in this research all possess a radical imagination. Randy, for example, has aided in creating a children's book on homelessness and has also championed couples housing for those who are in relationships and accessing services together. In our research conversations, he stated that he has always wanted to create a map of needle drop-off boxes in the downtown core:

> Randy: Back when I was in my outreach days, I approached a lot of individuals. Let's make a map of downtown Calgary and put a big yellow X where there's every drop-off box. Anywhere you can drop off your needles, anywhere, it doesn't matter if it's in a bathroom at this restaurant, put a location here to let people know…How many times do we walk around on shift and pick up needles because individuals don't know where to drop them. If we gave them a pamphlet that had a map of Calgary and everything…it can go into every safe injection kit we hand out. All the needle packs, I can hand it out.

Randy's proposed project speaks towards an urban landscape that recognizes the concerns of those dealing with substance abuse. There is a great deal of stigma that surrounds substance use, hence having a map of disposal boxes challenges the notion that they should be kept hidden. I hope to see Randy's idea taken up by the city.

T.K. also shared with me some of the ways that she brings her vision of a more inclusive urban space into her advocacy. In addition to her ongoing grassroots advocacy, she is currently working towards a social work certification which will complement her lived experience, local knowledge, and sense of compassion that she strives to use in bringing together fractured communities. T.K. told me about a paper that she wrote inspired by the words "Cold World. No Blanket.' which she saw spray-painted across an upscale business front:

> T.K.: "Cold World. No Blanket." What were they thinking? How were they feeling when they wrote that? They were probably homeless, and across the street from this big fancy building where you can get these nice hot lattes and these expensive suits. I wrote what I felt, "Cold World. No Blanket" means; that there is no warmth in this cold world for anybody that's displaced.

Though removed from the daily struggles of life on the streets, T.K. continues to work in relational ways that honour the homeless community

Nigel's civic engagement has been immeasurable. From working to provide polling stations at an emergency shelter, being a voice for the poor and homeless at mayoral debates, to mapping hostile architecture, his radical imagination knows no bounds. He can be found performing at poetry slams as well as giving public speeches and monologues. He has mastered the craft of blending his activism with his art, through which he raises awareness about homelessness in the city:

Nigel: I was part of a poetry Slam at the library, and I actually made a diss about the fins. I was doing a poem about how the homeless were treated, and I think I had the line "we tell people to come in, while putting up fences to keep them out, or as they call them here fins." Everybody in the audience who knew what was up just burst into laughter 'cause they could hear my sarcasm.

Nigel: A couple of years ago, we did what was called the Bottle Picker Monologues, which is where we had people tell their stories about bottle picking in a theatrical format. It was initially my idea. I had brought it up in a Calgary Can meeting, they liked it, they connected us with down stage, which worked pretty well because I already had a relationship with several folks at downstage theater, and so we worked on putting the project together and I did two monologues, I did one that I wrote, and then I did one that was sent to me by a police officer about a story that he had working with a bottle picker because the relationship between the police and the homeless community is a very broken one, and I'm definitely on the defund the police side, but if they've got a good story to tell that puts bottle pickers in a positive light, I'm willing to do that. So, he had a story about where a bottle picker had been a witness to someone who was fleeing the scene of a crime and the bottle picker was able to work with them to try to help them capture the guy. The [monologue] I wrote was actually a semi-true story. The ending was tweaked a little bit for effect, but what it was, it was like a four-minute-long monologue that was literally just a set up to a pun. So, I spent four minutes telling the story and then finished with this groaner of the pun, but the story itself was true, just the pun itself naturally came out of the story. Yeah, and then the one that he sent that was the police officers one where he gave me his story, I adapted that and tweaked it, so it was more of like an old crime noir radio show, like an old-time detective radio show.

There is Fran, who broadened my horizons by calling attention to the ways that hostile architecture is not only exclusionary to homeless people, but also those living with disabilities. Her commitment to facilitating access to resources, that people would not know of otherwise, speaks to her ability to mobilize knowledge towards a more inclusive urban life:

Fran: We do outreach three or four times a month in downtown Calgary and in the Suburbs now actually, at most of the malls. We just do harm reduction work and try to get to people. If they need or want help, we try to steer them in the right direction to resources in the city.

All of these engagement initiatives possess radical imagination for a more emancipatory urban life. However, there is more to radical imagination than simply envisioning the world that we want. Radical imagination is the capacity to make linkages between different spheres of social, cultural, and political life. It is the ability to collaborate, use various mediums to get a message out, and see how our day-to-day actions can move us towards a better world. Radical imagination is Randy's 'what is factor,' T.K.'s healing focused advocacy, Fran's community-based reciprocity, and Nigel's pedagogical activism.

7.2 Propositions for the City

I'm not arguing that people have to go out of their way to make every single piece of architecture homeless friendly. I just don't want people to go out of their way to make every piece of architecture anti-homeless. That's the big thing.

-Nigel April 21, 2021

To be clear, Calgary is not a hostile city. In fact, on the global scale, Calgarians are known to be warm and friendly (unlike our winters). If there is any veracity behind the notion that place and identity are mutually constructed, I would like to see our urban spaces have the same sense of comradery and hospitality that Calgarians are known for. As Lefebvre contends, "let us not forget dimensions. The city has a symbolic dimension; monuments but also voids, squares and avenues, symbolizing the cosmos, the world, society, or simply the State" (1996, p. 36). Our city spaces should reflect the people that inhabit and pass through them, as well as

the broader sociological, economic, and political setting. As such, here are four propositions that we believe would aid in re-claiming the commonality of the inner-city of Calgary. They are informed by the literature and derived from our research conversations and consequent analysis:

1. More public washrooms, free laundry and hygiene implements. (T.K.)
2. A reassessment of the implications of hostile designs on public property. (Nigel)
3. A map of needle disposal boxes. (Randy)
4. To consult with those with prior and current experience of homeless in ongoing and future Calgary urban development plans. (Fran)

There are many "loose threads" here and much more work to be done. Even if these propositions come to fruition, the underlying issue of homelessness will persist. Though this thesis did not set out to 'solve the issue of homelessness,' it is crucial that we critique the sociological reproduction of poverty and homelessness. Here, I must explicitly state my viewpoint. Poverty and homelessness are outcomes of neoliberalism, and its reproductive mechanism, capitalism. In a society stratified along class (and other) lines, socially constructed categories of poverty and homelessness are counterparts to capital accumulation. As our capitalist mode of production feeds off of dispossession (of place, and of surplus labour value), homelessness and poverty are inevitable. Though I do argue that poverty and homelessness are structural categories, this is not to say that I do not acknowledge how they also possess qualities of cultural identity. This cultural identity is predicated on survival through local knowledge. Hostile architecture then reinforces that the dispossessed have no claim to the city, while denying them of their survival and cultural activities.

While we have not created a road map to ending hostile architecture, or homelessness, we have facilitated an important community discussion by mobilizing the unique strengths of each collaborator and the city itself. Grassroots advocacy and community engagement are contingent on our commitment to facilitating these discussions. There is no clear-cut path to effecting change - it is a slow and arduous process. This is not to say that change is not possible, as this is proven otherwise by any one of the many research collaborators' achievements, but that change slowly emerges out of our radical imagination, everyday actions, and community engagement. This thesis has demonstrated that collaboration produces crucial insights that can be mobilized towards greater emancipatory goals. In this case, we collectively illuminate the hostility towards homeless people that is rampant in many inner cities.

7.3 Concluding Sentiments

The full impacts of this research will most likely not be felt for quite some time, as hostile architecture represents one of the most taken-for-granted threats to the inclusiveness of urban spaces. The more covert a mechanism, the more effective it can be and the longer it may persist. Poverty and homelessness are pervasive issues impacting one's mental, physical, and emotional health. Yet, instead of checking in on others in need, we accept structures that deter and displace them. By removing these invasive structures, we begin to remove barriers within our communities. But, we must do more than address hostile architecture if we are to liberate all members of our communities. We need profound structural and ideological change. For Lefebvre, “this calls for, apart from the economic and political revolution (planning oriented towards

social needs and democratic control of the State and self-management), a permanent cultural revolution" (1996, p. 79).

Presently, COVID-19 has economically devastated many and only time will tell how cities will support all of its inhabitants, including their most vulnerable, in recovering from the shocks of the pandemic. Perhaps my radical vision of the city can be charged with being utopic, but without the ability to imagine a more inclusive and emancipated way of life, the future will be dystopian. It may be that by contributing to a critical understanding of hostile design, we can shift our cities from sites of social exclusion to being fully inhabitable to all of our neighbours, even the ones without homes. I hope that, at the very least, this thesis has encouraged you to approach your own city with curiosity, and to see taken-for-granted aspects of the built environment as being much more than convenient and unquestionable arrangements of concrete.

7.4 Limitations

First, I must state that my opinions do not represent that of my collaborators. Throughout this thesis I have referred to political and sociological presuppositions that guide my academic and personal life, as it is impossible for me to separate myself from the context of my work. Likewise, my own experiences and social positionality inarguably influence how I understand the knowledge shared by each collaborator. No analysis is free from bias. As such, I have made attempts to be as transparent about my own experiences and social positionality in the context of this research.

Second, the 'sample size' of this thesis was small. While I do not perceive this as a limitation, as it allowed me to explore the experiences of my collaborators in greater depth, this does influence the generalizability of this work. More critically, this study is

in no way generalizable to all people with experiences of homelessness, as no study can claim to be. People with experiences of homelessness are not a monolith. Instead, this research provides insight into how hostile architecture is experienced by my collaborators in order to add to the conversation on these exclusionary mechanisms.

Third, while this thesis was designed according to the characteristics of CBPAR, the research questions, purpose, objectives, and data analysis were all assembled by myself. In CBPAR it is generally expected that all collaborators in the project aid in research design and data analysis. This being said, as this was a master's thesis I was required to have some idea of the questions and objectives this research sought to address during the proposal and ethics application stages. In order to temper these study design limitations, collaborators were invited to reject or modify the research questions and objectives. This invitation for participation was extended to data collection and analysis, which allowed each collaborators to govern their degree of involvement in each step of the research process that followed ethical clearance from the HREB.

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#Bethechangeyyc. (N.D.*). #Bethechangeyyc - Helping End Homelessness* Https://Www.Bethechangeyyc.Org/Helping-Homeless-Outreach-Team/

Appendix A

HOMELESS

CHARTER OF RIGHTS

EVERYONE DESERVES TO BE TREATED WITH DIGNITY AND RESPECT.
IF YOU ARE EXPERIENCING HOMELESSNESS, THESE ARE YOUR RIGHTS.

You have the right to:

Be treated the same as any other person by government and public services like hospitals, income support & AISH offices, schools and police

Be treated fairly in the legal system. This includes how you are treated by police, other peace officers, lawyers, and judges.

Not lose or miss out on services you need just because you do not have identification.

Medical treatment/care. You should not to be turned down or get less care because you are experiencing homelessness.

Ask for a Patient Advocate to support you with your physical or mental health care concerns.

Privacy. No one can share your personal information without your permission.

See your file and to correct information if it is wrong.

Apply for any housing advertised for lease. You should not be turned down because you are getting money from social assistance, disability, or other benefits.

Use outdoor spaces, parks, public benches, and public transit.

Not be charged, ticketed or threatened just for being in a public place, or using public services.

Choose where you stay. No one can force you to stay at a shelter.

Not be searched, questioned or pressured without a legal reason. This includes your property.

See the rules of any shelter or agency. You have the right to have these rules read to you or explained to you.

Make a complaint if you have been mistreated by:
- Shelter/agency staff or volunteers
- Police
- Health care
- Government workers

Bring a support person with you if you make a complaint against a shelter or agency. You have the right for staff to listen to your side before they make a decision.

Support for any physical or mental disabilities you have. The staff should work with you if your disability makes it harder for you to follow a shelter or agency's rules.

Not be discriminated against or harassed because people think you are different.

Keep your property. If you have property against the rules of a shelter or agency you have the right to leave peacefully with your property. Staff cannot take your property without your permission.

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Appendix B

Opening Conversation Guide

- Let's begin by introducing ourselves.
- May I ask, how do you self-identify?
- As well as why this research interests you?
- What does the term 'hostile architecture' mean to you?
- What are your thoughts on the following definition?
- "Hostile architecture is a term to describe the ways in which various structures are constructed, or in most instances, how elements are installed onto pre-existing structures to control the use of space for certain functions, and/or by certain groups of people."
- How could this definition be improved?
- What are your thoughts on the following research questions?
- How do people with lived experience of homelessness understand hostile architecture?
- How has hostile architecture shaped their lives?
- What might their lived experiences contribute to a critical sociological understanding of this architecture?
- How can grassroots advocacy and community engagement improve policies regarding hostile architecture?
- What are your hopes for this project?

Before our next meeting, I ask that you take photos (and/or videos) and notes of hostile architecture in our inner city. Paying extra attention to the areas that you have regularly visited.
We will use these photos and notes to guide our next meeting.

Appendix C

Photovoice Interview Guide

Adapted from the 'SHOWED' photovoice interview guide of Wang and Burris (1990).

- Looking at the photos, what is being represented in these images?
- What are your experiences with the structure in the image?
- What are your concerns?
- How do these concerns influence your daily life?
- If applicable, how do you attempt to overcome these concerns?
- What could be done now to lessen these concerns?
- How do these concerns influence your current work?
- Why does this all matter?

Appendix D

Participant Consent Form

Project Title: The Uncomfortable Inner City

Researcher: Jessica Annan/ MA Student/ Faculty of Sociology/ University of Victoria/ jannan@uvic.ca

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a degree in Sociology. It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. William Carroll. You may contact my supervisor at [redacted].

Research Questions:

i. How do people with lived experience of homelessness understand hostile architecture?
    a. How has hostile architecture shaped their lives?
ii. What might their lived experiences contribute to a critical sociological understanding of this architecture?
iii. How can grassroots advocacy and community engagement improve policies regarding hostile architecture?

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research

- The purpose of this study is to explore how lived experiences and knowledge of discriminatory architecture can inform an alternate sociological analysis of hostile architecture. By doing this, the lived experiences and knowledge of those who have dealt with homelessness can inform regional and national policies.
- The objectives of this research are to:

(1) Identify and explore hostile architecture in the inner-city of Calgary,

(2) Raise awareness about hostile architecture,

(3) Inform and educate cities,

(4) Influence regional policy makers and organizations that work with homelessness,

(5) Examine relations of power underlying hostile architecture, while elucidating the lived experiences of marginalized individuals through qualitative sociological research.

This Research is Important because:

- Hostile architecture is a small symptom of a greater societal disease. Hostile architecture represents some of the most taken-for-granted mechanisms of

oppression and exclusion, and therefore it is very insidious. Hostile architecture functions by pushing the tired and vulnerable along, that further burdens one's mental, emotional and physical health.

- We need more studies that not only recognize that marginalized individuals possess very powerful and irreplaceable insights, but also aim to honour and uplift the communities they represent. Academia is a platform not everyone has access to. And it should and can be used as a platform for positive social change.

Participation

- The proposed study will include a sample of 2-4 research partners who are community advocates with experience with homelessness. Due to the nature of the current study, all participants will be selected using purposive sampling.
- All genders, ethnicities and identities are welcomed, although researcher-partners are required to be over 18 years-of-age and must be able to provide informed consent.
- Participation in this project is entirely voluntary.
- Whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on your position [e.g. employment, class standing] or any relationship you have with the researcher.

Procedures:

- Due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic- interviews will be held virtually.
  - We will use Zoom and all conversations will be recorded.
  - After our research conversation you will be provided the transcript which you can revise.
- You will be required to sign the consent form before we begin the research activities.

- **The research Process:**
  - **Conversation Starter:** Prior to data collection we will discuss the definition of hostile architecture and the method of photovoice during an unstructured interview. These unstructured interviews will ensure that you are comfortable with the topic and the data collection procedure.
  - **Photovoice:** For data collection, you will be asked to walk through and photograph (or film) the inner city commons of Calgary, paying particular attention to areas that you have frequented, that may contain hostile architecture.
  - Research conversations will take the form of semi-structured interviews where we assess the issue of hostile architecture in Calgary, as well as what the possible roots of this issue are, and what can be done to remedy the issue.
    - Data will be collected primarily through a recording device (mobile phone), written fieldnotes, and photographs. Data from the current study

will be organized and indexed manually for consequent analysis. All physical data (written and photographic) will be kept in a combination protected safe, and all voice and personal data will be stored in a password protected, encrypted file.

- **Duration**: In total it is projected to span 2-3 weeks. The time commitment is approximately 4 hours.
- **Location**: Online: Zoom, Skype or similar platform.
- **What we do with the research:** Research results will be provided directly to you and the other research partners and may be published in articles, a master's thesis, in academic and non-academic presentations, in blogs/vlogs, reports and policy briefs to government officials, organizations, associations and universities.
- Materials regarding the knowledge shared and created within this study will be sent to you and the other research partners for feedback.

Compensation:

- You will be given a gift card($60 dollar value) as compensation for their time.
- Public transportation and/or ride share cost incurred to you during data collection will be reimbursed upon receipt

Benefits: This project will be **beneficial** for a number of community stakeholders.

Research partners can benefit from this research as it prioritizes your lived-experience and can help mobilize initiatives to better the city through collaboration.

The Community and Broader Society can benefit from this research because it tackles a human rights issue. Hostile architecture directly affects the lives of marginalized people who are homeless. By examining hostile architecture in Calgary, we can provide crucial education for regional policymakers and those that work with people experiencing homelessness.

The State of Knowledge can benefit from this research by gaining insight on hostile architecture from individuals with lived experience. This research aims to inform sociology on hostile architecture and to bring attention to a taken-for-granted urban phenomenon. My research prioritizes and honours the lived experiences of those who have dealt with homelessness- and will add to the growing body of research that strives to democratize knowledge.

Risks:

- Discussing issues of homelessness can be difficult. This risk is mitigated by fostering a safe space for partners.
- How risk(s) will be addressed: At any point, should you need to take a break, this need will be honoured. Additionally, you will be provided with a list of mental health and community wellness services.

Researcher's Relationship with Participants:

- The researcher may have a relationship to you as a friend or acquaintance. To help prevent this relationship from influencing your decision to participate, the following steps to prevent coercion have been taken:
    - You can withdraw from the research at any point.
    - "Participation" is defined by you.
    - This is a collaborative research project where you and the researcher are partners in all phases of the research.

Withdrawal of Participation:

- You may withdraw at any time without explanation or consequence.
    - Should you withdraw you will retain your compensation.
- Should you withdraw, at your request your data (digital and printed) will be deleted and confidentially

disposed of.

Continued or On-going Consent:

- When you are invited to provide feedback on the transcripts, data analysis, and research findings, your response will be taken as confirmation of on-going consent.
- Knowledge dissemination timeline and materials: When you are invited to provide feedback on the knowledge dissemination timeline and materials, your response will be taken as confirmation of on-going consent.

Anonymity and Confidentiality:

- With Community-Based Participatory Action Research (CBPAR), you and the researcher collectively own the data and knowledge dissemination materials. You have the right to choose how you want the data to be attributed. You can choose whether you want to use a pseudonym or any other non- identifying markers. The researcher cannot guarantee that all identifiable markers (e.g., place) will be removed from photos, videos, etc.
- Your confidentiality will be protected by the researcher who will store electronic files on a password-protected external drive. This drive be stored in a locked fireproof container in the researcher's home. All paper copies will be shredded upon completion of the research.
- Online digital recordings of research conversations will be uploaded to a private computer, and saved to a password encrypted file.
- Please refrain from naming, identifying, or providing photos of 3rd parties (non-participants)

- Please be advised that information about you that is gathered for this research study (non-identifiable personal information) uses Zoom and/or Skype online programs located in the U.S. or a program that can be accessed from the US. As such, there is a possibility that information about you may be accessed without your knowledge or consent by the US government in compliance with the US Freedom Act.

Research Results may be Used/Disseminated in the Following Ways:

- Materials will be communicated through multiple mediums: print, social media, at conferences, in interviews, meetings and special events.
- Research results will be provided directly to you and the other research partners and may be published in articles, a dissertation, in academic and non-academic presentations, in blogs/vlogs, reports and policy briefs to government officials, organizations, associations and universities.

Disposal of Data:

- Electronic data from this study will be disposed of three years after the study's findings are published. At that time, all data will be erased. Upon completion of the research, all paper copies will be shredded. The researcher will store electronic files on a password-protected external drive. This drive will be stored in a locked fireproof container in the researcher's home.

Questions or Concerns:

- Contact the researcher(s) using the information at the top of page 1;
- Contact the Human Research Ethics Office, University of Victoria, (250) 472-4545; ethics@uvic.ca

Consent:
I have read and understood the above conditions of having photograph/s, video/s and/or recordings of my image, likeness and voice, either created and submitted by me, or taken of me (the "Photographs and Recordings") being used in the research study "The Uncomfortable City." I represent that I am the creator of all Photographs and Recordings submitted by me for use in the research study. I agree that I have had the opportunity to have my questions about the use of the Photographs and Recordings answered by the researcher and/or research partner, and I consent to the use of the Photographs and Recordings.

I further grant, the researcher, and the research partners of Jessica Annan (the "Research Partners") the right to reproduce, use, edit, copy, exhibit, display, and broadcast the Photographs and Recordings in their research and the dissemination of their research. I hereby waive any right to inspect or approve the use of the Photographs and Recordings or of any written or electronic copy of them. I waive in favour of Jessica Annan and the Research Partners all of my moral rights established under the Copyright Act in Photographs and Recording taken by me. I also waive any right to royalties or other compensation arising from or related to the use of the Photographs

and Recordings. By signing this consent, I agree that the Photographs and Recordings may be electronically displayed via the Internet or in a public setting.

There is no time limit to the validity of this consent, nor is there any geographic limitation on where the Photographs and Recordings may be exhibited, displayed or broadcast.

I release Jessica Annan and the Research Partners from any and all liability arising from the reproduction, use, copying, editing, exhibition, display or broadcast of the Photographs and Recordings created and submitted by me, or taken of me. I further agree to indemnify and defend Jessica Annan and the Research Partners from and against any claim, including without limitation a claim of infringement, arising from or related to the reproduction, use, copying, editing, exhibition, display or broadcast of the Photographs and Recordings created or submitted by me, or taken of me.

By signing this consent, I agree that I have read and understood this consent and agree to be bound by it.

Name of Participant. *Signature*

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Visually Recorded Images/Data: Participant to provide initials, *only if you consent*:

¨Photos may be taken of me for: Analysis _____ Dissemination* _____

¨Videos may be taken of me for: Analysis _____ Dissemination* _____

¨Photos taken by me can be used for: Analysis _____ Dissemination* _____

¨Videos taken by me can be used for: Analysis _____ Dissemination* _____

**Even if no names are used, you may be recognizable if visual images are shown as part of the results.*

Waiving Confidentiality *PLEASE SELECT STATEMENT*

¨ I consent to be identified by name / credited in the results of the study. _____
(Participant to provide initials)

¨ I consent to have my responses attributed to me by name in the results. _____
(Participant to provide initials)