"La répression, ça finit par donner des résultats" :
The displacement and erasure of street culture in downtown Montréal 1995-2010

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ABSTRACT

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Between 1995 and 2010, drug users, sex workers and street involved people in downtown Montréal faced a period of significant structural and social change. This period of change was characterized notably by several distinct waves of police repression, significant municipal development and revitalization, as well as the closure and expropriation of a range of commercial and indoor spaces central to the organization and composition of street culture, including hotels, bars, rooming houses and peepshows. These structural shifts downtown resulted in the displacement and dispersal of street involved communities outside of the downtown core, and represented a profound reorganization of the social relations of street culture. This included the loss of informal supportive networks, the disintegration of pre-existing social bonds, and the undermining of certain social practice.

These structural shifts downtown also resulted in a reorganization of institutional relations between the *Direction de santé publique*, and streetwork practice in downtown Montréal, creating important implications for HIV and HCV prevention. The loss of contacts caused by the displacement process contributed to the rise of instrumentalism in streetwork practice, growing exigencies around statistical monitoring, and a progressive shift toward *prise en charge* approaches. These shifts confronted streetworkers both with pragmatic questions about the organization of their labour, as well as ethical questions about their relationship to street milieus, and streetwork practice in the context of a remade urban landscape.

Inspired by grounded theory method, this thesis employs semi-structured qualitative interviews with streetworkers employed between 1995 and 2010. This analysis describes how the displacement of street culture and the transformation of street-level social relations was achieved, and how this process was driven by specific institutional and social policy. It provides an assessment of the impacts and implications

of displacement and social transformation on street involved communities, and on street level social relations. In the process, this analysis raises epistemological questions about how cultural erasure is achieved. It asks how specific notions of street culture as essentially disorganized enable certain kinds of interventions, and ultimately enable displacement. It also raises the question regarding the importance of daily social relations and social bonds of street culture in HIV and HCV prevention, as well as the role of community organizations and streetwork practice in the face of displacement and structural change.

For the people who I worked with in my own streetwork practice, who each challenged and impacted me deeply in their own way, and who died over the course of this project: V, D, L, DJ, WJ, D, SV, MJ, and TT who died from withdrawal while in police custody in 2013.

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List of acronyms

ACA   Action communautaire autonome

ATTRueQ   Association des travailleurset travailleuses de rue du Québec

CACTUS   Centre d'action communautaire pour toxicomanes utilisateurs de seringues

CDPDJ   Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse

COCQ   Coalition des organismes communautaires Québecois

DSP   Direction de santé publique de Montréal

FDA   Food and drug administration

HCV   Hepatitis C virus

HIV   Human immunodeficiency virus

IDU   Injection drug user

MAS   Moralité, alcool et stupéfiants (section of the SPVM)

MSM   Men who have sex with men

MSP   Ministère de sécurité publique

MSSS   Ministère de la santé et des services sociaux

NFCM   Native Friendship Centre of Montréal

NEP   Needle exchange program

PDQ   Poste de quarter (local SPVM station)

PPU   Programme particulier d'urbanisme

PrEP   Pre-exposure prophylaxis (for HIV transmission)

RAPSIM   Réseau d'aide aux personnes seules et itinérantes de Montréal

RCMP   Royal Canadian Mounted Police

RSIQ   Réseau SOLIDARITÉ Itinérance du Québec

SDC   Société de développement commercial

SPCUM   Service de police de la communauté urbaine de Montréal (preceding 2002)

SPVM   Service de police de la ville de Montréal (following 2001)

SQ	Sûreté du Québec
SurvUDI	Surveillance des utilisateurs de drogue par injection
STBBI	Sexually transmitted or blood-born infection
UDI	Utilisateur de drogues par injection
WHO	World Health Organization

Introduction

This project began in 2010 when I began working as a streetworker downtown, several months after the closure of the Boléro, a pay-by-the-hour hotel on the corner of Saint-Laurent and Sainte-Catherine at the heart of street level sex and drug trades. Months afterward the impacts of the closure of the hotel continued to reverberate in street milieus and among streetworkers. Those living on, or close to the street had lost one of few remaining spaces that fulfilled a range of social and material needs; streetworkers lost contacts they had known and maintained for years. I struggled to make sense of the implications of the closure, and what it meant both for the people I worked with, and for my streetwork colleagues. In the months that followed, a host of other venues faced closure and expropriation; I too faced the loss of my contacts and was witness to the disintegration of social networks and social bonds. This research is an attempt to make sense of that loss.

> C'était beaucoup plus animé. T'avais des filles qui travaillaient dans les vitrines au Dunkin'. T'avais les filles de bar au Cléo. Le Cléo, toutes les filles étaient dehors. Tu t'assoyais dehors, tu jasais. T'avais les Inuits qui étaient sur la Herst (...) Pis tout le monde se parlait. C'est sûr que c'était plus *heavy* des fois, la consommation, il y avait des motels. Aujourd'hui, c'est beaucoup plus tranquille. Quand tu passes, y a beaucoup moins de filles. Je trouvais que c'était le quartier qui était ben ben animé. Y avait des bars. Y avait plein d'affaires. Je trouvais que c'était beaucoup plus mélangé. Y avait Monsieur et Madame tout-le-monde, y avait le consommateur, y avait des filles qui travaillaient. Aujourd'hui, c'est pas la même affaire. C3

This research is about how culture disappears. It is about how culture disappears, and with it, the individuals, groups, social relations, and social practices that comprise it. This thesis offers a critical history of a moment of profound social and structural transformation in downtown Montréal wherein an entire culture faced substantial reorganization and ultimately, displacement. Samuel Delany, in his social history of Times Square in New York City, discusses some of the informal networks and social systems that are at stake with this kind of transformation:

> The city has instituted not only a violent reconfiguration of its own landscape but also a legal and moral revamping of its own discursive structures, changing laws about sex, health, and zoning (...) What was there was a complex of interlocking systems and subsystems. Precisely at the level where the public could avail itself of the neighborhood, some of those subsystems were surprisingly beneficent -

beneficent in ways that will be lost permanently unless people report on their own contact and experience with those subsystems (Delany 1999, xiii-xx).

This thesis seeks to document these subsystems and their meaning in people's lives. This research is about a history that is not part of the public record. A rich social history of street culture in downtown Montréal - of public sex venues, of a criminalized drug trade, of everyday social practices - belies official narratives of progress, cohabitation, and revitalization. While there have been critical interventions made within this narrative, namely by feminists and oral historians, these remain nonetheless marginal within the academic literature and within public memory. Pierre Bourdieu claims the disappearance of certain histories is achieved largely through taken for granted assumptions:

> Le plus caché, c'est ce sur quoi tout le monde est d'accord, tellement d'accord qu'on n'en parle même pas, ce qui est hors de question, qui va de soi. C'est bien ce que les documents historiques risquent d'occulter le plus complètement, puisque personne n'a l'idée d'enregistrer ce qui ca de soi; c'est ce que les informateurs ne disent pas ou qu'ils ne disent que par omission, par leurs silences. S'interroger sur ces choses que personne ne dit est important, quand on fait de l'histoire sociale (Bourdieu 2008, 346).

Among that which is occluded within this history is the complex matrix of social relations and the social organization of street milieus downtown prior to large scale urban development: of bar and hotel closures, of the disruption of personal networks, of experiences of social life. This social life often finds its home in the smallest of details and anecdotes. Bourdieu articulates the research gap between official narratives, and "les petites histoires" (2008, 271), and the importance of shedding light on this divergence. Part of the investment of this research in this regard is to forge space for the narratives and "small stories" which interrupt the official narratives of progress and development downtown. That being said, this research does not seek to simply "correct" a dominant public record by noting the absence of, for instance, drug users, from its narrative. This research takes the position that it is not through additive approaches that we will arrive at

a "complete" conceptualization of history[1]. Rather, that which we recognize as "history" is constituted through - and contingent on - certain forms of erasure.

Part of the investment of this project also lies in challenging knowledge characterized as "expert" or "authoritative", or to positivist methodology more broadly. This applies to authoritative knowledge of urban development broadly, as well as to public health policy, and HIV and HCV prevention. There is no evidentiary trail of the erosion of the social formations and relational networks that constituted street culture throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, nor is there any "proof" of the implications of their disappearance. By foregrounding street level social relations and everyday social practice, this research attempts to shed light on this dissonance: "Sex workers' voices have illuminated the wide gap between not just health policies and their implementation, but the diversity of epidemiological interpretations that are drawn from such situations" (Crago 2010, 34).

Streetwork practice, and the testimonials of streetworkers offers a challenge to positivist and "expert" forms of knowledge. Due to the institutional location of streetworkers as witness to structural shifts in the urban landscape (for instance, shifts in development, housing policy, or police repression), non-expert, and non-authoritative forms of knowledge emerge from streetwork practice. As a result, the practice is well situated to provide a portrait of social and structural changes downtown because its practitioners observe these shifts daily. Often, streetworkers have epidemiological interpretations different, from say, public health institutions. These variant interpretations create parallel readings of what constitutes "risk", of the drivers of disease, and of what might constitute effective forms of intervention. Staying within the traditional channels of evidence-based knowledge in this context would reproduce the same forms of knowledge already in circulation. Simply put, "evidence-based" practice would dismiss many of the observations and data collected for this research because there is little "evidence" to support these claims. There is scarce "evidence" in a positivist sense of the complex social relations or "beneficent systems and subsystems" (Delany 199, xx) which existed

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[1] This critique of "additive" approaches to historical and disciplinary exclusions is inspired by Harding (1987).

at the now-closed hotels, peepshows and other street level cultural and social spaces downtown.

This research attempts to make sense of cultural erasure and the ways in which specific social practices and social relations are made to disappear. It also attempts to make sense of the particular legal and policy mechanisms that triggered this transformation. While this thesis is not a policy analysis in strict terms, the research presented here seeks to shed light on the experience of concerted and coordinated campaigns of legal repression and the social policy that fed this transformation, as experienced by drug users, sex workers and other street involved people: "Dès lors, on commencerait en effet à s'interroger non pas dans les termes de ce que la police et la justice pensent des actions, mais du point de vue de la manière dont le public les vit" (Fassin 2011, 197).

I begin with a review of the literature and an overview of several conceptual tools relevant for this analysis. First, I examine the critical social science literature on public and private space, and public and private space in relation to notions of "risk". I then discuss the public policy literature on Québec health care administration, public health, and STBBI (sexually transmitted and blood born infections) prevention. The third body examined in the literature review is social work literature on *action communautaire,* and state and civil society relations. I then identify several important gaps within these disciplines.

The second chapter provides a description of the methodology used for this research. It provides an overview of the tradition of grounded theory and theory elaboration methodology, and describes the method used for this research, that is, semi-structured qualitative interviews with current and former streetworkers. This chapter closes with a definition of terms used throughout the research, specifically, *culture, street culture,* and *social relations.*

The third chapter asks how street culture, and its social and spatial relations, was constituted preceding the transformation of downtown in contrast to how it was constituted following the transformation. It examines public and private space before and

after, and provides an (inevitably incomplete) overview of the social organization of street culture, including the interplay of actors, and inter and intra milieu supportive roles in street culture.

Chapter four describes the displacement process, how it was achieved, and how this was central in the transformation of downtown. This chapter asks what mechanisms and social processes were at play in displacement and the reorganization of street level social relations. It addresses the use of public space regulation strategies, the closure of commercial and indoor venues, municipal development, and most importantly, police repression.

The fifth and final chapter provides an account of the impacts of displacement, dispersal, and the transformation of downtown. The first section examines the impacts on the social organization of the milieu, including on health, the organization of street level labour, the disruption of routine, the loss of supportive networks, and the reorganization of social bonds. The second section examines the impacts of this transformation on institutional relations between streetwork practice and the *Direction de santé publique* (DSP), the principal arm of the Québec state funding front-line services within street milieus, and the bulk of streetwork positions. This section traces how growing tensions with the DSP, including the rise of instrumentalist approaches and the increasing specificity of mandates, impacted the organization of streetwork practice. This in turn impacted street level social relations, particularly relations between street involved people and streetworkers.

The conclusion provides an appraisal of cultural erasure in more general terms, and provides a discussion of the epistemological questions raised over the course of the research. It specifically examines how notions of the inherent disorganization of street milieus, as well as rigidly individualist and "rigidly structuralist" (Bourgois 1996) frameworks each function to erase self-organization, individual and collective agency, and cultural autonomy among street involved people. It closes with the contributions of this analysis, and potential directions for future research.

CHAPTER 1

Literature review

Given the interdisciplinary focus of this research, this literature review is divided into three sections, each corresponding to a different sub-discipline. Completing three comprehensive literature reviews of entire disciplines is beyond the scope of this research. As a result, for each discipline I have attempted to focus on a specific current within that discipline that has the greatest relevance where the displacement of street culture and transformation of social relations is concerned[2]. These three over-arching disciplines are critical social science, social work, and public policy studies.

In the case of critical social science, I have focused specifically on literature addressing public and private space, its regulation, and questions of "risk" in relation to each public and private space. This has a direct bearing on the social organization and social relations of street culture insofar as the social formations and social practices that comprise street culture are directly contingent on spaces (public and private) that enable cultural formation. Further, notions of "risk" have come to represent a critical organizing principle in how street culture is defined by actors external to it. In the case of the discipline of social work, I have narrowed in on literature pertaining to *action communautaire* in the Québec context, and relations between community and civil society groups and the Québec state. This focus has a direct bearing on the social organization and social relations of street culture because of the extent that community action and intervention, and the practices of community and civil society groups play a central mediating role between street involved communities and the state. This is exemplified, for instance, in the role of *action communautaire* in mediating access to public services. For the discipline of public policy studies, I have focused on health care policy in Québec, specifically public health policy in relation to STBBIs[3], and where this is situated within

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[2] A more specific definition of these terms is provided in the following chapter.

[3] STBBIs stands for sexually transmitted and blood-born infections. STBBIs has come to replace "STIs" or "STDs" as terms, to account for non sexual transmission (for instance, through the sharing of injection drug equipment).

the broader social policy landscape in the Québec context. This disciplinary focus has a direct bearing on the social organization and social relations of street culture in that it represents arguably the most significant example of the interface between the state and street involved communities. STBBI interventions in this regard play an important role in the organization of street level social relations, for instance, in the social codes and norms surrounding drug use.

Each of these disciplines are not entirely separate, and there is invariably some overlap. For instance, questions of space and risk are addressed in each the social science literature on public and private space, as well as the literature on public health policy in Québec. Questions regarding the relationship between community HIV prevention organizations and the state are addressed in the literature on *action communautaire,* as well as the literature on Québec health care policy in relation to STBBIs. There exists also a growing body of literature of critical social science perspectives on HIV. This body of literature tends to be largely English-based; much of the critical social science literature in Québec tends to focus on public health more broadly as opposed to HIV specifically. While my research in indebted to English-language scholarship on critical social science perspectives on HIV, this body of literature is integrated laterally across each of the three areas of the literature review presented here.

The first section discusses the literature on public and private space, particularly in relation to notions of risk. The second section discusses the Québec health care administration and public health / STBBI policy. The third section discusses *action communautaire* and state-civil society relations. The final sections provide definitions to several key terms mobilized throughout this thesis, and addresses the epistemological gaps occurring across these three bodies of literature - gaps that the research presented here seek to address.

1.1 Public and private space, risk (critical social science)

The first body of literature reviewed for the purposes of this research was social science literature addressing the regulation of public and private space, and questions of

"risk" in relation to each of these. A review of the literature in this area begs a number of questions. What does the literature claim as the relationship between *space* and *risk*? How are concepts of public space, private space, and risk, articulated and produced within intellectual work in the field? What elements does the literature bring into view, and which other elements are made less visible?

Occupation and regulation of public space

This body of literature examines public and private spaces*,* and in particular, their occupation and regulation in urban areas. This literature contends with questions of the creation and development of public and private spaces in urban centres, shifts and transformations in the occupation regulation of these spaces through policing, urban development, as well as the relationship between regulation and how public space is occupied and experienced by working poor communities. There is a vast body of social science literature particularly within urban geography (Choko et al. 1987; Wallace 1990; England 2008), including in Montréal (Bélanger 2010; Gariépy and Gauthier 2009; Laberge 2000) which examines dynamics of occupation and regulation.

This body of knowledge on public space regulation can be characterized by a number of themes: (a) the naturalization of public and private spaces and their borders, (b) displacement of individuals, (c) the privatization of public space, and (d) the diffusion of mechanisms of regulation and the role of a host of actors in public space management.

Within this body of literature, public space is articulated primarily in relation to regulation. Private space is conceived primarily as a space of social exclusion. In her study of anti-drug areas in Seattle, England (2008) establishes a direct link between public space (parks, street corners, etc) and abjection, which she articulates as both a discourse and a material / administrative process of casting out. Fischer and Poland extend this from expressions of explicit state regulation (law enforcement, etc) to a "plurality of sites and mechanisms of civil, ordering and self-governing spheres of micro-power" as well as "welfarist interventions" (1998, 187). England consolidates this association of public space with management, regulation, and "intervention": "When drug

use occurs in public space, the issue becomes even more complicated than use in private space, since it calls for further government intervention" (205).

Fischer and Poland argue for how state governance, secured through processes of social exclusion, is naturalized, and made to disappear from view: "The concern is not really with ... equity and social justice, but with ways to make the 'doing' disappear from where it occurs now and here" (190). They elaborate: "processes of 'exclusion' become hidden within the desirable objectives of 'safe neighbourhoods', 'community health', or 'citizen empowerment' (192). Here they gesture to the potential for a repressive continuity between policing and social services.

Within this body of literature, questions of displacement figure prominently (Belanger 2000; England 2008; Robert 2000; Fischer and Poland 1998; Parazelli 1998). Fischer and Poland argue that displacement itself constitutes a form of governance: "mechanisms and processes of 'exclusion' are emerging as crucial aspects of social control and 'governance' in late modern societies" (188). Parazelli connects the issue of displacement directly to that of development and economic revitalization (83). Other authors still, use the "criminalization of poverty" to designate this process, refering specifcally to the legal mechanisms (criminal code provisions, municipal bylaws, the discertionary power of police) that facilitate displacement processes (Hermer & Mosher 2002). Robert claims that as policing strategies become more diffuse, they also become more invisible: "la surveillance a tendance à devenir distante, en quelque sorte invisible" (221).

There is a great deal of emphasis within the literature on the role of law enforcement in the displacement process, and in particular, displacement into private space. Most of these authors contend that there is a direct relationship between the policing and displacement processes. Cooper et al. (2005) establish a link between policing mandates and barriers in the uptake of harm reduction practices among drug users (for instance, hesitation to carry sterile injection equipment due to fear that it will be used as evidence for possession charges, or, hurried drug preparation). Dickson-Gomez (2010) claims that in driving "risk activity" (namely sex work and crack use) indoors, there is a significant increase in risk to violence and disease.

Public and private space in relation to HIV risk

Within this body of literature, there is an overwhelming association between public space and risk. Risk in this context is articulated primarily in terms of vulnerability to HIV directly, or exposure to other determinants which increase risk of transmission. This is an association that is made across various disciplines, ranging from ethnography to public health literature. The factors which allegedly contribute to the significant increase in risk within public and quasi-public environments include police presence, hurried drug preparation, legal contexts in which syringe possession is illegal or extra-legally criminalized by police, unsanitary conditions, isolation from prevention resources such as needle exchange programs (NEPs), and increased contact and exchange with other "at risk" individuals (Cooper et al. 2005; Small et al. 2007; Woods et al. 2003; Ouellet et al. 1991; Dickson-Gomez 2010; Smereck & Hockman 1998; Deren et al. 1996; Haig et al. 2009; Green et al. 2004; Tempalski & McQuie 2009; Godin et al. 1999).

The foundational assumptions and associations with respect to HIV risk in private spaces also reveal a great deal. Ouellet et al. (1991) in their study of various kinds of shooting galleries[4], conclude that the greater the degree of public access to the gallery, the greater the risk to HIV. This conclusion is made primarily on the basis of an increase in needle sharing and the presence of multiple injection drug user (IDU) networks. The association between private space and increased risk in this case is characteristic of this body of literature. Only Furst et al. (2009) forward a more ambivalent position, claiming that each public and private space affords various and differential risks.

Alongside the association between public spaces and risk, there is very little corresponding literature that associates private spaces and safety or the absence of risk. The one notable exception here are studies which specifically address sex work, in which private spaces (primarily brothels and other private sex venues, as opposed to residential space) are expressly associated with safety from violence and disease exposure, and a decrease in risk to HIV in particular. Among the rest of the literature (the remainder of

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[4] A shooting gallery is a private space where people who use drugs by injection congregate to consume and procure drugs. This can be privately owned residential space, a squat, etc.

which primarily concerns drug use), however, this association is not made. For instance there is an overwhelming designation of the shooting gallery as a locus of risk, a claim that is especially reflected within public health literature. Friedman et al. (1999) is among the few studies to note the extent to which shooting galleries can afford some measure of protection against risk, notably through the access they afford to risk reduction measures, the provision of clean equipment, among other factors. These authors argue that the shooting gallery use cannot be conclusively or exclusively associated with HIV risk, and needs to be examined in conjunction to various other factors, notably shifts in political economy.

These associations play a significant role in structuring our understanding of experiences of HIV risk within these spaces. The literature on HIV risk in relation to public and private spaces is organized centrally around the designation of public spaces as "risky". At the same time, it appears that private spaces too are articulated primarily as "risk environments" or as aggravating variables which increase exposure to HIV risk. This raises broader questions about the extent the literature frames virtually all spaces as "risky". This also raises questions about the criteria used to designate space as risky and the competing logics at play: public space is deemed risky by virtue of its accessibility to many people whereas private space is deemed risky by virtue of its isolation.

We can speculate that this is a product of attempts within the fields of public health, and social psychology in particular, to respond to critiques that their epistemological foundations are overly "individualist" in nature, emphasize individual behaviour and psychological deficit, and dismiss the role of structural and social determinants in health. These frameworks have been rigorously critiqued and deconstructed primarily by social scientists, and referred to as "bio-medical" approaches to health promotion, or as the "rational neo-liberal actor model" (Adam 2006; Adam 2011; Weir & Mykhalovskiy 2010). Various other frameworks have been proposed in their place that emphasize structural and social determinants in health, environmental conditions, and the promotion of "ecological interventions" in public health and prevention (Rhodes 2002; Rhodes 2009; Small et al. 2007; Ezard 2001). This may

explain the shift in focus in public health to the *spatial* and *environmental* dynamics of risk of exposure to disease, explored in more detail in the following section.

Alongside the association between private and public space and HIV risk, is an association between risk and the "milieu" or street culture at large. The notion of the "milieu" as locus of risk is manifest in the literature in a number of ways. The tendency in the literature is to situate HIV risk more broadly within the social spaces in which individuals live. This is especially characteristic of literature in the field of public health as exemplified by the work of Godin et al. (1999). In their study of exposure to HIV risk through needle sharing, risk is conceived primarily as one's level of proximity to drug use milieus: *"plus les individus maintiennent une distance par rapport au milieu de la consommation plus ils ont tendance à se conformer à des codes de non-partage du matériel d'injection"* (69). In short, public space, private space, and communal and social spaces or "milieu" at large are problematized throughout the literature as sources of risk.

1.2 Québec health care administration and public health / STBBI policy (public policy)

There is a vast body of literature on public policy in relation to the Québec health care system generally and public health in particular. The literature explored for this section examines work on health care reform in the 1990s and 2000s, shifts in public health policy in Québec, as well as literature that examines more specifically public health policy regarding STBBIs. An understanding of this field of intellectual inquiry helps us better understand the transformation of the social organization and social relations of street culture. Public administration of health and social services, and the context of application of STBBI public health policy and practice represent an important site in which the state and street culture interface. The actions of the state in this area have a direct bearing on how street culture (a concept defined later in this chapter) is comprised, and how street involved people access services. State intervention has a direct bearing on health outcomes, and on responses to health crises within street culture. An examination of this body of literature begs several questions. How does the literature narrate the evolution of health care and public health policy in Québec? How is the role

of the state articulated within intellectual work in the field? Which elements does the literature bring into view, and which elements are less visible?

This body of literature consolidates around several key themes, notably: (a) the evolution of public health STBBI interventions in relation to various shifts in health care policy, (b) the increasing specificity of mandates and the rise of the notion of "risk groups" in health care administration and service delivery, (c) the Côté and Couillard health care reforms and rise in evidence-based medicine and social service delivery, and finally (d) the shift toward notions of community and community space as a new terrain for public health intervention, and how this organizes the work of community and civil society groups.

The evolution of public health STBBI interventions in relation to health care reform

There is general consensus within the literature in this area that public health interventions pertaining to STBBIs emerge namely from a residual welfare state paradigm, and in particular welfare state measures which focus their interventions on those considered most "vulnerable" (Bernier 2006), in opposition to a universal paradigm. Again, according to Bernier (2006) and Massé (1995), HIV and HCV each emerged within the third phase of social policy in Québec in the late 1980s and 1990s, characterized by the retreat of the welfare state. As such, the literature claims that state interventions in this area have been limited, and that the burden of the response to these diseases was left largely to the community sector, or to communities themselves (Bernier 2006). The emergence of HIV and HCV, along with the increase of related social problems (addiction, prostitution, homelessness) throughout the 1980s, are understood as "new social risks" or "nouvelles vulnérabilités", a term used to characterize the renewed visibility of social problems (Parazelli 1998; Baillergeau & Bellot 2007). In the Montréal context, the prevention and control of STBBIs falls under the infectious disease section of the *Direction de santé publique de Montréal* (DSP), a branch of the provincial health ministry[5]. While the governance of interventions in the realm of STBBI prevention are

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[5] Until the passage of the Barette health care reform on February 7th 2015, the DSP of Montréal fell under the *Agence de santé et des services sociaux de Montréal,* a regional instance of the *Ministère de santé et des services sociaux* (MSSS).

generally coordinated by the DSP, they are also integrated into the health and social services system[6], and carried out by a range of actors, including but not limited to CLSCs (community health clinics), community organizations, and hospitals (ASSS 2010; DSP 2011).

In this third phase of social policy, resources were increasingly directed toward prevention-based as opposed to curative interventions. This "virage ambulatoire" or "virage milieu" in the mid 1990s (Bernier 2006, 17) intersected with growing public health attention paid to STBBIs, particularly HIV and HCV. Public health STBBI related interventions relied heavily on outreach to targeted communities that the public health care system had failed to effectively reach historically (MSSS 2004). In order to reach newly targeted "vulnerable" populations, over the course of the 1990s and 2000s, public health increasingly relied on community organizations and a growing social economy sector (Bernier 2006; White 1997). As a result, STBBI prevention has increasingly come to fall under the purview of the tertiary or "community" sector (Lamoureux 2007).

The rise of population health frameworks and specific mandates

Another theme emerging from the literature in this area is the rise of population health frameworks (or "risk groups"), and the increasing specificity of mandates in health care administration and service delivery. This tendency is characterized by some as a "fragmentation" of social life (Fontaine 2001, 3). Others claim that it points to the rise of corporatism (Offe 1981; Lamoureux 1999). To others it is a product of the downloading of responsibilities of the public sector to community organizations, as principles of universality in health care and public administration eroded[7]:

> Les organismes d'aide aux toxicomanes et aux personnes itinérantes ... obtiennent pour cela un financement stable et quotidienne. Ces organismes sont maintenant incités à participer à la prestation de services jugés essentiels ou importants destinés

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[6] "L'intégration de la santé publique et des soins de santé s'est produite à tous les niveaux administratifs ... l'intégration des soins de santé et de la santé publique apparaît donc aujourd'hui comme l'une des caractéristiques notables du modèle québecois" (Bernier 2006, 14).

[7] This dynamic is discussed in more detail in the third and final section of the literature review on *action communautaire* and state-civil society relations.

à des populations particulières ... ce réalignement est la conséquence des exigences de leur nouvelle fonctionnalité (Lamoureux 2007, 68-69).

Population health and epidemiological models in public administration had the effect of dividing communities into various "risk groups" (injection drug users (IDU), men who have sex with men (MSM), etc) (Massé 1995).[8] This population health framework then trickled down into the practices of community organizations.

Health care reforms in Québec and the rise of evidence-based medicine and public administration

Within the literature on health care and public health policy, the 1991 Côté reform and the 2004 Couillard reform are central, particularly their role in institutionalizing evidence-based medicine in the administration of health and social services (Bernier 2006; Théoret 2005; Lebel 1998; Fournier 2001; Bourque 2005). This ushered in an era of evaluative frameworks for health and social services based explicitly on cost-benefit analyses (ibid). Bernier elaborates on the rise of evidence-based medicine following the 2004 health care reform:

> L'approche ministérielle [du Ministère de la santé et des services sociaux] privilégie en effet la prise en compte des effets mesurables des politiques publiques sur la santé publique. Cette approche s'inscrit dans le courant idéologique en faveur de la 'prise de décisions fondées sur les résultats probants' et les techniques de management scientifique de l'administration publique … l'accent mis sur les impacts directs, observables, et mesurables des décisions publiques ..." (2006, 18).

Bastien et al. (2001) similarly articulate the emergence and growth of evidence-based practice and statistical tools for evaluative ends:

> On note l'émergence de discours faisant la promotion de logiques d'efficacité centrés sur l'usage de données probantes (evidence-based practice). Toutefois,

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[8] It should be noted that this was at least in part due to demands from civil society pressures and communities themselves for the creation of health and social services adapted to particular needs.

cette perspective, issue du monde biomédical, est difficilement transférable et applicable au travail social à cause de l'aspect incertain[9] de cette pratique (87).

The passage of the law on public administration in Québec in 2000, while not specific to health and social services, had a similar effect, and consolidated the shift toward evidence based frameworked and cost efficacy. Turcotte and Bastien (2010) provide a critical appraisal of the law on the public administration of Québec in which they argue it provided the groundwork for what many authors in the field describe as a paradigm of "new public management" (Parazelli 2001):

> Depuis l'an 2000, le gouvernement a adopté la Loi sur l'administration publique (L.R.Q., chaptire A-6.01) qui entérine l'instauration d'un cadre de gestion axée sur les résultats (GAR) auquel doit conformer l'ensemble des ministères et organismes gouvernementaux" (Turcotte & Bastien 2010, 3).

Many other authors within this body of literature argue that these forms of evidence-based practice in health services are closely linked to - and emerge from - biomedical and epidemiological frameworks and the medicalization of the social more generally (Weir and Mykhalovskiy 2010; Bourque 2005; Namaste et al. 2012; Adam 2011). These same authors reveal how this new paradigm created the justifications necessary for increased cuts to public services. They also note the extent to which this distanced health care and social service administration from the social realities of needs of the populations they claimed to serve.

Shifts toward community and community space as new terrain of public health intervention

Another notable trend within the literature is the shift toward community and community space as new terrain of public health intervention. Many authors note that the greater recourse to the community, tertiary*,* or "social economy" sector particularly in the area of health was in part a product of shifting approaches to public health as discussed above (Lamoureux 2007, White 1994, Baillergeau & Bellot 2007, Laberge 2000). Others articulate it in terms of public health action becoming increasingly "territorialized"*,* and

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[9] The notion here of the "uncertain" nature of social work and other forms of social intervention practice refers to its non-quantifiable nature and the difficulty (if not outright impossibility) of measuring the impacts of the practice in strictly positivist terms.

as locating social spaces within its realm of intervention (Massé 1999; Aubry et Potvin 2012). As opposed to creating services available to populations and waiting for individuals to come to access them, this new approach was characterized by going directly to the individuals and "priority" populations (for instance, through outreach). The literature attributes this shift to an attempt on the part of public health authorities to intervene on the social determinants of health, a shift consistent with the move from curative to preventive models described above. This shift represented a distancing from traditional epidemiological and behaviouralist[10] models of disease containment:

> Depuis l'affaiblissement d'un modèle épidémiologique positiviste, jugé réductionniste et unilatéral, au profit d'approches plus ouvertes sur la prise en compte de l'environnement social et des conditions culturelle, la communauté est devenue un des "social determinants of health" les plus décisifs dans la planification et la mise en oeuvre des programmes de santé publique (Aubry et Potvin 2012, 101) (English is included as it appears in original text).

This tendency within public health practice in Québec is characterized by many authors as the "third revolution" in public health (Fassin 1998; Poland 2012): "cette troisième révolution de la santé publique déplace l'accent des facteurs de risque vers les conditions sociales qui influencent l'exposition aux risques et de ce fait, préside à l'expansion du territoire sanitaire" (Potvin 2012, 10), revealing urban space as a new frontier of public health intervention and management. This is reflective of the spatial and environmental turn in conceptions of risk described in the previous section on public and private space, where individuals, communities, and their cultural spaces become new targets of intervention as the institution of public health "opened up" and expanded the scope of its action. This was achieved in large part through formal partnership with community organizations and civil society groups, and represented one frontier of struggles for ideological and operational autonomy on the part of community groups.

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[10] Behaviouralism can be described as a paradigm emerging from the field of epidemiology emphasizing individual action, as opposed to social and structural factors, in disease transmission. Behaviouralist models have faced sustained critique, particularly from the social sciences (Massé 1999, 15; Kippax and Stephenson 2012; Namaste et al. 2012; Mykhalovskiy & Weir 2004; Adam 2011). "The theories underpinning HIV prevention that focus on risk are largely derived from psychological models, in which the rational self-efficacious individual is center stage, and behavior change is understood to be a function of an individual's attitudes, beliefs, and subjective social norms. These models have an affinity with biomedical understandings, in that biomedicine and psychology both share individualistic paradigms" (Kippax et al. 2013, 1368).

Dynamics around struggles for autonomy by civil society groups is a central focus in literature within the field of social work, particularly the literature examining state-civil society relations.

1.3 *Action communautaire* and state-civil society relations (social work)

There is a vast tradition of literature in Québec on *action communautaire autonome* (roughly translated to autonomous community action and defined below), state-civil society relations, and on the shifting relationship between community organizations and the Québec state. This intellectual tradition operates laterally across a range of disciplines including political science, political economy, policy studies, social psychology, and social work. Given the scope of this intellectual tradition and the plurality of disciplines it draws upon, this review is partial.

An explortation of this field of intellectual inquiry helps us better understand the transformation of the social organization and social relations of street culture. The shifting institutional dynamics between community groups and the state represented a key mechanism in the transformation of street level social relations. Similar to the examination of the previous two bodies of literature, this section seeks to understand how knowledge is organized within the field, how state-civil society relations are conceived of within this intellectual tradition, which elements are brought into view within this literature, and which are foreclosed.

Within this literature, several areas emerge as focal points, notably: (a) the shifting relationship between "community" and the Québec state in the context of a declining welfare state and eroding social safety net; (b) the role of community "consultation" in securing legitimacy in the context of social policy and institutional reform; and (c) the shift of the community sector to occupying a managerial (as opposed to emancipatory) role in struggles against social and economic inequality. Before exploring these focal points, it is important to define *action communataire* as a term.

Definition of "action communautaire"and "action communautaire autonome"

The characteristics of *action communautaire autonome* as articulated by the literature tend to consolidate around several principles. *Action communautaire autonome* refer to an autonomist vision of community mobilization external to the state, which emerged in Québec in the 1950s and evolved over the last sixty years (Lamoureux 2007; Lamoueux 2010). *Action communautaire* at large is organized around principles of community development*,* the creation of spaces for collective action and socialization, and the development of autonomy and capacity for action on individual and collective levels (Lamoureux 2007; Parazelli 1995). The distinction between *action communautaire* and *action communautaire autonome* is an important one:

> Pour qualifier d'action communautaire autonome un OSBL, il faut ... que l'association vise des objectifs de socialisation (émancipation) des citoyen-nes plutôt que des objectifs visant la gestion des clientèles à risque. Il s'agit d'appuyer et de soutenir des initiatives collectives des citoyen-nes (Parazelli 2001).

State recognition of *action communautaire* and *action communautaire autonome* was consolidated with the adoption of the *politique de reconnaissance de l'action communautaire autonome* in 2001 (Lamoureux 2007, 146) by the Québec government (Jetté 2007).

State - community sector relations

A key theme emerging from this literature is the shifting relationship between "community" (conceived as both a reference to a formal sector of non-profit organizations, as well as to informal grassroots community) and the Québec state. Boivin and Fortier (1997) describe this trajectory as a transition from an *état providence* (1980s)*,* to an *état subsidaire* (1990s)*,* and following this, to what some have characterised (sometimes critically) as an *état partenaire* (late 1990s)*.*

These shifts are reflective of a quarter century of gradual deregulation and erosion of public services, and in their stead, the development of a social economy or tertiary economic sector. As a result of this transformation, community organizations and civil society groups were repositioned: much of community action had, by the early 1990s,

come to be seen as a third sector as opposed to "a local form of resistance, advocacy, or protest movement" (White 1997, 63). There are evident exceptions to this, represented particularly by community organizations with explicit mandates around advocacy and rights defense (ibid). The general trend however, particularly among community organizations working in STBBI prevention and addictions, was one of explicit partnership with the state, often through service agreements and other forms of contractual relations (Bourque et Moisan-Trahan 2006; Fournier et al. 2001).

To take streetwork practice as an example, Annie Fontaine (2001) traces the impacts of the Côté healthcare reform on the autonomy of the practice. As one interviewee in Fontaine's work notes: "il n'y a pas de liens directs avec une commande bien précise de la régie ou du Ministère ... mais la pression est là, c'est insidieux et, de l'intérieur, il y a des gens qui adhèrent à cette mentalité et c'est ce qui fait que ça se transforme tranquillement" (Fontaine, 123). The work of Fournier (2001) and others describe how this impacts not only organizations practicing streetwork, but the community sector more broadly. This occured namely through service agreements, reporting requirements demanding greater quantification, growing professionalization as well as through other more subtle pressures:

> On observe chez ces organismes un abandon des volets défense de droits ... au profit d'une intervention plus clinique, directive, et structurée ... ce processus entraîne un changement profond dans la définition du statut des organismes communautaires ... vers une intégration institutionnelle (Fournier et al. 2001, 129).

Consultation and "concertation"

Another central theme in the literature on *action communautaire* and state-community relations is the role of community consultation. This literature positions consultation and *concertation* processes as a key tool of political legitimation. This body of literature has documented the proliferation of public consultation forums in Western democracies on the local, regional, and national levels (Kinsman 1992; Fontaine 2001; Smith 1995; Shragge 2003; Mercier et al. 2008; White 1997; Smith 1987; Hanley, Kruzynski and Shragge 2013).

While emerging from a different tradition (and outside of the context of Québec / Canadian state relations) Claus Offe's work (1981) is perhaps most foundational in this

regard. He describes how the restructuring of public administration in advanced capitalist economies throughout the latter half of the twentieth century has included the implementation of complex public consultation mechanisms. He argues that this shift is reflective of structural imperatives to "manage" and coordinate demands on the state through the "shap[ing] and channel[ing] of demands so as to make them satisfiable ... [and by] establishing institutional parameters" (127). He goes on to describe this tension:

> The conflict was one *not of contradictory demands* but of political and economic demands, on the one side, and *systemic requirements,* on the other. Certain 'excessive' demands generated by interest group pluralism appeared to transcend the limits of tolerance of the economic order (...) Strategies that would facilitate the creation of consensus and the absorption of conflict, including institutional devices to secure coordination (...) were increasingly held to be the most crucial prerequisites of active reformism (129-130; italics appear as in original text).

Notions of the integration and absorption of conflict came to be the governing logic of consultation and *concertation,* particularly regarding public policy and urban development downtown (Gariépy and Gauthier 2009). This also came to be the organizing principle of the relationship between community organizations and the state throughout the 1990s and 2000s, as a rhetoric of "partnership" became central. This contributed to what some characterize as the rise of "managerialism" within community organizations.

Shift toward a managerial role by community

The notion of a shift among community organizations toward playing a managerial role as opposed to an emancipatory one also emerges as a key focus in the literature on *action communautaire.* This is generally described as the product of community organizations progressively entering into contractual relations with the state, often in exchange for recurrent or more stable forms of funding (Ng 1998; Shragge 2003; White 1994; Parazelli 1990). Under this transformed arrangement, community groups were progressively mandated to deliver specific services to the population through service agreements and other contractual relations (Parazelli 2001) as the state divested from the same areas.

Many authors refer to this shift toward managerial frameworks as the "management of exclusion". The concept emerges across the literature in various

articulations: "la gestion communautaire de l'exclusion" (White 1994), "une réponse palliative" (ibid) "gestion des risques" (Laberge 2000; Massé 2003), and "la gestion des nouvelles vulnérabilités" (Baillergeau & Bellot 2007). Deena White in particular should be credited for the elaboration of this principle:

> D'autre part, des organismes financés ou même créés par l'État pour gérer l'intégration sociale de groupes exclus et marginalisés, tels les sans-emploi, les pauvres et les minorités visibles ... ils laissent plutôt entrevoir ... les stratégies instrumentales des autorités afin de gérer cette population croissante de marginaux (White 1994, 45).

The notion of "risk management" (Massé 2003) is closely tied to the concept of "actuarial frameworks" (Adam 2011), a conceptual framework that has made particularly significant inroads in the administration of public security and public health (Ericson and Haggerty 1997). Public security and public health have a direct bearing on the social organization and social relations of street culture as institutions. The emergence and growth of risk management frameworks are explored in greater depth in the following chapters, in relation to the interview content. The growing place of this framework remade the role of community organizations (often funded through public health and public security agencies), and rearticulated the work of these organizations along increasingly managerial lines.

1.4 Definitions

Before proceeding with an assessment of the epistemological gaps in these three bodies of literature, it is necessary to define several terms key to this research. The following subsections serve to define culture and street culture, streetwork practice, as well as the notion of social relations. Defining these terms, as well as understanding the traditions from which they emerge, help us to better identify the existing gaps within the bodies of literature explored above - gaps which this research project seeks to address.

Defining culture and street culture

I take my cue in defining culture from the field of cultural anthropology generally, and mobilize culture in the way that it is taken up by medical anthropologist Raymond

Massé. Massé brings a precision relevant to this research in his definition of popular culture, taking his cues from Lévasseur.

> Comme l'écrit Lévasseur, 'La culture populaire, c'est un ensemble de symboles, de représentations, de valeurs, de pratiques, de savoir-faire qui expriment la totalité de l'existence quotidienne et lui donnent sens. Elle concerne les conditions communes d'existence des individus et des groupes sociaux; le loisir, le travail, l'habitat et les relations de familiales, amicales, de voisinage, de quartier, etc.; elle est une culture vécue, actualisée dans la quotidienneté de l'existence' (Lévasseur, 1982: 104) (Massé 1995, 230).

Massé argues that popular culture is defined by five dimensions; he elaborates on several of these dimensions here:

> La culture populaire est une culture dominée dans la mesure où elle est véhiculée par une classe sociale dominée, mais aussi parce qu'elle ne peut pas être définie hors de ses rapports avec les formes culturelles dominantes, qu'il s'agisse de la culture de masse, de la culture cléricale ou de la culture savante ... elle est aussi une culture contestataire ... Elle est une lutte des collectivités et des classes dominées pour la réappropriation de leurs conditions communes d'existence, aussi bien dans la sphère du travail que dans celles des loisirs, des rapports familiaux, des rapports politiques, etc ... elle est une culture vécue ... Comme l'affirme Lévasseur: 'La culture populaire est un milieu de vie, un rapport immédiat, premier, spontané au monde et aux autres, une manière d'être, de penser et d'agir des individus et des groupes dans leurs praxis quotidiennes' (Lévasseur, 1982: 103) (as cited by Massé 1995, 230-231).

Massé and Lévasseur employ culture and popular culture in a way that is particularly relevant for this research. Street culture, of which sex and drug trades play an integral part, is defined in relation to dominant culture by virtue of its subjugation under the law. Street culture can also be understood as a site of struggle in the appropriation of conditions necessary for continued existence and survival under dominant culture, including under formal legal repression (manifest, for instance, in prohibitionist drug policy).

My definition of street culture draws on a definition provided by Philippe Bourgois in his political economy analysis of the crack trade in East Harlem:

> 'Inner city street culture' [is] a complex and conflictual web of beliefs, symbols, modes of interaction, values, and ideologies that have emerged in opposition to exclusion from mainstream society. Street culture offers an alternative forum for autonomous personal dignity ... the concentration of socially marginalized

populations into politically and ecologically isolated inner-city enclaves has fomented an especially explosive cultural creativity that is in defiance of racism and economic marginalization (Bourgois 1996, 8).

This definition is useful for my purposes because it emphasizes how culture is created in relation to broader social and structural dynamics. For instance, much of the social practices and social formations of street culture have emerged in relation and response to formal legal repression and drug prohibition. This directly structures social practice.

I use "street culture" to refer to the confluence of people, interactions, social relations, and experiences occurring on, or close to, the street. I mobilize the term here in a way which encompasses both public space (metros, parks, sidewalks) and private space (peepshows, bars, hotels, rooming houses), to individuals (those housed, homeless, or precariously housed), as well as to economic sectors (the drug trade, sex trade and other underground economies). I use the term "street involved" to refer to people in or close to these milieus, and those using the street as their home, place of leisure or place of work. When possible, I have tried to avoid using the term "community" because of its romantic connotations; I use it at times to emphasize social formation in a collective or group sense.

Defining streetwork practice

The emergence and political development of streetwork in Québec has been the subject of focus of a several authors, notably Annie Fontaine, Robert Paris, and Robert Bastien. Emerging in part from critiques of traditional social work, and from modes of community action inspired by *animation sociale,* streetwork historically developed around work with those facing processes of marginalization, social exclusion or communities otherwise "désaffiliées" (Fontaine 2001; Paris 1997; Bastien, Battaglini et al. 2007) with a dominant social order.

Bastien et al. describe the mode of action of streetwork practice: "Dans la proximité, l'action se développe en fonction de la trajectoire de la personne et de son état de situation tel qu'il est dans le temps présent" (2007, 82). Fontaine situates streetwork within a "démarche d'autonomisation et d'émancipation" (2001, 32). Referencing the centrality of advocacy within the practice, Bastien et al. describe the social and

institutional location of a streetworker as "situé entre les gestionnaires et les exclus" (2001, 3). Others have characterized streetwork as organized around the "renforcement des milieux et des personnes" (Mercier et al. 2008, 47).

Streetwork in the Québec context historically has been deeply embedded within practices of *action communautaire autonome* (ACA)*:* "le travail de rue [est] ancrée dans une tradition critique et communautaire de l'action sociale" (Fontaine 2001, 34). Fontaine articulates streetwork as departing from traditional forms of intervention and social work based on a positivist and behaviourist worldview: "l'ancrage de la pratique dans la réalité du monde vécu ... une telle conception de l'intervention manifeste le refus d'une société fondée sur le calcul et la rationalité" (29). The orientation of streetwork toward collective action fosters a recognition of how exclusion is socially produced (Bastien, Battaglini et al., 40). The authors situate its strength in its capacity to reveal inequality: "Cette pratique pourrait être envisagée comme un révélatuer, voire un signal d'alerte, témoignant de la persistance des inégalités sociales" (Ibid, 78). While streetwork practice shares many ACA principles, its position within the institutional context of STBBI prevention organizations, often who have service agreements (*ententes de service)* with the state create some tensions in this regard (Fournier et al. 2001).

Defining social relations

I use the notion of *social relations* as it is taken up in Dorothy Smith's work, specifically in her essay *Researching the everyday world as problematic:*

> Social relations understands people's activities as coordinated in actual temporally concerted sequences or courses of action. In and through these the work of a multiplicity of people known and unknown to one another is coordinated (...) the concept of social relation analyzes it [the division of labour] as an ongoing concerting of courses of action in which what people do is already organized as it takes up from what precedes and projects its organization into what follows (1987, 183).

While this definition discusses social relation with regards to the division of labour (domestic, informal, or otherwise), this definition retains its resonance in the context of this research. An examination of street culture is predicated on an examination of sex and drug trades, and is as a result centrally an examination of labour (formal, informal,

casual, emotional, sexual, or otherwise). This analysis is centrally about labour, albeit labour that is rarely recognized as such. The definitions used here pull from each of these bodies of literature.

1.5 Epistemological gaps in the three bodies of literature

There are a number of epistemological gaps that emerge within these three bodies of literature. This section focuses on two epistemological gaps across these disciplines: the role of non-state actors, and the role of social networks and social relations.

The role of non-state actors

The role of non-state actors (community organizations, NGOs, independent agencies, formal and informal citizens' groups, and other institutional sites) is notably underdeveloped within the three bodies of literature examined here, particularly with regards to the role they play within broader institutional shifts and social transformation. This is most striking in the first body of literature on public and private space regulation and HIV risk. While there is some mention of non-state actors and their role in "poverty management", the literature tends to situate non-state actors external to processes of public and private space regulation, and the circulation of the notion of risk within public and private space.

The absence of non-state actors and their role is also notable in the literature explored on Québec health care administration and public health, particularly in the realm of STBBI prevention. Again, here, this absence is particularly glaring given the fact that Québec public heath does not conduct direct service provision unlike in most other provinces (Bernier 2006, 14). Rather, the majority of public health STBBI interventions are carried out through partnership (contractual or otherwise) with community organizations that are mandated to work with particular risk groups, for instance, IDUs, MSM, etc.

While non-state actors are a more explicit subject of focus in the literature on *action communautaire*, they are recognized primarily in relation to having been delegated public sector responsibilities. While some of the literature on action communautaire

contends with how this process was experienced (Bourque 2005; Théorêt 2005; Shragge 2006), this absence is particularly striking in the realm of public health, STBBI prevention and work with street involved people.

The implications of the lack of focus on non-state actors from these three bodies of literature (public space, private space and risk; Québec health care, public health and STBBI prevention; *action communautaire*) are varied. This knowledge arrangement makes an understanding of the effects and impacts of non-state actors within contested arenas of public space, and within new state-community relations difficult to ascertain. It erases the extent to which non-state actors play a role in the regulation of public space, the individuals which occupy them, and the role they play within broader structural trends of poverty and displacement. This absence, for instance, occludes an understanding of how non-state actors can be, symbolically or functionally, aligned with the interests or mandates of state institutions (for instance, public health, public security, or otherwise).

The role of social networks and social relations

Another notable gap within these bodies of literature is the role of social networks and social relations between individuals and groups.

Within the literature on public and private space and its regulation, informal social networks and social relations are virtually absent from the discussion. In their stead, a highly structuralist framework is advanced, emphasizing the role of broader social and institutional structures in public and private space regulation. There is little engagement here as to how this regulation was negotiated by individuals, or mediated by pre-existing social networks and social relations. It should be noted that the work of Samuel Friedman is one of the few exceptions in this regard (1987; 1999; 2006). The absence of social relations within structuralist frameworks is not unique to this site, but is a critique leveled at structuralist frameworks more generally. This critique is emerges most notably from anthropologists and ethnographers (Bourgois 1996; Bibeau et Perreault 1995), who contest the extent to which individual choice, collective agency, or "cultural autonomy" (Bourgois 1996, 12) are rendered invisible, or accessory within scholarship employing rigidly structuralist frameworks.

This gap is also notable in the literature on Québec health care, public health, specifically in the context of STBBI prevention policy. Within this body of literature, individuals and communities are largely positioned as casualties of an eroding welfare state, or as benign recipients of social and health care policy. Even in the literature on STBBI prevention, in which rhetoric of "community" is central, social relations and social networks are notably absent. Groups and individuals and the social relations that comprise them are recast into "risk groups", defined by epidemiological vulnerability and biomedical markers. There is very little contending with how these groups and individuals have negotiated or lived HIV and HCV epidemics, with collective and community responses to disease and health crisis, or with the role that social networks and relations have played in enabling or inhibiting exposure to illness.

Within the third body of literature on *action communautaire,* the absence of social networks and social relations is less striking, though notable nonetheless. Much of the literature here focuses on the formal organization of community in the form of non-profit groups and agencies. While the articulation of collective agency and social relations is present within this body of literature, it is often reduced, or at least limited to, formal and institutional forms of organization. Within the literature reviewed for the purposes of this research, informal forms of social organization are less visible. That being said, while this may be true to the *action communautaire* literature pertaining to health care, public health, and STBBI prevention, this is not generalizable to the entire body of literature on *action communautaire.*

The overwhelming association between risk and social spaces (both public and private) noted in the first section of this chapter on public and private space reveals an important gap where the recognition of social networks and social relations are concerned. The social networks and social relations that take place within these spaces are occluded. The notion of "risk" is cast as a product or outcome of social space, and conceived distinctly from the social and relational networks within these spaces. Consequently the epistemological question this begs is how existing social and relational networks are made to disappear in how knowledge is structured in the field. This research attempts to address this gap.

Another illustration of the erasure of social networks and social relations is evidenced in the discussion on the impacts of public space regulation and cuts to health and social services on HIV prevention activities. Here we can see a conflation between impacts to HIV prevention activities (for instance, interventions such as outreach, access to NEPs, etc) and impacts on individuals' experience of HIV risk. Certainly isolation from prevention services bears implications with respect to individual and collective experiences of HIV risk. Most importantly, however, is that other factors that may mediate exposure to HIV are rendered invisible. There is little attention paid to the role of social relations, informal social networks, and the social organization of street culture or communities experiencing these epidemics. This understates the potentially protective aspects (or otherwise) of social and communal networks, and collective ability to mediate risks through social organization and social relations. This is arguably the most significant implication of the absence of social and relational networks within the literature, and one which the following chapters attempts to address.

This knowledge arrangement effectively *disassociates* questions of the organization of community social relations from risk. As a result the potentially strong links between community destruction / social disintegration, and risk, remain unexplored. In short, the possibility of assessing HIV risk as a function of destruction of community is inconceivable in favour of frameworks that distill HIV risk to questions of individual behaviour (in the case of public health literature) or "social determinants" (in the case of social science literature). The occlusion of assessments of HIV risk as a potential function of community destruction in favour of more entrenched frameworks raises a range of questions. Specifically, it raises questions around the ability of existing models of social epidemiology to assess - and integrate - the role of social *processes* in the production of HIV risk, as opposed to static variables which impact risk (housed versus homeless, employed versus unemployed). The limits of a flattened social determinants model illuminate the ways in which we might need to broaden our understandings of risk to better understand how risk is mediated through social and institutional processes, and negotiated through social relations, social practice, and the organization of street culture.

The research presented here tries to attend to these gaps. Following a close review of the bodies of literature examined above, the process of data analysis (detailed more closely in the following chapter) was carried out with a particular attention paid to the two aspects which seemed to be most absent from the literature, that is, the role of non-state actors, and the role of social organization and everyday social relations. The following section outlines several useful conceptual tools that emerge from the literature examined above.

1.6 Conceptual tools

Given the interdisciplinary nature of this research, there is no singular theory which guides the inquiry laid out here. Using a singular theory (for instance, conflict theory from sociology), while potentially useful in some ways, would situate the inquiry within a particular disciplinary frame of reference, limiting the exploration of the research findings to particular terms, concepts, and epistemological claims. This section seeks to present several conceptual tools that emerge from the literature reviewed above. In fact, each of these concepts is interdisciplinary in nature.

Statistical visibility

Statistical visibility is a term coined by Michel Parazelli in 1990, in his essay *L'impact d'une épidémiologie sociale-étatique sur l'action communautaire et les problèmes sociaux.* The concept of statistical visibility refers to the process whereby socio-structural factors are recast as individual vulnerability in order to be better captured and documented and to satisfy technocratic requirements of public service administration. For Parazelli, statistical visibility emerges from the demands of models of social epidemiology, a branch of epidemiology that attempts to account for the socio-structural determinants of health and health distribution within individuals and populations (Massé 1995). Social epidemiology gained momentum as a model throughout the 1980s and 1990s, partly in response to sustained critiques of traditional models of epidemiologically based public health. These critiques emerged in particular from social scientists, social movements, and civil society groups (Mykhalovskiy & Cain 2008). Social epidemiology gained particular traction within Québec health and social service structures, including

public health, often referred as the "third revolution" in public health in Québec (Potvin 2012).

As social epidemiological frames proliferated within health and social services, so did new forms of public administration that privileged evidence-based practice, cost efficiency and other approaches to health and social service administration historically situated within a frame of biomedicine. Parazelli describes this tendency toward performance targets:

> Plutôt que de prévenir les risques sociaux en facilitant l'accès aux services et leur développement, les appareils de l'État et les associations communautaires doivent privilégier des *"objectifs de résultats"* dans une perspective médicale et épidémiologique (Parazelli 1995, 25).

The "systemic requirements" (Offe 1981) of a transformed health and social service administration around performance targets, evidence-based practice and increasing demands around efficiency produced a need for statistical visibility at odds with structural forms of intervention that had been privileged under a more comprehensive welfare state (for instance, the notion of "community development"). In the process, socio-structural factors (increasing poverty and unemployment, growing drug markets, etc) faced a process in which they were recast as indicators of individual vulnerability or individual pathology:

> Le danger dans l'usage d'une telle approche réside dans la tendance croissante à dissimuler les causes sociopolitiques des problèmes sociaux sous le couvert de pathologies sociales. Par exemple, même une cause de problèmes sociaux, telle la pauvreté, se transforme en un caractéristique pathogène, c'est-à-dire un symptôme d'une clientèle à risque ... cela aura pour effet d'augmenter la visibilité statistique de la 'décontamination sociale' mais non de régler les problèmes à la source, c'est-à-dire, l'absence de pouvoir de l'individu sur sa vie sociale et son habitat (Parazelli 1990, 180).

The notion of statistical visibility is closely tied to that of *therapeutic dependance.* Therapeutic dependence is a term developed by the intersectoral *Coalition des organismes communautaires* (COCQ) in 1988 in their declaration of principles (Parazelli 2001). It refers to the transformed relationship between citizens and civil society organizations, redefined along lines of "consumerist exchange" as opposed to collective emancipation. The term points to growing concerns among community organizations regarding their

autonomy vis à vis the Québec state. According to this declaration of principles, this transformed relation with the Québec state threatened to reorganize the relationship between citizens and civil society groups as "une relation de consommation et de dépendance thérapeutique selon les plans de service institutionnels" (Parazelli 2001, 33).[11] According to Parazelli, the drive for statistical visibility demanded by models of social epidemiology creates a context of "therapeutic dependance" on state and para-state strucures. The concept of statistical visibility is particularly relevant in the context of community organizations and civil society groups working in HIV and HCV prevention, or those with service agreements with the *Ministère de la santé et des services sociaux,* due to the need to produce statistics to justify the funding they recieve from the Québec state.

Preventive repression or "répression préventive"

Preventive repression is a term used by a number of scholars in a range of disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, public health, and social work, though is mobilized especially in the work of Raymond Massé (1999), Henri Lamoureux (2007) and Gilles Tardif and Michel Parazelli (1997). It is a concept that is also closely associated with social epidemiology and the "third revolution" of public health action in Québec and which situates "community" and community space as a new terrain of public health intervention. As with social epidemiology, this notion takes epidemiological notions of risk, spread, and contagion, and applies them to the realm of the social. Social problems in the process are repositioned as potential threats in need of more effective management. Intervention is predetermined in order to minimize social or fiscal impact.

Raymond Massé describes in detail this medicalization of prevention:

Suivant la même logique normative pratiquée par la religion et la justice, la médicalisation de la prévention passe par l'intégration de comportements traditionnellement liés a la sphère privé (sexualité, alimentation, reproduction,

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[11] This concept is articulated in the Anglo-Canadian and Anglo-American literature in slightly different terms. See for instance the work of Dawn Moore on "therapeutic surveillance" (2011). The focus on the management of individual behaviour, whether by state or pseudo-state structures is the same in both of these concepts. The emphasis within the Québec tradition is on technocratic elements.

loisirs sportifs, etc.) au monde de la santé publique. Dès lors qu'un comportement est jugé a risque, il devient partie de la vie publique en tant que menace à la stabilité sociale via l'impossibilité du malade a remplir ses rôles sociaux (Massé, 1999, 8-9).

Massé argues that within a risk calculus or "actuarial" logic (Adam 2011), virtually all social behaviour comes to fall within the realm of the governable, and subject to management by state and parastate institutions: "La nouvelle santé publique ... offre alors un appareil de contrôle envahissant ... ce savoir expert contribuera, ainsi, a faire du social un terrain gouvernable' (Massé, 1999, 13).

Parazelli situates preventive repression as emerging specifically from biomedical and behaviouralist frameworks:

> La technocratie d'État a conservé une orientation répressive au nom de la prévention des problèmes ... [ils s'agit de] politiques qui mettent en oeuvre une 'répression préventive' des comportements ... Selon toutes apparences, la technocratie de l'État a conservé une orientation répressive au nom de la prévention des problèmes chez les jeunes ... (Parazelli 1990, 182).

These authors argue that forms of prevention can take on a repressive character when behavioural modification becomes the primary goal, as opposed to needs as articulated by individuals themselves. Individuals are then redefined not along lines of identity, self-definition, or community of origin, but in terms of the potential threat they pose to themselves or the financial burden they pose to society (Lamoureux 2010, 52).

1.7 Conclusion

The thesis presented here occurs at the crossroads of public policy, social work, and social science. Given its interdisciplinary and its specificity, it calls upon a range of fields of study within these broader disciplines, including *action communautaire* and state-civil society relations; public health administration and STBBI prevention policy; as well as public and private space regulation and risk. This chapter sought to provide an overview of the three bodies of academic literature most relevant for this analysis, how each of these fields articulate their terms of reference, and how knowledge is organized, circulated, and mobilized within them.

The field of public and private space regulation has a specific bearing on the transformation of street level social relations and displacement given the critical role that spaces (public and private) play in cultural formation. The field of Québec public health and STBBI policy is crucial in understanding the transformation of street culture insofar as this represents a key way in which the state makes sense of, organizes, and intervenes in street culture and street level social relations (whether through public security measures, public health measures, or otherwise). The field of *action communautaire* and state-civil society relations is key because of the central mediating role that community groups play between street involved communities and the state, in terms of access to services, and how questions of access (or lack thereof) inform certain social practices and social formation.

Three concepts emerge from these bodies of literature that are productive in their identification of certain dynamics within the context of street culture, displacement, and structural change. Statistical visibility, therapeutic dependence, and preventive repression represent each a distinct yet related conceptual tool that offers a greater understanding of how the transformation of street culture in downtown Montréal spanning the 1990s and 2000s, and the displacement and reorganization of social relations therein, was achieved.

An examination of these three bodies of literature alongside one another reveal several notable gaps, namely the role of non-state institutions, as well as the role of social organization, informal networks and everyday social relations in urban social transformation. While these gaps are dealt with to a degree by several authors identified above, it is their general absence which motivates this analysis and which has structured this research. These gaps explicitly inform the methodological framework, detailed in the following chapter. In the following pages, I attempt to attend to these absences.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

The previous chapter provided an overview of how knowledge of street culture, public and private space, and health is organized within different fields of study. It provided definitions of key terms and also addressed some gaps within these disciplines relevant to the study of displacement and large scale social / structural change. This research asks how the transformation of street culture in downtown Montréal was achieved, and how the social organization of street level social relations were transformed. Drawing on the absences identified in the previous chapter, this chapter identifies the methods best suited for this line of inquiry.

This research uses a methodology of theory elaboration (inspired by grounded theory), and a method of semi-structured interviews. As this chapter will demonstrate, this joint methods framework allowed for the greatest explanatory potential where the displacement and transformation of street culture is concerned. It allows for a wide range of interpretations of the political economy processes contributing to this displacement, and which played a critical role in the reorganization of the social formations and social practices comprising street culture.

The first section of this chapter provides an overview of theory elaboration, a tradition emerging from grounded theory methodology. The second section provides an overview of semi-structured interview method, and details the interview process. The following two sections turn to specific methodological choices made, as well as a description of the data collection and analysis process. The final sections provides a brief discussion of ethical considerations, as well as the limitations of the research.

2.1   Grounded theory and theory elaboration

Grounded theory, and theory elaboration methodologies

The methodology of *theory elaboration* will be used for the purposes of this research, a methodological approach pioneered by Diane Vaughan (1992) which emerged from grounded theory methodology.

Grounded theory methodology is characterized by the belief that theory must be generated through observation of the social world (Liamputtong & Ezzy 2002, 193), and by the simultaneity of data collection and data analysis (Charmaz 2004, 496), a process referred to as "constant comparative analysis". Grounded theory methodology is namely inductive in that it does not mobilize pre-existing theory to explain social phenomena. Grounded theory method is particularly relevant in the context of this research because it generates theory from the ground. "The ground" at this site refers to the terrain upon which displacement and reorganization of social relations and street culture occurred. If we want theory pertaining to these objects of study to have the greatest explanatory potential, it must emerge first "from the ground" and from the direct experiences of those living and contending with these forces (Strauss and Corbin 1994; Charmaz 2004).

Diane Vaughan advances a variation of grounded theory method which she calls *theory elaboration,* and which consists of "taking off from extant theories and developing them further in conjunction with 'qualitative case analysis'" (Strauss & Corbin 1994, 282). Diane Vaughan articulates the principles and practice of theory elaboration in her essay *Theory elaboration: the heuristics of case analysis* (1992). Vaughan defines theory elaboration as "a method for developing general theories of particular phenomena through qualitative case analysis ... this method can be particularly advantageous for elaborating theories, models, and concepts focusing on large, complex systems that are difficult to study" (175-177). I integrate theory elaboration in the methodological framework presented here in part because, unlike traditional grounded theory method, it engages with existing concepts and theories already in circulation: theory elaboration method aims to generate theory from the ground, "while at the same time linking those with previous theories" (Strauss & Corbin, 282). In this sense, theory elaboration is simultaneously inductive and deductive (Vaughan, 181).

Theory elaboration method is credited as being particularly rigorous precisely because it integrates extant theory with emerging theory, and in the process, produces a

new theoretical framework. The incorporation of concepts of statistical visibility, therapeutic dependence, and preventive repression into this analysis represent an application of theory elaboration. These concepts, which emerged from different contexts, are mobilized in relation to the object of study presented here, and adapted in the process. Here we not only see the back and forth between data and emerging theory as with traditional grounded theory method, but between data and previously existing theory as well: "the data can contradict or reveal previously unseen inadequacies in the theoretical notions guiding the research, providing a basis for reassessment or rejection ... in subsequent case analyses, we use the more fully elaborated theoretical notion (or notions) as a guide" (175-6). In this sense, theory elaboration is particularly well suited when building upon already established fields of study, and in filling specific gaps in a particular body of literature, as I seek to do here. This is what makes theory elaboration particularly well suited to respond to the absences in the three bodies of literature reviewed in the previous chapter, that is, everyday social organization social relations, and the role of non-state actors.

Theory elaboration method is especially suited for objects of study that call upon a range of concepts, or that operate laterally across a range of contexts. This is the case for the object of study detailed here. While the focus is on the process of displacement and the transformation of social relations and street culture downtown, the research here invariably calls upon a range of contextual factors: streetwork practice, public health policies, the institutional drivers of displacement. Vaughan refers to these multiple contexts as *organizational forms*: "when we limit our sociological questions to particular organizational forms, we tend to build upon existing theory or generate new theory in fragmented rather than integrative ways" (174).

2.2   Semi-structured interview method

Semi-structured interview was selected for this research because of its ability to elicit specific and detailed information that would otherwise be difficult to yield through other methods. The fact that semi-structured interviews allow for a greater potential of unanticipated information makes it particularly well suited for inductive inquiry. This is

particularly the case in the context of history that does not figure a part of any "public" or official record, as is the case here.

Semi-structured interview method allows for variation between interviews, and the elaboration of certain topics as they arise in the interview. According to Kirby et al. (2010), less structured formats are "particularly good for emergent and longitudinal research ... because they allow unanticipated information to arise" (134). Less structured interviewing methods are appropriate particularly with historical analyses that are more exploratory in nature (134). Interviewing as method remains among the best-suited means of eliciting detailed yet wide-ranging information, particularly in the context of research projects with a high level of specificity, as is the case here.

2.3 Methodological choices

Why streetworkers

Streetwork can be understood here as a point of entry into the field, into street culture, and into the organization of social relations therein. As such, the streetworkers interviewed here provide a particular methodological lens. Street involved individuals were not interviewed for the purposes of this research. The choice to interview streetworkers, and not those personally experiencing displacement was made for several reasons. This research is concerned with questions of culture and specifically, questions of cultural erasure. Questions about cultural erasure and what constitutes historical record are directly related to epistemology, to what constitutes "culture", and to what counts as knowledge. While an examination of individual experiences of displacement is crucial, examinations of broader questions of urban transformation and erasure become more difficult when the research is only situated at the level of the individual.

Streetworkers are well situated in several regards: First, they work primarily on collective as opposed to exclusively individual levels (Fontaine 2001; Paris 1997; Bastien et al. 2001). As Fontaine, Paris, and Bastien have illustrated in their research, streetwork practice can be understood as ecosystemic in its approach, working with milieus on holistic and collective levels. This is what distinguishes streetwork practice from traditional, individually based service provision models where the individual is abstracted

from their environment, social circle, and surroundings. While individual intervention is a part of streetwork practice, due to their embedded position within street milieus, streetworkers are well placed to see the articulation of social relations between a range of groups (ibid). Second, streetwork practice is "generalist" in its orientation, meaning that the practice emerged from principles of universality and collective action that rejected (generally speaking) specificy in mandates (Fontaine 2001). As a result, streetwork practice can be understood to operate at the interstices of a wide range of public policy that drove the transformation of social relations and street culture (policing, public health, urban development, housing, community development, etc). This is in constrast to community workers operating under specific mandates, who, due to their position, are less likely to observe the intersections of different public policies. Finally, the decision to conduct interviews with streetworkers and not those displaced or facing displacement relates to my position as a currently practicing streetworker. Conducting research with individuals with whom I work as a streetworker (or potentially could in the future) brings us into complex ethical terrain and potential conflicts of interest.

Historical period

The historical period chosen as the parameters for interview recruitment was those who were employed as a streetworker downtown at some point between 1995 through 2005. In the case of some individuals, they began working as a streetworker prior to 1995, or continued to be employed following 2005. As such, the historical period the focus of this analysis extends roughly to 2010.

This choice was made for several reasons. Intensive urban development and revitalization in downtown Montréal[12] is largely attributed to the late 1990s and early 2000s, and in particular with the election of Gérald Tremblay as mayor of Montréal in 2002 (Bélanger 2010; Gariépy et al. 2009). The *Plan d'urbanisme,* which determines the process for urban development, was also adopted at the Summit of Montréal in June 2002

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[12] Downtown in this context refers primarily to the eastern section of the Ville-Marie borough (which includes the neighbourhood of Centre-Sud, known historically as Sainte-Marie-Saint-Jacques). This corresponds roughly with the territory between Bleury and Papineau, and Sherbrooke and Notre-Dame.

which laid the foundations for economic development and urban renewal (Ville de Montréal, 2012). As a result the late 1990s and early 2000s are understood as representing a critical shift with regards to urban development in Montréal, specifically influenced by the influx of global capital in commercial, corporate, and residential development (Gauthier 2008). Midway into the first decade of the 21st century Montréal saw the emergence of a host of *PPU's*[13] which would function to radically reorganize the downtown core of the city in the following years. I extend the period of study as far back as 1995 in order to include research participants who worked as streetworkers in the years leading up to this shift.

Reflections on language

Given that the majority of research and interviews for this project were conducted in French, this raises issues insofar as the concepts and key objects mobilized ("risk", "the street", "culture", "community action") are mobilized differently in each Francophone and Anglophone intellectual traditions. This has the potential of creating a context where these terms are mobilized in imprecise ways or divorced from their cultural and linguistic context. While this issue can not be overcome entirely, the negative effects can be mitigated through a careful articulation of each of the key objects, the ways in which they are mobilized in each language, and their conditions of their production (linguistic, cultural, etc). In this sense, what manifests as a discord between a specific term mobilized in two different ways according to two different linguistic traditions reveals relevant epistemological questions in the process. In cases where I was unable to find an adequate English translation, I retained the French word. In the cases of the interviews conducted in French, they are included here untranslated, in their original form.

Recruitment

Participant recruitment occurred exclusively through existing personal and professional networks; this process can be understood as "strategic sampling" (Creswell 1998) through the use of key informants. This included recruitment through the

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[13] *Plan particulier d'urbanisme*, a local urban development project, that must adhere to the City's *Plan d'urbanisme.*

organization which employs me (CACTUS-Montréal), the association of Québec streetworkers of which I am an active member (ATTRueQ), as well as individual streetworkers who worked during this period and who are still practising.

In other research contexts, recruitment carried out primarily through pre-existing personal or professional networks could produce certain biases in research (Kirby et al. 2010). Certain authors claim that this precludes generalizability, or representability (Ibid). Others claim that personal connections between researcher and participants interferes with the purported objectivity of the interview process. I would argue that these issues do not apply in the context of this research. Given the specificity of my object of study (streetworkers who worked in downtown Montréal from 1995-2005) as well as the relatively marginal status of the practice, the sample size represented a relatively large proportion of those practicing streetwork in downtown Montréal during this time. Potential issues around sample bias and representability were mitigated due to these factors. More importantly, however, I do not claim to be producing findings which are generalizable either to the experiences of streetworkers elsewhere in Montréal or Québec, or to the effects of the transformation of street culture outside of downtown. My position as a streetworker currently and my professional investments inevitably influence the research presented here.

2.4 Data collection, coding and analysis

Interviews and focus group

Eight interviews were conducted, ranging from roughly one and a half to three hours in length. The interviewees were selected to ensure representation of individuals from different organizations[14] (the interviewees worked for six different organizations, some of whom had worked for several), from different time periods (the years of practice represented among interview participants spanned from 1989 to 2014), and to ensure gender parity (among the interviewees were four women and four men). After preliminary analysis of the interview content, a focus group was conducted, including

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[14] The organizations represented among interview participants included: CACTUS, Stella, Spectre de rue, Relais-Méthadone, the Native Friendship Centre of Montréal (NFCM), and Anonyme.

half of the initial interviewees. The decision to conduct a focus group with only four of the initial interviewess was made to facilitate greater specificity and focus. Seven of the eight interviews were conducted in French, one was conducted in English. The focus group was conducted in French.

Analysis and coding

Each of the interviews and the focus group were transcribed verbatim. This data was supplemented with a range of secondary sources. These included various archival material (such as annual reports of community organizations, newspaper clippings, promotional material from community organizations), policy reports namely from the DSP (*Direction de santé publique de Montréal)*, as well as annual reports from the SPVM (*Service de police de la ville de Montréal)* spanning 1995 to 2005.

The coding of the interviews and focus group was done using thematic analysis, a mode of analysis closely associated with grounded theory method (Liamputtong & Ezzy 2002, 193). The data was coded in three stages. The first stage of coding entailed taking notes during and following each of the interviews to note first impressions, key themes, and questions which emerged. This first stage of coding and analysis provided a framework for the focus group, and a basis with which to "go back" to data collection, verify preliminary findings, and ask questions that had emerged which I had not anticipated. While traditional grounded theory methodology generally requires the researcher to "go back" to data collection several times, theory elaboration methodology does not require this to take place in multiple stages. While I "went back" to the interview participants only once, I returned to a range of archival sources at multiple stages through the data analysis process.

Following the transcription of each of the interviews and the focus group, I conducted a second stage of coding, entailing a detailed reading of each of the interviews, noting each of the themes and subthemes. Following the identification of themes and subthemes, I looked for links and relations between themes and subthemes. This led to the creation of a master thematic index (see appendix 3). I cross-referenced the thematic content with historical period to reveal historical patterns, contributing to the

development of a chronology with respect to each of the themes, revealing specific shifts which occurred over time. Each of the interviews were coded alphabetically in chronological order based on the year in which the interviewee began practicing as a streetworker in order to allow the reader to situate the interview excerpts historically (see appendix 2). Following the grouping of the data according to each of the themes and subthemes, the third phase of data analysis consisted of examining the data in relation to the three bodies of theoretical literature described in the previous chapter, as well as archival and other grey-area literature. The goal here was to reveal in what ways the data was consistent with the existing literature, in what ways it departed from this literature, and what these discrepancies revealed.

2.5 Ethical considerations

This research conforms to the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical conduct for research involving humans.* It obtained ethics approval at Concordia University (certificate number 30002401). The potential risks posed to research participants for their involvement in the research process were minimal. While the research indirectly touched upon sensitive topics (for instance, suicide, death, police violence) these topics were not mobilized in relation to the lives of the participants, and could not be tied to the lives of those these subjects referenced.

For those currently working in the field (as streetworkers, coordinators, intervention workers, etc), there is a minor reputational risk depending on what they choose to disclose and how critically they discuss, for instance, public health policy, or the practices of specific community organizations. To offset the potential for reputational risk, interviewees could choose not to respond to any of the questions, and could choose to have their interviews anonymized in any future knowledge exchange activity. This reputational risk was particularly low for those no longer employed as streetworkers, as was the case for six of the eight interviewees. In the thesis itself, I elected to attribute a code to each of the interviews ("A" through "H", as well as "FG" to designate the focus group) to prevent identification, and to facilitate a greater level of disclosure in the interviews themselves. Appendix 2 provides the years that each of the interview

participants were employed as streetworkers, corresponding to the code attributed to that interview, so the reader can situate the accounts within their corresponding historical period.

2.6 Limitations of research

While the research focuses on the displacement and transformation of street culture downtown and the social relations which comprised it, it could be argued that at times, street involved people and those directly experiencing displacement disappear from the descriptive content, or become accessory to the analysis. As a result, this can be read as research that instrumentalizes people and their experiences in a discussion of impacts of structural shifts and policy outcomes. This is a notable limit to this analysis.

Given that the primary source of data for this research are accounts from streetworkers themselves, the data inevitably reflects the personal and professional preoccupations of those interviewed. Given the location of streetworkers within street milieus, certain structural and institutional forces contributing to displacement are emphasized. For instance, a huge amount of data emerged pertaining to police repression. In contrast, data pertaining to housing policy was relatively scarce. This is certainly explainable due to the institutional location of streetworkers and their greater proximity to police, than to say, municipal employees responsible for zoning or housing developers. This has the potential of overemphasizing certain institutional and structural forces in the displacement and transformation of street culture, and underemphasizing others.

2.7 Conclusion

This section has laid out a methodological framework for this research. Inspired by the tradition of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967), this research aims to generate an understanding of the displacement and social transformation of street culture in downtown Montréal "from the ground up". Using a specific form of grounded theory called theory elaboration (Vaughan 1992), this research draws upon previous theory and concepts, notably statistical visibility, therapeutic dependence and preventive repression,

and builds on them in relation to the data. In-depth qualitative semi-structured interview method was retained as the most conducive for the goals of this research.

This research uses Massé (1995) and Lévasseur's (1982) definition of culture, Bourgois' (1996) definition of street culture, as well as Dorothy Smith's (1987) definition of social relations as a means of understanding the significant economic and cultural shift that downtown Montréal experienced over the last quarter century. It is the everyday detail of these individual and collective social relations - what they looked like prior to their transformation, and what they looked like following - that is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

"Des gens, il y'en avait partout - il avait vraiment une culture de rue": Street culture and space in downtown Montréal before and after urban transformation

If Dorothy Smith understands social relations as "coordinated in actual temporally concerted sequences or courses of action" (1987, 183), then understanding where street culture is located historically and temporally allows us to better understand its changes. This chapter asks how street culture was organized in the years prior to the transformation of social and spatial relations in downtown Montréal, and how this same street culture, by contrast, was organized in the years following this transformation.

The portrait provided here of a pre-transformation and post-transformation downtown are not attached to specific dates for several reasons. One, because this transformation was comprised of a series of gradual shifts and lengthy institutional processes as opposed to the product of a singular historical moment. Second, because the interviews include content spanning the entirety of the years worked among interviewees, that is, from 1989 to 2014. Interview participants who began and finished their streetwork career in the 1990s tell a similar story of social and spatial transformation as do those who began and finished their streetwork career in the 2000s. While each experienced different historical events during the course of their time working, their narrative of profound social and structural change remains the same.

While this analysis is in many ways an historical one, the aim is not to attribute this transformation to a particular moment historically (the nature of the transformation would make this impossible), but rather, to emphasize the interplay of forces that consolidated this transformation over time. While describing a "before" and "after" portrait risks being reductive, it is necessary to understand what was at stake, and what was lost. If this research project asks the question how the transformation of street culture and street level social relations was achieved, this chapter asks specifically what exactly did downtown Montréal street culture look like preceding this transformation, and what it looked like following this transformation.

The first section of the chapter serves to provide a portrait of downtown Montréal in the years preceding the transformation of street culture. The second section provides a description of the social and spatial landscape following this period of transformation. The third section provides a descriptive account of some aspects of the social organization of street culture and the social relations therein. This third section is not specific to a particular moment in time, but is a description of the social organization in general terms.

3.1 Downtown street culture pre-transformation

Public space

> Ben, c'est ça, une des premières choses, c'était que, des gens, il y'en avait partout. Et c'était le fun (...) il avait vraiment une culture de rue. Et une culture de rue qui changeait aussi avec les heures. Mettons, de telle heure à telle heure, on savait que c'était les filles qui commençait à travailler mettons à Ontario et Dufresne. Après entre telle heure et telle heure plus tard, ben, là c'était les gars qui sortaient dans le village. Après, plus tard, entre une heure à quatre, là c'est les travesties et transsexuelles sur Ontario. Alors on faisait le tour, on commençait avec les filles Ontario Dufresne, après dans le Village, après on revenait, des fois on continuait juste pour aller voir après. C'est ça, ça pouvait arriver souvent, qu'on se retrouve, genre, un ou deux travailleurs de rue parce qu'on se croisait mettons - et là, trois quatre filles sur un coin de rue avec qui passe, et c'était un peu le party. C'était - je me rappel j'allais souvent Montcalm Ontario, le parc en briques. Avant c'était un des espaces dans le Centre-Sud où il avait la vente, les filles passaient, c'était comme le lieu ou tout le monde passait par là un peu. D4

This passage illustrates a circuit of a streetworker in the late 1990s, throughout physical space downtown as well as throughout the hours in a streetwork shift. This passage demonstrates a street life downtown that is populated and highly structured. The streetworker recounts the ways in which downtown space was shared by different social groups at different times of night. The relative abundance of public spaces allowed for a sharing of separate spaces according to different social and material needs, enabling a form of cohabitation between groups. "C'était pas mal mélangé dans le temps. Moi je te parle au niveau des filles. T'avais les trans, t'avais les consommateurs, t'avais les *pushers*. T'avais les punks, t'avais vraiment un petit coin, je vois encore dans ma tête le bloc où les punks se tenaient. C'était vraiment leur petit secteur à eux autres. Pis y avait les clients aussi qui étaient là." C3

Accounts of street culture preceding its transformation and displacement describe it as highly coordinated and structured, particularly in relation to the organization of the drug trade:

> Il avait beaucoup de conso[mmation], les bikers de plus en plus présents, de plus en plus de coins de vente, de plus en plus structurés, les petits culs se faisaient ramasser avec huit quarts de coke dans les mains, vingt minutes après il avait un autre qui arrivait, alors les flics c'était comme, ils étaient impuissants un peu par rapport à tout ça, ça roulait en ostie. B15

Another streetworker recounts a similar portrait of a highly visible street culture, emphasizing the difficulty in amply covering the territory, and the extent that criminalized activity, particularly sex work and drug trafficking, occurred in public space:

> Il y avait vraiment beaucoup d'action. C'était complètement débile, écoute, j'avais de la misère a faire - à passer à travers mon territoire dans un seul soir. Je me souviens qu'il y avait énormément d'action dans ce temps-là, entre autres sur la rue Saint-Hubert, entre Maisonneuve et Ontario. Énormément de piaules dans cet espace-là, de petits hôtels qui étaient très actifs au niveau de la conso. Et c'était beaucoup extérieur. C'est facile pour moi de repérer ou ce qu'ils étaient les gens (...) Sur la rue Ontario la même chose - les travailleuses du sexe étaient visibles, elles étaient partout. Il y avait autant des travailleuses du sexe trans que travailleuses du sexe filles pas trans, en général. Et partout sur la rue Ontario. Je commençais Saint-Hubert, jusqu'à Frontenac il y avait vraiment plusieurs endroits. Je dirai que c'était plus visible, et même au niveau des plus jeunes, comme à Berri, écoute, c'était rempli de monde. G3

Moving from east to west along Sainte-Catherine toward Saint-Laurent, a description of the urban landscape at the time is similarly characterized by a highly visible and socially and economically mixed street culture:

> Y avait des filles qui se tenaient en face du Dunkin' qui était Saint-Laurent et Sainte-Catherine. Y avait quand même le Burger King qui avait les consommateurs qui étaient dans le coin. En face du Cléo, c'était vraiment les trans. De l'autre côté, t'avais les filles à PM, pis t'avais les Inuites ou les Indiennes au Midway sur le boulevard Saint-Laurent pis le Katacombes. C'était vraiment ça qui se tenait là pis les consommateurs, y avait beaucoup de consommateurs. C4

Private and indoor space

Streetworker accounts of the landscape within private space and commercial venues provides a similar portrait of a vibrant and populous street culture. This passage also emphasizes the structured nature of the drug trade and street milieu.

> T'avais le Végas où est-ce que ça vendait. En haut du Végas il avait un appartement ou il mettait toute la dope là. T'avais le bar dont j'ai oublié le nom, je vais essayer de te revenir avec ça ... il avait le Midway en avant, t'avais les deux Peepshows, t'avais le Boléro, c'était toutes des places ben hot. H4

The Dunkin' Donuts on Sainte-Catherine, closed since the mid-2000s, was a centre of activity, in particular for sex workers:

> Au Dunkin', les gars laissaient les filles faire leur client. Les filles étaient assises dans la vitrine et faisaient leur client. C'est sûr que les clients venaient et prenaient un café; la fille prenait un café. C'était : je te donne de la place, mais tu me fais vendre de quoi. Les filles souvent arrivaient avec leur client et se faisaient commander des beignes, des cafés pis les clients partaient. C'était donnant, donnant. On dirait que le monde était plus ouvert, y acceptait. Ça faisait partie du quartier, du centre-ville. C5

This passage illustrates a level of tolerance for street culture on the part of local business owners, as well as highlighting their role within street culture. It also provides an illustration of networks of mutually beneficial exchange, and creative strategies employed by sex workers and clients in the appropriation of space. This tolerance is described in more explicit terms by another streetworker:

> À la limite s'ils allaient quelque part ils allaient à la Place Dupuis dans le temps, ou ils étaient acceptés (...) Écoute, c'était le temps ou il avait la tolérance. Ou les commerçants toléraient (...) à la Place Dupuis pour te donner un exemple, parce que pour moi c'est une image qui va toujours rester, il avait une énorme grille de chaleur près de Maisonneuve, une immense grille de chaleur, et l'hiver tout le monde se ramassait là, c'était une image incroyable, parce que ... il avait plein de fumé, t'sé, la chaleur du chaud et du froid et à travers ça, tu voyais passer un bras, une tête, les gens étaient là-dedans, et la Place Dupuis ils les toléraient. A2

There are a number of other accounts of the critical role played by business and other private establishments in the functioning of street culture, including bars, rooming houses, hotels, and peepshows. The following passage, for instance, demonstrates the stability and consistency in the social organization of certain key establishments:

Bon, le Boléro vendait de la dope. Alors, les habitués de Saint-Laurent allaient chercher, la majorité du temps, leur dope là, ou ils allaient en haut du Peter's (...) et il avait une maison de chambre en haut (...) et ils vendaient la dope aussi, sur Saint-Laurent, et c'était tout la même gang qui vendait, alors tu savais que bien souvent tu te retrouvais le même monde, pis là, dans les dernières années c'était le crack qui a pris beaucoup la relève. Et, au Jolicoeur, tu savais très bien que, si t'allais là, c'est à cause que t'allais chercher de la coke, ou du crack. A6

The stability and consistency of social organization extended to the role played by streetworkers within these establishments, in terms of access, and provision of drug use material (sterile needles, condoms, etc):

Avec les hôtels, là j'arrivais je me souviens en bas, sur Saint-Hubert, je sifflais, et le gars qui tenait la piquerie, et là il me pitch les clés, je rentrais, je montais, j'arrivais avec le stock, il avait un parapluie accroché à l'envers, je crissais tout ça direct là-dedans. La première fois j'allais là, et il était un couple de bikers, alors tu jases avec les bikers et tout aussi ... à un moment donné, il m'avait dit - *tu prends soin de mes clients - j'ai pas de problème osti* - parfait. B10

This passage establishes the role of streetworkers as embedded within the social organization of the drug trade and street culture, and the everyday social interactions that comprise it. It also illustrates networks of exchange between streetworkers and pivotal actors in the drug trade that allowed for the creation of mutually beneficial arrangements. The passage also aptly describes the relationship between streetwork practice and street culture that emphasizes a reciprocal trust and respect.

While a number of streetworker accounts of street culture generally, and street-level private establishments specifically emphasize their animated or dynamic nature, there is also a range of accounts that note the level of violence and particular dangers associated with indoor and commercial venues. These foreclose an understanding of street culture and spaces in terms that romanticize them:

Y avait l'Auberge du voyageur qui était aussi un endroit où les filles faisaient leurs clients. Y a eu plusieurs agressions à cette place-là aussi je pense. Y a une fille qui a mangé dix-sept coups de couteau (...) Des fois, c'était plus dangereux en dedans que dehors, parce que dehors, tu peux toujours te sauver en courant, mais quand t'es pognée dans un petit 4 pieds par 4 pieds, tu dis j'vas négocier pour essayer de sortir par la porte. C4-7

Social significance of space

Each of the interviews include a number of accounts describing the social significance of various spaces pre-transformation on both material terms, and in terms of culture and belonging. In material terms, the social significance of space is described in relation to, for instance, the accessibility of drugs, the proximity to clients, or their role in providing a refuge from police:

> Les peepshows je les ai mentionnés tout à l'heure, les deux sur Saint-Laurent et celui sur Sainte-Catherine, c'était beaucoup les filles qui allait là pour faire des clients ou des fois pour faire un peu de dope. Sinon, pour se cacher aussi de la police. C'est à dire que quand elles voient la patrouille arrivée, elles font ok, je suis pas sur la rue. C'est drôle parce qu'elles appelaient ça 'on fait ça par respect pour eux'. F9-10

The Jolicoeur, a hotel at the corner of Ontario and Papineau, which closed its doors to become condominiums and an upscale bakery around 2006, provides a case study in this regard:

> Je parlais tantôt le Jolicoeur - c'est sur que c'est pour moi c'est un lieu significatif parce qu'il y avait tellement de choses qui se passait là, autant en terme d'information, que de rencontres, que pour toutes les personnes avec qui je travaillais, autant les consommateurs occasionnels, genre de weekends, qui allaient chercher leur dope, puis qui rencontraient les filles, que les dealers, que les gens réguliers étaient là. En même temps, à l'hiver c'est une place au chaud, et c'est une place ou les gens restaient longtemps. Fait que, des fois il y a plus de temps, de jaser, et pour eux, c'est sûr que c'était hyper facile - ça pas était évident la fermeture du Jolicoeur parce que c'est une place où ce qu'ils pouvaient payer vingt piasses la nuit pour rester là. Autant quand il faisait froid que ça donnait - les gens qui squeegaient ou qui quêtaient aux autos, ramassaient un vingt, et au moins il avait la chambre pour la nuit fait qu'ils pouvaient se réchauffer et consommer en dedans en même temps. Il y avait des filles qui sortaient jamais sur tout l'hiver, parce qu'elles travaillaient là, consommaient là, dormaient là. G4

This passage elaborates on the material significance of this space in relation to its role as a refuge from the outdoors; to income security; to sex, affection and other intimate bonds; to transmit important information; to consume drugs in relative safety.

In terms of safety, one interview articulates the social significance of indoor space in particular as providing a measure of protection against violence:

> D'avoir un endroit ... comme les hôtels, c'est quand même une sécurité pour les travailleuses du sexe, malgré tout. Malgré les bats de baseball, les affaires de

même. Mais ... ça s'est arrivé combien de fois les bats de baseball, a comparé à partir toute seule avec le client, dans une auto, toute seule, ou tu risques de se faire violer, tout le kit. Pour les travailleuses du sexe, je pense que c'était des lieux qui était quand même apprécié parce qu'il avait une gang, c'était quand même - ç'a apporté quand même une certaine sécurité. Malgré le côté violent, parce que ... écoute, les gens sont en consommation, il y a des psychoses, il y a des règlements de comptes, des dettes de drogues, tu peux pas ... éliminer toute cette histoire là. H9

While the role of established venues in providing a level of protection against interpersonal and police violence is clear, this is a contingent safety in the context of social tensions and everyday violence.

One interview participant draws an explicit link between the significance of street cultural spaces and survival: "C'est une survie justement, parce que ces espaces là, permettent aux gens de prendre des pauses. Quand t'as un continuum dans les espaces que tu peux fréquenter (...) ça permet aux gens de respirer un peu." D15. Here we see how space enables both psychological and physical survival.

The existence and stability of cultural space enabled a range of actions critical to streetwork practice, including the development of personal bonds, accessibility to individuals otherwise less present or visible in public space, and a context to forge intimacy and connection with a range of actors:

C'était cool parce que pour nous comme travailleurs de rue, c'était idéal. Parce que t'avais tout ton monde, un endroit qui était sécuritaire pour eux, on s'entend, dans un sens. Les gens pouvaient consommer ... Je trouve que ça faisait un endroit qui était propice à parler et faire des interventions, pas mal plus que sur la rue. Ils venaient dans la chambre, fait que c'était cool à ce niveau-là. Et comme je t'ai dit, on avait créé des bons liens avec les dealers (...) pleines d'histoires rocambolesques qui s'est passé là-bas. H4

The following passage illustrates the overlap between material significance and cultural belonging:

Tout revient à l'appartenance. Quand les filles ... écoute, les filles partent de Hochelaga-Maisonneuve pour aller à Dorion. Il doit avoir une raison. Il y en a d'autres hôtels, et il y a des motels, c'est parce qu'ils ont une appartenance là. Il y a quelque chose qui les ramène ça. Des fois c'est la proximité, des fois les lieux, la propreté, ils peuvent prendre une douche, c'est ça que je te disais tantôt. Mais à travers ça, ça veut dire qu'ils développent une appartenance. A11

This sense of belonging to particular social spaces translates onto a territorial level: "Il y a une affaire identitaire avec le territoire." H26 Here we can see that what is described in general terms as a sense of belonging is constituted by a range of material needs and symbolic values associated with specific cultural space. The sense of cultural belonging described above is in part historically situated, and extends to the role that Montréal's Red Light plays in a broader cultural imaginary.

> Y faut pas oublier que le centre-ville dans les années 1930, 1920, c'était le Red Light. Ça existait. Y avait des bordels, y avait des maisons de chambre. Le monde était habitué. Ça faisait partie du centre-ville. Pis je me souviens que mon père me contait qu'y avait ben des touristes qui venaient juste pour venir au centre-ville de Montréal. C'était touristique le centre-ville. Y avait des bars de jazz. C'était tout mélangé. Je pense que ces endroits-là acceptaient ces filles-là parce que le centre-ville changeait, mais ces endroit-là ne changeaient pas par rapport à ces filles, ils restaient avec la mentalité des années 1930, des années 1940. C5 (...) C'est que c'était un Red Light qui était connu depuis ... criss, La Main était ... les bateaux arrivaient au Vieux Port, où tu penses descendaient les matelots ? Sur Saint-Laurent parce que c'était là où il avait des filles de joie, qu'ils disaient dans le temps. Alors ç'a tout un historique. Mais ils ont pas mal tout effacé l'historique. A8

3.2 Downtown street culture post-transformation

"La rue Saint-Hubert, moi j'ai vu ça changé mon gars, c'est incroyable comment ça changé." B13

Accounts of streetworkers witnessing the transformation of the physical and social landscape downtown in later years sit in stark contrast to earlier, pre-transformation accounts. While accounts of post-transformation street culture downtown span a range of years and cannot be isolated to one historical moment, descriptions of urban desertification and a drastically reorganized street culture are more prevalent among the accounts of those who worked in the mid to late 2000s, and those who continue to work today.

Public space

Descriptions of a post-transformation landscape of downtown emphasize the absence of people, the desertification of parks and public space, and the disappearance of people in groups, as the following passage describes:

> C'était beaucoup plus animé (...) Aujourd'hui, c'est beaucoup plus tranquille. Quand tu passes, y a beaucoup moins de filles. Je trouvais que c'était le quartier qui était ben ben animé. Y avait des bars. Y avait plein d'affaires. Je trouvais que c'était beaucoup plus mélangé. Y avait Monsieur et Madame tout-le-monde, y avait le consommateur, y avait des filles qui travaillaient. Aujourd'hui, c'est pas la même affaire. C3

This sense of things not being "the same" refers to a constellation of micro-transformations. The end result is described in terms of "clean", and "quiet"; in these accounts, the highly structured nature of street culture ceded to a different kind of order, one in which the reference points of street culture had disappeared:

> C'était surtout, que je ne trouve plus les points de repère que j'avais avant - la Main ce n'est plus la Main. La rue Ontario ce n'est pas du tout la même rue Ontario que c'était quand moi je faisais du travail de rue. C'est plus propre. Après, j'imagine qu'il y a des gens qui sont contents, mais je trouve qu'on perd ... un peu le bagage culturel de la ville de Montréal de façon générale. D13

One example of the contrast between pre and post transformation downtown is the description of gatherings of people, and how the communal nature of groups of people ceded to one of solitary individuals, where individuals were scattered: "Ils ont tout éparpillé le monde, tout éparpillé." B13 (...) "Quand j'ai commencé à travailler, des fois on pouvait se retrouver moi avec quatre cinq filles sur un coin de rue, ça n'arrive même plus (...) ou en tout cas, si j'en vois une, te ne les vois plus les quatre, cinq, sur un coin de rue. Fait que ça c'est sûr ça changé aussi." D3

Public space generally downtown is described as dead and defined in relation to the absence of people: "Justement passé une certaine heure, en tout cas dans mon quartier c'était complètement mort, mise à part Berri." G9. "Moi quand j'ai arrivé j'ai vu la fin. Ça changeait la dynamique - il y avait tellement de répression, tu ne voyais plus personne ... le Centre-Sud c'était mort." H2

Private and indoor space

Where earlier interviews (those including streetworkers employed until approximately 2005) emphasized the desertifcation of public space, later interviews (those including streetworkers employed into the late 2000s or still employed today) emphasize the closures of venues and indoor spaces significant to street culture.

> Qu'est-ce que j'ai remarqué vraiment à la fin de mon travail de rue, que les gens étaient vraiment moins visibles, vraiment plus cachés, justement ils ont fermé le Jolicoeur, ils ont gentrifié tout cette zone-là de la rue Ontario, et la même chose sur la rue Saint-Hubert. Ils ont fermé tous ces apparts-là, les piaules, ça ça eu énormément de changements. J'avais de la misère à trouver mon monde. G5

The few commercial establishments which still exist have shifted in their material and symbolic significance to street culture, and are less frequented as a result: "On commençait c'est sûr dans le Centre-Sud, puis là on traînait là, il n'y avait pas grand-chose qui se passait. (...) le Quartier Français - tout ça - les hôtels (...) c'était plus actif que maintenant." H6. Otherwise, people were concentrated into one of the few establishments that had avoided closure:

"Parce que cet été [2013] quand je retournais les filles sont rendues pas mal situées plus aux peepshows. Ils ne veulent pas perdre cet endroit-là, où est-ce qu'ils peuvent tous se checker l'un et l'autre quand même. Ça reste précieux pour les filles." H7. Several months following this interview, the two peepshows on the lower Main to which this streetworker makes reference, had closed.

3.3 Social organization and street culture

> Et j'avais toujours comme objectif en tête, je me disais de ne pas perdre de vue des groupes, parce que ces groupes à un moment donné bougent. Et, là, voyant que la police mettait de plus en plus de pression, je savais qu'à un moment donné, ces gens là disparaitraient. A3

The last section of this chapter attempts to provide a descriptive account of certain aspects of the social organization of street culture in downtown Montréal. It provides an account of social organization that is not specific to a particular moment in time, but rather, spans streetworker interactions with street involved community over the course of the years captured in this research. It contains accounts of informal networks of

support and social relations strikingly absent from other research, as noted in the first chapter.

The interplay of actors

The accounts of social organization emphasize the extent to which each actor plays a distinct role in the composition of street culture. The sex worker, the dealer, the runner[15], the pimp, the man running the dépanneur, the young punk, the hotel concierge, the cleaning lady, the woman working the bar, all play distinct roles in the political economy of street-level culture. In the following passage, a streetworker describes the range of people who frequented downtown, comprised street culture, and whom he worked with.

> Au début c'était vraiment n'importe qui qui transitaient par le centre-ville (...) autrement dit, les gens qui sont là pour quelques jours, qui sont là depuis toujours, et puis alors ça pourrait être autant des jeunes et des moins jeunes de la rue, les gens qui viennent juste faire du squeegee au centre-ville et qui repartent après comme mettons en Hochelag (...) Des gens qui font la manche, qui vendent la dope, qui achètent (...) et ça peut aussi facilement inclure aussi les gens qui travaillent en relation avec eux. Que ça soit le gars de la pizzeria, ou le gars de l'hôtel. F1

An understanding of the social organization of street culture on an environmental or political economy level permits recognition of the complex and myriad ways in which individuals interact, support one another, or are in conflict with one another. It also collapses reductive populational health categories of "sex worker" and "injection drug user" that define community in behaviouralist terms, discarding the often critical role played by other actors in individuals' social lives considered insignificant from a behaviouralist point of view.

> Il avait entre autres les chums des filles qui vendaient la drogue, ou les pimps, parce qu'à un moment donné il avait les pimps qui étaient là aussi. (...) Donc il avait eux qui étaient dans le background, ils étaient tranquilles par exemple, ils surveillaient la gaffe. Et il avait les vendeurs de drogues, il avait les boss de rue qui étaient là ... tout ce monde-là se mélangeaient (...) de tout le monde parce que le gars, il, sa

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[15] A runner is the person who plays an intermediary role between the dealer of drugs (and who holds the drugs and revenue derived from drug selling), and the purchaser. This is a strategy used to minimize exposure to arrest, because the dealer is not physically exchanging drugs for money, and as a result it less vulnerable to being caught with large amounts of product.

blonde elle travaillait là, et sa maitresse travaillait là, et tout le monde te racontaient ça, et les chicanes ... [laughter]. H9

Inter-milieu supportive roles in the social organization of street culture

Dealers play a critical role in the social organization of street culture, not only through their "primary" role of the provision of drugs, but through the circulation of information to their clients and to streetworkers, through the distribution of prevention material (sterile needles, condoms, etc), and through overdose prevention.

> Certains dealers, même certains poteaux qu'on avait, oui ils vendaient la dope, oui ils avaient un aspect commercial à son cash, mais certains avaient vraiment une préoccupation des filles. Ils étaient vraiment des ressources pour nous, autant pour avoir de l'information, que pour donner l'information, pour qu'ils puissent le transmettre aux filles. Ça m'a reviens justement par rapport à l'état de la dope, parce que des fois nous on savait [s'il y avait de la dope contaminée] fait qu'on pouvait le transmettre au dealer, et ils avaient beaucoup qui avaient cette sensibilité de dire ok, je vais m'assurer que je n'ai pas cette batch là ... Et la distribution de condoms et même de matériel. G12

The role played by dealers in informal networks of support and mutual aid also includes facilitating access to streetworkers and seeking care following episodes of violence: "On avait créé des bons liens avec les dealers qui nous appelaient directement, mettons s'il y avait des problèmes avec des filles (...) Les dealers nous appelaient ..." H4

Other actors are also involved in practices that support health maintenance and the distribution of drug use material: "Il avait aussi l'entraide parmi les "travailleurs de rue" un peu non-travailleur de rue ou du milieu, qui se donnait le mandat de donner du matériel. Des fois on se disait *oh non, il dit qu'il est travailleur de rue*, mais il avait quand même des aspects positifs dans la volonté d'aider les autres." G12

A number of actors who aren't street-involved themselves nonetheless play a central role in the social organization of street culture - hotel owners and workers, dépanneur owners, and front-desk receptionists, as the following passage describes.

> Je pense à un dépanneur où les filles savaient que si y leur arrivait quelque chose, elles pouvaient aller à ce dépanneur-là et le gars les aurait aidées. Y avait un dépanneur qui prenait des condoms pis qui les donnait aux filles. Y disait : 'Donne-moi-en quand les filles en auront pas, elles pourront passer ici'. Les gars d'hôtel nous appelaient des fois si y avait une fille qui avait été agressée. Des fois, le gars

qui s'occupait de louer les chambres, qui avait nos cartes, nous appelait pis y disait : 'Y a une fille que ça va pas, elle a été battue, si tu veux venir la voir'. Y avait quand même un bon lien avec ces personnes-là. C5

The supportive and facilitative roles played by those working in commercial establishments and other venues reveal the critical role they played in ensuring access to necessary resources.

Il avait [name removed] qui était - le gars qui travaillait à Boléro qui était tout un personnage mais qui était cool. Il nous laissait beaucoup d'espace pour faire ça. Moi j'ai vu des dealers m'appeler pour des affaires comme la fille que je te parle, entre autres qui a eu une endocardite. C'est lui qui m'appelait pour me dire ayoye, telle fille, elle est avec sa jacket d'hôpital et son soluté dans son bras, elle s'est sauvée de l'hôpital, fait quelque chose. H10

Intra-milieu supportive roles in the social organization of street culture

Numerous descriptions of intracommunity support contradict much of popular and academic characterizations of street culture that often describe street level social relations exclusively in antagonistic, violent and conflictual terms. "Entre travailleuses du sexe il avait de l'entraide, elles se tenaient deux trois personnes ensembles, ils s'assuraient au niveau de leur sécurité qu'il avait toujours quelqu'un qui savait ou elles s'en allaient, ou qui était autour." G6 (...) "Il avait des petites alliances qui se faisaient, genre, le punk allait cherché du weed pour une fille, et en échange elle lui donnait la monnaie ou des trucs comme ça." F6.

Again, these accounts are not framed in romantic terms. Rather, they emphasize the ways in which mutually beneficial arrangements were achieved and maintained, enabling a social cohesion and stability within sex and drug trades otherwise characterized as "chaotic" by actors external to them.

Y'en avait qui travaillaient ensemble, c'était arrivé ou que j'ai vu des travailleuses du sexe, prendre, sous leur aile, une nouvelle arrivée, mais généralement fallait que cette nouvelle là a fait quelque chose d'exceptionnel pour que ça arrive ... et les fois que j'étais témoin de ça c'était pas mal toujours la même raison, c'est parce que pendant que la ... comme les filles principales étaient parties avec des clients, y a quelqu'un qui essayait d'installer ces filles-là, mais la petite nouvelle qui était là, qui était dans le coin qui essaie de faire sa place toute seule, a "défendu" le coin - je fais des airquotes - a défendu le coin et genre a battu les filles ou je sais pas quoi. Et les

autres quand elles reviennent finissent par la prendre, parce que l'autre la vu faire et tout ça. F7

In the above passage, the acceptance and protection of a new sex worker in the area is provided in exchange for her having protected the corner. This act of "mutual aid" takes place even as the gesture involves an act of violence. In the following passage, dealers call a streetworker with information about a woman in a critical state, knowing that not only will this gesture of support allow the woman to access the medical care she needed, but that this act is also in their economic interest:

> Ils arrivaient même qu'ils m'appelaient pour me dire [name of streetworker], *il y a telle fille qu'il faut que tu viennes voir, parce que elle va pas bien*, parce que moi je leur disais j'ai une plage d'horaire ouvert dans une clinique les jeudis. Alors s'il y a de quoi, tu vas m'appeler, et le jeudi je vais l'amener. Ça aussi ça les intéressait parce que eux autres ils aimaient mieux avoir une cliente qui consomment, qu'une cliente malade. A4

Contingent and conditional support

These passages do not seek to convey that actors involved in street culture necessarily always act in personal self interest; some of the above passages demonstrate gestures of support and mutual aid wherein the actor receives no discernible benefit. The goal here is not to read intention into actions. Rather, these passages demonstrate how the social organization of street culture and of everyday social practice is an interplay of self-interest, self-preservation, altruism, social solidarity, and individual and collective survival.

While there is recognition of informal networks of support and mutual aid, these networks are highly contingent: "Mais la dope autant désunifiait les gens autant que les réunifiait. Des fois oui les gens étaient comme *ok j'ai un dix, j'ai un dix, t'as-tu un dix ?* C'était pas mal ça. Mais c'était souvent chacun pour soi." F7 Expressions of violence and conflict are described as embedded within everyday networks of survival: "C'est sur que l'entraide c'est pas toujours facile, t'es en mode de survie, alors souvent à un moment donné, quand t'es en manque, ton besoin de base, ton besoin premier, faut que tu répondes." G6

The following passages describes how even in a context where violence has become normalized, informal networks of communication and exchange remain intact:

> C'est ça aussi moi je me sentais tout le temps protégé par les gens. J'ai l'impression que les gens du milieu prenaient soin quand même de moi. Sauf les règlements de compte, je veux dire quand ils s'aimaient pas ils s'aimaient pas, mais sinon, il avait comme un ... ils prenaient soin les uns des autres. Pas tout le monde, ça dépend des liens entre eux, parce que comme je disais, c'est pas non plus Walt Disney, mais ... l'information circulait. Je pense c'est plutôt ça. L'information circulait. D9

The social relations (for instance, of conflict or of support) and social practice (for instance, the distribution of sterile drug equipment, or "bad dates"[16] lists) are described and experienced spatially as well. The various actors or *"poteaux"*[17] are embedded spatially, contributing to stability and continuity in social formation and the organization of street level relations: "Elles retrouvaient quand même des points de repère. Elles savaient que si elles allaient à telle place, si elles avaient eu un mauvais client, elles pouvaient en parler avec quelqu'un. Elles savaient que là, il aurait telle autre personne qu'elles connaissent." D15 As described in another account, "Il y a un sentiment d'appartenance à des lieux." G11

This constellation of disparate forms of social organization and social practice form a subsystem wherein various individual and collective needs are responded to. An examination of these social practices in concert reveal the ways in which street culture can be highly structured and functional. Through an exploration of the social relations - of conflict, of solidarity, of self-interest, of mutual aid - the internal logics of street culture are made visible.

3.4   Conclusion

Social relations are necessarily temporally and historically situated. The social relations of street culture in downtown Montréal were coordinated by a range of social

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[16] A list of information that allows sex workers to identify clients who were violent, threatening, did not pay, or who otherwise broke agreements, compiled through anonymous submissions by sex workers.

[17] A *"poteau"* is an individual within or close to street milieus who play some form of logistical or utilitary role, for instance, a hotel employee, a dealer. This person's role as a *"poteau"* is often directly related to their employment, formal or informal.

and institutional processes and were subject to a process of profound transformation. Preceding this transformation, street culture was characterized by its visibility, and the proliferation of commercial venues and residential spaces that gave life to particular social formation and social practice. Following this process of transformation, street culture was characterized by desertification, the dispersal of groups of street involved community, and the closure and expropriation of indoor spaces and commercial venues. The organization of social relations and social practice of street culture downtown as described in the previous section are not specific to a particular historical moment. Many of these expressions of social practice are ongoing on some scale.

While the eradication of street culture and social practice within it was by no means complete, street level social relations were nonetheless deeply affected. The displacement of street-involved community and transformation of street culture had direct implications with respect to the dispossession of the forms of social organization and social practice: "Il avait comme un genre de solidarité dans la rue, que tu vois pas aujourd'hui, le monde se tenait plus pareil." B9

As the following chapters describe, as individuals and the social spaces constituting street culture were displaced, the social relations and social practice therein became unmade. The social formations and everyday practices that facilitated a level of continuity, stability, and social cohesion became occluded with the profound structural shifts that took place in the following years. Specific social processes and institutional mechanisms drove this displacement. As the following chapter describes, those living on or close to the street or otherwise involved with street culture faced continuous waves of coordinated legal repression culminating in displacement.

CHAPTER 4

"Ils vont faire des vagues de répression bientôt, fait que, brace for it":
The displacement process

[Il avait] le plan d'action de la ville de Montréal pour se débarrasser des 'irritants' comme qu'ils les appelaient. Puis dans ce rapport-là, il avait entre autres, on va faire le ménage des populations itinérantes et des prostituées. C'était pas dit dans ces mots-là, mais c'était ça qu'ils voulaient dire. En fait c'est drôle parce que je me souviens j'avais amené ce papier-là et je l'avais montré beaucoup aux filles qui travaillaient sur Sainte-Catherine, parce que ... elles avaient un peu plus de temps de lire des fois avec moi. Je les montrais le plan d'action - ils vont faire des vagues de répression bientôt, fait que, *brace for it*. Et c'est drôle, je me souviens de toutes leurs réactions, et c'était comme, mais non voyons, non, écoute, il y a toujours eu la prostitution au centre-ville de Montréal, et il va en avoir toujours les filles sur la rue comme ça. *That's how it is, no matter what they do*. F8

   This chapter outlines how the process of the displacement of street involved people and the transformation of street culture was achieved. This displacement occurred within a broader context of social transformation downtown and is the most explicit site of the cultural erasure process. This chapter describes the social and institutional processes at play in this social transformation, and how these processes were mutually reinforcing, setting into motion a sequence of events or "course of confrontation" (Smith 1995, 28) between dominant public institutions and street culture. This course of confrontation secured a new urban landscape characterized by desertification, and the absence of working poor street culture that had defined downtown Montréal historically.

   This chapter is divided into four sections. The first describes public space regulation in more general terms, and the strategies of containment and concentration of street involved community spatially. This can be described as the first phase of displacement in which people were namely displaced into indoor and private space, and tends to draw upon the accounts of streetworkers working up until approximately 2005. The second section describes the closures of establishments and private venues, focusing particularly on the Jolicoeur and the Boléro, two hotels which closed respectively in 2006 and 2009. This can be described as the second phase of the displacement process, in which people were again expelled from indoor and private spaces due to closures and expropriation and dispersed geographically, and out of the downtown core. The third

section briefly describes the erosion of tolerance on the part of residents and business owners, and the *Quartier des spectacles* development project as two extralocal driving forces in the displacement process. The fourth and final section of this chapter details police repression and shifts in policing practice over the course of the displacement process, including the arguably central role played by community policing.

4.1 The first phase: Public space regulation and displacement indoors

Strategies in public space regulation and the spatial management of street culture

A range of strategies characterize the regulation of public space downtown, carried out namely by municipal government, through police or the municipal legislature. These include the implementation of curfews for parks, the removal of benches, the privatization of public spaces (for instance, the creation of festival zones with private security), and the removal or tighter control of "in-between" spaces including train yards and abandoned buildings.

> Ils ont changé la règlementation du carré Berri, ils faisaient toute finalement, soit des associations des commerçants, des promoteurs immobiliers, la municipalité, la ville de Montréal qui changeait les règlements qui faisait qu'à un moment donné tu n'as plus d'espace, tu n'as plus de place pour ce monde là, fait que c'est ça qui arrivait, alors on voyait concrètement ils pouvaient plus être à Berri, ils se faisaient interpellés par la police, après telle heure, ils pouvaient plus être là, avant ils pouvaient passer une nuit là. B13

The privatization and changing vocation of various public spaces represented a key strategy in public space regulation and the transformation of how street involved community accessed and experienced space downtown.

> Je pense que les deux seuls trucs je pense qui était les plus marquants c'est ça ... quand ils ont commencé à limiter l'accès aux espaces publics. Comme quand ils ont changé la vocation du carré Viger. Quand ils ont changé la vocation de la Place Pasteur. Fait que c'est devenu un espace privé qui appartenait à l'UQAM. Quand les espaces publics sont devenus comme privés. Ça ç'a était probablement un des éléments marquants, si on veut, le début de la fin. Le début de la fin de tel que nous on connaissait. D10

Public space regulation was also articulated through seemingly benign changes to infrastructure:

> Ils clôturent l'accès par la rue Boisbriand du parc des Foufs aussi, dont j'ai parlé, qui à fait que les gens arrêtaient d'aller là (...) et le réaménagement du ... certains tronçons du carré Viger, que là, ils ont enlevé plein de structures, ils ont enlevé les fameuses clôtures qui empêchait de voir de la rue. Les gens sentaient un peu plus exposé, un peu plus à la vue de tout le monde et non genre dans un semblant de chez soi. F11

Another key strategy in public space regulation was the use of ticketing for "incivilities"[18].

> Y ont fait beaucoup beaucoup de répression. Y donnaient des tickets, ça finissait pus. Moi, j'ai vu des tickets qui ont donné pour rien : cracher à terre, jeter ta cigarette, traverser la rue. Je voyais monsieur et madame tout-le-monde passer pis eux autres, ils l'avaient pas le ticket. Si t'avais les cheveux rouges pis t'étais sur le coin depuis deux heures, t'avais de grosses chances que toi t'étais pour l'avoir le ticket. C7

> [Il avait] des choses atroces de voir les policiers avec leurs haut-parleurs d'insulter quelqu'un, quelqu'un qui reçoit quatre tickets juste en disant un mot. C'est complètement débile, et les choses auxquelles on peut être témoin. G9

The concentration and containment of street involved communities spatially by municipal authorities and law enforcement represents another critical aspect of public space regulation. Strategies of spatial containment in the form of informal "tolerance" or non-enforcement zones were key in the reorganization of public space downtown. But as the following passage points out, this institutional tolerance was often fleeting.

> Mais pour revenir aux zones de tolérances comme tu disais - Viger et tout ça - Viger au fait c'était souvent comme - pour les policiers une réponse pour cleaner le restant du centre-ville avec les festivals. On les tasse tout là, on les tolère là, parce que (...) alors quand les festivals étaient finis, ils allaient cleaner - des fois Viger avait des moments d'intolérance. Souvent on savait d'avance, on pouvait avertir, ils vont cleaner Viger à soir, aller pas là ... les gens s'installaient vraiment, c'était vraiment tolérant pendant un bout. FG7

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[18] This explicitly punitive strategy in public space regulation that has been exhaustively documented by a number of other researchers, namely Céline Bellot (2005) and the RAPSIM (Réseau d'aide aux personnes seules et itinérantes de Montréal) (2011).

Strategies of spatial containment through informal non-enforcement zones laid a foundation for increasingly conflictual relations and greater tension between various groups downtown.

> Ils disaient aller au parc Viger, on va vous foutre la paix. En fait ç'a plus ou moins bien fonctionné, dans le sens que, comme je l'ai mentionné tout à l'heure, les différentes populations qui se ramassaient là se mélangeaient pas bien. Il avait beaucoup d'animosité entre les groupes et évidemment quand tu concentres les gens dans un endroit, c'est pas long avant qu'il y a des tensions qui se créent, même chez des gens du même groupe. F9

Public space regulation strategies were not exclusively carried out by the municipality, police, or other public powers, but by community organizations and other non-state actors. One interview participant discusses a period of time in the early 2000s where community groups partnered with Montréal police in the hopes of implementing a sex work tolerance zone, where sex work related criminal code provisions would not be applied (Stella 2014; Mensah et al. 2011). While the attempt to create this tolerance zone was in part a response to eroding social tolerance for sex work and was a measure demanded by sex workers themselves (Stella 2014), the interview participant identifies the measure as one of public space regulation (C5). The tolerance zone was eventually defeated due to opposition on the part of residents (ibid). Another streetworker interviewed situated demands on the part of community organizations and drug users for supervised injection sites also within a framework of public space regulation (D16). Both noted the ways in which creating sanctioned spaces for criminalized activity (while progressive or therapeutic in their intentions) functions to contain undesirable activity spatially, creating a context for tighter regulation outside of the sanctioned zone[19].

Quadrilatères

Strategies of public space regulation also include individual strategies imposed by courts, most notably the imposition of red zones (or *"quadrilatères"),* a court mandated condition wherein individuals are given a perimeter in which they are not allowed to appear, and wherein they face sanctions if non-compliant, both while awaiting and

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[19] For more in-depth discussion of this tension, particularly with regards to drug user self-organizing, see the work of Benedikt Fischer (Fischer et al. 2004), and Bruce Alexander (2008).

following conviction. These perimeters often included an individual's home, workplace, the residences of friends and family members, and community organizations, and can be in place for up to two years (Réseau SOLIDARITÉ Itinérance du Québec 2012). "Ça [les quadrilatères] c'était dans les années 90, à partir de l'année 95, 96, 97, 98. Dans ces années-là c'était ça le gros mandat, cleaner le centre-ville." B8

The use of red zones increased progressively throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s, and were used primarily to regulate the movement and activities of sex workers, particularly women.

> Oui, moi je pense que c'est les femmes qui ont été les plus fragilisées par ça. (...) Mais après, c'est ça, ces filles-là qui ont étaient touchées d'abord. C'est ces filles-là qui ont eu des quadrilatères du quartier au complet, ou des fois, il y en a une l'île de Montréal, *what the fuck*. D14

Another streetworker continues: "Les quadrilatères ont commencé, le gros rush des quadrilatères me semble que c'était 2000 … les gros qui ont commencé à donner presque à grandeur de la ville. Moi, j'ai vu une fille qu'ils avaient mis : milieu du fleuve. Elle ne pouvait pas être au milieu du fleuve. C'était n'importe quoi les quadrilatères." C10.

The aggressive and consistent use of red zones by police and the courts is cited by some as a key contributing factor in the virtual eradication of the street-level sex trade downtown: "Mais les filles - les autres - ne travaillaient plus parce que, écoute, ils avaient tous des quadrilatères." H2 The greater recourse to red zones on the part of the SPVM and the courts impacted sex workers and streetworkers alike, albeit in markedly different ways:

> Mais là, tranquillement on a vu que les gens - il faut les allait chercher plus, c'était plus difficile. C'est ça, les filles commençaient à avoir les quadrilatères, dans le quartier au complet. Alors ça déjà, c'est ça. Ça changeait la pratique. D5

> Pour eux, tout leur rapport, leur sentiment d'appartenance, autant aux autres personnes qui sont dans la rue, qu'aux organismes, qu'aux lieux intérieurs, toute leur zone de vie et de survie, pour survivre, c'était dans cette zone-là que ça se passait. G11-12

Police entrapment was also used as a strategy in the arrrest of sex workers: "Ils envoyaient comme un faux client, c'était pas un vrai client, c'était pas nécessairement un flic, et après ils arrêtaient la fille, et ils ont dit, bon on t'as pognée pour sollicitation, et tu va passer devant le juge." E15

Movement indoors

Following the period of mounting recourse to public space regulation strategies in the late 1990s and early 2000s, a streetworker describes the movement of street milieus into residential space: "Il y a beaucoup du monde qui ont commencé à louer des logements (...) [ils] se tenaient, mon gars, il avait huit là-dedans." B13

The connection between police repression and the movement of people indoors, particularly various actors involved in the sex trade, was emphasized in many accounts:

> Parce que c'était aussi un univers différent ... c'est des gens qui, la majoritaire du temps ont passé par la rue, mais qui là à un moment donné se sont commencés à stabiliser un peu plus, pas parce qu'ils avaient envie, mais parce que la répression faisait à ce qu'elle avait à faire. Les gens sortaient, allaient faire un client vite vite, revenaient, et faisaient ce qu'elles avaient à faire dans leur chambre d'hôtel. Ce qui autrement ils faisaient dehors. A4

This created clear difficulties for streetworkers' attempts to reach people previously accessible in public space: "Sauf qu'on a pu nos gens, c'est sûr que là y faut peut-être plus aller dans les endroits. Ça veut dire dans les maisons, dans les piaules, essayer de trouver des adresses. C'est sûr que nous ça change parce qu'y faut être à l'intérieur et pus juste sur la rue." C13

A number of contributing factors are attributed to the increasingly aggressive public space regulation and resulting shift of people into indoor space, including growing pressure on the police from citizens in the form of complaints:

> La fille qui fait son client dans la chambre, n'est pas dérangée. Tandis que si elle fait une pipe dans un char, c'est une autre affaire. La même chose pour le vendeur - lui il est pas vu par tout le monde. Et à quelque part ça fait aussi l'affaire de la police, à cause le but ce n'est pas d'enrayer la vente de drogue, mettons, ou la consommation de drogues, ils font pour qu'il n'y a plus de plaintes. F10

This passage suggests that among the central drivers of aggressive public space regulation and displacement of street milieus indoors was the impetus to create the illusion of public order downtown on the part of the police. Confronted with the impossibility of completely eradicating sex and drug trades, it appears that Montréal policing strategies refocused on reducing the visibility of these trades by displacing the most visible manifestations of poverty and street culture indoors, or at least, benefited themselves from this shift which was already taking place.

This movement indoors also included a movement of people into prison. The increasing use of red zones over this time meant that increasing numbers of people were vulnerable to re-arrest for breach of conditions upon returning downtown. This is reflected in climbing provincial incarceration rates in the late 1990s and early 2000s (MSP 2014).

> On peut s'entendre sur une chose, c'est que si les gens sont plus [dans] l'espace public, le risque de se faire arrêter à répétition et aller en dedans est plus grand. (...) Parce que t'es dérangeant quand t'es dans l'espace public. Tu déranges, alors tu te fais arrêter. (...) pour la police, c'est une nuisance, t'es une nuisance. Alors on peut s'attendre que si les gens sont dans la rue, la police va les arrêter et les envoyer en dedans (...) les filles qui ont été à Tanguay me disaient qu'elles voyaient toutes nos filles issues de la rue à Tanguay." H13 (...) "Il y avait un criss de gang à Bordeaux aussi, parce que bon, ça c'est l'autre affaire, tu connais toute - avec Céline [Céline Bellot, a researcher], on a sorti des chiffres hallucinants, moi j'avais des kids qui devaient quinze milles [dollars], j'allais les voir à Bordeaux et toute, c'était débile. B14

The first phase of transformation of how street milieus were constituted and how they organized spatially downtown was characterized by aggressive strategies of public space regulation that had the effect of displacing individuals indoors. These strategies, however, themselves transformed over the course of the 2000s, laid the groundwork for a slate of closures of indoor (commercial and residential) spaces: hotels, rooming houses, crack houses and shooting galleries, bars, porn theatres, squats, peepshows, and affordable and low-income housing generally.

4.2 The second phase: Closures and dispersal of street involved people

After what we can describe as the first phase of displacement, characterized by increasingly aggressive public space regulation strategies and the move of street milieus indoors, followed what can be described as the second phase of displacement, one characterized by commercial establishment closures. This section turns to two examples among these closures - bars and hotels - the impact of which was particularly significant.

Bar closures

In one interview, a streetworker walks me through a number of bars downtown frequented by street involved community and streetworkers, all of which have since closed:

> Sinon il avait aussi mettons quelques bars comme le Midway, puis l'autre bar - l'Alouette - qui était en face. Et puis, le bar La Patrie. Le pub ... comment ça s'appelle. Proche de Hôtel de Ville sur Sainte-Cat. Ah oui ! Et il avait aussi le 1250 je penses sur Saint-Denis. Une place ou avant c'était un genre de baril, la porte, mais maintenant ça l'air comme nowhere. F5

In the west end of downtown, another streetworker recounts the closure of "Lamont bar. That's where the evangelical church put their drop-in centre. They bought out the owner, and then put in their drop-in centre. And now it's gone back to being a bar again. But it used to be the Indian bar." E2

The closures are attributed to a range of factors, including the development of the *Quartier des spectacles*: "Avec le Quartier des spectacles, ils ont commencé à racheter les bars, à fermer les bars, les hôtels aussi." C1. In other cases, closures were attributed to police pressure and the revoking of alcohol permits, particularly by the *Moralité, alcool et stupéfiants* (MAS) section of the SPVM: "Là, il y a l'Alouette qui ferme. Après ça il y a un autre qui ferme. Quartier Français, c'est carrément les policiers qui ont fermé la place (...) C'est la moralité et la régie des alcools, et ils ont perdu leur permis, et ç'a fini là." H5

In other cases, closures were slower to take place, as in the case of Citibar, a bar frequented primarily by transsexual women, sex workers, and their clients, which finally closed its doors in 2014: "Mais il [le commandant du PDQ 22] venait d'arriver et nous avait rencontrer et nous avait clairement dit que son objectif principale - la première affaire - c'était de fermer Citibar. Alors ils visaient beaucoup le Citibar. Fais que c'est sûr qu'ils ciblaient les trans." H2

In her account of the closure of the Boléro, a hotel on the corner of Sainte-Catherine and Saint-Laurent, one streetworker notes the difficulty in determining the specific source of the closure, and speculates about the interplay of factors.

> En fait, les policiers ont réussi à faire fermer l'affaire, mais je pense qu'ils ont vendu en même temps. C'était toutes les pressions, sont bon là-dedans. Les pressions de vendre parce que c'était trop violent ... je sais pas les détails, des négociations, ça je peux pas dire ... j'ai pas eu l'impression. Mais la police à la fin, c'est sûr que la police - je sais pas comment qu'ils ont fait leurs comptes, mais ils ont mis de la pression (...) ça sera intéressant de voir comment ça fonctionne (...) Mais tout ça, niveau politique, niveau municipal, niveau police, comment ... parce qu'il y a quelque chose qui s'est passé, il avait des liens ensembles. H11

The Boléro and Jolicoeur hotel closures

The Boléro can be understood as an emblematic closure, in part because of its social and cultural significance in the downtown sex and drug trades, and in street culture generally. One streetworker describes its significance to street culture.

> Le Boléro - tout se passait là. Nous on avait un bon lien - avec [name removed], qui était le gars qui travaillait là. Fait que nous on rentrait (...) Et on avait une chambre qu'il nous laisser, puis on parlait, on s'assoyait là, les filles venaient nous voir. Ça allait bien, moi en tout cas j'ai créé des bons liens là-bas ... C'était rock and roll, on s'entend, c'était quelque chose. Mais avec le temps on a créé des bons liens avec les dealers, avec tout le monde. C'était violent par exemple (...) mais c'était cool parce que pour nous comme travailleurs de rue, c'était idéal. Parce que t'avais tout ton monde, un endroit qui était sécuritaire pour eux, on s'entend, dans un sens. Les gens pouvaient consommer ... Je trouve que ça faisait un endroit qui était propice à parler et faire des interventions, pas mal plus que sur la rue. Ils venaient dans la chambre, fait que c'était cool à ce niveau-là. Et comme je t'ai dit, on avait créé des bons liens avec les dealers. H4

The Jolicoeur, a similarly affordable, pay-by-the-hour hotel at the corner of Papineau and Ontario which closed in 2006 (Berthiaume et al. 2013) also played a crucial function in street culture, both materially and symbolically:

> Ça pas était évident la fermeture du Jolicoeur parce que c'est une place où ce qu'ils pouvaient payer vingt piasses la nuit pour rester là. Autant quand il faisait froid que ça donnait - les gens qui squeegait ou qui quêtait aux autos, ramassaient un vingt, et au moins il avait la chambre pour la nuit fait qu'ils pouvaient se réchauffer et consommer en dedans en même temps. Il y avait des filles qui sortaient jamais sur tout l'hiver, parce qu'elles travaillaient là, consommaient là, dormaient là. G4

The social and cultural significance of the two hotels extended to streetwork practice:

> Quand tu rentres dans un hôtel t'as une chambre pour accueillir des filles qui peuvent te raconter pleine de choses de leurs vies, il peut avoir quelqu'un dans la chambre qui est en train de se faire un hit et qui te parle en même temps, et on relaxe. Ou la fille elle parano et elle dit va-t'en, j'ai pas le goût de parler, mais bref, il y a une intimité qui est là, qui est différente que si t'es dehors sur la rue, dans la ruelle. H12

While the Boléro only finally closed its doors in 2009, the impact of its closure was felt particularly because it was one of the last establishments of its kind:

> [Quand] le Boléro s'est fermé, tout ce monde-là est disparu de la carte. Mais, il a des explications en sorte, la police était excessivement présente. C'était des descentes à quasiment tous les soirs au Boléro, ils passaient, ils allaient faire des tours, et probablement qu'ils ont continué ainsi. La pression de la police à fait en sorte que le Boléro a fermé. Le Jolicoeur a fermé, et le Jolicoeur c'était la pression de la police qui a fait en sorte que ç'a pas resté ouvert. A11

While it is unclear whether the increased social tensions and violence among the relatively few spaces left downtown was a direct contributor to increased police presence at the two hotels (as was the case at Square Viger as described above), police activity was in no doubt among the factors at play in the closures.

Unlike many other bar and hotel closures, the Boléro closure was known to the milieu beforehand:

> Ça s'est parlé, trois, quatre mois, cinq mois avant que ça ferme, vraiment avant qu'ils mettent les clés dans la porte - les gens savaient la date, et je me souviens à chaque jeudi que j'arrivais, ils me disaient il restait tant de temps. Le monde en

parlait beaucoup beaucoup beaucoup (...) tu sentais l'angoisse malgré la carapace qu'ils pouvaient avoir. Tu sentais qu'ils étaient anxieux de ce changement-là c'est clair. H17

As a result, we have a glimpse into the ways in which social relations were transformed in the lead up to the closure, particularly when faced with the scarcity of other places to go:

Fait que là ça se parlait beaucoup, le monde se sont mis à paranoïer. C'est là que le parano part et là le monde se gèle et tout dérape. Et la santé mentale qui embarque parce que je pense que c'est aliénant tout ça et on devient nous aussi assez parano. Fait qu'il y a ça qui est devenu assez intense. Tout le monde ... ça se parlait que le Boléro fermait, ils savaient, tout le monde le savait (...) qu'il restait tant de jours, tout le monde savait qu'est-ce qui se passait. Et les gens étaient inquiets, où on va aller, qu'est-ce qu'on va faire et tout ça (...) il avait une inquiétude, c'était vraiment évident. Parce qu'il a eu - beaucoup de ce monde-là ils venaient du Jolicoeur, alors tous leurs endroits - ça c'est des hôtels de grande consommation - mais il avait aussi des bars qui ont toutes fermé, alors ... il va arriver quoi ? Tout fermait. H10

The above passage is emblematic in how it illustrates the complex interplay of drug use, the deterioration of working conditions, paranoia, mental health fallout, and anxiety provoked by the closures and accompanying potential loss of financial and cultural autonomy.

The following passage captures the emotional weight of the Boléro closure, its cultural significance to those who lived and frequented it, and a sense of what was lost.

Les beaux moments je les ai eus au Boléro, les moments - justement la transition était un moment fort comme je t'ai dit qui était très riche en émotion, quand le Boléro, les semaines qui ont précédait la fermeture, l'intensité émotive était très forte. Et ça se dégageait beaucoup d'émotion entre tous les acteurs qui étaient présents autant [the man who worked the front desk] qui perdait sa job, autant les dealers, autant les filles. Fait que tout le monde on était. C'était spécial. C'était ben riche en émotion. Il aura fallu que tu sois là. H24

Similar to how the aggressive public space regulation strategies in previous years engendered a displacement into indoor spaces (commercial, residential, carceral), the closures that followed engendered a dispersal of street involved milieus. This dispersal manifested along two main axes. First, collective groupings of people were dispersed, creating a context for individual isolation. Second, street milieus were largely dispersed from the neighbourhood altogether, expelled from the downtown core.

Dispersal

One streetworker describes a typical experience of dispersal and how this dispersal was realized in spatial and geographic terms, recounting the experience of an individual following his release from jail:

> Ils ne pouvaient pas revenir au centro, les flics ils les connaissaient, ils étaient tout spottés les jeunes, fait que c'est pour ça à un moment donné ben whoop on savait qu'un était rendu dans l'est, pas loin d'Iberville et si et ça, il avait des autres qui ont monté en haut sur le Plateau. B10.

Confronted with a transformed urban landscape downtown, the range of options available to people downtown (where to live, where to work, where to deal, etc) were constrained.

"C'est ça aussi qui a changé, il avait moins de monde qui était dans la rue dans la rue. Ils avaient ceux qui squattaient aussi, il avait encore des squats dans ce temps-là. Et il y a gros qui sont montés en haut sur le Plateau, dans ce temps-là il avait un criss de gang ... Saint-Laurent, Mont-Royal, ces coins-là, Saint-Hubert un peu plus à l'est." B13-14.

Adjacent neighbourhoods were not the only areas to which people relocated (or were relocated). "On dit qu'on a beaucoup à Ahuntsic justement ici, plus. Et il y'en a Montréal-Nord. Alors je pense que ça ça fait que certaines personnes se sont ramassaient isolées dans le sens que ... peu de travailleurs de rue dans ces coins-là." H15. A number of other neighbourhoods were also among the new destinations: "So people relocated to Verdun, Lasalle, Lachine, Dorval, east end, Hochelaga area." E7

An examination of SPVM statistics of the proportion of prostitution related charges downtown (combined jurisdictions of PDQ 21 and PDQ 22) suggest a marked displacement of the sex trade - a displacement that has intensified in recent years. In 2006, 79% of prostitution related charges occuring downtown; by 2013 this proportion had decreased to 21% (see Appendix 4). This suggests that the majority of the sex trade (particularly the street level sex trade, which has almost faced greater exposure to legal repression) has been relocated to other neighbourhoods.

People not only faced dispersal geographically, but a dispersal and separation from one another. In this sense, the social formation of groups and collectives of people, too, faced massive transformation:

> Ça commencé à s'éparpiller un peu. Avec le temps, y étaient plus au centre-ville : Saint-Laurent, dans ce coin-là, y en avait moins sur Ontario. Et ç'a commencé à se développer beaucoup plus dans Hochelaga-Maisonneuve (...) Pis c'est sûr, je pense, que la majorité des travailleuses du sexe sont rendues dans Hochelaga-Maisonneuve. C'est ce que moi, j'ai vu en dernier. C1

While the closure of venues played a crucial role in the dispersal of street milieus, it is also disassociable from broader questions of eroding societal tolerance, particularly among residents and business owners, and a municipal impetus for aggressive urban development ushered in by the election of Gérald Tremblay as mayor in 2002 (Gauthier 2008; Gariépy & Gauthier 2009).

4.3 Urban development and the erosion of tolerance

This section briefly explores several forces which drove the displacement of street culture and transformation of social relations downtown. The interviews yielded a range of reflections on the social and structural dynamics that were at the root of this transformation, including shifts in the Montréal housing market and rising property values, economic imperatives for a larger municipal tax base, the emergence and mobilization of residents' associations, the formalization and proliferation of local commercial and economic development offices or *Sociétés de développement commercial* (SDC), the erosion of societal tolerance, and a perception of a growing shift in Québec toward conservative cultural values. Future research is needed to explore the role that each of these factors played in the transformation process. This section describes two of the more visible manifestations among the social and institutional drivers at play: eroding tolerance on the part of residents' and business owners, and the introduction of the *Quartier des spectacles.*

Erosion of tolerance: residents and business owners

Chapter three illustrated the relative societal tolerance that reigned downtown preceding the largescale social and economic transformation of downtown. In later years,

however, the confluence of social and economic forces created a context where the displacement of street culture appeared inevitable:

> Oui, beaucoup des petits bourgeois qui arrivent. Ils arrivent dans un lieu problème et ils veulent enlever le problème. Alors il y a ça ... Ben, la transformation peu à peu du red light ... tranquillement. Encore là, beaucoup des condos qui poussent, sur Charlotte et tout ça. Encore une fois, les résidents demandent beaucoup de policiers, pour évacuer des gens. F11

In addition to the new residents, this erosion of tolerance also began to occur among business owners: "[Chez] les commerçants on a senti un durcissement, qui a commencé à s'installer de la part des commerçants, de la part de la police, qui a commencé à faire beaucoup de répression." A2-3 Paradoxically this did not only include new business owners catering to the new residents and their economic capital, but also owners of many of the established commercial venues that had been a part of the neighbourhood for decades:

> L'Astral aussi à un moment donné ils voulaient une clientèle, ils ne voulaient plus associer avec ... justement avec la gentrification tout ça, même les hôtels - pas juste l'Astral - même les hôtels ils me disaient qu'ils voulaient changer leur clientèle, ils voulaient plus louer à des filles, ils voulaient louer à des touristes parce que là ils pouvaient louer leurs chambres plus chères (...) Et quand l'Eureka dit qu'ils ne veulent plus louer aux filles t'es comme - *what the fuck*, *c'est grave* ! D8.

By the early-2000s the growing intolerance on the part of residents manifested in the formation of resident vigilante groups and explicit violence, understood by many as the peak of violence faced by sex workers on the part of residents (Stella 2014).

> Ils ont fait la chasse aux sorcières, la chasse aux prostituées à un moment donné. Y sont rentrés avec des bat de baseball dans des endroits où y avait des filles, y ont battu les filles, y sortaient les filles (...) Y appelait ça la chasse aux sorcières, je pense. Y avait des filles qui avaient été battues. Ç'avait été vraiment *heavy*. Des résidents étaient sortis avec des bats de baseball pour débarrasser des appartements où des filles étaient. C6

While the period of class confrontation described above is perhaps exemplary in the intensity of its violence, it is arguably emblematic of public will to remove street involved communities, and sex workers in particular, from the neighbourhood. Quite apart from triggering episodes of notable violence between new high-income residents and those involved in the sex trade, the shift in the demographic base of the

neighbourhood ostensibly created a demand for a different kind of cultural offering than what has existed for the better part of a century. The *Quartier des spectacles* can be understood as emerging from this new cultural-economic context.

Quartier des spectacles

The introduction of the *Quartier des spectacles* ushered in an era of unparalleled revitalization in the downtown core. First introduced at the *Sommet de Montréal* in 2002, the *Quartier des spectacles* unfolded in four distinct projects: the *Projet du 2-22 Sainte-Catherine Est* (introduced in 2005), the *Quartier des spectacles - secteur Place des Arts* (introduced in 2007), the *Quadrilatère Saint-Laurent* (introduced in 2009), and the *Quartier des spectacles - pôle du Quartier Latin* (introduced in 2012) (Ville de Montréal 2012). These development projects were all concentrated within one square kilometre. Two of the projects explicitly targeted the Saint-Laurent and Sainte-Catherine intersection for redevelopment, the core of Montréal's historic red light.[20]

The lead up to the development of the *Quartier des spectacles* contributed to a slate of commercial venue closures, including, ironically, a number of bars, cabarets, concert halls and nightclubs frequented by working poor and street involved people. The closures included both outright expropriations as well as voluntary departures by business owners who decided to close in the face of growing pressure, either indirectly in the form of rising municipal taxes, or directly from the police, particularly the morality section (MAS) of the SPVM.

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[20] Community consultation and *concertation* emerged as a focal point in the interviews, particularly in relation to municipal development projects, such as the *Quartier des spectacles.* Streetworkers who worked in the late 1990s and early 2000s note the proliferation of community consultations. They also noted the disjuncture between the stated intentions on the part of public authorities (the city, the police) and how public policy and police practice manifested in the street. Community groups and streetworkers were forced to interrogate the extent to which these consultations were an exercise in public relations, and to what extent they were being instrumentalized in broader processes of displacement and repression of street milieus. While perhaps not a factor that directly contributed to the transformation of social relations and street culture, the interviews suggest that consultation and *concertation* functioned as a key legitimating mechanism in development and displacement agendas.

Avec le Quartier des spectacles, ils ont commencé à racheter les bars, à fermer les bars, les hôtels aussi." C1 (...) "Tu vois, le plan d'action dont je parlais tout à l'heure [de la ville de Montréal pour se débarrasser des irritants], c'était beaucoup en prévision de la venu du Quartier des Spectacles. Le nettoyage ils l'ont commencé bien avant la première pelleter de terre. Même si ça, ça pas eu lieu avant 2005, ç'a jouait quand même (...) Ils commençaient à fermer des places. Il y a des places qui sont partis volontiers, qui ont fait *fuck it*. F12

Another streetworker questions the reasons given by the SPVM for the closure of a number of working poor bars and hotels, raising questions about the extent to which municipal development projects and police activity were explicitly coordinated. "Il avait un plan derrière tout ça avec le Quartier des Spectacles. C'était pas juste parce que c'était violent qu'ils ont voulu fermer tout ça. Il avait un objectif clair derrière la prise de l'espace public que ... il voulait le reprendre, et le fermer, et c'était un objectif clair." H10

The development of the *Quartier des spectacles* and its lead up corresponded to an increase in police repression downtown. Some attribute it as a key factor for a shift in policing practice:

Avant le Quartier des Spectacles et tout ça, il n'y avait pas de problèmes tant que ça (...) Il n'avait pas une répression policière extrême comme justement dans le Centre-Sud, ou là c'est épouvantable. Ils laissaient les filles travailler, ils laissaient la consommation relativement, et c'était pas la grosse affaire. Mais là quand toute l'histoire du Quartier des Spectacles est arrivée ... H13

While the principal orientations of the *Quartier des spectacles* included economic revitalization and cultural development (Ville de Montréal 2012), this revitalization hinged directly on the removal and disposession of preexisting culture:

Mais le problème c'est que on va installer là une culture subventionnée, pour enlever une culture non subventionnée. Ce que je veux dire c'est que la rue Saint-Laurent, on peut l'aimer ou ne pas l'aimer, mais c'est une culture. C'est une culture de la bagarre, des groupes ... s'en ai une culture. A8

While the SPVM was in some cases directly responsible for the closures and removal of specific forms of cultural expression downtown, in the majority of instances, the closures were the result of a complex interplay of development, municipal bylaw enforcement, and high-income residential development. The role of the police in the closure of venues and in the laying of the infrastructural groundwork for the *Quartier des spectacles* was embedded within a particular trajectory of shifts in policing practice

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throughout the 1990s and 2000s. It is this trajectory that in many ways consolidated the transformation of street level social relations and the displacement of street culture. This trajectory of policing practice goes beyond the specifics of particular venue closures, and illustrates how this displacement was achieved on a neighbourhood scale.

4.4 "On affrontait une armée, et nous autres, on avait des couteaux à beurre": The SPVM and policing practice

> Ça comme dérapé à moment donné à la fin. Quand Boléro a fermé, c'était assez fucked up, sérieusement. Moi j'ai vu la dérape, je te dirais - je sais pas, et c'est une question qu'on pourrait se demander. L'oeuf ou la poule, tu sais ? Les policiers sont-ils devenus hyper agressifs et vouloir fermer tout ça à cause que c'était violent ? Ou c'est devenu violent parce que la répression policière était trop intense, comprends-tu qu'est-ce que je veux dire ? Et ça devient aliénant. Et ça était sur la parano, ça peut pas faire autrement. Fait que, c'est un questionnement à voir. Moi j'ai plus tendance à penser la deuxième parce que on s'entend ils avaient un plan derrière tout ça avec le Quartier des Spectacles. H10

The passage above describes interplay of police activity and the closure of commerical and indoor venues. It also desribes the rearticulation of street level social relations along lines of suspicion and alienation. It asks whether the increase in violence, and disintegration of street level social relations was the cause for an increase in police repression, surveillance, and the accompanying closures, or whether police repression was in fact among the central causes for the increase in violence and accompanying disintegration of street level social relations. This final section of this chapter aims to trace the role of policing practice in displacement and cultural transformation, to demonstrate how policing worked in concert with the other drivers of displacement described above, and explore how it functioned as a central mechanism.

Chronology of shifts in policing practice

Many among the passages above describe a context of policing practice in the late 1990s characterized by relative tolerance, particularly in relation to street based sex work and the operation of crack houses and shooting galleries in certain parts of downtown and Centre-Sud.

J'ai l'impression il y a moins de tolérance aussi peut-être de la part des policiers à laisser ouvert longtemps genre des piaules qui pouvait s'ouvrir. Alors moi quand j'ai commencé dans la rue les piaules pouvaient rouler pendant des années. D12[21]

There were however several clear turning points in the visibility and intensity of police repression downtown, the first of these turning points generally identified as having taken place 1999-2000. This also corresponds with the increased use in red zones (*quadrilatères)*, as well as ticketing for incivilities and the increasingly aggressive use of public space regulation strategies (Bellot et al. 2005). The second of these identifiable waves in police repression was in 2004-2005, particularly where the repression of street based sex work was concerned. "À un moment donné dans le Centre-Sud il y a eu toute la répression policière, ou là c'est devenu une obsession du poste 22 qui était vraiment - obsessif." H2 This corresponds with the rates of prostitution related charges laid by the SPVM citywide, which nearly tripled between 2002 and 2004, from 553 to 1417. In the downtown core (the jurisdiction of PDQ 21), charges increased almost fourfold during the same period of time (Service de police de la ville de Montréal).[22]

Another streetworker also describes this growing intensity of police repression, culminating in her own departure from streetwork practice in 2005.

Ça faisait des raisons pourquoi j'ai quitté de travail de rue, parmi tant d'autres, mais une des raisons c'est que juste avant, juste après, avant que je quitte déjà il commençait à avoir beaucoup de répression. Le quartier comme on sait à beaucoup changé, ça devenait de plus en plus difficile pour moi de travailler. D2

Je me faisais carrément dire par les policiers - et c'est ça que à un moment donné moi je me suis commencé à me dire *bof, je vais arrêter*. Parce que les policiers passaient, et ils - moi ils m'interdisaient d'être là parce que si moi j'étais là, j'allais attirer les travailleuses du sexe ou les personnes qui consomment ... mais c'était un peu pour moi le début de la fin. D4-5

While the interviews overwhelmingly describe decisive shifts occuring in 1999-2000 and 2004-2005 respectively, there are also a number of accounts of policing

[21] This institutional tolerance was in large part likely due to police collusion with biker gangs (Berthomet 2013). For a more detailed history of this collusion and of institutional tolerance for organized crime historically, see the work of Brodeur (2011) and Lapointe (2014).

[22] See Appendix 4 for a breakdown of prostitution and drug related charges citywide, as well as for those same charges within the jurisdictions of PDQ 21 and 22 (downtown and Centre-Sud respectively).

practice having shifted in other ways. Several accounts note a shift toward less explicitly abusive practices, and a decrease in police harassment. One account notes the shift in the way Montréal police dealt with sex workers seeking to press charges against violent clients following the Robert Picton murders.

> Au début, quand moi je suis rentré, les policiers, c'était super difficile. Moi, j'ai vu des policiers crier à des trans avec leur micro ben fort 'Paul, va te coucher, t'es laide, ostie, à soir. Va te coucher, tu fais assez dur.' J'ai vu des policiers écœurer des filles pour rien, mais j'avoue que, au début, j'ai vu ça, mais quand j'ai fini de travailler ici à Montréal, y avait un changement au niveau des policiers par rapport à notre clientèle. C6

It is instructive to consider the simultanety of these two trajectories: an accentuation in repression and erosion of institutional tolerance on the part of the police, alongside a shift toward what appears externally as less abusive police practice. The simultanety of these two trajectories is highlighted particularly vividly in the case of the introduction of community policing in Montréal.

Community policing

Following the lead of many other North American urban centres, in 1995 the Montréal police underwent a substantial reform and saw the introduction of "community policing" as a new law enforcement model. This involved the establishment of twenty-six local neighbourhood police stations or *postes de quartiers* (PDQ). While community policing was formally unveiled in 1995, it was introduced in two phases - the first in 1996, and the second in 1998. The reform included the creation of an "*agent socio-communautaire"* at each of the PDQs, responsible for public and community relations. A number of community policing initiatives, including *L'Équipe mobile de référence et d'intervention en itinérance* (EMRII), and *L'équipe de soutien aux urgences psychosociales* (ESUP), were introduced in the 2000s, paring police with social workers, psychologists and other professionals with ostensibly therapeutic aims. While community policing was formally introduced in Montréal in 1995, its implementation was gradual.

> Il avait maintenant des policiers qui - les agents socio-communautaires. Leur rôle était, soi-disant différent. Et puis que eux voulaient tisser des liens avec des gens de la communauté. Qu'ils avaient pas tellement un rôle répressif mais plus ... blabla ..."

Interviewer: De médiation sociale ? *Interviewee:* Oui, c'est bien dit ça, c'est dans leurs mots. F7-8

The 1995 reform was described as a reorientation in the policing philosophy of the SPVM, a shift towards prevention, and partnership with community. In the years following the implementation of the reform, confronted with the discrepancy between police rhetoric and police action on the ground in the context of mounting repression, streetworkers questioned the real effects and intentions of community policing: "Des flics eux autres, dans leur discours, ce qu'ils disaient, ça pas d'allure, du monde, t'se, faut les aider, nous autres on veut les aider (...) Mais ça reste un discours politique parce que dans le fond, ils s'en câlissaient ben." B15

The shift toward community policing was also characterized by increased collaboration with community organizations, and the establishment of more formal communicative networks between police and community sector representatives. This corresponded with the growth of community consultations and *tables de concertation* throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s also described in the interviews.

[Avant] ça brassait en criss. Ça te donne une idée du climat du temps. Fais que là il avait vraiment pas de collaboration (...) Aujourd'hui c'est sûr que c'est un peu moins pire parce qu'ils sont sous les gros nerfs[23]. Il y a plus de canaux de communication, mais ça reste ... Ça s'est formalisé un peu plus. B8

Several incidents recounted by interviewees raise questions as to the actual impact of community policing on the ground, and the extent to which community rhetoric was mobilized to further consolidate and legitimate repressive mandates and practices where the policing of street involved community was concerned. The first of these took place in 1997.

Je pense c'était le 1e octobre ... 1997, je sais plus. Où est-ce que finalement l'agent socio-communautaire qui avait créé des liens avec les gens, et tout ça, finalement pendant tout ce temps là tout ce qu'il faisait c'était récupérer des informations pour que, à un moment donné il a eu un bust à la Place Pasteur, et, son nom c'était Tifour

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[23] This interview took place days after the fatal shooting of Alain Magloire at the corner of Berri and Ontario streets by the SPVM on February 3rd 2014. Magloire, homeless and experiencing mental health crisis, had been refused care at the hospital prior to being killed. A public inquiry was held into his death. No charges were laid against the police officer, Denis Côté, who shot Magloire four times.

et son partner c'était Manta. Et là il pointait - lui c'est un vendeur de drogues, lui c'est un toxicomane, lui c'est le gars qui garde le cash. F8

Another of these incidents took place in 2005:

Lui [Simoneau, le commandant du poste 21] ce qu'il m'avait dit c'est qu'il allait pas faire d'arrestation pour les filles, mais que son objectif c'était la dope. C'était trop violent. Il était très transparent, tout comme le gars du poste 22, il était transparent, c'est ça qu'on fait et *that's it*. [Mais finalement] ils se sont tous fait arrêter au Boléro (...) parce que le commandant Simoneau (...) il m'avait dit qu'il n'allait pas arrêter les filles et à moment donné j'arrive sur la rue et là il y a des filles qui se font menottées. Alors moi j'ai capoté ben raide (...) Puis il m'avait dit, *Ah ! j'ai aucune idée, qu'est-ce que tu veux que je te dise, c'est la moralité !* Puis la moralité c'est eux qui s'occupe des bars de danseuses, c'est plus moralité (...) mais un autre commandant avec qui j'avais un très bon lien, qui était vraiment correct - pour un policier, mais en tout cas - il m'avais dit qu'il mentait. Qu'il était *bullshitter*. Parce que le commandant à toujours le dernier mot sur toute activité qui se fait sur son territoire. H4-5

These passages reveals the extent to which police employed community rhetoric and instrumentalized relations with community to advance repressive action on the ground where street milieus were concerned. This echoes much of what is written on community policing within academic literature, where community policing is described as "police strategies aimed at shaping and manipuating public opinion" (Manning 1988, 40) and as "an important new source of institutional legitimation" (Murphy 1986, 179).

Streetworker accounts of the effects of community policing overwhelmingly discredit the notion that any kind of meaningful reform had taken place, but rather that police repression (in the form of the numbers of arrests, number of tickets for incivilities, intensity of police presence, and rates of instances of police abuse leading to formal complaints to the police ethics commission) had accentuated following the 1995 reform.

Ça vraiment miné, ou reminé la confiance envers les flics, et évidemment il y en a qui étaient tombés dans leurs panneaux. Fait que ça c'était vraiment poche, parce qu'il y avait certaines personnes du communautaire qui avait dit qu'on va redonner la chance, peut-être la police veux vraiment changer la façon de faire et ... mais non, finalement, *same shit* (...) F8.

In their study of the emergence of community policing in Canada, Ericson and Haggerty note the dangers of conceptualizing community policing entirely in relation to the "binary opposition" (1997, 178) between rhetoric and reality. They argue that the

central characteristic of a shift toward community policing models is the shift from reactive to proactive policing, or from responding to complaints to "risk management", closely tied to "broken windows" theory[24] and policing practice (ibid). This is reflected in the accentuated focus on "public disorder" with the 1995 reform (SPCUM 1995). As Ericson and Haggerty note, "Community policing entails 'a fundamental reorientation from a narrow focus on crime-fighting through rapid response (after-the-fact-reactive), to a broad focus on community security and protection through joint-problem solving and collaboration (before-the-fact-proactive policing)." (74-75).

New "community policing" models, in Montréal and elsewhere, explicitly included partnerships with community organizations, residents' associations, and various efforts to strengthen community-police ties in an effort to encourage citizens to signal crime. The proliferation of community consultations and *concertations* in which various intersectoral committees were established including both streetworkers and police (among representatives of other sectors) described in the interviews is certainly a reflection of this renewed focus on collaboration with community groups, not only in relation to municipal development, but in relation to public security and law enforcement as well. Streetworker experiences with *concertation* with police similarly called into question the lack of meaningful results and the uses of these instances as tools of political legitimation.

Efforts to create closer ties to community in the attempt to encourage individual citizens to signal crime or suspicious activity is represented perhaps most clearly with the introduction of *Opération Cyclope.* Created by the MAS unit of the SPVM, *Opération Cyclope* was a surveillance initiative that aimed to document acts of solicitation between sex workers and clients by solliciting the direct participation of residents (SPVM 2003). Citizens submitted license plate numbers and other identifying information to the police, who then sent a written letter in the mail warning of potential legal consequences and of

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[24] Broken windows refers to a theory in criminology, and popularized by various municipal police forces in the 1980s and 1990s, wherein urban decay and minor incivilities are considered precursors to the commission of more serious crimes. The theory positions urban development as a strategy of public order maintenance (Ericson and Haggerty 1997).

the "health risks" associated with the purchase of sex (Allard 2003). Beginning in Centre-Sud and the east end of downtown, it was lauded as a success, and as the sex trade faced substantial displacment, *Opération Cyclope* was exported to other neighbourhoods, including Rosemont, Verdun, Ahuntsic, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, the Plateau Mont-Royal, and the South-West (SPVM 2003 - 2013).

The shift from reactive to proactive policing was reflected explicitly in the reorientation toward prevention and "risk management" in the 1995 police reform (SPCUM 1995). Risk management organized spatially through the work of police means a renewed focus on the social spaces that are understood to represent a potential hazard where the maintenance of public order is concerned (Ericson & Haggerty 178-179).[25] This shift toward the *potential* commission of crime is significant because it represents a much wider discretionary power for police. This suggests that contrary to what streetworker accounts may suggest, the introduction of community policing models and the SPVM reform in 1995 may have indeed substantially shifted police work on the ground. The discrepancy between the public relations rhetoric used and police work on the ground is apparent in the interviews. Beyond questions of rhetoric, however, the embracing of community policing as a model by the SPVM provides a potential explanation for the erosion of relative police tolerance of certain segments of the sex and drug trades, and for the heightened policing of street culture spaces considered to have criminal potential.

Didier Fassin explores the shift away from reactive and response-based policing to street patrols in the context of community policing in the suburbs of Paris. "On peut notamment montrer que les patrouilles ... concentraient sur des points chauds précis, en termes de trafic de drogues et de réseaux de prostitution" (Fassin 2011, 112). Fassin demonstrates that models of preventive and proactive policing, as shown by other

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[25] This is decidedly similar to social epidemiological frameworks that organize public health action around similar principles of risk management. Similar to the ways in which problematic spaces are framed on the part of public health as responsible for the spread of disease, these same spaces are conceptualized by public security to foster and spread criminality. Interestingly, the renewed focus on the closure and expropriation of commercial venues corresponded relatively neatly with a renewed focus with public health on "risk environments".

community policing scholars, are motivated by results-based and quantitative performance evaluations (119). As described in chapter one, in Québec, the 2000 law on public administration consolidated this shift toward quantitative and "evidence based" practice on all levels of public administration. Further research is needed to determine the extent of this impact, whether this was the case for the SPVM, and to what extent this created a drive for statistical visibility within policing practice in Montréal. `

Opération SharQc, bikers, and "street gangs"

One of the most significant events in the organization of street level social relations, the drug trade, and street culture at large was the transfer of power of the drug trade from the bikers to what are characterized as "street gangs" in the late 2000s with *Opération SharQc,* a joint RCMP, SQ, and SPVM effort to dismantle organized crime networks throughout Québec. While the majority of final arrests only occured in 2009, efforts to dismantle the network on the part of law enforcement begain in 2006. Smaller operations targeting biker gangs took place in the years leading up to 2006 but generally did not target - or were not successful in arresting - those in leadership positions (Charest 2010). The lead up to *Opération SharQc* coincides closely with what emerges from the interviews as the second wave of intensification of police repression downtown.

In the years preceding *Opération SharQc* throughout the 1990s and early 2000s the organization of the drug trade was experienced by streetworkers as highly structured:

> Il avait beaucoup de conso, les bikers de plus en plus présents, de plus en plus de coins de vente, de plus en plus structurés, les petits culs se faisaient ramasser avec huit quarts de coke dans les mains, vingt minutes après il avait un autre qui arrivait, alors les flics c'était comme, ils étaient impuissants un peu par rapport à tout ça, ça roulait. B15

Following *Opération SharQc,* with bikers' networks virtually decimated, what are described as "street gangs" began to fill the void.

> Les bikers ont beaucoup perdu d'influence. Ben ils se sont tout fait arrêté les uns après les autres. Avec l'opération SharQc. Évidemment ça créé un vide, et évidemment la drogue c'est, on peut dire c'est un besoin au centre-ville. Fait que, ce qu'on appel les "gangs de rue" ont pris la relève. Évidemment ça s'est fait de façon

un peu chaotique, fait que ça a amené beaucoup de chaos, d'instabilité et tout ça. Ce qui a eu aussi un impact sur les consommateurs de drogues. On ne sait pas trop à qui faire confiance, et tout d'un coup c'est quelqu'un d'autre, et là, il y a eu la shit avec l'autre avant, avec l'autre groupe avant, et la qualité de la drogue fluctue beaucoup. La drogue aussi ce n'est pas tout à fait pareil, tout d'un coup c'est plus du crack que de la coke, alors une autre façon de consommer, et une autre façon de consommer ça veut dire une autre façon de vivre sa consommation. F10

The stability and consistency in the drug trade (continuity in roles, stability of dealers, relative consistency in drug quality) ceded to what was experienced as instability and a level of chaos in stark contrast to what had been experienced previously. This shift also brought with it an aggravation of violence in street level social relations.

Les Hells qui contrôlaient le territoire, qui rentrent en dedans (...) ils contrôlent clairement le centre-ville, et là, t'as les gangs de rue qui a la grande porte ouverte. Fais que c'est sûr qu'il y a ça. Il y a ça qui a joué dans le fait que c'est devenu plus violent, que ça l'a brassé, que ça l'a créé une certaine instabilité (...) Parce que c'est ça, c'était violent, à la fin [2011]. Tu savais jamais quand ça allait sauter et tout. C'était clair. C'était aussi justement les gangs de rue et tout ça montait, c'est sûr que la violence montaient (...) Mais dans les bars et la guerre des territoires pour la dope qui montait, jusqu'à en haut, au nord, sur Saint-Laurent. H14

The introduction of the *Éclipse* squad, a special unit introduced in 2008 dedicated specifically to street gangs (SPVM 2008) represented an intensification and routinization of police surveillance in street milieus. "Quand Éclipse a commencé à être intense aussi au centre-ville, gangs de rue (...) ils étaient agressifs. Ils rentraient ... c'est sûr que, personnellement, je l'ai senti beaucoup plus dans les bars de danseuses avec Éclipse, ça c'était hardcore." H12 The period between 2007 and 2010 in particular saw the realization of six major anti-gang operations carried out by the SPVM (Charest 2010). This had a clear impact on the consistency of key actors in the drug trade, and the potential to create working relationships with streetworkers.

Les vendeurs qui ont changés, c'est des gangs de rue qui sont arrivés, c'est pas les mêmes vendeurs (...) tout le monde criminalisé (...) Je me rappelle c'était plus difficile, avant quand c'était les bikers, le lien que tu pouvais avoir avec le dealer, moi je me souviens, c'était beaucoup plus simple, c'était bien, tu recevais les informations sur ce qui se passait, il appuyait un peu la mission (...) ils donnaient l'information qui était pertinente - ils dispatchaient, ils donnaient au monde, tandis qu'après c'est beaucoup plus difficile, ça changeait tout le temps, c'était jamais les mêmes personnes ... FG6

Some streetworkers' experience of the transfer of power of the downtown drug trade from bikers to street gangs emphasize culturalist accounts wherein the culture of street gangs is framed as inaccessible and closed to collaboration with streetworkers. Ironically, these culturalist framings mirror police accounts of the rise of the "street gang phenomenon" in Montréal (Symons 1999). While this shift was characterized by less collaborative social relations between streetworkers and key players in the drug trade, the accounts on a whole emphasize the central role played by the shift toward more aggressive, routinized and racialized police surveillance downtown. The accounts also emphasize the extent to which the eradication of street gangs, defined explicitly in racialized terms (SPVM 2005; CDPDJ 2010) emerged as a key preoccupation for the SPVM.

While these two periods of heightened police repression downtown differ in their articulation and the strategies employed, the effects on the social organization of street culture and community were similar: "Moi le constat un peu que je fais c'est que dans le fond, ils ont comme gagné un peu. On a perdu un peu ce game là - sont durs à trouver en ostie à cette heure les amis - avant c'était pas de même." B8

4.5 Conclusion

The transformation of the social organization of street involved communities and the effective disappearance of street culture was coordinated by a number of mutually reinforcing social and institutional processes. The first phase of displacement was articulated primarily through the use of public space regulation strategies, including ticketing for incivilities and the use of red zones, and had the effect of displacing street culture largely indoors. This first phase laid the groundwork for the second phase of displacement, which was articulated through the slate of closures of commercial and private establishments, and which had the effect of dispersing street culture geographically and outside of the downtown core.

This displacement and dispersal was set into motion and driven primarily through two key institutional processes. The first of these processes was a period of aggressive

urban development and an accompanying erosion of tolerance on the part of residents and business owners. The second of these processes was comprised of several distinct waves of police repression that reorganized social relations along lines of alienation, suspicion, and the disposession of culture and space.

The following chapter elaborates on these impacts, and the ways in which everyday social relations, social practice, working conditions, and social bonds, were transformed. Reflecting on the outcome of years of development, venue closures and police repression, a streetworker shares the impression he was left with upon leaving streetwork practice, and leaving downtown:

> Ben ... j'ai perdu le combat. Un des combats que j'ai mené pendant une partie de ma vie. [Laughter]. C'est un peu gros, mais, j'ai pas l'impression qu'on a ... il avait beaucoup plus de moyens, beaucoup plus de fric, beaucoup plus de monde ... c'était comme, si on affrontait une armée, et nous autres, on avait des couteaux à beurre. Alors c'était prévisible qu'on perd. Mais, la revitalisation, les promoteurs immobiliers, les commerçants, tout ce que ... ça marché. Ça marché. B25

CHAPTER 5

"Quand la répression a commencé le monde commençait à se désorganiser solide":
Impacts of displacement and the transformation of downtown

Les filles savaient qu'a pouvaient aller là si y manquait 25 cents, le gars y aurait prêté pis la fille lui aurait remis. Le fait de bouger, c'est qu'ils ont pu ces liens ces personnes-là (...) ça dérange l'entraide par rapport à eux autres. Quand tu sais que c'est toujours les mêmes personnes qui sont sur le coin pis qu'y en a une qui crie. Ben là, elle est pus là la fille, on checkera pus pour savoir pourquoi tu cries. C12

This chapter centres on the impacts of the displacement process and the transformation of street culture downtown. While the previous chapter sought to describe the social and institutional processes that drove the displacement process and transformation of street culture, this chapter seeks to uncover some among its diverse impacts. This chapter asks how this displacement set into a motion a chain reaction of consequences that transformed street culture and the social organization (namely via public security and public health) of street-involved community, as well as what forms of social organization were possible.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the impacts on the social organization of the milieu, including the social formations and social practice in street culture that impacted health. There is a vast body of literature describing the impacts of development, urban renewal, and police repression on the health of people who are street involved, particularly drug users and sex workers, and particularly where vulnerability to HIV is concerned[26]. With this in mind, I have tried to not reproduce what has been amply demonstrated elsewhere. The parts of this chapter that touch on health focus on those social practices that had a direct bearing where health is concerned. This first section also illustrates the disruption of routine, the loss of informal supportive networks, and the disintegration of social bonds that aggravated social relations, and reorganized them predominantly along lines of violence and paranoia.

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[26] For impacts on individuals' ability to practice risk reduction strategies in terms of drug use and access to harm reduction programs, see Cooper et al. (2005) and England (2008). For broader impacts on health see the work of Friedman et al. (2006), Small et al. (2007), and Smereck et al. (1998).

The second section focuses on the impacts on streetwork practice and the relationship between streetwork practice and public health. The transformation of relations between streetwork practice and public health has a direct bearing on the social relations of street culture. It also necessarily has a trickle-down impact on the social relations between streetworkers and street culture. Within this transformed (and transforming) relationship between streetwork practice and public health, the organization of relations between streetworkers and street milieus also faced a process of transformation. This process of transformation reorganized the social bonds and relations between streetworkers and street culture in line with increasingly instrumental and directive approaches. While this section includes a brief exploration of the impacts of the social transformation of downtown had on streetwork practice, it foregrounds the ways in which the transformed relationship between streetwork practice and public health had on street-level social relations.

5.1 Impacts on the social organization of street culture

On health

The impacts of the displacement process described in the previous chapter on the health of street involved communities were varied. Access to services, particularly to harm reduction programs, needle exchange, and to streetwork and outreach, represents perhaps the most direct and immediately identifiable impact on health.

> C'est sûr qu'en isolant les gens et en faisant - et les recherches le démontrent - il va avoir plus de risques ... si les gens n'ont pas accès aux ressources, qu'ils n'ont pas d'accès à des travailleurs de rue, n'ont pas accès au réseau, n'ont pas accès à ... ils ne peuvent pas faire autrement. H16

In the previous chapter I demonstrated the extent to which people were relocated outside of the downtown core in the second phase of displacement, following the closure of a range of commercial and private venues. As a result of this displacement, people were at greater distance from organizations and services serving street involved communities. The concentration of community organizations working with people in the sex and drug trades downtown, and lack of adapted services in other neighbourhoods represented a key barrier to accessibility.

Au niveau de l'accessibilité aux services, c'est clair qu'il en avait crissement moins. Il avait moins d'accès à des programmes de meth[adone], il avait moins d'accès - les gens prenaient beaucoup plus de risques aussi ... parce que, moins de services, moins d'accessibilité, à quatre heures du matin, sur la cocaïne, ostie, c'est sûre que tu [attrapes] l'hépatite à un moment donné. B14

The same streetworker goes on to describe how the number of visits to the needle exchange program at CACTUS-Montréal, the largest needle exchange program downtown, had dropped significantly as a result: "Les visites au site fixe avaient droppé pas mal aussi." B17 From 1999 to 2002, CACTUS saw a decrease of 4000 visits[27]. This also corresponds to what is described as the first wave of intensified police repression.

The intensification of police repression, accompanying rise in incarceration rates (MSP 2014), and lack of continuity in care and access to services during incarceration represented another key barrier in maintaining contact with health services:

Qu'est-ce que ça donne la répression policière? Ce qui est plate avec la répression policière : des fois, on essayait de faire des démarches en santé. Les filles se faisaient arrêter, pis toutes les démarches tombaient. Nous, on avait pris rendez-vous au CLSC, nos consommateurs ou nos filles se présentent pas, y cancellaient les rendez-vous. Quand on venait pour prendre un rendez-vous, y nous disait « A s'est jamais présentée à son rendez-vous ». Mais y'était en dedans! Souvent, on perdait nos gens. C7

The relocation and concentration of people indoors, particularly during the first phase of displacement, led to overcrowding and accompanying health issues, including greater risk of tuberculosis transmission. Issues of overcrowding in residential spaces affected particularly urban First Nations and Inuit communities (E1, H16). The displacement of people indoors and to peripheral neighbourhoods created a context of isolation from services, a critical factor of vulnerability to poor health:

C'est sûr si tu vas dans des endroits plus isolés, parce que tu vas être moins vu, donc moins de chances d'avoir des problèmes avec la police, ben, souvent dans ces espaces-là t'as aussi moins accès au matériel, et aux programmes justement qui peuvent t'aider au niveau de la santé." D16 (...) "Ça pouvait mettre des gens plus à risque, parce qu'ils étaient plus isolés, plus difficiles à rejoindre. G6

This isolation, which manifested socially by virtue of lack of access to public

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[27] See appendix 5 for shifts in attendance at the CACTUS needle exchange.

space and police repression, as well as geographically by displacement to peripheral areas, translated directly into impacts on physical health.

> Plus de prise de risque ... je me souviens d'une fille qui, sur Saint-Hubert (...) Et là quand je fais ma run jeudi dans les piqueries, je la vois, elle était décâlissée ben raide mon gars, la fièvre au bout ostie, je dis criss, qu'est-ce qui se passe, ça fait un bout depuis qu'on t'as pas vu, ben *je peux plus aller vous voir, je feel pas*. Elle était spottée, elle était trop spottée [par la police] ... elle m'a dit, *moi je marche juste* ... je m'en souviens pas de tous les détails, mais ... fait que là, j'ai dit je sais pas qu'est-ce que t'as, ou il y a de quoi qui ne marche pas, ça ressemble à un cotton fever et tout ça. J'ai réussi à amener Pierre Côté [a doctor] dans la piquerie, et criss, on l'avait hospitalisé, et c'était minuit moins une, elle crevait sinon, elle était sur le bord de crever. B16

Streetworkers also note a marked increase in endocarditis during this initial period of displacement and intensified police repression, due ostensibly to an increase in environmental factors that increased risk of injection: "Fait que moi j'ai eu beaucoup beaucoup d'endocardite, plus, quand, je te parle plus, mettons vers 97, 98, 99." B17 According to some accounts, this had a bearing on the increase in rates of HCV transmission, which increased exponentially in Montréal in the late 1990s and early 2000s (MSSS 2014). "J'ai vu l'hépatite C, j'ai vu l'avènement de ça (...) ça monté on ostie et en flèche, c'était incroyable." B14

The rise in HCV transmission rates points at least in part to an increase in "risk behaviours", influenced in part, if not primarily, by structural factors. These include hurried drug preparation and injection in public space due to increased police surveillance, reluctance to carry sterile drug use material due to extralegal police seizures of sterile drug use equipment, and economic incentives to engage in unprotected sex for sex workers, among a range of other factors[28]:

> Fait que je sais pas, après c'est sûr que si t'es tout le temps en stress, comme moi ce que je voyais dans la rue c'est que mettons quand il y a des périodes ou il y plus de répression policière - mais ça tu le sais - c'est les périodes ou souvent les gens sont plus stressés pour s'injecter, vont s'injecter n'importe où leur matériel ils ne vont pas le garder sur eux parce qu'ils ont peur de se faire voir avec. C'est que le stress en

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[28] The extent to which structural factors and legal repression represent a direct contribution to risk of HIV and HCV transmission has been amply documented in scientific literature. See Klein (2007), Wood et al. (2003), and Csete (2007).

général, ça fragilise encore plus les gens. D16

The intensification of police repression on sex workers and clients alike, as noted in the previous chapter, had a direct bearing on labour conditions and income security. The undermining of conditions for economic survival, combined with an accentuated focus on the legal repression of street level sex workers, according to some accounts translated into an increase in "risk behaviours", and created economic incentives to forego condom use. Others noted the increase in exposure to violence faced by sex workers whose ability to effectively screen clients was undermined.[29]

> Ben ils avaient moins de contact avec les groupes communautaires, ça c'est sûr, ça reviens à ... je me souviens d'une fille entre autres qui faisait ben de la prosto et tout ça, elles étaient tellement spottés qu'elles faisaient tout ça en cachette, pis là, criss, qu'est-ce que tu penses ? Fait que là, alors un soir au lieu de sucer huit queues, t'en suces deux. Ostie, ils prenaient plus de risques, des fois, et ils se gelaient moins fait qu'ils faisaient des pipes à dix piasses des fois, pour se faire un démi hit de poudre, fait qu'ils prenaient plus de risques. B15

The constellation of factors contributing to poor health and reduced accessibility to basic services worked in concert, creating a context for disease and vulnerability to aggravated health conditions, as the following passage describes:

> Au niveau de l'impact, ces personnes-là, nous, on les a perdues. Y en a qui se sont refaits des santés, mais y en a qui se sont maganés encore plus la santé, pis y en a qui ont complètement été malades. Je pense à quelqu'un qu'on avait suivi sur le VIH et a s'en est allée je sais pas trop où, pis son suivi VIH a l'avait laissé tomber. Je l'ai revu un an après pis elle était vraiment malade. Y a fallu qu'on retourne, qu'on recommence à zéro. C11,

The impacts on physical health and reduced accessibility to health services also parallel notable impacts on emotional and psychological health:

> Il y a plus d'isolement ça c'est clair. J'ai eu l'impression que les gens étaient plus isolés. Plus difficile d'accéder aux services, ça eu un effet sur le rapport social en général (...) plus de détresse psychologique, si t'es plus isolé, seul, consommait seul, plus de risque pour sa santé aussi. G11

In some cases, the isolation created through a diminished contact with services was a

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[29] This dynamic, and other impacts of police repression on sex workers' health, safety, and working conditions has been the focus of a large body of research, notably Chu and Glass (2013) and Mensah et al. (2011).

direct cause of emotional distress.

> Tout d'un coup ça les rattrape, et ils s'en vont passer des semaines des mois à Bordeaux [provincial men's prison in Montréal] (...) c'est comme un retour à la case zéro pour ces gens. Et les gens sont frustrés au téléphone, sont en prison (...) ils vivaient beaucoup de détresse. Je pense à une personne en particulier qui était à Tanguay [provincial women's prison in Montréal], et qui vivait beaucoup de désespoir - et beaucoup désespoir ça peux mener à des idéations suicidaires et tout ça, et ça c'était particulièrement dur, je pense, à une personne que tu connais entre autres, ou est-ce que Nicolas [a streetwork colleague] et moi étions en lien avec elle et c'était vraiment dur parce qu'elle était vraiment au bout de ses moyens, puis nous, on pouvait pas beaucoup lui offrir du soutien, le mieux qu'on pouvait. On craignait beaucoup pour sa vie. Ça c'était une personne parmi tant d'autres. F14

The degradation of emotional and psychological health can be understood in part as a product of specific stressors: increased social isolation, intensified police repression, separation from formal resources and supports, incarceration. But the degradation of emotional health can also be understood more broadly, when we consider the social relations and social practice that displacement unmade.

Uprooting and the disruption of routine

> Ben c'est déstabilisant. Complètement. C'est recommencé, c'est un éternel recommencement. J'y vais te prendre, toi, tu peux être quelqu'un de très fonctionnel, t'habites ici, je te dis, écoute, je reprends ton logement et je vais aller t'installer dans Tétraultville. T'as ben beau être fonctionnel, tu vas manger un coup. Mais chez ces gens-là qui sont instables, moi je pense le fait de les bouger continuellement ça les déracine sérieusement. Eux autres, je pense, ne se rendent pas compte, nécessairement tout de suite, parce que, souvent l'état fait en sorte qu'ils sont plus souvent gelés que ... mais le fait de ne pas être dans le même noyau qu'ils étaient, d'avoir perdu des individus, c'est comme un décès dans un groupe. A10

This passage notes the impact of the displacement process not only on the individual, but on the collective social relations of groups. It also notes this process of uprooting is not always immediately identifiable given the primacy of more immediate or urgent needs. It points to how the process of uprooting, is oftentimes rendered invisible within the landscape of impacts of displacement and cultural transformation. The implications of this uprooting and disruption of routine are varied, and represent a disruption in the "continuum" of the everyday:

Mais c'est sûre que si on dit que la rue est organisée, si on dit bon que la rue est organisée donc, chaque acteur joue comme un rôle, parce que moi j'allais dans les espaces parce que soit les filles allaient là pour travailler, soit le gars allait là pour acheter sa drogue, soit c'est un lieu de consommation, soit c'est un lieu de travail, soit c'est un lieu de vie, mais qui font partie de ... si tu veux, du continuum du quotidien de la personne, mais si t'enlèves des espaces où ces gens-là vivent leur quotidien, ben, forcément leur quotidien change. Et s'il se passe plus dans des espaces publics, ou privés, ou semi-privés, ben il va se passait ailleurs. Sauf qu'après, il se passe où? D12 (...)

Évidemment beaucoup de ces personnes-là avaient des liens avec des organismes au centre-ville, alors ils ont plus le droit de venir. Et encore là il y'en a qui habitaient au centre-ville ou Centre-Sud ... ou qui ont la famille, ou d'autres types de ressources, leur épicerie câliss, leur banque, des affaires de mêmes. Ça ç'a eu un impact non négligeable. F15

The disruption of routine represented a fracturing of the rhythm in people's movement through the neighbourhood. This in turn created the impossibility on the part of streetworkers to adapt to this rhythm.

Mon rythme, je ne pouvais plus l'adapter au rythme des personnes. Ce que je faisais avant jusqu'à la fin - mon rythme de travail ou ma routine de travail était adapté au rythme des personnes et à leurs mouvements. Une fois que t'as compris le mouvement c'est quoi, tu t'adaptes. Et après, si les mouvements changent, t'essaies de comprendre le changement, et tu réadaptes. Mais là c'était même plus possible de suivre ce moment-là, mais leur mouvement je ne le comprenais plus, je les voyais moins, et moi même je pouvais pas m'adapter à leur mouvement. D13

While the disruption of routine might appear as banal relative to other impacts, routine in a context of social and economic precarity is inextricable from questions of survival: "Pour eux, tout leur rapport, leur sentiment d'appartenance, autant aux autres personnes qui sont dans la rue, qu'aux organismes, qu'aux lieux intérieurs, toute leur zone de vie et de survie, pour survivre, c'était dans cette zone-là que ça se passait." G11-12

The loss of informal supportive networks

While the disruption of routine had a direct incidence on the ability of street involved community to organize their social lives in a way that had some semblance of stability and convenience, the loss of informal supportive networks represented a considerable impact, albeit one that is difficult to measure. Isolation from family and friends is perhaps a more apparent aspect of the loss of informal support networks. The

notion that street involved individuals grew up in the neighbourhood, or had family there, is inconceivable within institutional framings (particularly police and the municipality) where street involved community on the one hand, and "residents" or "citizens" on the other are on opposite ends of a rhetorical divide.[30]

> Je veux dire tu veux qu'on fasse quoi là, on va pas, c'est comme ils font partie du quartier et le pire c'est que les filles dans le centre-sud y'en a beaucoup - et Hochelaga pareil - mais c'est beaucoup qui était là comme résidents. Mettons, la mère vivait dans le centre-sud, les grands-parents, ce n'est pas non plus juste les gens qui débarquaient dans le centre-sud pour venir travailler, ils faisaient partie du quartier, mais ils ne le reconnaissait pas. D11

As described in greater depth in the third chapter, the social organization of street culture downtown gave rise to certain social formations and social practice. These social formations included a range of relationships with actors embedded within or on the peripheries of street culture, including hotel receptionists, dépanneur owners, and dealers. These social practices included a range of actions including the defense of territory from competitors, the distribution of prevention material to clients, as well as the circulation of knowledge regarding drugs, overdoses, and other relevant information. Informal supportive networks, and the reference points which enabled these networks, were devastated:

> [Avant] elles retrouvaient quand même des points de repères. Elles savaient que si elles allaient à telle place, si elles avaient eu un mauvais client, elle pouvait en parler avec quelqu'un. Elle savait que là, il aurait telle autre personne qu'elle connaisse. Tandis que, d'enlever tout ça, et du coup enlever aussi le travailleur de rue qui peut-être moins routiné parce qu'il n'y a plus vraiment de chaîne (...) Ça fait que la fille qui va faire son client à Timbuktoo parce qu'elle ne peut pas le faire là, et là elle se fait mal traité par le client, après elle va ou pour le dire ? Il n'y a plus de - je pense - tu perds tes points de repère, alors tu perds le soutien qui peux venir de ces points de repère, ou ces lieux d'appartenance. D15

The loss of reference points described above and their role in enabling supportive social networks and social practice - in this example, seeking recourse and emotional

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[30] While an analysis of police and municipal government rhetoric is beyond the scope of this research, the plans for urban development initiatives downtown provide an illuminating case study of this rhetorical divide (Ville de Montréal 2012), where "residents" and "citizens" are mobilized exclusively in relation to stably-housed upper-income residents in the area.

support following an episode of violence in the sex trade - is a notable impact in the transformation of street culture. While there is no reason to believe that similar reference points can not be created elsewhere, the testimonial provided in the previous chapter describing the erosion of societal and cultural tolerance, as well as the extent of the separation and dispersal of street involved community, makes similar social formation difficult to imagine: "Après les gens ont essayé de se regrouper à d'autres endroits, mais c'était comme plus dur, parce que du moment qu'ils étaient quelques personnes ensembles, ils se faisaient séparer, alors ça ç'a joué (...) sur les liens." F16

The loss of supportive networks also extended to streetwork practice, and foreclosed the range of informal partnerships between streetworkers and dealers or other key actors in the street level sex and drug trades.

> Je me rappelle c'était plus difficile. Avant, (...) le lien que tu pouvais avoir avec le dealer, moi je me souviens, c'était beaucoup plus simple, c'était bien, tu recevais les informations sur ce qui se passait, il appuyait un peu la mission ... mais c'est certain ... ils donnaient l'information qui était pertinente - ils dispatchaient, ils donnaient au monde, tandis qu'après c'est beaucoup plus difficile, ça changeait tout le temps, c'était jamais les mêmes personnes. FG6

These partnerships - as informal and precarious as they often were - were a key element in the constitution of street culture. These forms of social practice provided a buffer from legal repression, violence, and risks associated with drug use. The disruption of these informal networks of support, sociality, and mutual aid foreclosed social practice that provided concrete benefits in terms of physical and emotional health. More broadly, and perhaps more importantly, the cultural transformation that occurred downtown manifested in the disintegration of social bonds, and their reorganization along lines of alienation and estrangement.

The disintegration of social bonds

> Il avait comme une constance. Comme une chaîne, tous les maillons étaient attachés, et il avait une constance dans cette chaîne-là, et comme une acceptation que, ben, ça, c'est le rôle de chacun. Mais à partir du moment là ou les espaces eux ont changé de vocation ou se sont fait fermés, la police qui mettait plus de pression sur les gens, qui mettait de la pression sur les piaules, dans le sens que là ils pouvaient être moins tolérant sur le fait de garder la piaule longtemps, ben, c'est que tu brises les maillons de ta chaîne. Alors si t'as plus un continuum t'a comme,

t'as plein de petites cellules éparpillées. (...) c'est beaucoup plus simple à s'intégrer dans un continuum que t'intégrer ... je veux dire, quand t'as plein de maillons séparés, tu t'intègres comment ? D12

The disintegration of social bonds and accompanying social fallout - an increase in violence, greater paranoia and suspicion, less collaborative social relations - shifted a range of social relations within street milieus, and foreclosed an array of social practices. Among the manifestations of this disintegration of social bonds was what was perceived by streetworkers as an increase in street level violence: "J'ai vu plus tard, vers le fin, les cassages de gueule pour quarante piasses, mais c'est ça, le monde se tenait plus [avant]. Il avait comme un genre de solidarité." B9 (...) "Le monde sont rendu agressifs aussi, super agressifs (...), mais même en dernier (...) des petits gangs, des jeunes jeunes, ils étaient tellement gelés - même il avait, ils étaient agressifs envers nous autres. FG5 This increase in violence accompanied what was experienced as growing suspicion: "Ça brasse encore pareil au centro, mais je veux dire c'est plus, le monde est plus méfiant, le monde ont comme développé comme des façons de consommer aussi, à se cacher plus, mais à faire ça dans les endroits peut-être qu'avant t'aurais pas vu ça. B14

The increase in violence, paranoia and suspicion, and other manifestations of the disintegration of social bonds are attributed to multiple factors. Among these factors was the transfer of power from the bikers to street gangs, and how the social reorganization of the drug trade itself (and accompanying accentuation of legal repression) undermined trust and created the conditions for violence:

Avec les bikers t'avais pas le droit de consommer quand tu vendais, pis quand il est arrivé les jeunes, eux autres les gangs, eux autres ils consommaient, la tendance à commencer à augmenter. Parce que quand t'es en état de consommation pis il y a en a une qui t'achale plus, ça se peut qu'il n'y a pas de patience. FG6

The degeneration of solidarity and inter and intra-community support is also attributed to disappearing cultural space, and concentration of people: "Les filles qui restaient, c'était pas des filles qui s'entendaient super ben. La chicane pognait." C12 (...) " Et, là c'est mélangé un paquet de monde qui se côtoyait pas, mais qui se commencait a se côtoyé." A5

The breakdown of social bonds often was a simple matter of economics,

competition, and flows of supply and demand, creating a context for reduced autonomy and greater exploitation, particularly among women in the sex trade:

> Fait qu'il a eu des femmes qui se faisaient plus exploitées aussi, par rapport à tous ces changements-là, je pense à certaines ... beaucoup de violence ... *Interviewer:* Parce que dans la rue ils avaient plus tendance à travailler de façon autonome ? *Interviewee:* Seule ! C'est ça. Parce que les ... toute est plus difficile (...) il ne pouvait plus quêter, alors il se collait sur un prosto, fait qu'il le faisait travailler, et je vais te protéger, et je vais m'occuper de ci, je vais m'occuper de ça ... alors, exploitation, dynamiques de violence. B16

Others attribute the breakdown of relatively cohesive networks and social bonds between different groups within street culture as stemming from the increase in stimulant use (particularly crack cocaine) and decreased availability of other drugs, particularly opiates, over the course of the 1990s and 2000s[31]. This shift in modes of drug consumption coincided with the transfer of power from bikers to "street gangs", and the police repression of bikers, who had historically controlled the street level availability of opiates. The physiological and psychological impacts of sustained and long term crack use (and associated side effects including paranoia) on street involved communities was noted in a number of interviews, particularly the extent that the increased accessibility of this drug undermined the conditions for collective organization, formal and informal:

> Et là tout d'un coup, le type de consommation change, alors les rituels changent, la façon de chercher sa dope change. Et le crack, t'es tout le temps en train de regarder à terre en train de chercher des osties roches [de crack] à terre. Fait que ça ç'a amené un gros ... oui, puis beaucoup des tensions aussi parce que, c'est drôle, les gens sont comme différents quand ils poffent du crack, et oui, beaucoup plus agressifs, qui créait un climat assez tendu des fois. F11 (...) C'est sûr que le crack ça ... ça l'amenait la violence. FG6

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[31] The relationship between aggressive drug prohibition on the policy level, and the massive influx of crack cocaine into North American urban centres is resumed deftly by Bourgois: "The demise of Mafia hegemony on the street occurred just as the underground economy was redefining itself around cocaine and crack in the mid-1980s, which were supplanting heroin as the undisputedly most profitable product. The vigor of the crack-cocaine economy during the late 1980s and 1990s was largely the result of an aggressive federal drug policy prioritizing the criminal repression of smuggling (...) marijuana importers working the Latin American supply routes adapted to the escalating levels of search-and-seizure they were facing at U.S. borders by switching from transporting marijuana to trafficking in cocaine. Cocaine is much easier to transport clandestinely because it takes up only a fraction of the physical space occupied by the equivalent dollar value of marijuana. U.S. inner cities consequently were flooded with high-purity cocaine at bargain prices shortly after the federal government increased drug interdiction efforts" (1996, 74-75).

According to some accounts, the introduction of crack cocaine into street level drug markets in Montréal, and accompanying (or coinciding) disintegration of social bonds created an impetus for greater police repression, a repression that was increasingly and explicitly organized along racial lines in later years as explored in the previous chapter.[32]

Other accounts relate a reverse trajectory - that the mounting police repression created the context for increased insecurity, paranoia and suspicion within street milieus. "Pis les flics, comme je t'ai dit, ils lâchaient pas, c'était débile. Il y en avait qui était complètement déstabilisés, dans le fond (...) Il avait comme un climat de paranoïa qui est installé au centre-ville carrément." B16 This mounting paranoia and suspicion, cultivated in part by incessant police presence, was consolidated by specific policing strategies:

> Mais j'ai clairement vu que quand la répression a commencé le monde ont commencé à se désorganiser solide. Comme je t'ai dit, des dealers qui ont commencé à tombé paranoïaque, et qui commencer à consommer, [c'était]du monde qui consommaient pas [avant]. C'était assez intense. C'est assez intense. Et évidement la parano de ... un tel parle à la police et tel ... parce que les policiers étaient tout le temps là. Et ils faisaient exprès ... des fois ils poignaient une fille plus loin et là le monde voyait, en tout cas. Il avait une paranoïa extrême à la fin, une paranoïa extrême. H10

It is unclear if this accentuation in police repression was a result of the end of the era of police collusion with bikers (Brodeur 2011), an increased perception of public disorder, or an actual increase in the disorganization of the drug trade brought about by increased stimulant and crack use. More research is needed to explore the discursive and material ways police coordinated public fear of street violence, and the role of public perceptions of disorder plated in the securing and legitimation of the aggressive policing of street involved communities. While the dominant narrative around the increase in violence in street milieus (a narrative circulated namely by the police and reproduced at times in the accounts of streetworkers) forwards what can be characterized as a culturalist framing, attributing this violence to the essential social characteristics of street gangs and "cultural communities" (Symons 1999), the passages above offer a different narrative. This alternative narrative situates the disintegration of social bonds and accompanying

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[32] A cursory overview of SPVM annual reports 1995 through 2013 reveal a consolidation of police special operations around street gangs, defined by ethnic and racial characteristics (Symons 1999).

social disintegration as a product of mounting police repression.

This landscape foreclosed a range of social practices both on an intra-community level, and between streetworkers and street involved people. The disintegration of social bonds meant that street culture at large was less disposed to certain kinds of social practices, particularly those which might leave it vulnerable to arrest or harassment. This directly impacted streetworker access to specific spaces, and to street culture as a whole.

> Une fois que ces espaces-là n'existent plus, et je pense c'est là aussi que s'ils perdent toutes leurs espaces ben forcément ils vont s'organiser autrement, mais après ils vont être plus méfiants aussi dans l'accessibilité de ces espaces-là à n'importe qui. Alors après c'est ça, je pense ça peut être plus difficile pour les travailleurs de rue, même s'ils les connaissent les espaces, d'y avoir accès. D12

This created the context for the isolation of street culture from supportive social structures, undermining supportive institutional and interpersonal social relations in what can be understood as an expression of self-preservation or "cultural autonomy" (Bourgois):

> Ben, les gens étaient plus méfiants. Les gens bougeaient plus aussi (...) Les espaces changeaient plus rapidement, et les gens était malgré le fait mettons que tu puisses être un travailleur de rue qui était là depuis longtemps, ben les gens étaient quand même plus méfiants (...) parce qu'eux-mêmes sont plus stressés parce que la police était débarquée déjà trois fois, alors ils en ont assez, fait qu'ils - je pense c'est l'instinct de protection qui embarque plus. D8

The disintegration of social bonds represents a key manifestation of displacement, cultural dislocation, and the transformation of street culture. It would be false to claim that all pre-existing social relations were supportive; the accounts in the previous chapters demonstrate the extent to which violence, exploitation, and competition represented important constituting elements of street culture and street level social relations. Rather, what this section argues is that the social practices and social bonds that comprised street culture were reorganized along lines of suspicion, isolation, and alienation. Specific social practices and social bonds became largely curtailed, or in some cases entirely inconceivable within this new arrangement.

The impacts of displacement and cultural dislocation are varied. The social organization of street culture faced massive transformation stemming from a range of

institutional processes. The manifestations of this cultural transformation included the creation of conditions directly impacting physical and psychological health, the disruption of routine, the loss of informal supportive networks, and the disintegration of social bonds. In the opening passage to this chapter, an interview participant speculates how the evisceration of street community and destruction of social cohesion had, by the mid 2000s, created a social context in which one would no longer, if they heard someone screaming, verify the sources of the screams. This harrowing thought underscores what is at play on a material level in the destruction and devastation of social practice and social bonds.

5.2 The relationship between streetwork practice and public health and its impacts on street level social relations

> Et moi j'ai vu toute cette transformation-là. Parce que au début, on est arrivé (...) et ça s'est quand même développé pas mal, de toute sorte de façons, travail de milieu, et de toute sorte de couleurs, on n'a jamais été capable d'uniformiser ça (...) Et j'ai vu aussi le contraire, j'ai vu comme la transformation qu'à un moment donné, ça s'est devenu un peu ... fallait le justifier la subvention, fallait justifier plus. On avait plus de misère parce que les statistiques étaient moins là, et on a voulu aussi faire plus une approche globale [en travail de rue]. B18

The transformation in the forms of social practice which were imaginable within street level social organization were also profoundly impacted by institutional relations between streetwork practice and publich health. The shifting institutional relations between streetwork practice and public health represents a key mechanism through which the reorganization of social relations in street milieus was coordinated. Specifically, this shift represented a reorganization of the relations between streetwork practice and street culture wherein these relations became increasingly organized in accordance with institutional requirements of statistical monitoring, instrumentalism, and managerial forms of intervention practice.

This shifting relationship between streetwork practice and public health can be understood as simultaneously both a contributing *cause* and *product* of the transformation of street culture and street level social relations. It can be understood as a contributing

cause, to the extent that institutional pressures set into motion a series of ideological changes and practical shifts in streetwork practice that changed where streetworkers were positioned - and the role that they played - within street milieus. This can, in short, be understood as a distancing of streetworkers from street culture. The shifting relationship between streetwork practice and public health can be understood as a *product* of the transformation of street culture to the extent that the displacement and disappearance of street involved community downtown resulted in new pressures on streetwork practice to prove its relevance and demonstrate its impact. This can, in short, be understood as a reformation of streetwork practice in line with exigencies around greater statistic visibility.

It is important to note that the shifting relationship between public health and streetwork practice does not only emerge from the displacement of street involved community and transformation of street culture downtown. These transformed institutional relations also emerge from shifting dynamics between state and civil society generally, as described in greater depth in the first chapter. It is difficult to disassociate the aspects of this transformed relationship that stem from broader shifts in state and civil society relations across Québec, and those stemming from the specific political economy shifts in street culture in downtown Montréal. Ostensibly, these two separate processes worked in concert and were reinforced by one another. The section here pertaining to the transformed relationship between streetwork practice and public health focuses on those aspects resulting - directly or indirectly - from the displacement process and transformation of street culture. Its focus is local; I focus on the relationship between streetwork practice in downtown Montréal with the *Direction de santé publique de Montréal.* As a result, this chapter does not speak to the evolution and transformation of streetwork across Québec and the relationship between this practice and the Québec state.[33]

This section begins by describing the loss of contacts and the chronology of the institutional relationship between streetwork practice and public health. It then charts

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[33] For a study of the shifting relationship between streetwork practice across Québec and the MSSS more generally, see Fontaine (2001).

various points of tension (instrumentalism, statistical monitoring, specificity in mandates) within this institutional relationship that emerged over time. It closes with an appraisal of how these shifts impacted and stand to further impact social relations on the ground, particularly between streetworkers and the street milieu. Again, this section is partial; it focuses on those aspects of the institutional relationship between streetwork practice and public health that a direct bearing on the social relations, social practice and social formations of street culture.[34]

Loss of contacts and shift from collective to individual intervention

As described in the previous chapter, for streetworkers the displacement process translated in concrete terms to the loss of contacts and greater difficulty in initiating and maintaining contact with street milieus. The accounts of dispersal described previously also meant that streetwork action shifted from collective to individual intervention.

> Ça se traduit toujours par la perte des liens avec des gens, qui s'est faite avec le temps. Souvent, difficilement - tranquillement, mais sûrement. Et là, tout d'un coup, tu perds le contact avec les gens, ils sont, soit parce qu'ils se cachent, ou parce qu'ils ont étaient complètement déplacé dans d'autres quartiers, ou même, emprisonné parce que c'était la politique de surjudiciarisation qui était la plus dévastatrice. F12

In addition to the loss of relational continuity, streetworker accounts routinely describe this loss of contacts and the evacuation of street involved communities from downtown in terms of disappearance:

> Ben c'est que évidemment tu perds ton monde de vue, et moi quand je suis parti en 2009, je suis parti en même temps que le Boléro a fermé, et je ne sais pas où se sont passés ces gens-là. La gang du Jolicoeur, je ne sais pas ou ce qu'ils sont passés. Et mise à part quelques contacts, et je me disais, moi je vais retrouver ces gens-là dans Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, et je les ai pas retrouvés là non plus. A8

The dispersal and separation of individuals and decreased police tolerance for groups of people in public space as described in chapter four had a direct incidence on streetwork practice, particularly its ability to work on a collective level, or with the street

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[34] It is important to note that this shifting institutional relation was a process of negotiation for streetworkers. While streetwork practice bowed to certain pressures, it also managed to successfully fend other pressures off. This complex negotiation is a process that is ongoing.

milieu as a whole. "Ça rejoignait moins mon côté militant, voir plein de monde, et de pouvoir agir sur un quartier." G10 This excerpt demonstrates the ways in which the possibilities within streetwork practice to act on a structural level were increasingly delimited. Within this new landscape, streetwork practice became increasingly defined by the dispensing of services to individuals, and increasingly less by the defense of collective rights:

> J'imagine que l'impact le plus grand est le fait que les gens soit moins accessibles, plus cachés, donc pour le travailleur de rue c'est sûr que c'est moins facile la création de lien, c'est moins facile. Et, un impact que je voyais, t'as moins d'espaces, il y a moins d'attroupements, alors de te retrouver sur un coin de rue et de croiser plein de gens, ben ça arrivait moins. D12

> Donc c'est sûr que travail de rue à la base c'est travailler dans différents lieux de vie et territoires pour rejoindre différentes populations, tandis que là tu te ramasses à faire l'intervention individuelle. G13

The context of greater social isolation within street culture and the accompanying shift from collective to individual intervention in streetwork practice undermined streetworkers' ability to integrate into street milieus, setting into motion a process of distancing from the social formations and social practices that comprised street culture.

> [Avant] c'était possible pour moi d'avoir une routine et justement d'avoir accès à des espaces qui me permettait de voir des gens (...) travail de rue ça veux dire partager le quotidien, et c'était possible pour moi de partager le quotidien des gens dans le continuum, et de fréquenter les différentes espaces, les voir ... à la fin, ça, c'était de moins en moins possible. D13

Chronology of shifts in public health streetwork relations

The loss of contacts, reduction in the number of daily encounters, and accompanying drop in streetwork statistics set into motion what can be described as a course of confrontation with public health. A trajectory of increasing institutional tensions between streetwork practice downtown and the DSP emerge from the interviews, emerging primarily at the end of the 1990s.

The accounts of those working through the 1990s describe a context of relative institutional support for streetwork practice on the part of the DSP. These years saw the proliferation of new streetwork positions, particularly downtown: "Ben ... ils nous ont

quand même backé, quand je remonte dans ces années-là, il y a eu quand même une augmentation du budget (...) je pense qu'il y a des personnes [au DSP] qui ont cru quand même." B21 This institutional support for streetwork practice, however, progressively declined in the years following: "Alors c'est ça, ils ont cru pendant un bout, il a eu comme un peu d'effervescence, ça montait, et là malheureusement la technocratie, là façon, à moment donné, ils ont commencé à couper." B22 (...)

The elimination of streetwork positions at CACTUS and elsewhere (personal communication with CACTUS staff member) made visible tensions between what is described as a "global approach" or the "generalist" orientation of streetwork practice, and the specific or "instrumentalist" vision advanced by public health. In a context of reduced statistic visibility, public health support for generalist and non-directive forms of intervention practice waned: "Écoute, ça changé parce que (...) tout ce qu'on voulait, c'était comme ... dans le contexte dans lequel on travaillait, c'était rendu comme un peu plus dur à défendre." B18

This trajectory or course of confrontation is also characterized by streetworkers as a subtle pressure, and gradual erosion of autonomy within streetwork practice: "Je voyais surtout ... la subtile pression qui s'installait." A12 (...) "On commençait à avoir des échos que la santé publique allait nous mettre la pression." D2 The mounting institutional pressure and cuts to streetwork programs downtown in the early 2000s was tied directly to a decrease in statistical visibility:

> Il y a eu un petite chicane avec la DSP parce que nous ... ils trouvaient que mes stats de seringues étaient pas énormes ... je me reviens à ce que je te disais, mais l'approche globale (...) ne passait pas. B2 (...) Comme tous programme gouvernementaux, quand les osties de statistiques sont pas là, ben là, dans les dernières années, ç'a un peu coupé (...) il y a tout le temps des quotas et des si et des façons à justifier le budget. B21

While this transformation rarely crystallized around specific historical moments, several events do emerge which contributed to this transformed relationship. One among these events was the publication of a report by the DSP in 2006, a watershed moment not just for streetwork practice, but for HIV and HCV prevention in Montréal more broadly. This report can be understood as having consolidated the mounting pressure on the part

of public health in the reformation of streetwork practice. "C'était exactement ces années-là qu'on était coupé si je me trompe pas. [C'était] un moment clé, ce rapport-là, en effet. Ils ont vraiment chiffré le nombre de seringues qu'on devrait remettre." G18 The report explicitly prioritized the amplification of the distribution of injection drug equipment, and a reorganization of prevention strategies along plainly instrumental lines:

> Au total, entre avril 2005 et mars 2006, le nombre de seringues neuves mises en circulation pour des UDI montréalais était donc de 996 700. Ceci représenterait 6,6 % du nombre de seringues estimé nécessaire pour que chaque injection soit faite avec une seringue neuve. Nous estimons que 15 080 000 seringues seraient nécessaires chaque année pour que les utilisateurs de drogues par injection de Montréal puissent utiliser une seringue neuve pour chacune de leurs injections ... il apparaît indéniable que, pour répondre aux besoins des UDI, le matériel doit être distribué beaucoup plus largement qu'il ne l'est présentement (DSP 2006, 7).

> This ultimately led to the elimination of streetwork positions:

> On a passé de trois postes à deux postes en travail de rue (...) mais ils voulaient financer la livraison de seringues. Le rapport entre la seringue et la coupure était évident (...) Ils ont carrément dit, c'était assez clair, le travail de rue était pas assez efficace en terme de distribution de seringues et il fallait qu'ils trouvent d'autres moyens. Ça répondait pas aux résultats attendus en terme de nombre de seringues, mais aussi en terme de diminution de VIH. C'était vraiment ça. G15-16

The following passage reveals the ways in which community organizations internalized these instrumentalist pressures:

> Fait que ça c'est un moment clé, je me souviens où la discussion tournait vraiment autour de l'approche globale versus l'instrumentalisation (...) il avait la santé publique, c'était eux qui coupait, mais il avait aussi la discussion sur la perception que CACTUS avait au niveau du travail de rue, et même la perception de CACTUS je trouvais qu'il changeait. La perception de la direction de CACTUS embarquait un peu dans la discours de la santé publique comme quoi qu'on devrait - oui - instrumentaliser plus. G17

While the shifts in the institutional relations between the DSP and streetwork practice manifested perhaps most explicitly in the 2006 report and in cuts to streetwork positions, streetworker accounts describe a clear trajectory of degenerating institutional relations:

> Et se battre avec le bailleur de fonds, on était vraiment dans un rapport intense... toujours se battre pour se faire imposer justement (...) D'avoir le rapport de toujours

d'efficacité en termes de juste instrumentalisation ... je le sentais moins au début (...), mais dans les dernières années que j'étais là, c'était ... ça m'a essoufflé. G10

The rise of instrumentalism[35]

I use the term "instrumentalism" to refer to a paradigm in public health that organizes public health action around specific technologies and implements, their use, uptake, and distribution. In this sense, instrumentalism - as a governing logic in public health - became a mechanism through which streetwork practice become reorganized in large part around the distribution of sterile drug use and other prevention material:

J'ai l'impression que eux [le DSP] avaient une vision plus d'instrumentalisation, et le discours de l'approche globale passait pas avec eux (...) Il avait une perception de la réduction des méfaits qui était très en lien avec l'instrument. [Ils voulaient] plus de messages de prévention au lieu de travailler sur la personne de façon globale. G17

The notion of instrumentalism can also refer to a process whereby the role of a particular actor is mobilized for purposes other than those initially intended, toward different ends. It is in this sense that much of the literature on *action communautaire* in Québec refers to how community organizations and civil society groups were *instrumentalized* by the Québec state toward a finality of service provision. This finality was different from the intial objectives of *action communautaire,* organized historically around collective action and community development (Lamoureux 2007). In this sense, we can see how the *role* of streetworkers was utilized to achieve objectives defined external to streetwork practice and street milieus: the distribution of material, the dispensing of prevention messages, and modification of "at risk" behaviours. I use the term to refer to these two separate but mutually reinforcing processes: the reorganization of the practice around instruments and implements, and the rearticulation of

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[35] As noted in the introduction to this chapter, it is important to note that the rise of instrumentalist approaches in public health and the rising pressure to integrate these approaches in streetwork also emerge from significant shifts in public administration in Québec (elaborated upon in more depth in chapter one) including notably the 2000 law implementing models of new public management, and the 2004 health care reform. Both of these secured a public administration based primarily on cost efficiency, evidence-based practice, and statistical visibility (Parazelli 2001, Turcotte & Bastien 2010). While these broader political shifts certainly had a significant bearing on the rise of instrumentalism as an organizing principle of public health action, this shift in the context of streetwork in downtown Montréal had as much to do with the dynamics of reduced statistical visibility and loss of contacts described above.

streetworkers' role according to institutional objectives (in this case, public health):

> Alors de se faire dire ok, vous devez donner plus de seringues plus de seringues plus de seringues, ça concordait pas avec ni notre façon de faire, ni ce qu'on constatait comme besoin sur le terrain (...) ils vivaient comme sur une autre planète. Ils voulaient que je promène avec des poches d'hockey. Et ils n'acceptaient pas le côté qualitatif du travail (...) Pour eux c'était absurde qu'on parle d'autre chose. Et pour nous c'était absurde qu'on parle que de ça. F16-18

In this passage, the mode of action privileged by the DSP (instrumental distribution, based on the notion that HIV risk is a consequence of individual rational choice) enters into direct conflict with the mode of action privileged in streetwork practice (action based at least in part on collective and socio-structural levels). The tensions in the institutional relations between streetwork practice and public health, around questions of instrumentalism point to the dissonances between formal / institutional knowledge, and tacit or informal knowledge emanating from the ground. This highlights a tension at the heart of *action communautaire* and *action communautaire autonome,* around who determines the mandate, priorities, and mode of action within community organizations:

> La troisième des choses c'était que ... ben crime, les gens ... la santé publique constatait qu'il avait une baisse - il y a avait une diminution de nombre de seringues données, et on leur disait, ben là c'est parce que les gens consomment du crack ! Ils consomment moins par injection, et beaucoup plus par inhalation. C'était totalement frustrant, c'était comme s'ils étaient pris en 1994 encore (...) En fait, eux ils voyaient les statistiques de seringues qui diminuaient, mais ils voyaient aussi d'un point de vue épidémiologique le fait que le VHC continuait à faire des ravages, toujours en plus grandes quantités, et ils voulaient pas se rentrer en tête que c'était les pipes le problème. F17[36]

The tensions between streetwork practice and public health around the pre-eminence of instrumentalist approaches expose this disonnance between institutional and noninstitutional forms of knowledge, also with regards to the sources of HIV risk, and the appropriate prevention strategies to employ:

> Il a toujours eu une espèce de stress relié à CACTUS par rapport au nombre de

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[36] It was only much later that it was confirmed by epidemiological research that VHC transmission was occuring through the sharing of inhalation drug material (Fischer 2008), confirming what streetworkers, drug users and community organizations had been claiming for years.

seringues qu'on pouvait donner, surtout quand les chiffres étaient comme plus bas. C'est sûr que le discours de la santé publique quand ils venaient nous rencontrer c'était très ... ils nous présentaient les résultats de l'étude SurvUDI[37] par exemple où est-ce qu'ils disaient, que le VIH avait augmenté. Donc ça veut dire automatiquement qu'il fallait distribuer plus. G15

Faced with reduced statistical visibility and evaluative epidemiologic tools increasingly organized around an aggressively instrumentalist strategy, streetwork practice was subject to a range of pressures to shift its orientation, mode of action. There is a range of other illustrations within the interviews that demonstrate the ways in which this instrumentalist shift was assimiliated into the practice. One example is the shift of streetworkers articulating their role with respect to prevention material from "*dépannage"* to one of distribution (F5, B18). *"Dépannage"* in this context refers to the periodic distribution of generally small amounts of prevention material to individuals as a stopgap measure when access to fixed site NEPs was limited (for instance outside of opening hours), as opposed to the systematic distribution of prevention material in large quantities. *Dépannage* privileges referrals as the means to access material, and *autonomisation* as approach. Another example of the assimilation of instrumental approaches into streetwork practice is in the implementation of distribution quotas at certain organizations (D22).

Statistical monitoring

Closlely related, yet distinct from the growth of the instrumentalist paradigm, statistical monitoring represented another manifestation of the shifting institutional relations between public health and streetwork practice, which in turn impacted street level social relations. Exigencies around statistical monitoring in streetwork practice are similarly described as a gradual and mounting pressure:

On a vraiment vu l'évolution de la pression de la santé publique mettait (...) mais le besoin de savoir combien on en a donné au niveau des stats. Le temps alloué à cette partie de notre travail grandissait au fur et au mesure aussi, fallait que ça soit plus détaillé ... ils voulaient vraiment contrôler, qu'est-ce qu'on faisait. Contrôler le nombre de rencontres, tandis que le but premier en travail de rue ce n'est pas

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[37] A pan-Canadian longitudinal cohort study on HIV and HCV prevalance, incidence, and risk among injection drug users.

nécessairement la quantité, mais la qualité. G15

Mounting institutional demands around statistical monitoring represented a critical surveillance mechanism in the public health managment of streetwork practice. The time allocated to statistical monitoring practice represented an important increase in workload. With institutional requirements demanding the allocation of more time compiling statistics, streetworkers spent less time in the street, reinforcing a process of material and relational distancing from street milieus. "Ils voulaient des statistiques, des statistiques, des statistiques, et ça rentrait directement en conflit avec notre vision du travail de rue (...) On leur disait (...) notre travail est qualitatif et non quantitatif." F16

The growing place of statistical monitoring in the practice also raised ethical questions around the right to privacy, and the appropriateness of monitoring practices in street milieus, particularly in the context of criminalized activity:

> [Avant] c'était pas comme ceux qui ont présentement à remplir que je trouve complètement pas d'allure. Je ne comprends pas. La moitié des questions on peut pas les poser. J'irai pas demander à quelqu'un : 'Ta mère, toi, a consommais-tu?'. Quand on voit les personnes, on commence pas à demander son âge, sa date de naissance, ses affaires. C15[38]

In 2012, this mounting pressure culminated in the introduction of a computerized per-contact statistical monitoring system by the DSP, compulsory for all streetworkers funded through public health. The level of detail and bureaucracy involved in this new monitoring system surpassed even that of the monitoring required of social workers in the public sector, as detailed by a streetworker who had spent time working for a CLSC: "Ça l'a changé beaucoup avec les stats numérisées ou je sais pas comment on appelle ça qui était tout un choc (...) Qui était un choc pour les travailleurs de rue, qui effectivement, quand même était assez intense parce qu'au CLSC c'est moins long." H22

While streetworkers have negotiated and contested these mounting demands in a range of ways, institutional demands from the DSP regarding statistics, monitoring, and other surveillance practices reinforced and were reinforced by other shifts in the

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[38] Any information compiled by streetworkers for statistical purposes remains non-nominative and void of any identifying information as required by the code of ethics of the *Association des travailleurs et travailleuses de rue du Québec* (2010).

institutional relations between public health and streetwork practice, among them, pressure toward a greater specificity in mandates.

Tensions between generalist and specific mandates

Another important point of tension between public health and streetwork practice (as well as between the Québec state and civil society groups generally) was competing visions around the specificity of mandates. Over the course of the 1990s, streetwork programs, particularly downtown, become increasingly organized around specific epidemiogical "risk groups" (injection drug users, men who have sex with men, etc), a vision at odds with the generalist and universalist principles that comprised the historic foundations of streetwork practice (Fontaine 2001; Lamoureux 2007). This was also at odds with the orientation of streetwork practice that emphasized working on a collective level, or with street milieus as a whole.[39]

While streetwork practice faced growing pressure to work exclusively with specific populations, or "risk groups", driven by corporatist and epidemiological paradigms, streetworkers also faced mounting pressure to reorganize the practice around the management of specific behaviours, driven by the growing place of social epidemiology within the administration of health and social services. Examples of behaviours targetted for modification include, for instance, unsafe injection practices, or membership in "street gangs". The pressures around specificity in mandates and pressure to abandon generalist approaches in streetwork practice manifested in a range of ways. This tension is exemplified in competing visions of what constitutes "harm reduction" in the context of streetwork practice:

> Même la vision de la réduction des méfaits ce n'était pas juste relié à la prévention du VIH, mais beaucoup plus large en terme d'améliorer les conditions de vie des populations, en terme de groupes et en terme d'individus aussi. Je pense qu'ils [les travailleurs de rue] avaient comme une vision aussi, en plus de faire de l'intervention avec les gens, mais que aussi on était les yeux sur un territoire fait

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[39] It is important to note that the proliferation of streetwork and other programs with population-specific mandates was also driven in large part by civil society and activist demands around services adapted to the needs of particular communities. This was nonetheless a central point of tension in the context of relations between public health and streetwork practice.

qu'on pouvait prendre ces informations-là et justement l'utiliser et l'amener à l'ordre de jour ... on pouvait être les yeux du terrain pour justement pouvoir mieux intervenir dans ces territoires-là et ces populations-là. Je crois que cette vision du travail de rue, la santé publique ne l'avait pas de tout. Le côté militantisme, la défense de droits, pour eux c'était comme la perte de temps. G17

Directives and various other pressures to accentuate testing and treatment related interventions were another manifestation of institutional pressures to target specific populations and specific behaviours in streetwork practice. This included the growing place of epidemiolgical messaging within the practice: "Sinon, la DSP, écoute, souvent on a eu des petits rappels, à chaque fois, que à chaque fois qu'on donne un condom, à chaque fois qu'on donne une seringue, qu'on doit faire une intervention." H22 Directives to accentuate STBBI testing related interventions[40] raised important questions about the realistic possibility of treatment in an institutional context of important barriers to treatment access:

> C'est ben beau de faire des dépistages [des ITSS], mais un coup qu'il s'est fait dépisté faut faire de quoi avec. Parce que nous autres, ils faisaient beaucoup de dépistages, mais il n'avait pas de traitement d'Hépatite C [accessible] FG13

This also raised ethical questions for streetworkers about promoting testing and treatment regardless of the potential impacts of testing on the individual (for instance, stigma and associated exposure to violence) and the feasibility, accessibility or desirability of treatment. The growing place of "treatment as prevention" within HIV prevention has been the subject of sustained critique by social researchers in recent years (Kippax and Stephenson, 2012).[41]

The growing pressure to reorganize the mandate of streetwork practice along

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[40] Interestingly, accounts of the streetworkers interviewed note the accentuation of pressures to prioritize and amplify testing and treatment interventions, particularly following the emergence and subsequent take up of individual and "community viral load" as concepts within HIV prevention and public health. These new epidemiological markers ushered in an era known as "treatment as prevention", or "seek and treat" based on the notion of putting people on treatment as soon as possible to render them less infectious, and lower the possibility of transmission (Miller et al. 2013) on a populational level.

[41] While generalist / specific tensions manifest in particular ways for streetworkers downtown funded through the DSP, it manifests in similar ways for those working elsewhere or with other grant providers. Streetworkers working primarily with youth in predominantly Black and / or immigrant neighbourhoods and funded through the MSP face similar pressures around directing their interventions around gang and crime prevention (Sénécal et al. 2010).

increasingly populational and behavioural lines undermined the role of the streetworker within street milieus, shifting its orientation from accompaniment to one of rehabilitation:

> Dès le moment que t'as le pression d'un objectif, ben c'est sûr que t'as moins de marge de maneouvre pour la prise en compte parce que la prise en compte, il y a l'idée de faire émerger ou de laisser émerger - mais laisser émerger ça prend du temps. Ou ça prend un rythme que tu ne contrôles pas. Parce que justement tu laisses émerger donc c'est sûr que si t'as des exigences d'objectif précis, peu importe lesquels, mais entre autres la santé publique, ben c'est sûr que la prise en compte - t'as moins d'espace pour. D23

While streetworkers negotiated institutional demands around increasingly specific mandates in a range of ways, there was nonetheless a gradual process of internalization of these pressures within the practice:

> Je me me demande à quel point les travailleurs de rue eux-mêmes ils participent pas, ils contribuent pas à justement à eux-mêmes vouloir mettre un cadre, un cadre autour de leur pratique." D26 (...) "Se sont plus recollés sur le mandat de l'organisme dans lequel ils travaillaient (...) Alors tout le monde défendaient un mandat dans la rue. S'il y en a un d'En Marge, ben lui ce qu'il cherche c'est ces kids, des fugueurs, c'est les jeunes (...) à Spectre de Rue c'est prévention, à CACTUS c'est prévention VIH, hépatites (...) on s'est comme compartimenté, on s'est comme replié un peu sur nos mandats pour préserver un peu les acquis qu'on avait. B18-20

Impacts on social relations between streetworkers and street milieus

Each of these expressions of growing institutional pressure from public health on streetwork practice impacted street level social relations in complex and myriad ways. The social organization of social bonds between streetworkers and street involved individuals, and the forms of social practice within these relations underwent a process of notable transformation. Each of these points of tension - the growing dominance of instrumenalism, the growing place of statistical monitoring, and the increasing specificity around streetwork mandates - contributed to a reorganization of social relations and rearticulation of social bonds. These social relations and social bonds were newly characterized by managerialism, emotional / psychic distance, and competition for statistic visibility.

The process of transformation of the social relations between streetworkers and street milieus is by no means a *fait accompli.* Streetworkers have negotiated, contested,

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and at times refused these various pressures and institutional demands:

> À un moment donné il [a streetwork colleague] a fait comme, non, c'est pas le genre de lien que je veux avoir avec les gens. Alors il a mis ça bien au clair. Et je trouvais que c'était une bonne idée. Et effectivement, les gens que je voyais je les connaissais assez responsables pour les voir au site fixe régulièrement, pour chercher leurs affaires. F5

While some individuals managed to negotiate these pressures in ways which maintained non-instrumental and non-managerial relations with those with whom they worked, the role that streetworkers played within street milieus was nonetheless subject to a shift. "Il a eu (...) plus de pression au niveau de la distribution de matériel et tout ça. Après j'ai l'impression que c'est ça qui a joué beaucoup sur peut-être la place des acteurs et des intervenants." D20

One key illustration of the shifting social relations between streetwork practice and street milieus is the concentration of streetworkers in particular areas and the inundation of certain spaces. Confronted with the displacement of street involved communities outside of downtown and the disappearance and closure of culturally important commercial establishments, streetworkers struggled to locate their contacts:

> Parce que je passais plus de temps dans les organismes (...) Alors je me mettais avec du monde, et on essayait de rencontrer le plus du monde possible, alors oui ça changeait la pratique ... fait que c'était moins dans la rue (...) On courait plus après le monde. On les cherchait. Et on les cherchait pas avant. B19

This contributed to greater amounts of time spent in other community organizations and not in street milieus directly, contributing to an emotional and psychic distance from street culture. Combined with growing pressures from public health to demonstate impact, streetworkers congregated in the few remaining areas where they were sure to reach individuals, and demonstrate a level of statistical visibility:

> Tous les intervenants voulaient s'en venir à Hochelaga pour travailler parce qu'y avait moins de monde ici dans le centre-ville pis trouvait qu'y avait pu rien, personne. C'était la guéguerre : le monde était trop intervenu l'autre bord. Je me rappelle, j'avais vu une fille sur le coin pis je la connaissais super bien pis je lui avais dit 'As-tu besoin de quelque chose', pis a m'avait dit 'Hé toé tabarnak, t'es la cinquième qui me dit ça à soir. Crisse, allez-vous nous câlisser la paix tabarnak.' J'étais parti à rire. Pis j'avais dit à [ma collègue]: *'Hou, ça va pas ben parce que le monde de la rue commence à être tanné.'* C13

This raised important ethical questions for streetworkers, who were forced to interrogate the role they wanted to play in the social organization of the street, and what kind of social bonds were possible within this new landscape. Institutional pressures created a context for increasingly aggressive and imposing forms of intervention with community responses at large and within streetwork practice specifically, raising questions with regards to the "voluntary" and "non-directive" principles themselves the basis of the streetwork ethic and of *action communautaire autonome*.

> Fait qu'on a statistiques, on en a à remplir, mais il ne faut pas non plus pitcher sur les gens. À un moment donné (...) il avait peut-être une panique - *ah, non, notre monde n'est plus là* - alors on saute sur tout le monde. Faut se trouver du monde. Mais en même temps, il faut faire attention, je trouve, avec ça, parce que, on s'entend, le monde ça veut pas dire qu'ils ont le goût de nous parler là, qu'ils veulent savoir de quoi de nous, là. (...) Fait qu'il a eu un peu de ça qui m'a causé un malaise, un profond malaise. Parce que c'était pas mon approche (...) c'est là que j'avais peut-être des malaises. J'était pas à l'aise de me pitcher sur le monde. H19

One streetworker characterizes this shift as ultimately representing an appropriation of street culture spaces by intervention workers: "C'est comme si c'était la place des intervenants. D'appropriation un peu (...) des espaces du milieu (...) on était en train de faire un milieu des intervenants avec le milieu des gens." FG1

Another manifestation of the rearticulation of social relations and social bonds between streetwork practice and street milieus was the increasingly managerial role played by streetworkers in relation to prevention material. As described in chapter three, streetworkers had worked with a range of actors within street milieus (hotel owners, dealers, drivers, escorts, dépanneur cashiers, etc) to ensure greater accessibility to prevention material, creating working relationships with these individuals to distribute equipment through their own networks and to individuals with whom streetworkers did not have direct access. Over the coure of the early 2000s, streetworkers were faced with mounting institutional pressure to better control the distribution and circulation of prevention material, and to prevent what were considered as inappropriate practices within street culture where the circulation of prevention material was concerned.

Among the events leading to this shift toward greater managerialism of prevention material by streetworkers was a DSP decision in the early 2000s to put a limit

on the number of condoms distributed to a person at one time.[42] This decision theatened to undermine social relations between streetworkers and individuals, where the distribution of material was based generally on an assessment of need as articulated by the person accompanied. It also threatened to undermine social practice, for instance the distribution of material through third parties, central to streetwork practice. While streetworkers refused to adhere to the new condom limits set by the DSP, this pressure continued to be felt in different ways:

> Sinon, ben là le DSP, ils envoyaient des lettres en disant qu'on donnait trop de condoms ... on était ceux qui en donnait le plus - mais ils disaient ça à tout le monde - ils disaient vous êtes les seuls à Montréal qui donne plus que tout le monde. Mais quand je parlais avec le monde de CACTUS, ils disaient la même chose, qu'ils recevaient la même chose (...) la DSP nous disait qu'ils avaient eu écho que les boîtes de condoms se faisaient vendre. Bon, on sait que ça arrive, mais, fait qu'ils nous disaient de 'faire attention'. H22

Institutional pressures from public health on streetworkers to manage social practices within street culture regarding the distribution and circulation of prevention material threatened to shift the role that streetworkers played in the milieu, as well as the interpersonal social relations and bonds between streetworkers and individuals. This manifested, for example, through directive interventions (the systematic dispensing of epidemiological messages), the management of the circulation of prevention material, as well as the concentration of streetworkers in statistically strategic areas. This managerial logic directly imperilled the role of streetwork practice within street culture. As the passages above demonstrate, streetworkers came to be regarded by many in increasingly professionalized, paternalistic, and institutionalized terms. Managerial practices regarding harm reduction material advanced by public health also threatened to undermine a range of social practices themselves a central constituing element of street culture:

> C'est pas à moi la gestion que les autres font du matériel. Ou des fois moi, ils me disaient, pourquoi tu laisses des seringues dans des piaules, le gérant de piaule va les vendre ! Oui, mais le monde qui l'achète ... oui ... s'ils veulent les avoir gratuit le

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[42] The reason cited was that the proportion of condoms distributed relative to sterile needles was too high, and that NEPs were supposed to work primarily with injection drug users (personal communication with CACTUS program director). This represents another site of the growth of the corporatist / populational health paradigm and how it impacted the action of community organizations.

monde est pas con, il sait où aller pour les avoir gratuitement, alors s'il ne va pas
avant, ben c'est qu'il n'a pas prévu le coup, fait que moi je suis content qu'il l'achète,
plutôt de ne pas en avoir de tout. Et je vais pas m'immiscer - dans la même façon je
vais pas m'immiscer dans la vente de drogue - ben pourquoi je va m'immiscer dans
la vente de seringues (...) c'est comme s'il faut s'immiscer dans l'organisation de la
rue. Et moi j'étais tout le temps contre ça. On n'a pas a s'immiscer - notre rôle c'est
de rendre les services disponibles. D17

5.3 Conclusion

The displacement and dispersal of street involved communities in downtown
Montréal from 1995 to 2005 produced a range of impacts. These impacts were far-
reaching, affecting the social bonds between individuals, the social organization of street
level labour, and the kinds of social practice that had constituted street culture
historically. The displacement and dispersal process had specific impacts where people's
health was concerned, including isolation from formal and informal resources, barriers in
continuity in care, and an aggravation of risk environments contributing to increased HIV
and HCV risk. This reorganization of relations, practice, and social formation represented
a process of cultural transformation. The impacts of this transformation included the
uprooting and disruption of routine, the loss of informal social networks, and the
disintegration of social bonds that had permitted a certain, albeit contingent, cohesion and
social stability.

The impacts of the displacement process translated in concrete terms in the loss of
contacts and reduced statistical visibility for streetworkers. This represented a shift in
streetwork practice from an investment in collective social relations to individually based
forms of intervention. Confronted with this reduced statistical visibility as well as a new
era of public management that compelled streetworkers to demonstrate their impact in
strictly quantitative terms, streetworkers were forced to compose with a range of new
institutional requirements and pressures. The growth of the instrumentalist paradigm in
public health, the increase in statistical monitoring, as well as increasing demands for
greater specificity in mandates reorganized streetwork practice along increasingly
technocratic and directive lines over the course of the 2000s, highlighting a key point of
tension in state-civil society relations as well as the struggle for autonomy within *action*

communautaire generally:

> C'est comme s'il y a plus personne qui a vraiment d'autonomie, c'est comme si tout doit rentrer ... c'est comme si le DSP mets en place, ou genre il y a des grandes orientations et tout le monde doit s'insérer dans ces orientations là. Puis chacun doit avoir un rôle dans ces orientations, là, et ma crainte c'est que chacun des acteurs a moins une marge de manoeuvre pour justement être autonome. D26

Each of these sites of tension between streetwork practice and public health tranformed the role for streetworkers within street milieus. The shifting institutional relations between streetwork practice and public health represents a key mechanism through which the reorganization of social relations in street milieus was coordinated. These various sites of tension set into motion a process of distancing of streetwork practice from the social formations and social practices that comprised street culture. A greater emphasis was placed within streetwork practice on normalizing approaches:

> C'est une histoire de normalisation des populations cernées, plutôt que d'accepter cette marginalité-là, et d'évoluer avec. C'est - moi j'ai plus ou moins associé ça à une chose, c'était les demandes, les subventions. T'as une subvention qui est de même, ce qui fait en sorte qu'il faut rentrer tes gens dans ton cadre, et si ça ne rentre pas, t'as pas l'argent." FG8 (...) "Normaliser, comme si la marge était mauvaise en soi. FG1

This chapter sought to identify some among the more signficant impacts on the social relations, social practices and social bonds of street milieus. Ultimately, the range of impacts that displacement and cultural transformation wrought on the social organization of street milieus are too varied and far reaching to explore exhaustively here. Not only did the displacement process undo certain forms of social bonds (and rearticulate them along lines of alienation, paranoia, and competition), but it also foreclosed a range of forms of social formation and social practice. The conditions of possibility for many of these forms of social formation and informal networks were severely constrained within a newly restructured downtown. The kinds of social practice that commercial and private space enabled within street milieus, too, were eviscerated in the course of this process.

The disappearance and foreclosure of social relations and social bonds that constituted themselves the fabric of social life on the street downtown represents, in

short, a form of cultural erasure. The social and institutional policy that drove street involved communities outside of downtown and in some cases off the island of Montréal altogether was the vehicle for this cultural removal and transformation. This erasure, however, was enabled through specific knowledge structures. The following and concluding chapter asks how drug users, sex workers, and street milieus were produced and situated as particular objects of knowledge. It asks how street culture, and those inhabiting the street, needed to be understood and framed in particular ways in order for displacement to be possible. These ways of "knowing" street milieus emphasized certain aspects of street culture, while erasing other aspects. These sites of erasure on the level of knowledge reinforced the material erasure of street involved people through displacement and dispersal. It is to these epistemological erasures that I now turn.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

"On a détruit des espaces d'organisation qui existait déjà":
Epistemology and cultural erasure

The previous chapter charted the varied impacts of the displacement of working poor and street involved people from downtown Montréal, the transformation of street level social relations, and resulting devastation of street culture. The cultural transformation of the urban landscape downtown hinged on a process of cultural erasure that was driven by a range of institutional forces, namely, police repression and municipal development. This cultural erasure manifest through the displacement and dispersal of street involved communities spatially, the closure of social and cultural spaces critical to street milieus, and the eradication of specific social practices and social formations that had existed previously and which were historically rooted in the neighbourhood.

The previous chapters spoke to the material processes contributing to this transformation and erasure. This conclusion speaks to how street culture was also confronted with erasure on an epistemological level. This conclusion is organized around two key sites of epistemological erasure that emerged through the course of this analysis. These examples of erasure represent divergent understandings of street culture. Each of these competing frames regarding street culture reinforces the institutional courses of action at play in the transformation of street culture described in the previous chapters. This conclusion asks: *what are the epistemological conditions of possibility for the displacement of people, and the transformation and erasure of street culture?* In short, how was street culture downtown erased through popular and institutional understandings of it? How were drug users, sex workers, and street involved milieus situated as particular objects of knowledge in such a way that legitimized, and indeed necessitated their removal?

The first of the two sites that demonstrates how street culture is erased is evidenced in opposing perceptions of street culture as "organized" or as "disorganized".

The interviews reveal how perceptions of street milieus as inherently disorganized represent an epistemological precondition to their displacement. The second of these two sites of erasure is evidenced in the tensions between individualist and structuralist frames of reference. This tension manifests throughout the accounts of the streetworkers' interviewed for this research. An important tension emerges between individualism and structuralism, for instance, where understandings of sources of HIV risk are concerned. The same tension manifests with regards to the sources of social inequality more broadly. This section addresses the limits of each framework, how both have the effect of reinforcing cultural erasure, and how both foreclose certain forms of knowledge. The final section of this conclusion returns to the two gaps in the bodies of literature identified in the first chapter - the role of non-state actors in large scale social and structural change, as well as the central role played by social relations and social networks in the organization of daily life. This final section discusses how a foregrounding of these two elements enables a more complete understanding of processes of displacement and cultural erasure, particularly where street culture is concerned.

6.1 Erasure at the site of the "organization" and "disorganization" of street culture

The structure and organization of street milieus

Among the central epistemological points of tension in this research are competing perceptions of street culture as "organized" or "disorganized". The notion of street culture as chaotic and lacking structure, propelled particularly by public security and public health, belie highly organized and coordinated street milieus illustrated in the accounts of streetworkers.

> De façon générale ... et il avait un respect pour l'espace. Je me rappel mettons, Ontario et Dufresne, là ou j'ai passé beaucoup de temps, mettons, les filles, je sais pas trop comment elles faisaient tout le temps, c'était clair si, il avait une sur le coin de la rue, ben, l'autre elle allait à l'autre coin. Il avait une organisation, j'ai jamais trouvé que la rue était chaotique. Il y'en a qui vont dire (...) c'est chaotique la rue. Mais non, c'est hyper bien organisé. En tout cas c'était hyper bien organisé. (...) Même si des fois t'arrives et tout le monde est défoncé, mais ... il y a une cohérence, il y a quelqu'un qui gère la patante, il y a quelqu'un qui vend. Tu vas pas foutre le

bordel parce que tu vas faire ramasser. Il y a comme des règles claires. D9

This passage (among others preceding it) challenges the notion of street culture as disorganized, and advances an account of street culture (specifically, the street level sex trade) defined by economic forces of supply and demand, defined roles and territory, and respect for the various functions of space. This organization extended beyond economic sectors of the sex and drug trades and into the realm of social spaces more generally.

Accounts of the structured and organized nature of street milieus are also described in the organization of street involved communities spatially, emphasizing the capacity of people to cohabitate among subcultures with differently defined needs:

> Il avait quelque chose intéressant quand même qui s'est mis en place. Il avait les punks avaient investi le carré Viger, celui de l'ouest, avec les toits, et y'en avait vraiment faite comme un milieu de vie intéressant. À un certain point ça était assez bien organisé, évidemment il avait un leader qui était sorti de ça et c'était un peu lui qui tenait les reines, pas toujours de la bonne façon, mais quand même (...) ils ont organisé des trucs de vie comme une espèce de salon, ils ont trouvé des couch, ils avaient des places ou dormir, et même souvent de jour ils promenaient avec des bouteilles d'eau pour aller arroser les coins de pipi pour que ça sente pas le pipi ... Il voulait plus que les gens aller là s'injectaient, dans la partie est ... la partie est du bloc ouest. Sur le bord de Berri. Ils ne voulaient pas qu'il y a des seringues qui trainent (...) C'est intéressant. Et ceux qui faisait trop les fous, qui cassaient les bouteilles, ils faisaient avertir - fais pas ça, il y a des chiens qui courent, c'est notre milieu de vie qu'on veut ... Fait qu'il avait ça d'intéressant. Tu vois, ils foutaient la paix aux gens dans la portion centre du carré Viger, ou est-ce que les gens allaient pour s'injecter, et ils avaient la paix, et tu pouvais aller dormir là et il avait pas des punks qui criaient à toute heure, qui faisaient la fête. F9

The organized and structured nature of street culture manifests perhaps most particularly in the informal networks of support and mutual aid described in greater depth in chapter three, and illustrated in this passage used above:

> Certains dealers, même certains poteaux qu'on avait, oui ils vendaient la dope, oui ils avaient un aspect commercial à son cash, mais certains avaient vraiment une préoccupation des filles. Ils étaient vraiment des ressources pour nous, autant pour avoir de l'information que pour donner l'information pour qu'ils puissent le transmettre aux filles. G12

An epistemological framework that collapses street culture within a totalizing narrative of chaos, disorganization, or risk forecloses a range of other understandings. This framework renders impossible the recognition of the variety of social relations,

social bonds, and social practices explored in the previous chapters and highlighted in the examples above. The range of social relations and diverse social practices described previously - informal communicative networks, modes of mutually beneficial exchange, the stabilizing role played by space - are strikingly absent from the bodies of academic literature reviewed in chapter one. These same social relations are also occluded in individualist modes of intervention advanced by public health, and by extension, much of the practices of community organizations mandated to carry out public health policy.

The implications are of course, varied. This epistemological frame legitimizes highly interventionist and directive forms of community action that seek to organize and normalize street culture, and reorganize its social relations along dominant institutional lines. This is evidenced, for instance, in pressures for an increase in testing and treatment related interventions in streetwork practice, or, managerial approaches to prevention material. Among the implications of this site of erasure is a realignment of the practice of community organizations in line with institutional and state prerogatives (behavioural management, cost containment, etc). Another among these implications is an emotional and psychic distancing of streetworkers and other actors playing an advocacy role within street milieus from those very milieus. The following sub-section elaborates in greater depth on one of the implications of the epistemological frame that understands street culture as essentially disorganized and chaotic - a frame which effectively renders possible specific forms of repressive intervention, be they through public health, public security, or other institutions.

The formalization and recuperation of cultural practice by community organizations

At its foundation, this impetus of cultural recuperation of social practice mirrors the same institutional processes (public security, municipal development) that seek to eradicate a "dysfunctional" street culture and replace it with functional, sanitized culture. The passage from chapter four, regarding the *Quartier des spectacles,* retains its relevance even when applied to this seemingly disparate site: "Mais le problème c'est que on va installer là une culture subventionnée, pour enlever une culture non subventionnée." A8

The tension between understandings of street culture as essentially disorganized and chaotic (manifest, for instance, in public health action) and street culture as organized (often manifest in the accounts of streetworkers) highlights an important site of cultural erasure: the lack of recognition of social relations and social practice. One of the more significant implications of this lack of recognition of pre-existing networks of street level social organization is how this predetermines certain forms of action on the part of community organizations:

> Moi j'ai tout le temps cru au potentiel des gens de pouvoir s'organiser entre eux. Pour moi ça tout le temps était un peu - j'étais fier quand j'allais dans une piaule et je trouvais qu'ils s'organisaient, je trouvais hot. Je veux dire quand on a commencé à parler des lieux d'injection supervisés, c'était un peu un de mes premiers commentaires, mais ça existe déjà sauf que ce n'est pas légal. Et c'est pas vrai que c'est le bordel." D16 (...) "Je crois que notre rôle [comme organismes communautaires] c'est entre autres de les amener à le faire elle même, alors à ne pas détruire des espaces d'organisation qui existe déjà, et avec la répression policière et ce qu'on a fait, ben on a détruit des espaces d'organisation qui existait déjà. C'est ça. Leur propre processus d'autodétermination - on l'a détruit ça en ne laissant plus l'espace de s'autodéterminer elle-même. D16

This passage exemplifies the centrality of self-organization within street culture, and reflects the descriptions of informal networks of support described in previous chapters. The transformation of downtown destroyed the cultural spaces and social practices that made many expressions of self-organization possible. This is clear, for instance, in the closure of commercial and indoor venues that played a critical role in terms of income security and communicative networks. This transformation unfolded alongside a shift in institutional relations between public health and streetwork practice that sought to reorganize streetwork practice along more directive and managerial lines.

This manifested, for example, in public health pressure on streetworkers to manage and control the circulation and distribution of prevention material, and to limit its access to target populations:

> En même temps, les condoms par exemple, c'est six maximum. Et ça dépend à qui tu donnes. Je pense que ... si c'est une travailleuse de sexe, ou un travailleur du sexe, sais-tu que six condoms, il y a des grosses chances que dans la soirée il y'en aura plus (...) mais c'est des escortes qui ramènent des condoms ... pour les autres filles dans l'agence (...) C'est ça le besoin des intervenants de justifier leur job - *mais là, on veut les rejoindre !* (...) Si ta relation c'est une pipe à crack et un

condom, oublie ça là, moi je me suis dit la job est fait. FG2

Here we see how pre-existing informal networks of the distribution of prevention material (exemplified by the escort who brings enough condoms to distribute among her own contacts) were undermined through the rise of managerial pressures where the distribution and circulation of prevention material is concerned. Formal networks effectively replaced these informal ones. Community organizations, directed by public health, created an effective monopoly on the distribution of prevention material, recuperating street level social practice, and foreclosing in the process particular forms of organization. This same recuperation manifests spatially through mandates given to streetworkers to manage or impose order onto specific cultural spaces, a tension explored in the previous chapter.

The recuperation of informal social practice by public health via community organizations, as evidenced by attempts to more tightly manage the circulation of prevention material is at deep odds with a recognition for peoples' individual and collective self-organization, as articulated at length by the following streetworker:

> En fait, comme je te disais, la seule piaule que je voyais désorganisé c'était sur Saint-Hubert, mais les autres que j'ai vu c'était tout le temps hyper bien organisé, et pour moi, tant mieux si t'en organises bien. Et si t'en organises en plus, je m'en fous que vous soyez dix dans votre piaule et qu'il y a juste un qui va chercher leur matériel pour les dix autres, je m'en fous, c'est pas important pour moi d'être en contact avec les dix autres, sauf que si les dix autres ont besoin de moi. Mais si ils sont organisés et ça fonctionne bien, et dans leur organisation il y a juste une personne qui va au site fixe pour chercher quatre cent seringues pour la semaine pour tout le monde, et qu'il y a un roulement, ben tant mieux ! Et c'est ça qui est une erreur que les intervenants font, parce que je sais qu'à un moment donné c'était genre, mais non, nous on donnera pas une grosse quantité de matériel parce qu'on veut les voir. Mais s'ils veulent te voir, ils vont venir te voir ! D17

> Je préfère que ça se fasse tout seul parce que c'est là ou que tu sais que le changement est vraiment présent. Mais si on a besoin tout le temps que ce soit institutionnalisé par les pratiques, mais ça veux dire que ce n'est pas intégrer pour eux, et ça c'est un échec. Tant mieux s'ils s'organisent entre eux, c'est ça l'objectif. L'objectif c'est pas tant d'institutionnaliser des pratiques pour que nous on les voit. Moi si je les vois pas, mais que je sais qu'ils s'organisent bien, c'est correct. J'ai pas besoin d'être là, tu comprends qu'est-ce que je veux dire ? C'est pas tant est-ce qu'il faut absolument créer un espace pour que nous on soit en lien avec eux ? Non. Ce qui est important c'est qu'eux puissent s'organiser entre eux ... Et après, en parallèle, nous on veut les organiser, mais sans tenir compte de l'organisation qui

existe déjà. D16-17

While the management of prevention material represents one site of the recuperation and formalization of social practice, we need not look far for others. The issue of supervised injection sites identified several passages above is one such example of the formalization of street culture responses and recuperation of social practice. Each of these sites of the recuperation of social practice and formalization of street culture are made possible through an epistemological framework that erases the ways in which street culture is highly structured, and render invisible expressions of self-organization within it.[43]

The institutional dynamics at the origins of the formalization and recuperation of social practice merit further exploration. Arguably, this is driven in part by institutional requirements for greater statistical visibility, providing a vivid illustration of the concept of *therapeutic dependence* (Parazelli 2001) described in chapter one. Therapeutic dependence refers to the process whereby individuals' are pulled into organizational and programmatic processes that prove efficacy and demonstrate impact: "Une telle logique peut conduire à des interventions paradoxales où les cibles de l'action ne correspondent pas aux besoins réels de la population" (Fontaine 27). The potential for dissonance between programmatic responses and the needs of street milieus is among the implications of this recuperation of social practice.

The foreclosure of certain cultural and social practices represents arguably one of the most significant implications of this site of cultural erasure. The epistemological frame that renders invisible the organization of street culture, in the process, renders inexpressible critical forms of self-organization. Specific modes of intervention privileged in streetwork practice (for instance, the use of third parties in the distribution of bad dates lists or prevention material) are rendered inexpressible within an

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[43] It is important to note the distinction between what can be described as a political and pragmatic imperative for structural or policy reform, and the broader implications of formalizing certain forms of social practice of street milieus. This is an ethical question arguably at the heart of harm reduction movements. As certain social practices become institutionalized within law and rendered legally intelligible, social practices outside of this legal framework face intensified regulation. The police crackdown of injecting in public spaces following the opening of the first supervised injection site in Vancouver is an example of this dynamic (Small et al. 2007).

epistemological arrangement that erases capacity for self-organization. This is evident, for instance, in managerial approaches to the distribution of material that seek to control their circulation and use, and which in the process interfere with the proliferation of informal networks that do this same work. This represents an important loss of cultural autonomy on individual and collective levels. The recuperation and formalization of street level cultural and social practice provides us with an example of how the dispossession of cultural practice through recuperation, works alongside the dispossession of cultural space through displacement.

6.2 Erasure at the site of individualist / structuralist tensions

Another important site of erasure is the tension that manifests through the interviews between individualist and structuralist frames of reference. This tension manifests with regards to understandings of the sources of HIV risk specifically, as well as understandings of the sources of social inequality more broadly. This can be resumed as the tension between analytic frames that privilege the role that social structures play in life circumstances, versus the role played by individual action and choice. This tension is of course nothing new to the social sciences, and manifests vividly in the disciplinary debates, for instance, between social psychology (rooted in biomedicine) and political economy (Kippax et al. 2013, 1368). Similar to the tension between epistemological frames emphasizing the organization and disorganization of street culture, individualism and structuralism as frameworks have similar implications in terms of erasure. Both rigidly individualist and rigidly structuralist frameworks enable certain forms of action and intervention on the part of public health and community organizations, while foreclosing others. Both rigidly individualist and rigidly structuralist epistemological frameworks erase particular social relations, and forms of social practice.

The erasure enacted by individualist frameworks

> Je me souviens d'avoir discussions, quand la DSP me mettait vraiment la pression pour savoir pourquoi le VIH augmente, que ce n'est pas efficace l'action de travail de rue. Et je me souviens j'avais fait juste spontanément dans les lieux intérieurs, des espèces de discussions avec les gens, bon le DSP nous dit ça ... qu'est-ce que vous pensez, qu'est-ce qui se passe selon vous ? On vous en donne des seringues,

vous savez que vous avez accès aux seringues, que ça soit par nous, que ça soit par des organismes autour de vous, vous êtes pas loin, vous êtes au centre-ville, vous n'êtes pas à Montréal-Nord ou il y'en a pas ... pourquoi selon vous ça [le VIH] augmente quand même. Les gens me disaient que à la base, ce n'est pas la seringue le truc, ce n'est pas l'accès au matériel, parce qu'ils me disait même s'il y en a dans l'autre chambre, si j'en ai un à côté de moi, que ça soit sale, pas sale, à moi, à quelqu'un d'autre, je m'en fou parce que je m'imagine même pas dans six mois être encore là, alors je m'en criss ... je pense pas au après, je pense pas à demain, alors je viens à m'en crisser quand tu t'injecte quarante fois par jour, parce que tu fais de la coke, fait que, c'est ça (...) Comment tu peux faire en sorte que ces gens-là se projettent dans le futur un peu plus, ou qu'ils voient une transition un peu, que ça se peut que ça soit pas à vie, donc de prendre soin de toi à quelque part là-dedans. G12

The tension between individualist and structuralist frameworks where risk of HIV transmission is concerned is illustrated vividly in the passage above. This tension is similarly illustrated in the following passage:

Et pour revenir à la santé publique, je me souviens qu'une autre fois, Carole Morisette de la santé publique venait nous rencontrer, toute l'équipe pour nous expliquer justement les résultats de SurvUDI, en nous disant qu'il fallait justement, et on a eu une discussion sur ... les raisons que le VIH augment ce n'est pas que des seringues. Alors ça était une discussion un peu tendue en effet à cause qu'on ne s'est pas entendu à la fin. G17

Perceptions of the sources of HIV risk in the accounts of streetworkers were varied. In some cases these accounts were ambivalent, and emphasized the interplay of individual and structural factors: "Dans le fond la prise de risque d'un individu - est-ce que c'est fait consciemment ou est-ce que c'est plutôt une pression - pas du milieu - mais du contexte politique et sociale et policier, qui fait que la personne est amenée à prendre des risques ?" FG10

When asked to speculate as to the reasons for the continued insistence on the part of public health in promoting approaches to prevention that focus primarily on individual choice, streetworkers emphasized the institutional drive for statistical visibility:

Mais pourquoi cette insistance de la part de la santé publique sur la prise de risque (...) Parce que c'est plus simple pour eux (...) eux ils ont une fonction, c'est de réduire les coûts (...) Je pense que l'approche globale est beaucoup plus difficile - en effet c'est impossible à quantifier - pour eux c'est des gens qui ont besoin de quantifier - le nombre de seringues égale une baisse de VIH, c'est juste des chiffres. Et l'approche globale ça coûte plus cher parce que c'est de prendre en compte toute la personne (...) Moi je pense c'est le même principe - on peut faire un parallèle

avec la répression versus la prévention, avec ... que ça soit au niveau des gangs de rue ou délinquance ou *whatever, you name it* (...) Voici les chiffres - ça ça diminuait, mais ça va au-delà de ça. FG11

An examination of the individualist / structuralist tension uniquely at the site of perceptions in the sources of HIV risk reveal the extent that strictly individualist epistemological frameworks occlude the appreciation of an immense array of social and structural factors that influence exposure to disease (access to services, social stigma associated with sex work or drug use, exposure to violence, etc). The implications of this are varied. This limits institutional responses to HIV and HCV epidemics to highly specific and individually based actions. As a result, other potential institutional responses are rendered inexpressible: "Rarer still, is evidence of investment in interventions actively promoting political action ... [within] public health oriented drug policies" (Rhodes 2002, 87). If we return to the passage that opens this section, in which drug users' articulate their perception of the structural sources of their own "risk behaviour", we can see how the sources of risk and origins of exposure to disease as articulated by drug users and street involved people themselves are rendered unexpressible.

The erasure enacted by structuralist frameworks

Evidently, streetwork practice does not categorically espouse a structuralist framework regarding HIV / HCV risk. Prevention strategies within streetwork practice include individually based action and the promotion of the uptake of certain risk-reducing behaviours. While the particular institutional location of streetworkers allows for a greater visibility of societal and structural factors that contribute to HIV / HCV risk, even the "global approaches" described above tend to consolidate around individual characteristics: "Je me souviens les discussions que j'avais, je revenais à la santé publique en disant dans le fond, je sais que c'est pas quantifiable pour vous, je sais que c'est sur du long-terme, je sais que ça coûte chère, mais c'est l'estime de la personne à la base." G12

In this passage, while the notion of individual behaviour driven public health intervention is problematized, vulnerability to HIV is still conceived in individual terms, or as a function of personal deficit (in this case, self-esteem), albeit one that is influenced socially. This is reflective of social epidemiology and "social determinants" of health

models, which can be understood as flattening broader political economy forces into individualized and static social deficits (poverty, unemployment, gender, etc). Social determinants of health models, which advance the notion of vulnerability (social) as opposed to risk (individual), are not without their critiques: "The embracing of vulnerability often has the unintended consequence of making agency disappear, almost by definition, because vulnerability assumes that people cannot act until the social is changed" (Kippax et al. 2013, 1369).

Within this epistemological frame, complex social and institutional processes, recast as individual deficits, are then targeted for normalization. This reveals how even interventions that target the social and structural determinants of health are implicated in processes of normalization, reinforcing individualist paradigms and leaving traditional individualizing models of intervention intact. By extension, the institutional and social processes producing, for instance, extreme poverty or health inequality, remain untouched and intact. The limits of a flattened social determinants model illuminate the ways in which we need to broaden our understandings of risk to better understand how risk is mediated through social and institutional processes, and negotiated through social relations, social practice, and the organization of culture, be it street culture or otherwise.

As noted in the first chapter, the rise of social determinants of health models, social epidemiology, and the "third wave" of public health (particularly pronounced in Québec) situated urban space as a new frontier of public health intervention. This cemented conceptual associations between space and risk. Mykhalovskiy and Weir characterize this movement as the shift from health promotion to surveillance medicine: "surveillance medicine remapped the space of illness, turning away from a clinic gaze focused on individual pathological anatomy to the site of "extracorporal" social spaces" (2004, 17). The implication of this epistemological framing in the context of public health and HIV prevention is that it preempts and predetermines intervention: "the very notion of risk presupposes its opposite - the elimination or removal of risk, through practices which target the homogenization and purification of specific spaces through a politics of vigilance and displacement" (Fischer and Poland, 195-196).

While the passages above namely speak to the tensions between individualist and structuralist frames of reference with regards to HIV risk, the same tensions can be extrapolated to other social issues: poverty, addiction, school dropout rates, etc. The ambivalent location of streetwork practice between individualism and structuralism provides us with a lens to better understand social relations and social practice, generally evacuated from debates within the field of HIV / HCV prevention. A focus on the social relations and social practice within street culture, as the present analysis has sought to do, interrupts the reductive tendencies of both individualist and structuralist frameworks. It also reveals the need for a close attention to political economy and to institutional and social processes - not simply an expansion of existing indicators of individual social vulnerability.

To return for a moment to the content of the interviews, the closures of the Jolicoeur and Boléro hotels offer a relevant case study in this regard. As illustrated in chapter four, the accounts of streetworkers emphasized the devastation that the closures had on street culture, and how this set into motion the destruction of personal social bonds, and the undermining of productive and protective social formation. Also present in the accounts, however, was a recognition of the stabilizing effect of the closures in some peoples lives: "Mais après coup, ça pas était négatif pour tout le monde - parce qu'il y avait plein de monde après avec qui j'ai parlé, au contraire, ça leur a donné comme l'espèce d'énergie pour partir, de faire autre chose. D'avoir des meilleures conditions." G5

My intent here is not to demonstrate if the closures ultimately had a negative or positive effect on people's lives, but rather to raise questions about the limits of a "rigidly structuralist" (Bourgois 1996, 17) framework, and its risk of occluding individual and collective agency. The individuals who inhabited and frequented the hotels, negotiated the closures and accompanying fallout in social relations in a range of ways. Bourgois elaborates on the risks of rigidly structuralist frameworks:

> Political economy analysis is not a panacea to compensate for individualistic, racist, or otherwise judgmental interpretations of social marginalization. In fact, a focus on structures often obscures the fact that humans are active agents in their own history, rather than passive victims (...) Again this analytical and political problem can be understood within the context of the theoretical debate over structure versus

agency, that is, the relationship between individual responsibility and social structural constraints. The insights from cultural production theory - specifically, the notion that street culture's resistance to social marginalization is the contradictory key to its destructive impetus - is useful to avoid reductionist structuralist interpretations. Through cultural practices (...) individuals shape the oppression that larger forces impose upon them (17).

While this passage speaks to a different site - that of the organization of the crack trade in East Harlem - it deftly resumes the individualist / structuralist tension and the limits of an epistemological frame that too rigidly relies on one or the other. It also raises the potential contributions of questions of social relations and social networks at the site of displacement and cultural transformation. It productively - and perhaps ambivalently - highlights the ways in which totalizing narratives of individual responsibility *and* structural oppression each enact their own forms of erasure.

While the primacy of dogged individualism within public health renders unintelligible a range of realities, living conditions, and institutional relations, rigid structuralism enacts its own erasures. It renders unintelligible the social practices and social formations that allow people to survive "rapid structural change in the context of political and ideological oppression" (Bourgois 1996, 11), as was the case in the transformation of the urban landscape and displacement process in downtown Montréal. When rigidly structuralist frames do recognize these forms of social and cultural practice, daily social life is romanticized as "resistance" in a way that often bears little resemblance to how individuals concieve of their own everyday action, and in the process sanitizes those aspects that are "self-destructive" (Bourgois) or less than attractive. A purely structuralist framework, like a purely individualist one, would fail to see how, the transformation reorganized peoples' social lives in a way that defies logics of pure "repression" or "liberation". Rather, this transformation set into motion a more complex reorganization that collapses both individualist and structuralist frames of reference. Looking to everyday social relations provides a glimpse into how people survived - or didn't - rapid structural change and coordinated legal repression.

6.3 Contributions of this analysis and directions for future research

I return now, for a moment, to the gaps in the three bodies of literature reviewed in the first chapter. The role of non-state actors and the role of everyday social relations were identified as two important missing elements within the fields of study examined for this research. This project has attempted to address these absences by foregrounding these two themes. This section provides a brief overview of the contributions of this analysis. Finally, it identifies several lines of inquiry raised by this research.

The primary contribution of this research lies in its descriptive account of a period of profound social and structural change in the organization of social relations downtown which does not already exist, and unlikely to be found in any official institutional record. In this sense, it is a small gesture in the interruption of historical erasure. This research has attempted to provide an appraisal of the impacts of this transformation, and to think through the implications for street involved people, for streetwork practice, and for street level social relations. It has demonstrated how cultural erasure downtown occurred, on a material level, through the displacement and dispersal of street involved people. It has demonstrated how cultural erasure occurred, on an epistemological level, through the foreclosure of certain forms of social practice and social relations, and through the failure to see pre-existing spaces of self-organization. The following are several lines of inquiry raised through the course of this research. Each of them merits further exploration; I raise them here only briefly.

The role of "non-state" actors in the work of the state

This research raises questions about the role of non-state actors (namely, community organizations and civil society groups) in enacting the work of the state. This echoes much of what has been documented in the literature on *action communautaire autonome.* Drawing from the interviews, this has manifested at various sites. First, streetwork practice was subject to progressively mounting pressure on the part of the *Direction de santé publique* to reorient the practice along increasingly directive, instrumental, and managerial lines. This is apparent in a number of examples, including mandates to accentuate testing and treatment related interventions among community organizations, as well as specific policy shifts that introduced managerial approaches to prevention material that sought to regulate their distribution and circulation. In this sense,

state objectives around cost containment and behavioural change directly impacted how the work of community groups was organized, and by extension, streetwork practice and street level social relations.

The proliferation of community consultations and *concertation* between state and non-state actors described in chapter four represents another site of the integration of the orientation and actions of community organizations and the state. This played a key legitimating role in development and displacement agendas, through the integration of civil society opposition and critique into the development process. The emergence of community policing, particularly projects such as EMRII, which paired social workers and police, represents another example of deepened integration between state and "community".

Closer attention to the role of "non-state" actors reveals the extent to which the actions and orientations of community organizations can be functionally aligned with expressly state-defined objectives, raising questions about the extent that community organizations function as a parastate. The implication is that those community groups situated in tension with state responses (for instance those situated in tension with the management and regulation of labour within street level sex and drug trades) can be integrated and made instrumental to those very responses. This raises important questions about the simultaneity of "repression and rehabilitation frameworks" (Crago 2009, 74), or the potential for a repressive continuity among community organizations in legal regulation of street milieus: "Après, on va dire que les policiers qui font de la répression, mais est-ce que ça ce n'est pas aussi de la répression ? Ça en est la répression !" D18

The consolidation of public security and public health frameworks

Another line of inquiry raised by this research, and one that merits further exploration, is the consolidation of public health models with those of public security / policing. Again, drawing from the interviews, there are a number of examples of this consolidation or overlap. The emergence of community policing represented a shift toward "risk management" frameworks, and toward the pro-active surveillance of social spaces understood to pose a potential hazard to public security. The "third wave" in

public health similarly represented a shift toward actuarial and "risk management" frameworks, and a growing focus on social spaces and "risk environments". These shifts, both of which occurred in Québec in the mid to late 1990s, represented a shift toward *potentiality* as governing logic. This logic *predetermines* intervention by both public health and public security, the management of street involved communities, and regulation of street level cultural spaces. The implication of risk management frameworks at the site of public health and public security is that it gives state and parastate structures the moral, legal, and institutional legitimacy not only to intervene, but ultimately to transform and eradicate certain forms of social practice and social organization, merely on the basis that they constitute a potential risk.

Another example of the consolidation of public security and public health frameworks is the shift toward results-based, "evidence-based" and quantitative evaluative models. While this paradigm shift occurred across public administration in Québec and much of the Western world, its impacts were most notable within public security (Fassin 2011) and public health / health services (Théorêt 2005). This created a drive for statistical visibility that had widespread impacts on the organization of services among public institutions and community organizations. It also had widespread impacts on street level social relations, and on the relationship between milieus and streetwork practice. This was manifest, for instance, in the emotional / psychic distancing of streetwork practice from street milieus and street level social relations as the practice shifted from collective to individual intervention.

This raises questions as to the potentially repressive continuity between public security (with an explicit mandate of legal repression) and public health (with purportedly more therapeutic aims). This has direct implications with regards to street level social relations because as public health action (articulated on the ground through the work of community organizations and streetwork practice) becomes organized around satisfying its own institutional requirements for statistical visibility, it also becomes more distant from the everyday realities of street involved people, and less responsive to their needs.

6.4 Closing words

This project has tried to document a moment of transition that is not documented elsewhere - a moment of transition in the history of a neighbourhood in Montréal, a moment of transition in streetwork practice downtown, a moment of transition in the organization of street level labour, a moment of transition in the lives of countless individuals. This transition reconfigured the urban landscape downtown, and with it, the social relations, the cultural practices, and the social bonds of those who lived and worked there.

This research is about how a culture is made to disappear, and with it, the people that made it. Beginning in the late 1990s, these people - nameless and in some ways accessory in this analysis - faced an onslaught of social and institutional policy that drove the erasure of street culture downtown. This erasure was achieved first through the aggressive displacement of drug users, sex workers, and other street involved people through police repression and municipal development. This erasure was furthered through the closure and expropriation of commercial and indoor venues, including bars, hotels, rooming houses, and peepshows. Along with the closure of these venues, the social practices, informal networks, and social formation these spaces facilitated disappeared.

In many ways, this research is a personal meditation on how to make sense of collective defeat. As the title passage notes repression, in the end, produces certain very tangible results. The previous chapters have sought to provide an appraisal of some among these results. For street milieus downtown, these results have included the uprooting and disruption of routine, the loss of informal supportive networks, and the reorganization of social bonds. For streetwork practice, these results have included the loss of contacts, the rise of instrumentalism and pressures to adopt increasingly directive and managerial approaches when working with street milieus.

While this research may in some ways be about collective defeat in the face of political and ideological repression, it is also about belonging. When asked about the impact of the loss of belonging to downtown represented by displacement, one streetworker responded:

> Quand les filles appartenaient à la rue pis qu'y sont pus dans rue? Je pense qu'y appartiennent à une autre rue, qu'y appartiennent ailleurs. (...) Y s'attendent toujours à ce que tu peux être déplacé. Je pense pas que le monde se voyait comme 'j'appartiens au centre-ville'. Je pense qu'eux autres appartiennent à la rue. C11

This passage emphasizes that cultural belonging - in this case to street culture - is not contingent on a particular space or neighbourhood. While the same streetworker is uncategorical in her assessment of the impacts of displacement and social transformation downtown, when it comes to belonging, a more ambivalent position emerges. A similar ambivalence is reflected in several other accounts: "Parce que les gens ont survécus avant toi - avant ton arrivé dans leur vie." A11 (...) "C'est prétentieux de croire que si le travailleur de rue n'est pas là qu'il n'y a plus personne qui fonctionne, c'est un peu, je veux dire, le milieu fonctionnait avant que j'arrive, et ça va fonctionner après - il était là avant que je sois parti !" D15

These passages foreground the agency of individuals and the autonomy of street culture in ways that collapse the assumption that street culture simply ceased to exist, or that it did not transform, adapt, and negotiate the profound social and structural transformation downtown in a range of ways: "C'est sûre que s'il y a moins d'espace les gens vont s'organiser autrement." D12 While the social relations and social practices that existed downtown were certainly devastated, and prior street level cultural expression virtually erased, from the vantage point of where we stand, there is little to indicate it does not exist elsewhere, albeit under markedly different forms: "Ou bien, la clientèle c'est complètement effacé ou bien allait atterrer quelque part. Et si ça allait atterrer quelque part, ça sera intéressant de trouver où ce qu'elle est. Mais à la fois, est-ce qu'ils ont tant besoin de ça ?" A14

As noted in the introduction, this research is about the "contouring of social practices" by law and social policy (Delany 1999, 120). Jumping forward several years from where this analysis ends historically, in the past year alone, four of the five remaining peepshows downtown have closed due to pressure by police and new business owners. Just weeks ago, a stabbing in the vicinity of the remaining peepshow has provided new ammunition to police and the borough for its closure. Sweeping federal anti-gang legislation passed in 2001 (Bill C-24), 2009 (Bill C-14) and 2013 (Bill C-394)

significantly broadened definitions of what is considered a "criminal organization", lowered the threshold of membership for definition of a street gang from five people to three, introduced new penalties for "recruitment", and removed the prior commission of a crime as criteria for criminal organization (Parliament of Canada 2013). This has had devastating impacts on informal networks of street level support and survival, particularly among young Black men (Khenti 2014). In addition to this, the last three years has seen a marked increase in the use of *quadrilatères* that impose legal conditions barring individuals from the island of Montréal altogether (personal correspondance with program manager). The municipal government recently announced plans to redevelop Square Viger, a pivotal space for street milieus for close to the past half-century. Needless to say, this process of legal and public policy contouring of social practice continues today.

The accounts of streetworkers provide critical insight into how the transformation of street culture in downtown Montréal was achieved. From these accounts we are able to piece together a social history - though a social history as it has been shaped by institutions. Looking to everyday social relations, social practice and cultural autonomy provide a glimpse into how people individually and collectively survived - or didn't - rapid structural change and coordinated legal repression during this period of transition in Montréal.

> La transition était un moment fort comme je t'ai dit qui était très riche en émotion - l'intensité émotive était très forte (...) autant [name removed] qui perdait sa job, autant les dealers, autant les filles. Fait que tout le monde on était comme - c'était spéciale. Il aura fallu que tu sois là.

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APPENDIX I

Interview codes and years worked

A   1989-2009

B   1995-2005

C   1998-2014

D   1999-2005

E   2001-2006

F   2001-2006

G   2003-2006

H   2005-2012

8 individuals total

Years spanned working: 1989-2014

6 community organizations downtown Montréal represented among interviews

Master thematic index

FOUNDATIONAL TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Public and private space
    Public space
        Description of public and outdoor spaces
        Chronology of shifts in occupation of public and outdoor space
    Private and indoor space
        Description of indoor spaces
            Protection afforded by indoor spaces (repression, violence, community)
            Greater tension indoors; violence associated with indoor space
        Chronological shifts in occupation of indoor space
            The move of people into indoor space
            SWs working more in indoor space
    Associations with space
        Cultural significance and sense of belonging to space
            Functional / material
            Social / emotional
            Link between cultural significance and daily life and routine
        Associations between space and risk (by PH literature, by prevention practice)
            What this association enables

Street culture and community
    Framings of organization and disorganization of the milieu
        Notions of the street milieu as "disorganized"
        Descriptions of the street milieu as organized, structured
            Contradiction and exceptions
    Questions of "rationality" and "irrationality" within the milieu, within prevention
        Public health framework of "instrumental rationality"
        Critiques of notion that risk-taking is "irrational"
    Informal networks in street milieu
        Communicative networks
        Protection against violence
        Mutual aid, support, sociality

SW practice
    Description of SW (non directive practice, etc.)
    Social bonds between SW and people outside of clientist frameworks
    SW access to space
    Professionalization and formalization of SW practice

History of militancy within SW practice, erosion of advocacy and *défense de droits*
Tension between individual and structural work

Methodological reflections
Questions of memory and fact ("misremembering" dates, etc)
Questions of representability
Myself as situated within streetwork practice

CONSTITUENT FACTORS IN DISPLACEMENT

Police repression
Chronology of shifts in police repression, turning point
Tactics
Quadrilatères, explosion in use of red zones
Police entrapment of sex workers
Rise in arrest of clients, *Opération Cyclope*
Ticketing for incivilities
Community policing and community rhetoric
Complemenarity rhetoric (with other community action practice)
Concertation and community consultation; consultation as recuperation
Disjuncture between official police rhetoric and police action on the street
Impacts of repression
Hypermobility, hiding (implications re: spatial dynamics)
Disruption of routine
Increase in paranoia and suspicion, increase in violence
Increase in sexual violence and lack of redress for sex workers
Increase in routine criminalization of street gangs, routinized racial profiling
Questioning the stated purpose and utility of repression

Urban development and renewal
Housing policy
Condos, private development, attraction of new demographics
Resulting pressure from residents and new demographic base
Revitalization
Clean up of *Habitations Jeanne-Mance*
Closure of rooming houses
Quartier des spectacles
Concertation and consultation
Definitions of "residents" and "citizens"
Representations of First Nations culture, tokenism
Recognition and inclusion vs non-participation and refusal
SW and CO role in legitimating repression and displacement?

Erosion of societal and institutional tolerance
Societal tolerance: Chronological shifts in tolerance

Growing tension between people, residents, business owners
Business owner catering to shifting demographic
Institutional tolerance: Tolerance zones, segregation and concentration
Viger as unofficial injection drug use tolerance zone
Prostitution tolerance zone initiative in Centre-Sud
Crackdown on sex workers in Centre-Sud, concentration St-Laurent

Shifting relations with public health (PH)
Chronology of shifts in relations with public health
Description of good relations with public health (early and mid-90s)
Health care reforms (Côté, Couillard)
Progressive increase in PH demands and pressure
Instrumentalist approaches (re: material)
The rise of instrumentalist approaches and mandates
The non-uptake of PH policy and mandates by SWs
More directive forms of intervention
Increase in testing mandates and SW questioning of this
Focus on epidemiological and prevention messaging
Statistical monitoring
Shift to quantification and evidence-based practice
SW responses to statistical monitoring
Individualism and behavioral / population health frameworks / approaches
SW critiques and limits of individualism and behavioral approaches
Generalist vs specific mandates; decline of generalist frameworks
Reproduction of PH risk group frameworks in SW rhetoric
Management of harm reduction material: condoms, crack pipes, needles
Condom limits
Selling of crack pipes
SW rejection of limits and managerial approaches to material
PH and community org recuperation / formalization of milieu support networks
SIS, management of distribution of material, etc.
Recuperation of spaces of social organization that already exist (incl: housing)
Institutionalization of practices that already exist (to render them visible)
Instrumentalization of role of SW practice by public institutions
Disjunctures between institutional and profane knowledge
Questions regarding what to attribute increases and decreases in ITSS
Between sources of risk and readings of risk
PH pressures as emerging from shifts in political economy downtown (?)

THE DISPLACEMENT PROCESS

Public space regulation
Tactics (curfews, park closures, removal of benches, *quadrilatères*, etc)
Privatization of public space, changes in vacation of parks

Hypermobility
Transformation of everyday experiences of occupation, disruption of routine
"Community" participation in public space regulation (SIS, sex work tolerance zone, etc)

Closures of establishments and private space
Description and chronology of closures
The Bolero
Description of the Bolero
The closure of the Bolero, Bolero as turning point in enabling clean-up
Impacts of closures
Impacts on SW practice
Contradictions: the "stabilizing" effect of venue closures on peoples lives
Difficulty in attributing the reasons for closures: expropriation, and voluntary departure

Displacement and dispersal
Descriptions of displacement and dispersal
Descriptions of desertification and disappearance
Move of people into indoor space
Move of people into prison, increase in incarceration and institutionalization
Tensions around framing of displacement as voluntary / involuntary

IMPACTS

Impacts of displacement (generally)
On health
Access to services, distance, etc.
On experiences of risk, risk behavior, injection practice
Emotional stress and risk
Lethal and non-lethal overdose
Emotional isolation, uprooting, loss of community and support networks
Overcrowding in private and residential space
Decrease in quality of drugs (more toxic psychosis, etc)
HIV and HCV transmission

On streetwork practice
Concentration of SWs in certain areas
More aggressive outreach techniques
Appropriation of milieu space by SWs
Loss of contacts
Move of SW practice indoors
Drop in statistics (contacts, distribution of material)
Streetworker participation in facilitating the relocation process
The abandonment of generalist mandates, rise in clientism/specific mandates

Loss of sight of *groups,* networks, relational dynamics

Rise in individualist frames of reference (more accompaniments, etc)

Undermining of conditions for collective action and militancy

Increase in burnout, staff turnover, less consistency on the ground

Integration of SW with other practices, greater uniformity with other practices

Increased directiveness

Prise en charge vs. *prise en compte*

Emergence of *travail de proximité* as term

Shift in philosophy and approach: greater focus on normalization

On the social organization of the milieu

Cohabitation between groups within the milieu

Separate spaces (Viger as example) for different communities, drugs

Disappearance of space, concentration

Erosion of "peaceful" cohabitation, violence, violence for women

Increase in paranoia and suspicion

Impacts on informal communicative and support networks

On income security

Assumption by SWs that milieu is now "disorganized"

Rearticulation of paternalism / therapeutic dependence?

Questions of culture erasure

Disappearance, disruption of routine

What routine enables, what the disruption of routine forecloses

Contradiction: notion that sex work and drug use will always exist downtown

Bikers and street gangs

Chronological shifts in territory, Operation SHARQ, shift from bikers to gangs

The perceived organization and structure of biker gangs

The perceived disorganization and violence of street gangs

Culturalist framings of street gangs

THEORY OR CONCEPT LEVEL QUESTIONS

Institutional logic, institutional disjunctures

Disconnect between MSP and MSSS

Seizure of prevention material

Quadrilatères

Ticketing for incivilities

Policing

Institutional logic: statistics-driven policing practice, statistic visibility, declining crime rates

Questions of whether the SPVM responds to complaints or solicits them

Blurred jurisdiction between PDQ 21 and la moralité

Police investment to displace activity indoors, Qs of visibility / invisibility
Disjuncture between formal law and peoples' experiences of it
Pressing charges against aggressors for sex workers
Criminalization of sex work, even if formally legal
Poverty of redress mechanisms against police violence (disjuncture there)
Supreme court decisions re SIS, sex work, and how this plays out on ground
What these disjunctures reveal about the functioning of these institutions

Tensions between individualist and structuralist frames of reference
Stucturalist vs individualist understandings of risk
Whether people left voluntarily or forced displacement
Whether venue closures were voluntary or expropriated

Questions of visibility and invisibility of poverty
Growth of shelters
Concept of poverty management

Rates of prostitution and drug related charges 1995-2013

	Total prostitution charges citywide	Total drug-related charges citywide	Prostitution charges PDQ 21	Prostitution charges PDQ 22	Drug charges PDQ 21	Drug charges PDQ 22
1995	**1338**	**2475**	--[44]	--	--	--
1996	**1043**	**--**	--	--	--	--
1997	**650**	**2073**	111	196	310	199
1998	**620**	**3048**	49	146	417	210
1999	**508**	**2672**	41	71	413	140
2000	**597**	**3019**	119	158	455	118
2001	**454**	**2963**	82	96	567	71
2002	**553**	**2779**	67	208	400	62
2003	**992**	**2775**	85	466	480	50
2004	**1417**	**2846**	248	718	451	82
2005	**1141**	**2832**	180	500	447	102
2006	**1377**	**2695**	241	609	387	88
2007	**959**	**2828**	138	441	342	97
2008	**544**	**3129**	59	229	270	100
2009	**447**	**2882**	47	169	325	78
2010	**290**	**3048**	8	79	386	77
2011	**249**	**2792**	13	60	335	71
2012	**213**	**2520**	11	39	358	86
2013	**150**	**2860**	3	29	487	75

Proportion of prostitution and drug-related charges downtown (PDQ 21 and PDQ 22 combined) relative to total charges citywide:

1995	--
1996	--
1997	47%
1998	32%
1999	22%
2000	46%

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[44] Information not available. Prior to 1997, the jurisdictions of various PDQ's corresponded to different geographic areas.

2001	39%
2002	49%
2003	56%
2004	68%
2005	60%
2006	79%
2007	60%
2008	53%
2009	48%
2010	30%
2011	29%
2012	23%
2013	21%

Source: SPVM and SPCUM *Rapports annuels* and *Annexes statistiques* 1995-2013.

APPENDIX IV

Number of visits annually to CACTUS-Montréal, principal NEP downtown Montréal

1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04
27 052	28 291	28 668	29 472	27 773	25 323	31 600	31 559

* Numbers calculated from April 1st to March 31st of the following year.