

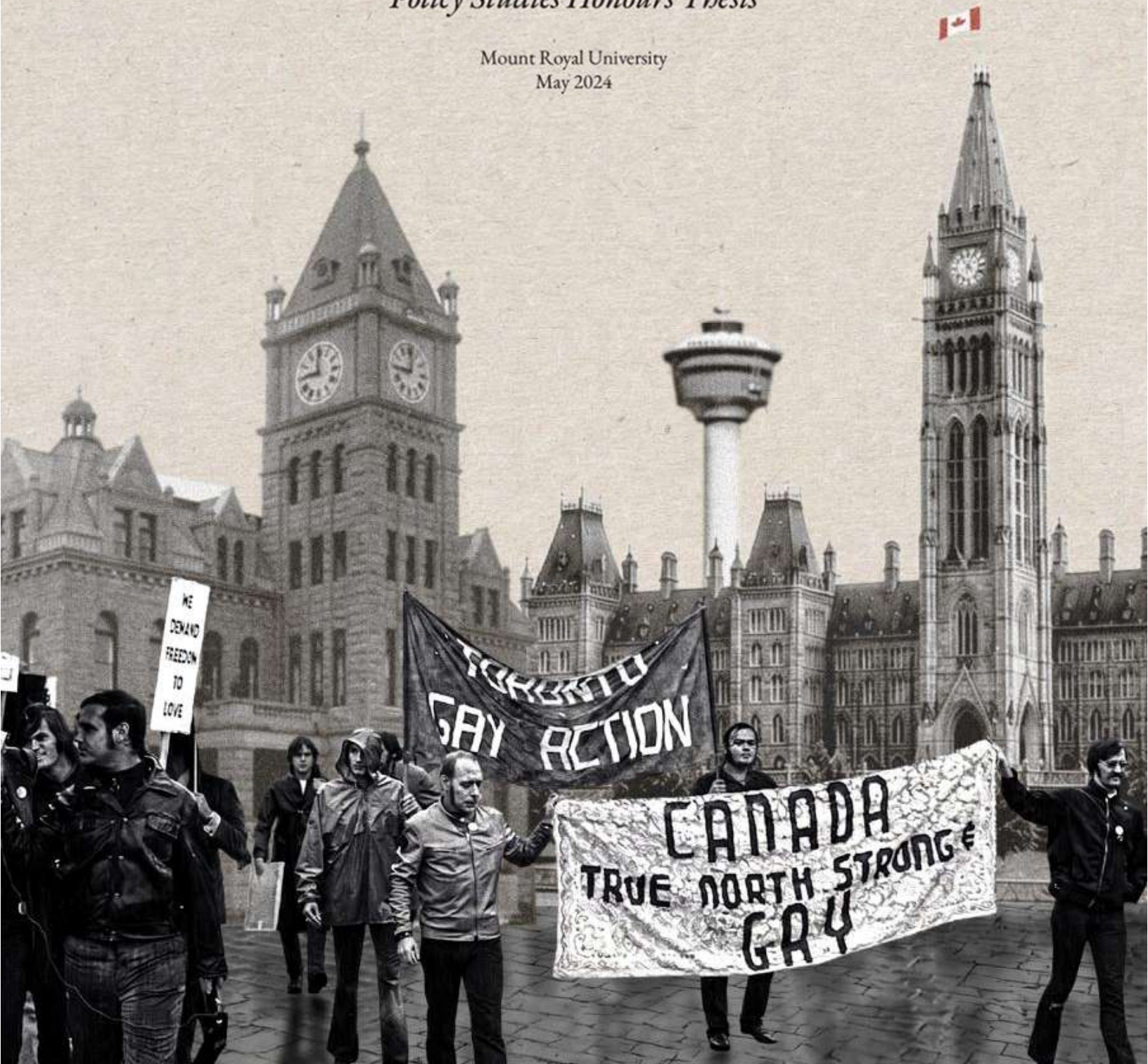


Homosexual Humanity

Jason Brooks

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Introduction and Motivation

On April 28th, 1950, Calgarians opened their Calgary Herald to find an article describing how patients in Montreal received treatment for personality disorders. The treatment was being delivered at the respected, now nefarious, Allan Memorial Institute of Psychiatry through finger painting. The patients would paint in unobserved groups, and after finishing, they would be asked to interpret their paintings. Amongst the patients discussed in the article was a 20-year-old man with “personality disorders and homosexual tendencies” who painted a shape “faintly resembling a cave.”¹ When he gave his interpretation, he said the following: “The hole in the centre is the entrance of a cavern. The two white spots in the centre are my eyes. I am in the centre, and there are walls all around me. I look outside, and I feel that the landscape outside is more real than inside.”²

To his society, this man was an ill patient. Given the Allan Memorial Institute's known methods at the time, it is likely that the unobserved finger-painting experience was the only beneficial treatment he received—because he could explain his own experience.³ I start with this story because of how deeply it impacted me as a gay man born over 40 years after this man was being ‘treated.’ I knew exactly the experience he was describing – to me, that cavern is ‘the closet.’ Confirmation that you live a false life in the confinement you, and others, place yourself in. Across the decades between our lives, this experience could connect us. At the same time, the difference between our ages divided our connection. Perhaps out of grief or guilt, all I could think was: why couldn’t things have changed sooner?

¹ "Finger Painting Used To Reveal Personalities," *Calgary Herald* (1939-), April 28, 1950, <https://www.proquest.com/newspapers/april-28-1950-page-30-40/docview/2252943488/se-2>.

² Ibid.

³ Ashifa Kassam, “The Toxic Legacy of Canada’s CIA Brainwashing Experiments: ‘They Strip You of Your Soul,’” *The Guardian*, May 3, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/03/montreal-brainwashing-allan-memorial-institute>.

Policy is as effective a connector as the experience I shared with the gay finger painter. However, policy can also be an equally powerful divider and even the systemic representation of the cavern. Neither the connection nor the division of policy are corruptions of policy. Policy can not exist without its oxygen of humanity. Policy actors who affect policy craft it, manifest their wills through it, and breathe purpose into it. These policy actors are not only those elected through office, those who sit behind bureaucratic desks, those who define the treatment plans, or those who close the prison bars. Policy actors also sit outside mainstream society and, in their marginalization, face isolation from manifesting their will in policy. Over fifty years after the supposed legalization of homosexuality in 1969, the same question comes: why couldn't things have changed sooner?

This project studies the development of gay rights in Calgary through the policy theory of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and attempts to understand the concept of policy change. Two coalitions are identified in the survey between 1892 and 1980: a Gay Coalition and an Anti-Gay Coalition. These coalitions interact in the policy space over roughly 90 years, facing periods of minor and major change. These 90 years are separated into three sections: Contextual Calgary (1892-1967), Omnibus Ottawa (1967-1969), and Changing Calgary (1970-1980). Contextual Calgary 'sets the stage' by detailing the antecedents of change and providing context and understanding of how gay men, then homosexuals or sodomites, existed in Calgary. Omnibus Ottawa serves as the focal point of policy change by examining Bill C-150, which has been considered the legalizer of homosexuality in Canada. Finally, Changing Calgary examines how coalitions were impacted by and, at the same time, unaffected by the policy change. At the end of each section, a summary provides an analysis of the coalitions' belief systems and highlights the importance of the period to coalition development.

Methodology

Advocacy Coalition Framework

Analyzing this intrinsically complex research area leads to naturally applying the equally intrinsically complex Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). The theory was developed by scholars in the 1980s to find answers to discrepancies and questions that other theoretical understandings of the policy process could not. The ACF focuses on coalitions, their interactions, and their impacts through internal change within and external change in policy development.⁴

Why the ACF?

The ACF brings numerous benefits to understanding policy development and policy change. In attempting to understand policy change, the ACF aims to understand its antecedents.⁵ It is only possible to understand what changed if what came before is understood. By understanding what occurred in the preceding decades, the context of the Omnibus legislation and the context of what came after are better known. Given the project's split history-policy focus, including a narrative approach sets up the factors of story, actors, and development that the ACF requires.⁶ As mentioned above, the ACF allows for the analysis of policy actors beyond those in elected or bureaucratic positions. For the topic of gay rights, as with many marginalized groups, it is essential to look beyond the formal or traditional policy actors to see what is 'really going on.' If policy change were defined simply in terms of the formal actors, it would provide skewed analysis; if only half the actors deliver their lines, the plot would be unintelligible. Finally, in its focus on actors, communities, and their belief systems, the ACF allows for the humanity of policy issues to be prominent. The ACF

⁴ Hank C. Jenkins-Smith and Paul A. Sabatier, "The Study of Public Policy Processes," essay, in *Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), pg. 1–5.

⁵ Annette L. Gardner and Claire D. Brindis, *Advocacy and Policy Change Evaluation: Theory and Practice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Business Books, an imprint of Stanford University Press, 2017), pg. 13.

⁶ Deseraï Crow and Michael Jones, "Narratives as Tools for Influencing Policy Change," essay, in *Practical Lessons from Policy Theories* (Bristol, U.K.: Policy Press, an imprint of Bristol University Press, 2021), pg. 35–57.

provides an opportunity to examine policy in the irrational realm of belief systems where evidence-based decision-making can be absent or inapplicable.

The Premises of the ACF

Central to the ACF are five core premises. These premises (1. Emphasis on the role of scientific or technical information in the policy process; 2. A baseline of a ten-year study; 3. The policy subsystem as a unit of analysis; 4. Expansion beyond a typical state-society level of analysis; 5. The role of belief systems) is described in greater detail and interwoven through analysis.⁷ However, a short rationale is provided. First, the ten-year study period is more than met with the project's historical survey over roughly 90 years (1892-1980) and 30 years specifically (1950-1980). Secondly, the expansion beyond the typical state actors to society actors is achieved by including nebulous and fluid gay organizations on the national and Calgarian stages. Thirdly, the focus on technical and particularly scientific expertise is evidenced in various judicial, legislative, academic, and medical organizational stances influencing debate and public understanding. Fourthly, the policy subsystem has been geographically bound to Calgary (in its various municipal boundaries), and the issue is pinned to the development of gay citizens in society as it relates to the evolution of the community and their rights. This policy subsystem has been complemented by the recognition of external shocks inherent to the federal jurisdiction of the Criminal Code, allowing for a dual level of government analysis. The fifth, final, and most integral premise, the role of belief systems in coalitions, is inevitably the most complex. As with most policy subsystems, two coalitions have been identified here. These are the Gay and Anti-Gay coalitions. Within the ACF application, the belief

⁷ Duane Bratt, "Introduction," in *Canada, the Provinces, and the Global Nuclear Revival: Advocacy Coalitions in Action* (Montreal, QU: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), pg. 4-10.

systems are categorized into three sections: the most to least resistant to change during the policy process: deep core, policy core, and secondary beliefs.⁸

Beginning with the thesis, the Gay Coalition gathers around the deep core belief that gay people are natural and a feature of society, which does not threaten its stability and safety. From this deep core belief, the coalition creates a policy core belief that government and society have a role in limiting discrimination. The secondary belief of the coalition represents how they seek to achieve their policy core belief.⁹ For the Gay Coalition, the belief is initially unsure but at least posed as: will the government or society create the change necessary to realize their deep core belief, or will the coalition have to make its own change? As will be discussed, the focus on the 1969 Omnibus Bill and its changes are not coincidental. For much of the time horizon, the Gay Coalition is an emerging advocacy coalition given that it lacks the resources of membership in mainstream society's power structure to the extent that the Anti-Gay Coalition does.¹⁰ Ultimately, the Gay Coalition finds a secondary belief in self-reliance as the government and society are slow to create the change necessary for their deep core beliefs to be fully realized.

In comparison, its antithesis, the Anti-Gay Coalition, focuses on the negation of the first coalition's deep core belief and argues that gay people are unnatural and are fundamentally undermining the stability and safety of society. Their deep core belief influences their policy core belief, but the coalition is also in a position of power for most of the time horizon. Due to this, the coalition's policy core belief exists in an internalized paradigm that ignores, conflates or encourages discrimination against the Gay Coalition while seeking to maintain the existing policy in the face of

⁸ Paul A Sabatier and Christopher M. Weible, "The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Innovations and Clarifications," essay, in *Theories of the Policy Process*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2007), pg. 194-196.

⁹ Ibid, pg. 196.

¹⁰ Christopher M Weible and Karin Ingold, "Why Advocacy Coalitions Matter and Practical Insights about Them," essay, in *Practical Lessons from Policy Theories* (Bristol, U.K.: Policy Press, an imprint of Bristol University Press, 2021), pg. 175-179.

change. The policy must be right if nothing is wrong or the wrong is justified. Finally, the coalition's secondary belief takes the internalized paradigm of the policy core and exports it to the policy subsystem. As shown in the analysis, homosexuality is conflated with perverts, child assault, criminal behaviour, prostitution, and bestiality – to name a few topics. This conflation is pervasive through the policy subsystem and provides the best descriptor for the coalition's secondary belief: muddy the waters. If homosexuality is everything evil and worthy of fear, then the policies that oppress it will not change. Policy core belief achieved. If nothing changes, and everyone fears homosexuality as a threat to society's stability, then nothing will ever change - deep core belief achieved.

On the surface, these coalitions have little in common. The Gay Coalition is spread out, with little formal organization and no formal institutions of 'outness' that can sustain actionable bases of power. The Anti-Gay Coalition is dominant, with high power entrenched in religious, political, social, civic, and economic institutions – simply by its default and 'traditional' existence. The composition of each coalition is at once precise and at other times blurry. The Gay Coalition had the most difficulty in isolation throughout the early 20th century, yet gradually gained definition towards the end of the time horizon. In comparison, the Anti-Gay Coalition has a firm definition throughout the project's time horizon but has a significant complication. Including institutions such as courts or law enforcement, brushes over the agent's values. Although agents could be understood to uphold their institutional responsibilities, their values will inevitably cross over. Furthermore, the wide net of the Anti-Gay Coalition, through passive acceptance of their beliefs, draws questions to how stable their power truly is. Finally, the composition of these coalitions demonstrates that varying groups exist within coalitions for varying reasons. Some may join the Anti-Gay Coalition because they see homosexuality as an illness. What occurs when homosexuality is no longer categorized as an illness, or they see more out homosexuals who aren't deformed and twisted humans? For the Anti-Gay Coalition, their beliefs are based on just that – beliefs and values. The Gay Coalition's beliefs are

based on far more than that – experience and *lived* experience. The ability to challenge and change those two deep core beliefs is not equal.¹¹

Policy Change

A key factor in the ACF is policy change. Policy change is understood in the ACF as the reflection of “winning advocacy coalitions’ policy beliefs,” where major change comes from shifts in policy core beliefs and minor change comes from a shift in secondary beliefs.¹² In understanding how policy change occurs, the ACF highlights a Bottom-Up policy change that emphasizes stable parameters, including a “superior jurisdiction” and the policy subsystem.¹³ The superior jurisdiction begins a new policy process that occurs within the policy subsystem and is an external event simultaneously. The policy subsystem, by comparison, is filled with actors that fill the ranks of coalitions.¹⁴ By contrast, the federal government represents a superior jurisdiction as it has jurisdiction over the Canadian Criminal Code. However, the federal government's policy venue is far more actor-limited compared to the subsystem of Calgary, where change was observed before its involvement. This phenomenon is represented in Omnibus Ottawa, in which the outcome and decision are outside of the subsystem of Calgary, and the process includes actors within the subsystem (such as Calgarian Members of Parliament).

The ACF also identifies various paths to policy change. Two best fit the project: a superior jurisdiction as an external event and belief system changes. Each is represented in a causal effect. First, the involvement of the federal government and then, second, the impact of federal policy in Calgary, respectively. Given that the project has both historical distance and jurisdictional

¹¹ For a detailed collection of coalition belief systems, membership, and membership motivations see *Appendix*.

¹² Jonathan J. Pierce, Holly L. Peterson, and Katherine C. Hicks, “Policy Change: An Advocacy Coalition Framework Perspective,” *Policy Studies Journal* 48, no. 1 (September 20, 2017): pg. 65, <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12223>.

¹³ *Ibid*, pg. 67.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pg. 67.

complexity (increasing the procedural, actor, and political dynamics), using more than one pathway provides a better capture of policy change. While the ACF is described as stating a “clear-cut criterion” for defining major to minor policy change, this analysis aims to identify what policy change is and why the conversation of the true nature of policy change in this policy space is contentious.¹⁵ Perhaps by minimizing the concept of major to minor policy change in the ACF, the focus is instead on the ‘if this, then what’ question of a causal process. If this policy change occurs in the superior jurisdiction, then what occurs in the belief systems of the coalitions?

Although the ACF focuses on going beyond the traditional state policy actors, it is evident that policy and policy change are not often conceived as occurring in the body of a society. Even literature, and perhaps citizen’s expectations, place policy changes as coming through “changes in bill language or [by] securing policymaker support.”¹⁶ If the concept of policy change is as idealistically grand as “improving the well-being of people” or increasing “other living species and the planet as a whole,” it is understandable that government would be the place for such efforts.¹⁷ Indeed, the intention of policy change can be at this ethereal level, but the failure to reach that stratosphere in implementation does not discount the attempt at change. Failure to major change does not discount minor change. Including those outside of the traditional policy actor realm removes the question of policy change from a binary answer of ‘yes or no’ or ‘this or.’ Instead, it allows for a ‘yes and’ extension that recognizes agency and the understanding that policy change is not always prescribed in the clauses of a bill, its amendments, or its repeal.

¹⁵ Ibid, pg. 70.

¹⁶ Annette L. Gardner and Claire D. Brindis, *Advocacy and Policy Change Evaluation: Theory and Practice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Business Books, an imprint of Stanford University Press, 2017), pg. 123.

¹⁷ Ibid, pg. 133.

The Voices Heard and Why We Hear Them: Preserved in Power

In achieving the goal of providing lessons about policy change, seeking resources that could offer an in-situ voice to the developments of that time was necessary. However, in pursuing these resources, the reality of an imbalance in the strength of voices was apparent. Institutions, be it civil institutions such as police or societal institutions such as churches, proved easy to identify but simultaneously proved nearly impossible to isolate. Media attention had provided narrative power to these institutions about policy or social issues, skewing the record of policy development. However, the preservation of these institutions' voices provides the possibility of revealing their underlying intents and beliefs.

In terms of those with less power, such as gay communities, organizations, and their allies, have a limited and more complex preservation. In materials that inform the research with retrospectives, the individuals are doing what individuals do – remembering their experience. From their memories, their perspective can be missing objectivity, and their recollection may be only partial. Such items have had minimal inclusion for this purpose and the complexities that this could bring with a limited-scope project. In addition, the nature of change in the community has not been a simple generational change. Health discrimination, such as during the AIDS crisis, physical harassment like gay-bashing, and general societal discrimination resulting in higher suicides, have contributed with many other factors to a simple outcome. Their voices aren't heard because they didn't make it. It is important to recognize here that AIDS did and does not discriminate, such as by class or orientation, but policy and inaction did. Why do we not hear certain voices in the record? Because those voices weren't heard during the policy changes until too late.

Finally, as will be discussed in the next section, gay communities did not exist with formal institutions that would record, store, and hoard their memories, experiences, and human lives. If information was to be recorded, it was in arrest records and other venues beyond their power to

define. If memories were to be maintained, it would be between friends and lovers in the community and the frailty of human longevity. These experiences began to change with the creation of locally published magazines and club newsletters or, as termed in this project, 'Gay Media.' These resources fit as a comparison to the 'Straight' or Main-Stream media such as the Calgary Herald.

Distilling Voices with Power

In interacting with both Straight and Gay Media, discourse analysis has been used. Given the text-heavy publications, this method has been chosen over the range from the early 1900s to 1980. For Straight and Gay Media alike, the publications both share this characteristic. One, Straight, represents an established press, and the other, Gay, represents a local citizen-produced press; both still benefit from treatment under textual analysis. A vital benefit of the textual analysis is understanding how the policy issues are being understood, presented, and communicated in each section of the project. Given the prevalence of Straight media, it is prominently featured in the analysis throughout all sections. In comparison, the Gay media is limited and only appears in the 1970s and for limited years compared to the Straight media that stretches over the entire time horizon.

Two factors have been considered when encountering the two types of media—balance and inclusion based on geography. The balance of the voices from Straight and Gay media proposes a problem. Straight media exists (or at least is still maintained) through all three areas of study, and Gay media only prominently exists in the last area. However, the Straight media sources have been deliberately limited to one source, the Calgary Herald. Using several Gay media sources, including print news, advertisements, and club publications, allows for a more balanced ratio of voices by numbers to audience reach. Furthermore, Straight media demonstrates a shift in the narratives it speaks, contributing to a balance of representation in the discourse. Finally, publications have been

limited to the geography of the policy subsystem. To align the media sources with the ACF analysis, the geographic scope also benefits an understanding of the influence on policy actors. As a newspaper, the Calgary Herald was a significant news provider for much of the time horizon, if not the dominant source for many periods. The influence of these local publications can not be understated. As prominent influencers, their inclusion grants a view of how Calgarians, gay and straight, understood homosexuality and its place within themselves and their community.

Gay, Homosexual, and Terms of Descriptive Intention

Language and labels have been a consistent and contentious issue for many communities, including queer communities. Even the preceding label, queer, has its own contention. While today's definitions work well for today, such as translating to another language, they fail to encapsulate the essence of others adequately. Further, such a mistranslation does an injustice to the authentic understanding of the communities of past decades. These issues became evident through record searches for phrases such as 'gay' or 'homosexual' or 'queer.' Newspaper records, such as the Calgary Herald, yielded many results that included the right words but described either irrelevant content or stereotypes that erroneously stretched the label beyond sense.

For the methods of this project, the terminology is limited to 'homosexual' and 'gay.' Gay was, and is, a shared identity to ascribe to men, women, and non-binary folk alike.¹⁸ Homosexual, the next likely candidate for that use, fails to encompass that same level of universality. However, homosexuality is mostly commonly attributed to gay men and shares a high relationship over the time horizon. While each section of the 2SLGBTQIA+ community evolved and existed over the project time horizon, the project's focus is on gay men. One reason for this is that gay men were more prominently punished in society than lesbian women or the then-invisible to society trans,

¹⁸ Kevin Allen, *Our Past Matters: Stories of Gay Calgary* (Calgary, AB: ASPublishing, 2018), pg. 147-148.

bisexual, and non-binary communities. A further reason is the central focus that homosexuality plays in the Omnibus legislation.

To clearly state the intentions of these terms, the application of these terms is only a tool of analysis. Many gay men, such as I, did and do not always identify as a gay person but instead alternatives such as queer. These terms speak to a broad coalition that is not always identifiable in the historical record and are not used to paper over essential groups of the community. A final note: although this is a historical analysis of policy, much of the community that rode on Everett Klippert's bus, brushed shoulders with gay bashers, or walked (and still walk) the paths of Central Memorial Park are alive and well today. In using this terminology, I intend to align with how the community of the time horizon identified themselves.

Positionality

In discussing this project's methodology, it is important to highlight my own positionality. As a gay male, I identify as a member of the queer community and as a 'born and raised' Calgarian. My background is central to this project's motivations and focus. However, I recognize that the commonalities between my experience and those before me extend little beyond the geography we encompass. The growth of Calgary's population from the immediate post-World War Two era to the modern day represents an increase of over one million people, bringing socio-economic shifts in demographics.¹⁹ It was only 34 years ago that Calgary experienced its first pride parade, in which some participants wore paper bags over their heads to protect their identity.²⁰ The existence of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, granting protection for queer Canadians from discrimination

¹⁹ Monica Zurowski, "Calgary's Population Goes Pop: Remember This Calgary," Calgary Herald, March 10, 2021, <https://calgaryherald.com/news/local-news/calgarys-population-goes-pop-remember-this-calgary>.

²⁰ John Pentland, "Pentland: Calgary's Pride Parade Is an Important Symbol of Solidarity," Calgary Herald, August 31, 2018, <https://calgaryherald.com/opinion/columnists/pentland-calgarys-pride-parade-is-an-important-symbol-of-solidarity>.

leading to loss of employment or housing, along with increased public support for queer rights, has fundamentally changed gay existence. All of these have existed before I was born.

Recognizing the centrality of my identity as a researcher, my imperative goal has been to ensure that my identity and personal judgments were reasonably restrained from tainting the analysis presented here. In my motivations for this project, I wished to understand questions of policy development: what change occurred, why did that change happen, why didn't change occur, and what can be learned from that change? Without objectively taming my own biases, any findings and, therefore, legacies and learnings from a past community to the present could be at risk of being skewed and potentially harmful and misguided. However, I am keenly aware that the analysis of this project omits various key historical aspects. Reluctantly bowing to practicality, I have opted to include those events that best align with demonstrating the coalitions' belief systems and existence. I have also bowed to a key motivation for doing this project and exploring this subject. The myths of Calgarian history and culture are not only told by Calgarians, but also by those outside of Calgary. Often, the community in Calgary is simply observed as oppressed, repressed, and depressed. However, this project demonstrates that queer communities have always existed in Calgary and that 'Cow-town' has played an important role in the development of gay rights in Canada. This has led to external events, which had a great impact on the national community, being omitted as they did not tie directly to the experiences of the coalition members within the policy subsystem. In addition, I recognize that the history I explore has its own story depending on who remembers or explores it. To this point, I rely on the advice of my mentors that 'a good thesis is a finished thesis' and that 'it is always a work in progress.' In recognition of all of this, I paraphrase Socrates and claim that I know one thing, and that is that I do not know everything.²¹

²¹ Plato and David Gallop, "Defence of Socrates," in *Defence of Socrates, Euthyphro, and Crito* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2008), pg. 32.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge my personal motivations as a queer student to pursue this research. Often, research and course content steer away from addressing 2SLGBTQIA+ content aside from fleeting examples. Research demonstrates that queer students, particularly in their transfer to the workplace, perceive their own same-sex relationships as unprofessional topics, while opposite-sex relationships are perceived as usual and appropriate.²² These internalized results of a ‘straight-dominant’ culture have damaging effects on queer folks’ (particularly youth) safety, ability to self-represent, and live their authentic lives.²³ Having experienced the same perceptions personally, I would never have pursued this research without the realization that it is a respectable field worthy of both professional and academic discourse. While pursuing this research from an academic urge to learn and discover, I hope to reinforce the power of representation for other queer Calgarians who discover these findings. To this end, in pride, I present this research to record our past and speak to the inspiration that can be the future.

Literature Review

The guiding theory of this project, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), provides a structure by which literature has been considered and evaluated. The first material to aid in understanding the ACF comes from its creators, Sabatier, and Jenkins. Sabatier and Jenkins introduce the ACF model, which has evolved substantially over the past 40 years.²⁴ To gain from the innovations in the ACF model and the refinements that time brings, Adam Douglas Henry et al.’s work provides a methodological approach for the project’s use of the ACF. Furthermore, the discussion of both major and minor policy change provides an understanding of how the ACF

²² Lori Messinger et al., “Conflict in Field: LGBTQ Social Work Students’ Stories of Identity Management, Discrimination, and Practice,” *Journal of Social Work Education* 56, no. 4 (September 23, 2019), pg. 708–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2019.1661912>.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Paul A Sabatier and Christopher M. Weible, “The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Innovations and Clarifications,” essay, in *Theories of the Policy Process*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2007).

focuses away from the outcomes of policy change and instead on the belief system changes.²⁵ In trying to find a practical application of the ACF analysis, the work of Weible and Ingold provided a more profound analysis to understand how coalitions form and are maintained.²⁶ This selection of the ACF literature is anything but complete, given the complexity of the ACF model and the vast literature to choose from. However, this selection aids in narrowing and sharpening the bands of the project to focus on its area of policy change.

As a subsidiary of the ACF literature, the literature on policy change also provides greater clarity. Work by Pierce, Peterson, and Hicks delivers an understanding of policy change and, in their descriptions of pathways for policy change, identifies the appropriate theories to include.²⁷ By contrast, the work of Gardner and Brindis informs definitions that speak to the intention of policy change.²⁸ Although meant for a practical audience, their work reveals preconceived notions of policy change to professional actors and others.

In selecting the sources that spoke to the historical context, it was necessary to consult both primary historical sources and the academic analysis of historians. Within the primary historical sources, this is further scoped to sources that are products of formal publications and those from community-based publications. These textual sources tie the evidence with the ‘street level’ and the ‘power level’ of the times. Representing what everyday Calgarians would read in their daily papers and what was being said in the rhetoric of Parliamentarians allowed the coalitions to stand out in

²⁵ Adam Douglas Henry et al., “Advocacy Coalition Framework: Advice on Applications and Methods,” essay, in *Methods of the Policy Process* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2022), pg. 116.

²⁶ Christopher M Weible and Karin Ingold, “Why Advocacy Coalitions Matter and Practical Insights about Them,” essay, in *Practical Lessons from Policy Theories* (Bristol, U.K.: Policy Press, an imprint of Bristol University Press, 2021), pg. 173–96.

²⁷ Jonathan J. Pierce, Holly L. Peterson, and Katherine C. Hicks, “Policy Change: An Advocacy Coalition Framework Perspective,” *Policy Studies Journal* 48, no. 1 (September 20, 2017): pg. 64–86, <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12223>.

²⁸ Annette L. Gardner and Claire D. Brindis, *Advocacy and Policy Change Evaluation: Theory and Practice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Business Books, an imprint of Stanford University Press, 2017).

their belief systems. These primary sources also provide some humanity to the policy in the project by identifying belief systems in Members of Parliament statements and citizen interviews.

These formal primary sources are complemented by and, in some way, overridden in the last section of the analysis as the documents of Gay media emerge. Sources such as the Carousel Capers, Dignity newsletters, and community advertisements for collective action are few and far between.²⁹ They are also challenging to take in singular analysis and still be able to define as contributors to change. However, their collection over time and paired with the work of academic and community historians reveals solid evidence of how community organizations evolved. Academic historical works, as collected in *No Place for the State*,³⁰ in the Gay Calgary History Project led by Kevin Allen,³¹ and Janoff's analysis of homophobia,³² identify the historical trends and impacts in the policy area through the collection of primary sources. Jackson's work on gay men in Canada's military during the First and Second World Wars³³ provides, along with Henderson's analysis of Colonial Canada's moral views, a deep and targeted focus on sections of gay history.³⁴ The inclusion of these works is for their value in demonstrating that gay communities exist and have always existed in Canada – regardless of whether society was aware of them or not.

These two sections of the literature (those that address the theory of ACF and those that address the case context) interact in the forms of evidence and an intrepid investigator. The history-based sources describe the landscape of homosexuality in Calgary and, at appropriate times, Canada

²⁹ Kevin Allen, "Club Carousel's Birthdate Found," Calgary Gay History Project, March 14, 2024, <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/2024/03/14/club-carousels-birthdate-found/>.

³⁰ Christopher Dummitt and Christabelle Sethna, eds., *No Place for the State: The Origins and Legacies of the 1969 Omnibus Bill* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2020).

³¹ Calgary Gay History Project, 2012- . <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/>.

³² Douglas Victor Janoff, *Pink Blood: Homophobic Violence in Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

³³ Paul Jackson, "Courting Homosexuals in the Military: The Management of Homosexuality in the Canadian Military, 1939-1945" (thesis, 2002).

³⁴ Jarett Henderson, "Rex v. J. B. Smith (Calgary, 1902): Queer Carnal Acts and Heterosexual Settler Colonialism in Canada's Prairie Empire," *Prairie History Summer* (2021): pg. 82–86.

at large. These sources also provide clues to policy actors, their coalition affiliation, and, most importantly, their belief systems. Perhaps most importantly, they provide a higher level of behavior through base text. The theoretical sources come to sleuth out the clues of the history-based sources. In theory's application, its aspects structure together the case study. Not only do these two types of literature create a structure, but they also allow each one to be analyzed in the other.

In the history-case source, theoretical literature is stretched, and its holes are exposed. Indeed, the complexity of the ACF model makes it impossible to apply each one of its aspects. The history-based sources needed to collect for such an endeavor would mean expanding the policy area in both geography and topic. Furthermore, the history-based sources give the information that makes the coalitions, and their belief systems make sense. This is how the ACF model is best situated to understand the evolution of gay rights over multiple decades. Being able to capture where norms and beliefs shift at any of the three levels proves that the ACF is the best-suited theory to the case. In the structure of the case study and the analysis, the theory literature also provides a meaning through aggregation of the history-based literature. With the policy lens's application, the policy change topic becomes clearer as antecedents are revealed and events that seem irrelevant are connected. Each aspect of the case study is emphasized when organized and analyzed through the theories of the ACF and policy change.

Contextual Calgary (1890-1967)

On the Canadian prairie, with its windswept and rugged landscape, one might be forgiven for conjuring up stereotyped visions of masculinity when considering the boots that have treaded through the Albertan foothills. Ghosts of cowboys with expressions as rugged as the Rockies, ranchers with hands as coarse as wheat stalks, and roughnecks as tough as tar. 'Those are real men... those are Albertan men.' Much of Albertan political and social identity has been shaped by these

images and a self-conceived view of ourselves and history.³⁵ These connotations of masculinity molded our understanding of ourselves and gave us an epistemology to understand where we came from. The ‘pioneer stock,’ which proved to the residents of Calgary that working hard got you somewhere, can still be evidenced in the broader Albertan culture today. We aren’t unique – Calgarians have always done this. Yet, one fundamental assumed facet of these men, these forefathers of Calgary and the Western Canadian plains remains unmentioned – they were straight.

Pioneers & Victorians & Sodomites, oh my! (1890-1950)

What we consider of past Calgary isn’t that realistic. “Little House on the Prairie” isn’t a documentary after all. These visions and conceptions of the past aren’t something entirely new to our age. The legacies of these conceptions stretch back. Reaching to the early 1890s, the age of Victoria reinforced massive moral power structures. These structures dealt with men who were not hard, the soft men, through legislation such as the introduction in the Canadian Criminal Code of ‘Acts of gross indecency.’ Here, the belief systems begin. This legislation sought out punishment for men who engaged in sodomy, both “private and public,” proscribing their punishment as “five years’ imprisonment and to be whipped.”³⁶ Beyond these legal punishments, men would face social ostracization or financial ruin as their charges would bring them ill repute within high and low social circles. By comparison, women faced no comparable punishment for sapphic expressions for the fact that Victorian morality placed more power on men than women. For men to engage in ‘deviancy’ was next to the end of civilization; for women, Queen Victoria exclaimed that: “women can’t do *that* together.”³⁷

³⁵ David Taras, “Politics, Alberta Style: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Conservatives, 1971–2015,” essay, in *Orange Chinook: Politics in the New Alberta* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2019), pg. 20-23.

³⁶ Peter Dostal, “History of Gross Indecency (Repealed Offence),” *The Criminal Law Notebook*, 2017, [https://criminalnotebook.ca/index.php/History_of_Gross_Indecency_\(Repealed_Offence\)#](https://criminalnotebook.ca/index.php/History_of_Gross_Indecency_(Repealed_Offence)#).

³⁷ Kevin Allen, *Our Past Matters: Stories of Gay Calgary* (Calgary, AB: ASPublishing, 2018), pg. 1.

For a city that was described in the 1890s as being a “male Mecca,” and in 1907, it was observed that with such few women in town that at some point, “somebody was bound to get left in the cold,” it is understandable to see that a particular view of masculinity in Calgary would be perpetuated.³⁸ Yet, these perpetuations fail to align with the realities of pioneer Calgary.³⁹ How curious, however, that for a city that was made of pioneer stock – the kind that reflected patriarchal cowboys – men were still found to have committed sodomy with other men of the same high-horse background. Perhaps the most obvious case of this is the case of *Rex v J.B. Smith* (Calgary, 1902), in which James Bruce Smith (a founding member of the Calgary Bar Association), was found to have engaged with then sixteen-year-old Walter Joseph McHugh in “sexually and physically” intimate activities in Smith’s law office.⁴⁰ This was revealed when Walter informed his father of the occurrences, and even in the court testimony, he stated that the events were consensual, saying, “I [Walter] am willing to do this.”⁴¹ Smith, who had argued in front of the court in Regina, was in that same court found to be not guilty; likely, this is due to Smith’s denial and status.⁴² However, Smith’s escape from the legally proscribed punishment of those guilty was short-lived – he was found dead in his room four years later.⁴³ Many men were not as lucky, as unlucky as Smith ultimately was, to avoid a guilty verdict. Calgary still seemed to be a hard city for the hard men of the world. It wasn’t until the 1940s and the Second World War that Calgary’s lavender threads began to shine under the prairie sun.

³⁸ Ibid, pg. 2.

³⁹ Tereasa Maillie, “Through a Mirror Darkly: The Law and Society against Everett Klippert in Legislating Love,” essay, in *Legislating Love: The Everett Klippert Story* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2019), 127–44.

⁴⁰ Jarett Henderson, “*Rex v. J. B. Smith* (Calgary, 1902): Queer Carnal Acts and Heterosexual Settler Colonialism in Canada’s Prairie Empire,” *Prairie History Summer* (2021), 83.

⁴¹ Ibid, pg. 83.

⁴² Ibid, pg. 82-86.

⁴³ Ibid, pg. 85.

This treatise on the ‘gayness’ of early Calgary identifies how the two coalitions were directly informed in their thinking about the world and how their beliefs came to take hold. On the one hand, the deep core belief that homosexuality, in this time sodomy (with its own biblical parentage), was evil and that those who engaged in it were dangerous is not only apparent but dominant during this era. Albertans had elected consistent governments that were dominantly influenced by Protestantism and Evangelical “infused political thought” since the United Farmers of Alberta came to power in 1921.⁴⁴ Even if most Albertans didn’t believe in those values, they certainly had people in power to reinforce them. On the other hand, the core belief that homosexuality/sodomy were natural things and that those who engaged in it were innocent of social trepidation can be seen in the reactions of Walter and the near martyrdom through the consequence of Smith. In short, the story of this thesis begins far before its time, and the legacies involved point to a complication of policy change to belief systems.

The First and Second World Wars brought dramatic change to the demographics of the Canadian West, and the return of troops in victory in 1945 didn’t mean liberation. Men who had been overseas for years with other men from different provinces and nations had found themselves in a generation-defining conflict. In this explosive time, the Canadian Armed Forces servicemen did what a human would – sought comfort. For some men, this was in the arms of European women; for other men, this was in the arms of other servicemen. Men were offered an increased pool of possible partners throughout the Allied forces. Choosing a partner from a service unrelated to theirs gave them a sense of security if things went poorly.⁴⁵ However, in the battle for King and Country, those gay servicemen saw the war as a chance to leave a hetero-centric world and embrace

⁴⁴ Clark Banack, *God’s Province: Evangelical Christianity, Political Thought, and Conservatism in Alberta* (Montreal, QU: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016), pg. 32-33.

⁴⁵ Paul Jackson, “Courting Homosexuals in the Military: The Management of Homosexuality in the Canadian Military, 1939-1945” (thesis, 2002), pg. 243.

somewhere where anonymity could protect them while they served. On the flip side, Canadian servicemen were still at the mercy, limited mercy indeed, of military discipline. The veterans who were subject to court martials on the grounds of indecent conduct recounted their experience as a “nightmare.”⁴⁶ At home, the ‘nightmare’ would continue with the now-in-power Social Credit provincial government led by Premier William Aberhart. A former teacher and radio evangelist, “Bible Bill” was known for “mixing the doctrines of Christianity and Social Credit in his radio broadcasts.”⁴⁷ As Premier, Aberhart also assumed the role of the attorney general and had a very keen interest in “moral offences” when communicating with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).⁴⁸

Gays Everywhere: In the Libraries, in the Washrooms, and Overseas (1950-1969)

The return of these servicemen brought them back to the structure of conformity and the certainty that anonymity and its luck would eventually run out. It also returned them to a community that didn’t recognize or understand their existence. The earliest records of the term ‘homosexuality’ used in the *Calgary Herald* (1935⁴⁹) refer to situations outside of Alberta until 1955⁵⁰ and 1958.⁵¹ In this prime medium of communication, homosexuality referred to situations of vice⁵², material for

⁴⁶ Ibid, pg. 104.

⁴⁷ Lyle Dick, “The 1942 Same-Sex Trials in Edmonton: On the State’s Repression of Sexual Minorities, Archives, and Human Rights in Canada,” *Archivaria* 68, no. 68 (2009): pg.192.

⁴⁸ Ibid, pg. 192.

⁴⁹ “Unattached Woman Present Problem In Modern Society,” *Calgary Herald* (1939-), June 14, 1935, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2252782449/ACF8F8B283004510PQ/1?accountid=1343&source=Historical%20Newspapers>.

⁵⁰ “Comic Books Said Bad, But Censorship Worse,” *Calgary Herald* (1939-), March 25, 1955, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/pagelevelimagepdf/2253548180/pagelevelImagePDF/5A5EEB361BC24AC7PQ/1?tlb=t&accountid=1343&source=Newspapers>.

⁵¹ “New Name Chosen By Social Groups,” *Calgary Herald* (1939-), May 16, 1958, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/pagelevelimagepdf/2253404781/Record/5A5EEB361BC24AC7PQ/15?tlb=t&accountid=1343&source=Newspapers>.

⁵² “U.K. Anti-Vice Drive Will Be All-Out Affair,” *Calgary Herald* (1939-), October 28, 1953, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2252938304/D472A4E934EE4199PQ/1?accountid=1343&source=Newspapers>.

sensational literature⁵³, and even a Nuremberg Trial testimony.⁵⁴ What Calgarians knew from this information was that homosexuality was dangerous, fictitious, and evil. Essentially, Calgarians were told that homosexuality was something that happened ‘over there’ and ‘not here,’ even as lives, loves, charges and punishments were carried out. In 1959, lawyer C.A.G. Palmer stated to the Rotary Association that homosexuality was misunderstood not only by the public but also by the justices and magistrates on the bench. Further, Palmer argued that some “do not understand it [homosexuality], while others ‘shy away from it.’”⁵⁵

The 1950s were a decade in which conversation was beginning to grow across the United Kingdom and the United States, and yet the lone prairie of Alberta seemed to be avoiding that dialogue. Singular voices raised that there was a “problem” called homosexuality, but it was viewed as both an “emotional aberration” and like other “human illness and disorder.”⁵⁶ These views of medical and moral attributes were not unique in Alberta; they also grew overseas. Nationally, conversations were being had on the topic of homosexuality that would continue for decades from both the medical and religious morality perspectives.⁵⁷ The Wolfenden Report released in 1957 recommended that homosexual acts “between two consenting adults should no longer be a criminal act.”⁵⁸ At a time when the United Kingdom still had a strong social influence in Canada, it is no

⁵³ “Herald Book Reviews,” *Calgary Herald* (1939-), September 19, 1951, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2253014911/EF76D0F85F064E5EPQ/7?accountid=1343&sourcecetype=Newspapers>.

⁵⁴ “Reveal Goering As Chief Engineer Of War Plans,” *Calgary Herald* (1939-), April 15, 1946, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2252983596/EF76D0F85F064E5EPQ/1?accountid=1343&sourcecetype=Newspapers>.

⁵⁵ “Lawyer Scores ‘Attitude,’” *Calgary Herald* (1939-), February 25, 1959, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2253400481/BBA8CA9D760A4A86PQ/1?accountid=1343&sourcecetype=Newspapers>.

⁵⁶ P.J. Steincrohn, “That Body Of Yours,” *Calgary Herald* (1939-), March 21, 1959, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/pagelevelimagepdf/2253489747/pagelevelImagePDF/BBA8CA9D760A4A86PQ/1?tlb=t&accountid=1343&sourcecetype=Newspapers>.

⁵⁷ “Homosexuality: A Psychiatric Problem,” CBC News, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/video/1.3593933>.

⁵⁸ “Wolfenden Report,” UK Parliament, 2024, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/relationships/collections1/sexual-offences-act-1967/wolfenden-report/>.

surprise that the report would change the tenor of conversations. While motions were put forth in the Palace of Westminster in 1960, the eventual adoption of the report's recommendation was not passed until 1967, two years before Canada would take similar action.⁵⁹ In the early days of the Wolfenden Report, Palmer argued in Calgary that "homosexuality is not confined to the intelligentsia. The homosexual comes from all walks of life."⁶⁰ It was clear that the 1950s and the wake of the Second World War had brought global change. In the previous 14 years (1935-1949), the Herald published articles using the term 'homosexuality' seven times.⁶¹ In the following ten years (1950-1959), that count increased to 43 occurrences; only three were directly related to statements made or events occurring in Calgary.⁶²

In Calgary, the early 1960s brought little change as the dialogue continued in the public realm. In 1962, then-Mayor Harry Hays and the City Council debated the creation of a new downtown library. The Memorial Park Library, built in 1912 through funding from magnate Andrew Carnegie, had fallen below the needs of a growing population.⁶³ Two proposals were made: create a new library at a new site or demolish the current library and build it again. Hays opted for a new site on the merit that Memorial Park was "the most dangerous spot today as far as Calgary's children are concerned... more homosexuals hang out there than anywhere else."⁶⁴ In response, the Chief of Police Chief, Partridge, explained that over the previous three years, the police had been "keeping

⁵⁹ Sammy Sturgess, "The Long Road to Reform: The Wolfenden Report," The National Archives blog, July 20, 2017, <https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/the-long-road-to-reform-the-wolfenden-report/>.

⁶⁰ "Lawyer Scores 'Attitude'," *Calgary Herald* (1939-), February 25, 1959, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2253400481/BBA8CA9D760A4A86PQ/1?accountid=1343&source=Newspapers>.

⁶¹ *Calgary Herald* (1939-), June 14, 1935 – March 29, 1949, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/results/3FAA22851F0A401DPQ/1?accountid=1343>

⁶² *Calgary Herald* (1939-), February 21, 1951 – October 10, 1959, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/results/1D330D1FC6C54DDEPQ/1?accountid=1343>

⁶³ "Sex Deviates Said In Park," *Calgary Herald* (1939-), January 11, 1962, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2253647701/98C5CB63196E45E4PQ/1?accountid=1343&source=Newspapers>.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

observation on the Central Park area, as it is known to the police to be a meeting place of many homosexuals.”⁶⁵

Providing a report to City Council, the police stated that out of 92 indecent assaults on children under the age of 16 between 1959 to 1961 none had occurred in an area around the new library site (stated as “bounded by Centre St. and 6th St. S.E., and 9th Ave. South and 6th Ave. South.”) whereas four assaults had occurred ‘around’ Memorial Park (stated as “6th St. S.E. to 9th St. S.W., and 4th Ave. S. to 12th Ave. S.”).⁶⁶ On this, the Chief stated, “The facts speak for themselves.”⁶⁷ However, these ‘facts’ were quite loose in their application. The new zone site (0 indecent assaults) measures roughly over 3,000,000 sq ft, with the eventual site of the new library (616 Macleod Trail SE) situated inside it. The second zone (4 indecent assaults), termed the “central traffic zone,” measures roughly over 23,000,000 sq ft and does not include the site of Memorial Park Library.⁶⁸ In short, the reasoning that supposedly linked homosexual deviancy with indecent assaults on Calgarian youth was poor and driven by equally poor methods. The police report in question is likely lost to time.

Outside of the political sphere, not much had changed either for gay Calgarians in their private lives. A common practice, particularly in the later half of the 20th century, was that of cruising – “men searching for anonymous sexual encounters with other men in public settings.”⁶⁹ While some men chose to cruise for their own erotic thrills, most men did it out of, ironically, a lack of safety or security. Security in terms of keeping your neighbours out of your business, safety in terms

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Miles Kenyon, “The Knife’s Edge of Visibility: Cruising, Surveillance, and Discursive Practices of Queer Communities in Ottawa,” (MA thesis., Carleton University, 2022), pg. 2, <https://repository.library.carleton.ca/concern/etds/d791sh290>.

of keeping it as anonymous a setting as possible, and safety and security in terms of having sexual interactions where people, especially families (even wives), were not in the next room. This inability to meet in a private space meant that only public spaces were available. Not only public parks, such as Memorial Park, were a frequent zone for cruising, but the whole downtown area offered opportunities for men to cruise in an anonymous and everyday environment. In 1963, Clarence John Young was an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company in downtown Calgary until he was found in the public washroom of the department store engaged in an "act of indecency."⁷⁰ However, Clarence wasn't 'found' by a staff member or a customer. Clarence was charged thanks to "police surveillance of a rest room in the store with the aid of closed circuit television."⁷¹ In 1964, Clarence sued the Hudson's Bay Company and the policemen involved for loss of employment along with other measures, including defamation for being "falsely characterized as a homosexual or sexual deviate."⁷² While the outcome of the lawsuit is unknown, the placement of a camera within a public washroom by police highlights the intensity that authorities used to ensure that any 'sexual deviates' found little safety either publicly or privately. However, Clarence stands out as an example of resistance. Whether Clarence was gay or not, his choice to publicly file suit against not only his employer but also the police demonstrated the change that was beginning to occur, even if the change was unlikely to be fruitful.

At the time Clarence was cruising, an internal Calgary Police Service magazine, *Patrol*, wrote congratulations to the officers who were "successful in exposing and subsequently convicting a group of men practicing acts of gross indecency in a public washroom" thanks to a "revolutionary

⁷⁰ Kevin Allen, *Our Past Matters: Stories of Gay Calgary* (Calgary, AB: ASPublishing, 2018), pg. 23-24.

⁷¹ "Implications Denied: Store Files Defence Against Ex-Employee," *Calgary Herald* (1939-), March 7, 1964, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/pagelevelimagepdf/2253774297/pagelevelImagePDF/51060F0230474878PQ/1?tlb=t&accountid=1343&sourcetype=Newspapers>.

⁷² Ibid.

scientific aid...closed circuit television.”⁷³ The article went on to press that although “to gain the evidence required to subject several innocent and unsuspecting citizens using the toilets...Surely we are not such prudes that in the interests of public decency and morality, we cannot accept a little humiliation...[to] perhaps prevent a child or young person from becoming the victim of the insatiable lust of some of these mentally sick individuals.”⁷⁴ While the public’s reaction is not captured, Patrol’s line stating the police action “has been claimed, was a gross invasion of privacy” likely points to more complaints than from only Clarence.⁷⁵

The 1960s in Calgary may have been a period of little progression, yet it was a time in which the winds of change that were blowing strong in the United Kingdom were beginning to storm toward Calgary. Although the beliefs and values of the Anti-Gay Coalition are palpable in the language and motives of those with authority, there were cracks. Now, Calgarians read about homosexuality in their own city more frequently, and although the coverage was anything but good press, at least it was hitting home. The ‘problem’ of homosexuality needed to be addressed, and the ways in which the public saw it being addressed, through prison sentences and camera-filled toilets, were not acceptable.

This feeling drew even to religion. *The Comfortable Pen: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age*, authored by Pierre Berton in 1965, sought to explore how homosexuality was being handled in churches. Berton’s expression that homosexuals were lepers of their society inspired an Anglican cleric in Calgary, Reverend Richard E. Clark, to call for the “church to become the Good Samaritan, instead of ignoring homosexuals as they suffer at the wayside.”⁷⁶ How Clark’s statement was received can be assumed. He was listed in 1965 as being

⁷³ Kevin Allen, *Our Past Matters: Stories of Gay Calgary* (Calgary, AB: ASPublishing, 2018), pg. 23-24.

⁷⁴ Ibid, pg. 23-24.

⁷⁵ Ibid, pg. 23-24.

⁷⁶ Ibid, pg. 26-27.

“indisposed for medical reasons and later received a leave of absence to pursue a Master’s degree.”⁷⁷

Although Clark’s message may not have been received, society was beginning to change. For many, Everett Klippert was the embodiment of that beginning.

Everett was born in 1926 and moved from Saskatchewan to Calgary with his family in 1928. During his time in Calgary, Everett worked several jobs, but most prominently, and his favorite, he was a bus driver for Calgary Transit for eight years. Like J.B. Smith, Everett came under scrutiny when a father learned that his son had had sex with Everett in 1960.⁷⁸ Charged with “indecent assault on 17 young Calgary boys,” along with many other charges, Everett’s bail was set at \$9000 (over \$92,000 in 2024 CAD), and he “faced the court with bowed head...elbows on the dock rail and face hidden in his hands.”⁷⁹ Indecent assault, as with the library decision, along with the characterization of “young men,” was an easy way to associate gay men with “perverts” and “deviants,” but the charge also implied that the sexual contact was not “wholly consensual.”⁸⁰ By comparison, when Klippert later pled guilty in April, it was to eighteen counts of gross indecency, meaning that the sexual contact was consensual – but still illegal.⁸¹

In sentencing, Justice Farthing drew reference to the Wolfenden Report but stated, regarding Canada, that “the law of the country, rightly or wrongly, regards this weakness as a crime, and my sworn duty is to administer the law of the country.”⁸² To each charge, Everett was sentenced to a

⁷⁷ “Our History,” Holy Nativity Anglican Church, 2024, <https://www.holynativitycalgary.ca/about/our-history>.

⁷⁸ Kevin Allen, “Our First Step towards Equality: The Life of Everett Klippert,” essay, in *Legislating Love: The Everett Klippert Story* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2019), pg. 122.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pg. 122.

⁸⁰ Tereasa Maillie, “Through a Mirror Darkly: The Law and Society against Everett Klippert in *Legislating Love*,” essay, in *Legislating Love: The Everett Klippert Story* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2019), pg. 135.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, pg. 135.

⁸² Kevin Allen, “Our First Step towards Equality: The Life of Everett Klippert,” essay, in *Legislating Love: The Everett Klippert Story* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2019), pg. 123.

four-year term; however, the sentences were to be carried out concurrently, reducing Everett's time in prison from seventy-two years, if served consecutively, to only four years total.⁸³

After his release, it was clear that Calgary could not be a home for Klippert any longer. His name had been publicly published, and because of his sentence, he was barred from the job he had cherished with Calgary Transit. To protect his family, Everett moved to the Northwest Territories.⁸⁴ Here, Everett's past would soon haunt his new home. The local RCMP was aware of Everett's past, and he was eventually brought in for questioning in 1965 – not on the grounds of homosexuality but under the pretense of suspected arson. Everett later said he had been told that “unless he pleaded guilty to homosexuality, he would be charged with arson.”⁸⁵ While serving another sentence for four charges of gross indecency, Everett was informed that the Crown had petitioned to declare him “a dangerous sexual offender.”⁸⁶ Through a court-ordered psychiatrist, Everett was labeled an “incurable homosexual” and would require “preventive detention” – indefinitely.⁸⁷ In the following years, Everett's family moved his case to the Supreme Court of Canada, where his appeal was dismissed in a 3-2 ruling. The year was 1967.

The Beginnings of Belief: Coalition Formation

For both the Gay and Anti-Gay coalitions, this period signals the origins of their belief systems. The Gay Coalition identifies its deep core belief of homosexuality being a natural act in the testimony of Walter McHugh, providing that his relationship with James Smith was consensual. Even Palmer's speech to the Rotary Association addresses explicitly that the Wolfenden Report

⁸³ Ibid, pg. 123.

⁸⁴ Tereasa Maillie, “Through a Mirror Darkly: The Law and Society against Everett Klippert in Legislating Love,” essay, in *Legislating Love: The Everett Klippert Story* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2019), 135.

⁸⁵ Kevin Allen, “Our First Step towards Equality: The Life of Everett Klippert,” essay, in *Legislating Love: The Everett Klippert Story* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2019), pg. 124.

⁸⁶ Ibid, pg. 124.

⁸⁷ Ibid, pg. 124.

could find “nothing to support” the view that homosexuality was a “product of a decaying civilization.”⁸⁸ This deep core belief is primarily overshadowed by the entrenchment of the Anti-Gay Coalition’s deep core belief. Yet, the very existence of the community in the suppressed forms found in this period shows their resiliency. If I am natural and safe, why must I change or die?

However, the Anti-Gay Coalition had ways to reinforce their deep core policy belief that homosexuality was an unnatural act and indeed a danger to society. Given the introduction to the Criminal Code 1892 of provisions to criminalize sodomy, the Anti-Gay Coalition was able to have its deep core beliefs entrenched and institutionalized through the systems of power. Even as those like Palmer dismiss the concept of homosexuality as a danger or even illness, the Anti-Gay Coalition has a hold on the structures of power. In Mayor Hays, the elected officials list homosexuality as a danger to public spaces. In their internal magazine *Patrol*, the police are clear that methods that invade citizens’ privacy are necessary evils if crime (homosexuality) is rooted out. In the diagnosis of Everett Klippert, the medical profession reinforces the danger that gay men pose to themselves and, more importantly, society.

While the Gay Coalition's policy core belief is better revealed and organized in the following periods, the Anti-Gay Coalition does provide some evidence of its own. The Anti-Gay Coalition's actions are much like Palmer identifies, either do not engage or “cover up their attitude with bad jokes.”⁸⁹ This coalition's goal is to avoid discussing the issue and, if they must discuss it, conflate it. *Patrol* magazine certainly makes this point as it sheds light on citizens’ concerns over their privacy in washrooms. Various public statements list homosexuality as an aberration or illness, and by suggesting policy alternatives (health care) that align with their deep core beliefs, the coalition reveals

⁸⁸ “Lawyer Scores ‘Attitude,’” *Calgary Herald* (1939-), February 25, 1959, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2253400481/BBA8CA9D760A4A86PQ/1?accountid=1343&source=Newspapers>.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

both levels. However, the influence of religion in the Anti-Gay Coalition is also clear. The short-lived tenure of Reverend Clark points to resistance within establishments such as the Anglican Church despite what compassion called for. The interactions and coordination between provincial government officials and law enforcement were evident in the work of Aberhart. Like many members of the Anti-Gay Coalition, Aberhart was driven by the deep core belief he found in Christian teachings. If the policy was discriminating and punishing sodomites, then justice was being done.

Omnibus Ottawa (1967-1969)

Several hundred miles away and across the country, the Canadian federal election of 1965 marked a second minority government for the Liberal Party under Lester Pearson with the Progressive Conservatives under John Diefenbaker returned to the opposition benches. With the Liberal caucus came Pierre Elliot Trudeau, who, in two short years, became the Minister of Justice. Trudeau, relatively young and green as a Member of Parliament, introduced Bill C-195 in December of 1967. C-195 would be the predecessor to the penultimate Omnibus Bill C-150. Trudeau saw updating the Criminal Code as an act that would better represent and serve Canadians 100 years after Confederation; for this, he argued that the justice department should be viewed as “a department planning for the society of tomorrow.”⁹⁰ To Trudeau as justice minister, he was in the right place, at the right time, with the right power to make the right changes – even if he would later disquiet his approval of homosexuality.⁹¹ For a practicing Catholic, Trudeau had “profound

⁹⁰ Christopher Dummitt and Christabelle Sethna, eds., *No Place for the State: The Origins and Legacies of the 1969 Omnibus Bill* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2020), pg. 4-5.

⁹¹“1968 Federal Debate Discusses Trudeau’s Omnibus Bill,” CBC News Archives, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/video/1.3593358>.

reservations about many of these social changes.”⁹² Trudeau would be made prime minister in the next two years, and the touted reforms to the Criminal Code would be introduced.

Mr. Homosexuality Goes to Ottawa (with his wife)

With the return of the Liberals and now Prime Minister Trudeau in 1969, the legislation was presented again as C-150. As with any omnibus legislation, C-150 was a collection of many different bills, all meant to be passed as one. The complexity of the Omnibus would be, for the government, the saving grace design to allow the bill passage.⁹³ Three sections are of note: abortion, homosexuality, and gun control. To say that the legislation was contentious would be an understatement. Many decades later, these topics are just as controversial as they were in 1969. The contention rose so high that former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker argued that: “The result can only be that young Canadians will say the parliament of Canada approves of homosexuality and abortion. I know there is no use arguing because the Prime Minister has said: ‘Line up.’”⁹⁴ To this, an anonymous member is recorded finishing Diefenbaker’s sentiment with, “and be shot.”⁹⁵

In the debate on homosexuality, homosexuality was strangely not present in the legislation. Instead, C-150 spoke of reform on the topics of “buggery” or “gross indecency,” anything that wasn’t called homosexuality.⁹⁶ This was because the law it sought to change didn’t use the term homosexuality but instead the behaviour. As discussed above, the 1892 Criminal Code had begun the formal criminalization of sodomy, yet much had happened in the preceding seventy-odd years.

⁹² John English, *Just Watch Me: The Life of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 1968-2000* (Toronto, ON: Vintage Canada, 2005), pg. 111, 250.

⁹³ Christopher Dummitt and Christabelle Sethna, eds., *No Place for the State: The Origins and Legacies of the 1969 Omnibus Bill* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2020), pg. 4.

⁹⁴ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (April 18, 1969), p. 7696 (John Diefenbaker, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_07/816.

⁹⁵ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (April 18, 1969), p. 7696 (‘An hon. Member’).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_07/816.

⁹⁶ Christopher Dummitt and Christabelle Sethna, eds., *No Place for the State: The Origins and Legacies of the 1969 Omnibus Bill* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2020), pg. 12.

1948 had introduced to the Code sections that placed “criminal sexual psychopaths” into detention “indefinitely.”⁹⁷ While the original version excluded homosexual charges, changes in 1953 meant their inclusion. Even in the face of a Royal Commission’s report arguing that charges of homosexuality should not be included, new legislation was drafted to “leave open” the possibility of their inclusion.⁹⁸ Now, a homosexual, like Everett Klippert, was a “dangerous sexual offender.”⁹⁹

A final change of note occurred in 1955. The then-updated Criminal Code had changed focus to those who “indecently assaults a female person,” eliminating the “male person,” who had featured in the Code since 1892.¹⁰⁰ This meant that the legislation already ‘not talking about homosexuality’ was seriously talking about anything but homosexuality. One could argue that this is a positive strategy. At the time, there were no ‘out’ members in the House of Commons, with the first ‘out’ and verifiable member being elected ten years later.¹⁰¹ Few members, just as Palmer’s judges in Calgary, understood homosexuality beyond biblical references or what they read in the paper. Placing the issue within the context of a heterosexual married couple perhaps opened members to understanding the policy implications – and maybe not. On January 27, 1969, Horgath (Liberal) spoke to the House of the only “case of sodomy in which I [Horgath] was involved during my 20 years of practice,” which dealt with a heterosexual relationship.¹⁰² David Lewis (NDP)

⁹⁷ Ibid, pg. 13.

⁹⁸ Ibid, pg. 13.

⁹⁹ Ibid, pg. 13.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Dostal, “History of Gross Indecency (Repealed Offence),” The Criminal Law Notebook, 2017, [https://criminalnotebook.ca/index.php/History_of_Gross_Indecency_\(Repealed_Offence\)#](https://criminalnotebook.ca/index.php/History_of_Gross_Indecency_(Repealed_Offence)#).

¹⁰¹ “First in Queer Canadian History,” QueerEvents, 2021, <https://www.queerevents.ca/queer-history/firsts>.

¹⁰² Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (January 27, 1969), p. 4866 (Douglas Horgath, MP). https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_05/324.

responded by asking, “May we take it the hon. Member was involved as the lawyer.”¹⁰³ Perhaps these were not the men (with one woman)¹⁰⁴ to treat the issues seriously.

Coalition Representation

Although the debate over C-150 occurred miles from Calgary, the voices of the coalitions were still represented. In Parliament, the city of Calgary had three members in the House of Commons: Eldon Woolliams (Progressive Conservative), Douglas Harkness (Progressive Conservative), and Patrick Mahoney (Liberal). However, only one member is recorded as speaking to C-150. Eldon Woolliams, a lawyer by trade, acted as the legal critic for the Progressive Conservative Party. Interestingly, the former Mayor of Calgary, Harry Hays, had been a Senator since 1966. However, Hays was absent from the debate taking place in the Senate. Furthermore, the Senate passed Bill C-150 by unanimous consent, so no Senator, including Hays, recorded their vote.¹⁰⁵ Even though the Anti-Gay Coalition had lost the voice of Hays, at least they had local representation in Woolliams. Full of vigor, Woolliams claimed that his side represented the nation's fundamental interests and “business.”¹⁰⁶

By comparison, the Gay Coalition lacked any local Calgarian voice to carry their message into the national record. Even the case of Everett Klippert was only explained within the context of the Northwest Territories, and a clear draw was avoided for Calgary.¹⁰⁷ While this may be a result of simplification, it does have the consequence of leaving Calgary and Calgarians outside of the gay

¹⁰³ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (January 27, 1969), p. 4866 (David Lewis, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_05/324.

¹⁰⁴ Christopher Dummitt and Christabelle Sethna, eds., *No Place for the State: The Origins and Legacies of the 1969 Omnibus Bill* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2020), pg. 6.

¹⁰⁵ Canada, Senate, *Hansard* (June 12, 1969), pg. 1566 (Jean-Paul Deschatelets, Speaker).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_SOC2801_02/732

¹⁰⁶ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (May 5, 1969), p. 8322 (Eldon Woolliams, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_08/292.

¹⁰⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (February 11, 1969), p. 5390 (Robert Kaplan, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_05/848.

picture. Instead, Calgarians are painted as being the ones concerned about the dangers of ‘legalizing’ homosexuality.¹⁰⁸ However, the coalition had representation where it counted—on the government benches. Given Trudeau’s personal political commitment to the Omnibus legislation as part of his “just society,” he was often painted in debate as the individual driving the bill, not his successor, Justice Minister John Turner.¹⁰⁹ Although the Gay Coalition had found some voice of support, it was an uneasy representation.¹¹⁰ Bill C-195 from the previous Parliament had been a focal point for Trudeau’s opponents in the 1968 federal election. During the televised leader’s debate, Trudeau was routinely attacked by the Ralliement créditiste (a Quebec version of Social Credit) leader for approving of homosexuality; this led to Trudeau responding that his party did not approve of legalizing homosexuality but rather felt it was a medical issue and not a law enforcement issue.¹¹¹ If the Gay Coalition could find representation, it would not be in the members themselves but in their Yea votes.

Drama in the Queen’s House

Following a selection of Woolliams’ comments recorded in the Hansard debate between January 16, 1969, and May 12, 1969, he participated in debate on 11 separate days, of which only one was exclusively focused on homosexuality (January 23, 1969).¹¹² On this occasion, Woolliams was focused on the issue, not of homosexuality – but bestiality. Woolliams argues over the language of the bill on this topic and finds, practically at every turn, ways to accuse the government (even Justice

¹⁰⁸ Kevin Allen, “Our History with the Police,” Calgary Gay History Project, July 27, 2017, <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/2017/07/27/our-history-with-the-police/>.

¹⁰⁹ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (January 16, 1969), p. 4365 (Marcel Lambert, MP). https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_04/957.

¹¹⁰ Stuart Chambers, “Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Bill C-150: A Rational Approach to Homosexual Acts, 1968-69,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 57, no. 2 (2010): 249–66, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918360903489085>.

¹¹¹ “1968 Federal Debate Discusses Trudeau’s Omnibus Bill,” CBC News Archives, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/video/1.3593358>.

¹¹² Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (January 16, 1969 – May 12, 1969), p. 4365-8588 (Eldon Woolliams, MP). https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_04/957.

Minister Turner personally) of attempting to legalize bestiality.¹¹³ Was this a practitioner focused on what he knew best, nitpicking on language? Perhaps. However, Woolliams delivers an obvious answer when he declares: “I am prepared ... to stay here and debate this question for days because this provision is against my Christian faith and the Christian faith of this nation.”¹¹⁴ Although Woolliams disclosed some motive, another question remains: Are we still talking about bestiality? Based on relatively limited evidence, Woolliams seems convinced that bestiality has become a “kind of environment” within Canada.¹¹⁵ Simply changing out bestiality for homosexuality reveals how Woolliams viewed homosexuals. As the debate continues from its beginning in January, it appears other members have heard enough.

Woolliams continued to be a vocal opposer of C-150, and the more the debate dragged on, the more tension rose between members. In April, three months after the debate began, Woolliams’ claims of bestiality were directly rebutted by Justice Minister Turner as amounting to “nothing” to the recorded jeering of members.¹¹⁶ Woolliams’ battles weren’t only with the government caucus but with members of the New Democrats as well, calling out Knowles (NDP) as “naïve” while being chided in return for his constant interruptions of Knowles.¹¹⁷ By the fourth month of debate, Woolliams’ lines had lost their novelty so significantly that one member, Gibson (Liberal), lamented: “Here we go. The same old speech.”¹¹⁸ Woolliams, perhaps feeling the pressure of dissent, went so

¹¹³ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (April 16, 1969), p. 7605-7608 (Eldon Woolliams, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_07/725.

¹¹⁴ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (April 16, 1969), p. 7608 (Eldon Woolliams, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_07/728.

¹¹⁵ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (April 16, 1969), p. 7607 (Eldon Woolliams, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_07/727.

¹¹⁶ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (April 17, 1969), p. 7636 (John Turner, Minister of Justice).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_07/756.

¹¹⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (April 17, 1969), p. 7666-7667 (Eldon Woolliams, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_07/786.

¹¹⁸ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (May 5, 1969), p. 8322 (Colin D. Gibson, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_08/292.

far as to criticize Gibson, Gibson's father, and stated that Gibson "cannot help himself. He [Gibson] exercises his greatest eloquence when sitting down."¹¹⁹

It was clear that members wanted to move on. The debate, the opinions, the critiques, and the political catfights had all played out. Even Woolliams pivoted his attacks to claim the debate was "holding up the business of the nation" while the government was "introducing window-dressing," and the pressing issues of "inflation, the high cost of living, no housing and the mounting economic crisis," was not being addressed.¹²⁰ This change also made sense politically. The other two Calgary MPs, as revealed in the Hansard index, focus on infrastructure, defense, sports, natural resources, and agriculture issues.¹²¹ These were the issues of "western Canada" that Woolliams, after months of participating in debate, now claimed as a better focus.¹²² It was clear the Progressive Conservatives wouldn't win the debate as it found few allies beyond the small Ralliement créditiste caucus from Quebec.¹²³ The debate had likely shrunk their voting block than grown it as roughly 15% of their caucus voted for the legislation, and an equal number were absent. Clearly, the Omnibus legislation was working, if only for its simplistic goal of being passed. The passing of the legislation on June 27, 1969, was not a result of agreement with the bill; it was the result of attrition. Of the three Calgarian MPs, Harkness was absent; Mahoney and, surprisingly, Woolliams voted for the legislation.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (May 5, 1969), p. 8322 (Eldon Woolliams, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_08/292.

¹²⁰ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (May 5, 1969), p. 8321-8322 (Eldon Woolliams, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_08/291.

¹²¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (1968-1969), p. 182-183, 274 (Commons Debates Index).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_20/197.

¹²² Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (May 5, 1969), p. 8322 (Eldon Woolliams, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_08/292.

¹²³ Christopher Dummitt and Christabelle Sethna, eds., *No Place for the State: The Origins and Legacies of the 1969 Omnibus Bill* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2020), pg. 37.

¹²⁴ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (May 14, 1969), p. 8702-8703 (Vote Record).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_08/673.

Not all that is Gay is Gold

The Advocacy Coalition Framework seeks to expand the understanding of policy development beyond the traditional actors of government institutions, and this legislation was instigated from outside of the government.¹²⁵ Part of this stems from the apparent lack of understanding that government representatives had of the issue and the ways in which the issue of homosexuality was obscured in the language of the law, as seen above. In this, the coalitions still had a representation. In the Gay Coalition, representation was vital in any form possible. Everett and his story had instigated much of the need for reform.¹²⁶ Even the famous phrase, “no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation,” was not Trudeau’s phrase but that of Globe and Mail journalist Martin O’Malley.¹²⁷ Representation had a very light application but was necessary. If the previous era had established that the Gay Coalition existed, then this was where the coalition forced people to acknowledge that existence.

In the camp of the Anti-Gay Coalition, their representation was still in the seats of power. Members of the Opposition in the House of Commons, law enforcement, academia, and health authorities all had a role in providing the expertise asked of them: that expertise being the ‘right’ opinions. Woolliams relied heavily on the statements made by a professor from the University of Toronto.¹²⁸ Although members still voted for legislation to pass, it is difficult to say how to categorize the House of Commons within the coalition camps. On the one hand, they passed the legislation – an indication, on the surface, of their support. On the other hand, even individual

¹²⁵ Christopher Dummitt and Christabelle Sethna, eds., *No Place for the State: The Origins and Legacies of the 1969 Omnibus Bill* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2020), pg. 3-6.

¹²⁶ Ibid, pg. 3-6.

¹²⁷ “No Place for the State in the Bedrooms of the Nation,” CBC News, June 21, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/archives/no-place-for-the-state-in-the-bedrooms-of-the-nation-1.4681298>.

¹²⁸ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (April 16, 1969), p. 7606 (Eldon Woolliams, MP). https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_07/726.

members shied away from stating clear support for homosexual acts in their capacity as individuals and certainly not as party representatives. Whether members had flawed conceptions of homosexuality or didn't want to bear the consequences of dealing with the issue, many members spoke of homosexuality as an illness. One member spoke of it so clinically as to say: "In Canada, we have managed to control tuberculosis. With the appropriate means, we can control homosexuality since we recognize and admit that it is a sickness."¹²⁹ Whether genuine or deceptive, passive treatment of the issue questions the level and quality of change.

What changed with this legislation? As seen above, the legislation didn't speak to homosexuality but the acts of buggery, bestiality, and gross indecency. After Bill C-150 gained Royal Assent, changes were made to the Criminal Code, and that language remained. The only change was the exception that required there to be only two participants, each 21 years old or older, and the acts to be committed in private and with consent.¹³⁰ Considering that cruising was a necessary reality for many gay men, the change really meant little. Individuals such as J.B. Smith, Clarence Young, and Everett Klippert would all still be charged either for not meeting the age requirement, not meeting the privacy requirement, or, likely, for Klippert, both. Many previous studies of the legislation argue that this was not a legalization or decriminalization but a "partial decriminalization," others go so far as to call it a "recriminalization of homosexuality" for how fundamentally it failed to affect how homosexuals interacted with the law.¹³¹ In short, the legislation changed more for those who were like the norm (man and wife) than those who were outside of the norm.

¹²⁹ Canada, House of Commons, *Hansard* (April 16, 1969), p. 7609 (Gérard Laprise, MP). https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_07/729.

¹³⁰ "1970 Criminal Code, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-34,," A History of Canadian Sexual Assault Legislation 1900-2000, accessed April 20, 2024, <https://www.constancebackhouse.ca/fileadmin/website/1970.htm#21>.

¹³¹ Tom Hooper, "Queering '69: The Recriminalization of Homosexuality in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (June 2019): pg. 258-259, <https://doi.org/10.3138/chr.2018-0082-4>.

When the Gays March

In 1971, one year after the legislation was implemented, the first gay march in Canadian history happened on the very public steps of Parliament Hill. The We Demand March was the public “demonstration of over 200 lesbians and gay men” that presented a manifesto calling for ten reforms.¹³² These reforms included calls for the removal of gross indecency and indecent acts from the Criminal Code and, with buggery, their removal as grounds for indictment as a dangerous sexual offender.¹³³ Although other points included issues that the House had debated in 1969, such as an identical age of consent for heterosexual and homosexual acts, others expanded to equal employment, Immigration restrictions, equal participation in the Canadian military, and a review of whether the RCMP held a policy to identify, monitor, and remove homosexuals in government services and if so, to stop the policy.¹³⁴ The legislation hadn’t been as successful as Trudeau had hoped, and homosexuals now felt they needed to have a place at the table.¹³⁵ It wasn’t good enough to send the messenger if they would debate themselves off-key. Nothing better exemplifies this outcome than one of the simpler demands: “All legal rights for homosexuals which currently exist for heterosexuals.”¹³⁶

Belief Beholden: Coalitions in the National Discussions

Throughout the debate of the Omnibus legislation, the deep core beliefs of the Gay and Anti-Gay coalitions are evident. In the Anti-Gay Coalition, the belief that homosexuality is unnatural is evident in Woolliams’ focus on bestiality or homosexuality’s danger to society in Diefenbaker’s

¹³² Gay Day Committee, “We Demand,” essay, in *Speaking for Our Lives: Historic Speeches and Rhetoric for Gay and Lesbian Rights (1892-2000)* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), pg. 163.

¹³³ Ibid, pg. 164.

¹³⁴ Ibid, pg. 166-167.

¹³⁵ Christopher Dummitt and Christabelle Sethna, eds., *No Place for the State: The Origins and Legacies of the 1969 Omnibus Bill* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2020), pg. 76.

¹³⁶ Gay Day Committee, “We Demand,” essay, in *Speaking for Our Lives: Historic Speeches and Rhetoric for Gay and Lesbian Rights (1892-2000)* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), pg. 166.

worry of young Canadians 'becoming' gay. The coalition's deep core beliefs are also evident in the association between the Progressive Conservative and Ralliement créditiste parties, which is an example of how a political coalition formed around the deep core beliefs of the Anti-Gay Coalition. On policy core and secondary beliefs, the rhetorical and extenuated environment of the House of Commons sheds further examples of the Anti-Gay Coalition's tactics. Speaking to sodomy in terms of heterosexual relationships, or again as Woolliams focused on bestiality, shifted the debate to focus on topics aside from homosexuality. While this could be argued to reinforce an ideological bubble and detract from the seriousness of the issue, it does have some practical outcomes. The weighed-down debate, it could be argued, was a crucial point in limiting the impact of the legislation. Even though Trudeau had perhaps hoped the legislation would create 'real' change, it failed to live up to that. For all the ridicule that Woolliams took on the House floor, his actions may have watered the legislation down enough for him to support it. Woolliams stated in an interview that he would vote for the legislation because "we [Canadians] recognize it [homosexuality] as a fact," and that it should be taken out from the Code and treated as an "illness."¹³⁷ Even in his choice to support the legislation, Woolliams still felt the need to express that he knew of gay clubs in Toronto where they wore "girl's clothing and makeup" and "carried on" but he had had "never seen one but ... heard about it."¹³⁸ Even supporting watered-down legislation required extra validation that 'I'm not gay.'

By comparison, the Gay Coalition still lacked definition compared to their rivals in identifying beyond their deep core beliefs in this era – even as they had hit the 'big time' policy venue. The deep core belief of homosexuality being natural appears to falter as many supporting members identified illness and pity for homosexuals as a motive to pass the Omnibus legislation.

¹³⁷ "Omnibus Bill Critic: Homosexuality an 'Illness,'" CBC News, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/video/1.3593357>.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

Homosexuality wasn't natural, but it wasn't a threat. However, this issue reflects how loosely this coalition was represented in the halls of Parliament, intersecting with the necessity that members support gay rights even if they don't understand gay life. By benefit, the inclusion of the We Demand March contributes to reinforcing this deep core belief's presence and is the vehicle through which the coalition's other beliefs are furthered. The policy core belief, growing from the deep core belief, focuses on the end of discrimination. By presenting their demands to the government publicly and at the seat of government, the message is clear that the coalition believes the government has a role to act publicly to limit discrimination.

However, the coalition's secondary and policy core beliefs interact as if to make the policy core belief one that can be genuinely believed when it is seen. Even when making their demands, the coalition is doing so because the government hasn't lived up to what it believed it should. Although the government hadn't met the coalition's policy core goal it had provided a leg up for the movement. Now, under very stringent levels, homosexuality was legal, and by extension, homosexuals were legal. In the face of discrimination, the government had carved only a small slice of protection. Without this provision, the coalition would be retained in its fractured existence. This emerging coalition now had the environment to publicly exist and advocate for their policy core belief. However, if the government and society had only gone so far, their secondary beliefs needed to change. In this environment of policy change, the coalition now asked, Is the government or society going to change discrimination – or are we?

Changing Calgary (1970-1980)

Change of the Carousel (1970-1977)

If the 1960s had been the decade of change, the 1970s was the age of liberation, or at least it was meant to be. When one gay man was asked about how to find the gay community when he

visited Calgary, the instructions were to ask where it wasn't safe to go.¹³⁹ The change for the community back in Calgary can at once be seen as positive and as mundane. Alike to other communities, the gay Calgary community experienced the growth of open activism in the 1970s. This activism came through organizations like the Gay Liberation Front, which was established in 1972. This group would expand and change names over the years but delivered peer support to gays within Calgary.¹⁴⁰ Evolving to the People's Liberation Coalition (PLC) in 1973, the group delivered services to tell those "people who were coming out that they were OK – it was society that had the problem."¹⁴¹ Although highly successful, the PLC faded after a year, yet was succeeded by the Gay Information and Resources Calgary (GIRC) in 1975.

The 1970s also saw the creation of gay-only clubs. Founded on March 20, 1970, Club Carousel was one such club. Preceding Club Carousel was the 1207 Club, which at first was a booming success as a club where gays could "feel truly relaxed or one that would allow [same-sex] dancing."¹⁴² However, this changed as suddenly the management tried boosting their finances by admitting 'Straights' to watch the "freaks" – but the freaks proved for some to be too freaky. After all, 1970 marked the allowance by the provincial government to show movies on Sundays. For these 'Straight' thrill-seekers, visions of a "local T.V. hostess grinding with one of Calgary's more gorgeous models" were simply too much.¹⁴³ Being gawked at and observed was all too familiar and quickly grew old. The gay community brought about a boycott, and within a few months, the 1207 Club was out of money and taken over by Club Carousel. It wasn't long until the police showed up at the club

¹³⁹ Marion Foster and Kent Murray, *A Not so Gay World: Homosexuality in Canada* (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pg. 164.

¹⁴⁰ Kevin Allen, "50 Years of Peer Support in YYC!," Calgary Gay History Project, July 18, 2023, <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/2023/07/18/50-years-of-peer-support-in-yyc/>.

¹⁴¹ Kevin Allen, *Our Past Matters: Stories of Gay Calgary* (Calgary, AB: ASPublishing, 2018), pg. 46.

¹⁴² Kevin Allen, "Club Carousel's Birthdate Found," Calgary Gay History Project, March 14, 2024, <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/2024/03/14/club-carousels-birthdate-found/>.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

to lay charges that it was operating without a liquor license. However, the same police officers suggested a lawyer to the club, and a charter was created as a legal loophole to avoid charges. A membership system, including only admitting men with men and women with women, ensured that patrons of the club could enjoy anonymity and safety.¹⁴⁴

These two examples from the 1970s show the change in behaviour. First, the community was identifiable beyond the whispers in mainstream media. There were community associations and social spaces, even if they were tucked away. Secondly, the community was forming into an identifiable subset of society. Each gay bar in Calgary's history and community service pays homage to this fact. While these developments have little to do with the language of Bill C-150, they certainly have some echoes of its impact. Bill C-150 was started with the input of community activists across the nation.¹⁴⁵ Even though it did not reach as far as perhaps Trudeau or the gay community had hoped, it reinforced two factors again. First, the inclusion of the discussion of homosexuality in the nation's halls of debate, power, and governance did lend some credibility to the issue. Previously, the problem was focused on the scattered experiences of gays who were disconnected even though they were nearly identical in their circumstances. Everett may have been alone in his cell, but many understood his plight.¹⁴⁶ Secondly, the outcome of engaging with the government had been less than fruitful yet had provided some benefit. The cracks in the illegality of homosexuality and the illegality of forming a coalition had begun. If you could be gay in private – why couldn't you be gay in public? The demands made by lesbians and gay men on Parliament Hill speak to how unchanged the policy

¹⁴⁴ Marion Foster and Kent Murray, *A Not so Gay World: Homosexuality in Canada* (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pg. 164-165.

¹⁴⁵ Christopher Dummitt and Christabelle Sethna, eds., *No Place for the State: The Origins and Legacies of the 1969 Omnibus Bill* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2020), pg. 3-6.

¹⁴⁶ Kevin Allen, "Our First Step towards Equality: The Life of Everett Klippert," essay, in *Legislating Love: The Everett Klippert Story* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2019), pg. 124.

environment was. Now, the community had found each other and saw they needed to make their own way.

Although activism grew in the 1970s, it was clear that it was lacking. One traveling Australian pointed out that, given Calgary's size, he was shocked at the community's lack of organization.¹⁴⁷ This opinion is supported by the groundbreaking book *A Not So Gay World*, which reported on gay communities across Canada in the early 1970s. In its appendices, Calgary does not even appear in a list of cities with gay organizations.¹⁴⁸ In 1977, the *Calgary Herald* published a detailed article about the gay community and stated that “there is no real activist core to the city’s gay population.”¹⁴⁹ Yet the publication, which a few decades later had relegated homosexuals to the fiction reviews, discussed at length how counseling and other services were being provided. Now, gays in Calgary could see what was there to support them. Even though the article was titled under the quotation “A kind of ghetto mentality,” the top line read “Calgary’s Gay Community.”¹⁵⁰

“Eat a Fruit for Anita” (1977-1979)¹⁵¹

Even with the Gay Coalition’s growth through the 1970s, the Anti-Gay Coalition was not going away anytime soon. Now, the venue for debate was on their turf – religion. The influence of American evangelism in the form of Anita Bryant hit Alberta in 1978 as she led her Crusade to Edmonton. Even though Bryant had a strong impact in rolling back gay rights in the United States, Canada saw a more muted impact. In both Calgary and Edmonton, there existed chapters of two

¹⁴⁷ Kevin Allen, *Our Past Matters: Stories of Gay Calgary* (Calgary, AB: ASPublishing, 2018), pg. 45-46.

¹⁴⁸ Marion Foster and Kent Murray, *A Not so Gay World: Homosexuality in Canada* (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pg. 235-236.

¹⁴⁹ Ann Silversides, “Calgary’s Gay Community: ‘A kind of ghetto mentality,’” *Calgary Herald* (1939-), June 30, 1977, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2258440413/492E83C26F24408DPQ/5?accountid=1343&source=Newspapers>.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Provincial Archives of Alberta, “PR1983.0460.0512,” YouTube video, 3:45, Posted September 10, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=youtu.be&v=GplECKiL4ZE&app=desktop>.

organizations, the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) and Dignity. Both organizations were pro-gay Christian organizations from Protestant and Catholic traditions, respectively. In Calgary, both organizations were relatively new when Bryant arrived in Alberta, with the MCC being established in 1977 and Dignity in 1976.¹⁵² These organizations were, as put in a Dignity publication, focused on work between “the church and the homosexual.”¹⁵³

There is little to demonstrate a relationship between the two groups; however, the Edmonton chapters of each can be shown to have a greater connection.¹⁵⁴ Yet, there was a connection between Dignity and GIRC. In 1977, a year before Bryant’s arrival, Dignity newsletters noted two separate occasions of coordination. In January, the meeting of Dignity members included a talk by the director of GIRC on the work and future of his organization. Afterward, members were “encouraged to assist in the work of this worthy organization.”¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, in May, members were informed that GIRC needed “DIGNITY members to staff their office weeknights.”¹⁵⁶ Informational sharing and sharing of staffing needs points to the coordination necessary to create a coalition.¹⁵⁷

Although Anita Bryant was an embodiment of the threat to gay rights many activists noted that Bryant did more for gay rights than they ever could have.¹⁵⁸ The coordination demonstrated

¹⁵² "Dignity Calgary October 4, 1976," *Dignity Calgary*, October 4, 1976, Archives of Sexuality and Gender, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/LISVJV379899419/AHSI?u=mtroyalc&sid=bookmark-AHSI&xid=5aa0b6c0>.

¹⁵³ "Dignity Calgary December 18, 1977," *Dignity Calgary*, December 18, 1977, Archives of Sexuality and Gender, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/JVQZGV530228823/AHSI?u=mtroyalc&sid=bookmark-AHSI&xid=9e680f8c>.

¹⁵⁴ Laura Bonnett, “Transgressing the Public/Private Divide: Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Citizenship Claims in Alberta, 1968-1998” (PhD thesis., University of Alberta, 2007), pg. 24, <https://era.library.ualberta.ca/items/c84c5597-b073-49c0-9fae-aa49ce4b1b52/view/4a7a58ad-af41-4e1b-966d-9fe2fe814546/NR22994.pdf>.

¹⁵⁵ "Dignity Calgary February 1, 1977," *Dignity Calgary*, February 1, 1977, Archives of Sexuality and Gender, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/QAQZWR157533313/AHSI?u=mtroyalc&sid=bookmark-AHSI&xid=c5272270>.

¹⁵⁶ "Dignity Calgary May 1977 Vol. 1 Issue 9," *Dignity Calgary*, May 1977, Archives of Sexuality and Gender, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/VOXGIL032684193/AHSI?u=mtroyalc&sid=bookmark-AHSI&xid=7fe55fc4>.

¹⁵⁷ Daniel Nohrstedt and Tim Heinmiller, “Advocacy Coalitions as Political Organizations,” *Policy and Society*, February 8, 2024, pg. 2, <https://doi.org/10.1093/polsoc/puae005>.

¹⁵⁸ Kevin Allen, “Save Our Children: Windi vs Anita,” Calgary Gay History Project, March 6, 2023, <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/2023/03/06/save-our-children-windi-vs-anita/>.

between Dignity and GIRC was one subset of a larger coordination occurring in late 1970s Calgary. Bryant's arrival triggered the formation in Calgary of "The Coalition for the Advancement of Gay and Lesbian Rights,"¹⁵⁹ which published a leaflet calling for Calgarians to travel to Edmonton for a protest rally.¹⁶⁰ Ultimately, roughly 40 Calgarians traveled and participated in protests and demonstrations. Their participation is noted during protests in placards and banners labeled "Calgary Coalition Against Anita," "Calgary Coalition For Human Rights," along Edmonton organizations with "Edmonton Women's Coalition," and led in their march at the Legislature Grounds by a green banner labeled: "Coalition to Answer Anita Bryant."¹⁶¹

Bryant had been brought to Canada with the assistance of Renaissance International, a fundamentalist Christian organization.¹⁶² This same organization was a key factor in opposing the inclusion of sexual orientation in human rights legislation throughout the 1970s in Canada.¹⁶³ During her visit, Bryant was challenged by a reporter that she may have "won a battle with the Dade County thing, but you're losing the war," with her actions "uniting the people that you're against."¹⁶⁴ Bryant argued that she was traveling across Canada on "not a campaign against gay rights," but a religious

¹⁵⁹ Laura Bonnett, "Transgressing the Public/Private Divide: Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Citizenship Claims in Alberta, 1968-1998" (PhD thesis., University of Alberta, 2007), pg. 73, <https://era.library.ualberta.ca/items/c84c5597-b073-49c0-9fae-aa49ce4b1b52/view/4a7a58ad-af41-4e1b-966d-9fe2fe814546/NR22994.pdf>.

¹⁶⁰ Kevin Allen, "Save Our Children: Windi vs Anita," Calgary Gay History Project, March 6, 2023, <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/2023/03/06/save-our-children-windi-vs-anita/>.

¹⁶¹ Provincial Archives of Alberta, "PR1983.0460.0512," YouTube video, 3:52, Posted September 10, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=youtu.be&v=GplECKiL4ZE&app=desktop>.

¹⁶² Laura Bonnett, "Transgressing the Public/Private Divide: Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Citizenship Claims in Alberta, 1968-1998" (PhD thesis., University of Alberta, 2007), pg. 73, <https://era.library.ualberta.ca/items/c84c5597-b073-49c0-9fae-aa49ce4b1b52/view/4a7a58ad-af41-4e1b-966d-9fe2fe814546/NR22994.pdf>.

¹⁶³ "Ken Campbell," Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada, 2024, <https://lglc.ca/person/KCAM>.

¹⁶⁴ Provincial Archives of Alberta, "PR1983.0460.0512," YouTube video, 2:01, Posted September 10, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=youtu.be&v=GplECKiL4ZE&app=desktop>.

campaign.¹⁶⁵ This example of conflation points to how out of place the Anti-Gay Coalition was finding itself.

Where their moralist argument had pushed their beliefs successfully in the past, it was clear that those arguments could be utilized by organizations like the MCC and Dignity too. Not only were their beliefs and their expressions something that caused the opposite desired effects - but their personal expressions were also being usurped. In July 1978, at the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) in Calgary (hosting services at the back of a gay bar named Myrt's), Calgary's first gay marriage was celebrated; or, marriage-like given that same-sex marriage would not be legal for another 27 years.¹⁶⁶ Not only was the Anti-Gay Coalition facing pushback on its beliefs, but it also had people who ran counter to them and looked and lived exactly like them. Now, there was a Gay Coalition out in the sunlight, and it was more organized than it ever had been. This outcome of Bryant's visit led *The Body Politic*, a leading national gay publication, to run the line, "Bryant hits Canada; Canada hits back."¹⁶⁷

A Basher Gets Bashed (1979-1980)

Central Memorial Park had still been a gathering place for the community and a gay cruising site after the Hays-Library event. Where there was cruising, there would inevitably be gay bashing. In 1979, a 22-year-old man was found stabbed in the neck with a broken bottle by a passing taxi. Although the man was found, he would pass while at Holy Cross Hospital. As the police investigated, it was revealed that the 22-year-old man, Thomas Nash, had been one of three straight men who had been harassing gay men in the park that night. When the group approached and

¹⁶⁵ Kevin Allen, "Before the Net: Calgary's 70s Gay Press," Calgary Gay History Project, March 2, 2017, <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/2017/03/02/before-the-net-calgarys-70s-gay-press/#jp-carousel-5192>.

¹⁶⁶ Kevin Allen, *Our Past Matters: Stories of Gay Calgary* (Calgary, AB: ASPublishing, 2018), pg. 62-63.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

attempted to harass two gay men, Brian Hawkurst (20) and Greg Spencer (19), the gay men fought back. During a chase, Nash was separated from his group and attacked by Hawkurst and Spencer. After attempting to flee to British Columbia, Hawkurst and Spencer were both arrested and sentenced to second-degree murder.¹⁶⁸

Nash's tragic end and the situation's circumstances spoke to a few factors. Firstly, the Anti-Gay Coalition and their beliefs of homosexuality being a danger had equally dangerous consequences. Young men were targets, as they had been for decades before Nash's death, simply for who they had sex with and how they did (through personal social restraints) that sex. Gay bashings, however, would increase into the 1990's.¹⁶⁹ Secondly, the outcome of the situation, as unfortunate as it was, demonstrated that it wouldn't always be the gay who ended up dead. While Nash's death is certainly not justifiable, it does beg the question- if not Nash, then who would have died? During the accounts in the Calgary Herald, which quickly dropped within a week to a column no more than 125 words, conversation of gay involvement was swiftly left out.¹⁷⁰ Even the terms "queer bashing" or "gay bashing" did not come up in the Herald until May 11, 1970, in relation to issues faced by Pakistani populations in London, U.K.¹⁷¹ Once again, the issue had been far away, and Calgarians didn't see the problem unless they were paying attention or bleeding out in an alley nine years later.

¹⁶⁸ Kevin Allen, "Gaybasher Killed in Central Park," Calgary Gay History Project, February 23, 2017, <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/2017/02/23/gaybasher-killed-in-central-park/>.

¹⁶⁹ Kevin Allen, "Gay-Bashing in YYC. We Remember.," Calgary Gay History Project, April 28, 2016, <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/2016/04/28/gay-bashing-in-yyc-we-remember/>.

¹⁷⁰ "Two men face murder charge," Calgary Herald (1939-), September 27, 1979, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2259055538/8E1E34EA7BE64A7CPQ/8?accountid=1343&source=Newspapers>.

¹⁷¹ Don McGillivray, "London Letter: 'Skinheads' Now Bane Of London," Calgary Herald (1939-), May 11, 1970, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpcalgaryherald/docview/2258369373/36817962DAED4636PQ/1?accountid=1343&source=Newspapers>.

Belief Evolved: Coalitions in Change

The coalition beliefs established through the first period and refined in the second experience further validation as they experience success and failure for the coalitions that hold them. The Anti-Gay Coalition experiences this as their secondary belief of not talking about homosexuality or conflating the issue appears not to be enough to attain their policy core belief. Change was occurring no matter if they recognized or ignored it. Individuals such as Anita Bryant and organizations such as Renaissance International failed to gain traction when they discussed homosexuality in terms of ‘saving children’ or declaring that they ‘truly love’ the people they wish to keep oppressed. Instead of finding the legitimacy that would ensure their beliefs had convincing effects on power, the coalition finds itself failing to achieve its goals. This failure can be evidenced in the rise of gay bashing in Central Memorial Park, which would only continue to escalate throughout downtown Calgary in the ensuing decades. Perhaps this failure was like Woolliams faced – people were tired of hearing the same argument. However, it is equally likely that the shifts within belief systems had contributed to minor policy changes.

The degree of very loose coordination associated between Nash and the Anti-Gay Coalition does not infer that all members of the Anti-Gay Coalition were violent gay bashers. However, theories of gay bashing point to the belief system of the Anti-Gay Coalition. Patrick Hopkins developed a set of six theories to categorize and understand homophobia, which he described as “a product of institutionalism heterosexism and gendered identity,” where heterosexism was “loosely characterized as valorizing and privileging heterosexuality.”¹⁷² Two of the six theories stand out as plausible explanations given what is known of Nash. First, the Irrationality/Ignorance Hypothesis

¹⁷² Douglas Victor Janoff, *Pink Blood: Homophobic Violence in Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pg. 49.

assumes that the basher has grown up to fear homosexuality as a product of ignorance.¹⁷³ Second, the Immature Adolescent Hypothesis argues that bashing and homophobia are ways to fulfill the status needs of a self-conscious young person, with one 1996 instance of harassment that so happened in a public park.¹⁷⁴ Restrained from finding success, parts of the coalition chose to act out in frustration, anger, and a sense of their foundational deep core beliefs being vulnerable. Considering the secondary belief to avoid talking about homosexuality or conflating it with other issues, this outcome appears inevitable. All outlets available to advance a policy goal or even debate it were constrained and marginalized in a change of fortune. Given that the deep core belief of the Anti-Gay Coalition was that homosexuality was unnatural and a danger to society, the connection between Nash and the coalition is very evident. Interestingly, Hopkins's work in this field was inspired by Margaret Atwood's book *The Handmaid's Tale* and the term "gender traitors," it seemed that wherever the Anti-Gay Coalition looked, they faced betrayal.¹⁷⁵

If the Anti-Gay Coalition was facing a decline in influence, the Gay Coalition was becoming ascendant. Even though the Omnibus legislation hadn't changed much for the reality of gay men in Canada, it had provided the sliver of sunlight through which the coalition could collect themselves. The coalition had identified a new way to achieve its goals. Their secondary beliefs marked to the coalition that they would have to affect change if the government didn't bring change. The creation of community support organizations, community action groups, and gay-exclusive member bars is evidence of the coalition looking for ways to find what they couldn't do with Ottawa. Associations and coordination with members inside of Calgary and in Edmonton point towards the establishment of a coalition. The expansion to Edmonton also meant that the Gay Coalition was marching

¹⁷³ Ibid, pg. 50-52.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, pg. 58-60.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, pg. 48-49.

alongside feminist groups who marched on abortion rights and who, like the gays, had been included in the Omnibus legislation.

The Omnibus legislation's outcome can be represented as a chronic threat to this new coalition.¹⁷⁶ The chronic threat, being the policy positions of the Anti-Gay Coalition that were apparent in the outcome of the legislation, meant that the Gay coalition was now pushed to create and maintain its coalition.¹⁷⁷ Arguably, this shift is a measure of how the coalition could be successful. The Omnibus provided, although not a robust change, at least a sliver of legality to the previously criminalized behaviors. By providing limited decriminalization, the previously illegal behavior had now been given the environment in which to grow, associate, and form a coalition. A clear representation of this comes from Sir John Wolfenden who visited Calgary in 1973. During a talk at the University of Calgary, Wolfenden spoke to the core part of his report that “homosexuality cannot legitimately be regarded as a disease, because in many cases it is the only symptom and is compatible with full mental health in other respects.”¹⁷⁸ Now, the conflation of the Anti-Gay Coalition was being broken down by the technical expertise that had inspired Bill C-150 – spoken within the policy subsystem. The systems of power that had been reinforcers of the Anti-Gay coalition could be sidestepped by the Gay Coalition – legality was moving to their side. Of course, they weren’t unfamiliar with being outside of the norm.

Conclusion: Was this Change?

In addressing whether this case study demonstrated policy change it is important to reassess where we might imagine policy change occurring. Does it occur with changes in a society’s attitude,

¹⁷⁶ Christopher M Weible and Karin Ingold, “Why Advocacy Coalitions Matter and Practical Insights about Them,” essay, in *Practical Lessons from Policy Theories* (Bristol, U.K.: Policy Press, an imprint of Bristol University Press, 2021), pg. 186.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, pg. 185-188.

¹⁷⁸ Kevin Allen, “Sir John Wolfenden in YYC,” Calgary Gay History Project, July 13, 2017, <https://calgarygayhistory.ca/2017/07/13/sir-john-wolfenden-in-yyc/>.

a change in the decision-makers' perspectives, or a change in policy direction in response to events of the day? Each of these is an example of prompts and outcomes of policy change. The actual place where policy change is supposed to occur is embodied in legislation like C-150. For many casual viewers, the change was dramatic and total in C-150. Now, nothing was allowed in Canadian streets, but Pride Parades, rainbows in the sky 24/7, and John Diefenbaker (drag name: Avrona Arrow) was then required to perform drag after 1969. For others, the change that was evident in C-150 was nothing but regression. Nothing changed for the better – it just got worse. For some change in C-150 was evident – you just must look very closely when splitting hairs. Nothing changed 'enough,' and things changed just 'enough.' The contention of these arguments comes from the views that C-150 legalized homosexuality, recriminalized homosexuality, or decriminalized homosexuality.

The legalization argument holds to the sunny ways view of policy change and sees through a finite telescope that if something changed, then change, regardless of definition, occurred. The conclusion isn't false – change did happen. However, including an assertion that homosexuality was legalized could only be valid if Nash wasn't killed while gay bashing because being gay was legal. The recriminalization argument recognizes C-150 for its faults and, in those faults, sees policy change as being wholly voided. In denial of the legalization argument, the recriminalization argument works within the understanding of policy change as only the reflection of a winning coalition's beliefs. This view is understandable, especially given that it comes from a gay activist lens. However, this glass-half-full approach misses the small changes that occurred inside the legislation and the major shifts that came after it. Policy and policy change is never a one-and-done outcome. The recriminalization argument focuses on the first half of the Gay Coalition's secondary belief, whether society or government will bring change, and stops short of considering the 'yes, and' of the community carrying change forward. As mentioned, some gay men did find some degree of liberation from C-150, and even though it was limited and even though it was a small part of the population - it was

and did instigate policy change. Things may have gotten worse after the issue of homosexuality was thrust into the public spotlight. However, the assertion that homosexuality was recriminalized in C-150 could only be valid if Club Carousel wasn't allowed to operate as a gay-exclusive member club.

It is within the final view, decriminalization, that I would argue the policy change outcome is. However, it is not that simple. Decriminalization recognizes that where C-150 went was not the end of the earth. Not all aspects of homosexuality were legalized and those that were legalized were small, stringent, and 'straight'-laced. You could be homosexual in the closet, but you better make sure only two homosexuals fit in the closet at a time, and your homosexual identity could not be more than how you had sex. This shape of decriminalization could only be valid if the state had recognized the first gay 'marriage' in Calgary because being gay was legal. However, in that closet, there was now a crack that C-150 had created. The limited moves of decriminalization had created an environment for homosexuals to step out of the closet.

This shape of decriminalization was a decriminalization through permission. When the debate had raged in the House of Commons it was argued that the government was attempting to make homosexuality "respectable."¹⁷⁹ Although the government stated this was not their intent it was the logical outcome of debate in the public halls of power, then recorded into the public record, and gifting permission to society to view homosexuality as not a criminal threat to society's safety. In this act, the government had created a weak link in the once-stable criminalization of homosexuality in Canada. When We Demand marched without water cannons or mass arrests and when the Coalition Against Anita Bryant marched publicly, that weak link became more fragile and eventually broke.

¹⁷⁹ Canada, House of Commons, Hansard (April 16, 1969), p. 7606 (Hugh Flemming, MP).
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2801_07/726.

There are two myths of 1969: that it did everything and that it did nothing. These are easily discounted when applying the ‘yes, and’ consideration. If we say that C-150 did everything then we must ask, and what happened afterwards? Sadly, Avrona Arrow had no career. Moreover, it took decades for same-sex marriage, employment protections, and even within the two years of working on this project, changes to blood donation policies. Clearly, C-150 did not do everything. If we say that C-150 did nothing and accept that we must ask, and what happened afterwards? Sadly, Avrona Arrow still had no career, and more confusingly, how can we explain how we got here? Could we reasonably say that Club Carousel, the rise of gay bashing, the march against Bryant, and all that occurred since the 1970s simply ‘happened’ because C-150 was not ‘real change’? It may not have reached the practical change that would have had a widespread impact, but the lack of practical change does not negate the existence of change.

Even though the call for change wasn’t coming from inside the House it still had the effect of creating a marginal change that could create an environment for the formal formation, organization, and maintenance of the Gay Coalition. This project has demonstrated that policy is not stagnant or only found on a page among laws, regulations, and statutes. Policy isn’t even the theories that aid in describing the systems that seem indescribable. Instead, policy is as living and growing as human lives and the breaths with which it interacts. Policy requires that interaction, or it is simply defunct and a waste of time. That is why C-150 can not be either entirely discounted or lauded above all. C-150 was the public apex of the change, but it was at that summit most removed from the cruising sites, the jail cells, and the closets that homosexual humanity inhabited. Change required those venues to manifest in coordination and coalitions to emerge for that change to occur – the people needed to bring change along with the law.

Finally, what does this learning of policy change reveal regarding our current policy environment in Alberta? First, changes begin, and they end. The policy area of this project could have extended to the 2000s, yet the changes in the AIDS crisis, the establishment of an advocacy group with the Calgary Police Service, and not to mention cases such as *Vriend v. Alberta* or the Same-Sex Marriage Reference case signal major changes well worth their own study. This central focus of the project is worth highlighting, in the same way, because of its myth. Even though these worlds are the same, they are their own time. The myth expands and evolves as time goes on. By ending here, the 1970s point towards a hopeful change dangerously surrounded but being sheltered as the Gay Coalition forms. Expanding beyond this time would mean that the myth could dominate and hide these nuanced changes in the policy space. Second, change does not come without struggle. Any change with a free price tag is either vulnerable or suspicious. The gay communities' struggle as humanity drew their coalition together and motivated others to see their own humanity in the coalition. If this homosexual humanity had failed to be recognized in 1969, the environment of permission that C-150 created would never have come to fruition. Future struggles of the queer community must rely on their humanity to relate across experiential barriers, even in the face of inhumane treatment.

"Humanity has been in the prison along with us"¹⁸⁰

Change didn't happen sooner for the gay artist at Allan Memorial Institute because the changes before change had not occurred. Policy change can never be understood accurately as a singularity. Policy change can never even exist when expected to operate as a singularity. However, this project has shown that policy change, like policy, is everywhere. In this omniscient existence, policy and its change or lack of change seeps into society, and in this case study, it is genuinely

¹⁸⁰ Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis* (London, U.K.: Arcturus Publishing Ltd., 2022), pg. 145.

measured as a motion toward change. This 'change spread' helps us understand policy change; the minor policy change of 1969 could never have happened without the changes leading up to it. Even though the name of the gay artist is not recorded, it is comforting to acknowledge the words of Oscar Wilde, who heads this subsection. In his drug-laden confinement, the artist still had a humanity within him. In our age, no matter the change, be it for the Gay or Anti-Gay coalition, policy, if it unites or divides, one feature will never change. Humanity.

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Appendix: Coalition Belief Systems and Membership

Gay Coalition

<u>Belief System</u>
<u>Deep Core Belief</u> - Homosexuality is natural and those who are homosexual are not a threat to society's safety and stability.
<u>Policy Core Belief</u> - That society and government have a role to play in limiting discrimination.
<u>Secondary Belief</u> - 'Will society and/or the government make change to end discrimination, or will the coalition have to create its own change?'

<u>Coalition Membership</u>		
<u>Member</u>	<u>Case Study Periods</u>	<u>Motivation to be in the Coalition</u>
Gay Finger Painter – Individual	Contextual Calgary	<i>Not accurately known, yet likely:</i> Homosexuality isn't a threat to society's safety, and neither am I .
J.B. Smith – Individual	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality isn't a threat to society's safety, and neither am I .
Walter McHugh – Individual	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality isn't a threat to society's safety, and neither am I .
C.A.G. Palmer – Individual	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is an illness, it should be better understood and not treated criminally.
Clarence Young – Individual	Contextual Calgary	<i>If I am a homosexual:</i> then homosexuality isn't a threat to society's safety, and neither am I .
Everett Klippert – Individual	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality isn't a threat to society's safety, and neither am I .
(≈) Justice Farthing – Individual	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is a 'weakness' so it shouldn't be treated criminally.
Rev. Richard Clark- Individual	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuals are not a threat and should be treated compassionately.
We Demand - Organization	Omnibus Ottawa	Homosexuality, as it's dealt with, is making society more unstable. Homosexuality is natural and not a threat to society's safety, and neither are we .
(≈) P.E. Trudeau - Individual	Omnibus Ottawa	Homosexuality, as it's dealt with, is making society more unstable. Not necessarily accepting that homosexuality isn't an illness, immoral, or a weakness.
(≈) Liberal Caucus - Organization	Omnibus Ottawa	Homosexuality, as it's dealt with, is making society more unstable. Not necessarily accepting that homosexuality isn't an illness, immoral, or a weakness.

(≈) New Democrat Caucus - Organization	Omnibus Ottawa	Homosexuality, as it's dealt with, is making society more unstable. Not necessarily accepting that homosexuality isn't an illness, immoral, or a weakness.
Gay Liberation Front- Organization	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is natural, not a threat to society, and homosexuals need support.
People's Liberation Coalition- Organization	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is natural, not a threat to society, and homosexuals need support.
GIRC- Organization	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is natural, not a threat to society, and homosexuals need support.
Club Carousel- Organization	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is natural, not a threat to society, and homosexuals need support.
MCC- organization	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is natural, not a threat to society, and homosexuals need support.
Dignity- Organization	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is natural, not a threat to society, and homosexuals need support.
Coalition to Answer Anita Bryant- Organization	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is natural, not a threat to society, and should organize to advocate for themselves.
Brian Hawkurst- Individual	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality isn't a threat to society's safety, but heterosexism is.
Greg Spencer- Individual	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality isn't a threat to society's safety, but heterosexism is.

(≈) denotes an affiliate member. Affiliate members are members of the coalition yet do not share the same full belief systems as full-fledged coalition members.

Anti-Gay Coalition

<u>Belief System</u>
<u>Deep Core Belief</u> - Homosexuality is unnatural and those who are homosexual are a threat to society's safety and stability.
<u>Policy Core Belief</u> - Policies that discriminate against homosexuality are justifiable.
<u>Secondary Belief</u> - 'Muddy the waters', ignore, conflate, and encourage discrimination.

<u>Coalition Membership</u>		
<u>Member</u>	<u>Case Study Periods</u>	<u>Motivations</u>
Allan Memorial Institute-Organization	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is an illness and must be treated.
William Aberhart-Individual	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is an illness, unnatural, and a threat to society's safety and stability.
Royal Canadian Mounted Police-Organization	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is a threat to society's safety and stability.
Harry Hays-Individual	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is a threat to society's safety and stability.
Police Chief Partridge- Individual	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is a threat to society's safety and stability.
Police Officers sued by Clarence Young-Individuals	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is a threat to society's safety and stability.
Calgary Police Service- Organization	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is a threat to society's safety and stability.
(≈) Hudson's Bay Company-Organization	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is a threat to society's safety (as defined by those who define social safety).
Anglican Church-Organization	Contextual Calgary	Homosexuality is unnatural and those who are homosexual are a threat to society's safety and stability.
John Diefenbaker-Individual	Omnibus Ottawa	Homosexuality is a threat to society's safety.
Eldon Woolliams-Individual	Omnibus Ottawa	Homosexuality is immoral, an illness, and a threat to society's safety.

($\approx$) Progressive Conservative Caucus-Organization	Omnibus Ottawa	Homosexuality, as it's dealt with, is making society more unstable. Not necessarily accepting that homosexuality isn't an illness, immoral, or a weakness.
1207 Club-Organization	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is a weakness.
Anita Bryant-Individual	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is unnatural and those who are homosexual are a threat to society's safety and stability.
($\approx$) Renaissance International-Organization	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is unnatural and those who are homosexual are a threat to society's safety and stability.
Thomas Nash-Individual	Changing Calgary	Homosexuality is a weakness and homosexuals are easy targets to pick on.

($\approx$) denotes an affiliate member. Affiliate members are members of the coalition yet do not share the same full belief systems as full-fledged coalition members.