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Turesky, Marisa; Jae-an Crisman, Jonathan

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Article

50 Years of Pride: Queer Spatial Joy as Radical Planning Praxis

Marisa Turesky [1,*] and Jonathan Jae-an Crisman [2]

[1] Urban Planning & Development, University of Southern California, USA
[2] Public & Applied Humanities, University of Arizona, USA

* Corresponding author (turesky@usc.edu)

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Abstract
Planning has historically been used as a tool to regulate queer people in urban space and parades have long been a vibrant, yet overlooked, practice for resisting such municipal regulation—although parades themselves require spatial planning practices. We analyze the 50-year history of the Los Angeles Pride parade through archival materials, asking to what extent and how the historical planning of LA Pride demonstrates a radical planning praxis, especially in relation to policing. We find that LA Pride was initially (a) a ritual of remembrance and (b) a political organizing device. In contrast to heteronormative readings of Pride as an opportunity to "come out" and transform the "straight state," we argue that the early years of Pride demonstrated intersectional and insurgent planning wherein heterogeneous queer people claimed agency through collectively expressing joy as an act of resistance to municipal governance. Based on theories of Black joy and the feminist killjoy, we conceptualize this experience as a "spatialized queer joy." This concept is particularly germane given ongoing debates regarding the relationship between queer and BIPOC urban life and policing. We suggest that spatialized queer joy complicates conventional readings of Pride and queer urban space, offering instead powerful tools for radical queer planning praxis.

Keywords
Black joy; policing; Pride parades; queer joy; queer planning; queer space; radical planning; regulation; spatial justice

Issue
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1. Introduction

How did Pride celebrations, forged as a radical protest against unjust policing some 50 years ago, turn into corporate-sponsored parties in which police took part? In 2020, Los Angeles (LA) celebrated the 50th anniversary of Pride though its narrative had shifted dramatically from its earliest years. In 1971, the first year of the parade was organized as a one-year memorial event for queer people who were harmed by police violence during the Stonewall Uprising in New York City (NYC). Fifty years later, however, the event had evolved from a struggle for queer recognition and freedom from police violence to a space of commodified celebration, with corporate sponsors eager to brand the event with their names. Given the 2020 uprisings following the death of George Floyd, LA Pride leadership attempted to organize a Pride march in solidarity with Black Lives Matter (BLM) LA. This partnership, on its face, makes perfect sense: much like the origins of Pride 50 years earlier, BLM came out of a protest led by queer Black women against state violence. The implementation, however, was fraught from the start: an event producer from the LA Pride organizing body, Christopher Street West (CSW, named after the street that the Stonewall Inn is situated on in NYC), sent a letter to the LA Police Department that highlighted "a strong and unified partnership with law enforcement" (Consoletti, 2020). When this action was revealed, it threw the event planning into chaos. CSW withdrew from co-organizing and a board of queer Black leaders took over, re-branding the protest as "All Black Lives Matter."

Similar issues have arisen in Pride events elsewhere, highlighting the tension between Pride's origins as a Black-led protest against state violence and its recent manifestation as a largely state-supported endeavor. For example, BLM Toronto was given a symbolic role as Pride marshals in 2016 which they leveraged to highlight the problem of incorporating police into Pride and ultimately managed to bar police from appearing in uniform. Even so, as Atluri and Rodríguez (2018, p. 160) describe, this action was met with derision by the largely white gay men who dominated Pride planning at the time:

> BLM-TO's successful campaigns to demilitarize Pride and remove visible symbols of racist state power from queer spaces led to many deeply racist comments online and publicly. The occupation of white queer space and white queer archives by Black transgender and queer activists is met with constant hostility, revealing the un-homely racism that shapes a white-supremacist society.

Beyond the policing of Pride, numerous white queer and queer of color scholars have pointed toward the myriad ways in which policing has harmed queer and BIPOC communities, as well as the limitations of inclusion models for social change that might reduce harm (Hwang, 2019; Spade, 2020). We add to this discourse by considering the role of planning, itself, as a manifestation of the state monopoly on violence, which emerges through zoning, land use, and other forms of planning enforcement rather than through the actions of conventionally understood police departments (Burke, 2002; Weber, 2015).

Despite repeated failures with Pride, parades more generally have long been a vibrant yet overlooked practice for racial, gender, ethnic, and class minorities to consolidate and express grassroots power in public space (S. Davis, 1986; Hayden, 1997). They have been a primary tactic for contesting municipal governance exclusions by making community solidarity visible in public space. The early years of LA Pride were revealing of structural power dynamics, such as interactions between grassroots activity from queer actors and the governmentality represented by the LA Police Department, which held the power to grant or deny parade permits. These power structures can affect individual actions, expressions, and senses of belonging. As radical planning theorists propose, for those without social power to liberate themselves, they can use collective action as a contested terrain for collective identity building to realize their counter-hegemonic power (Friedmann, 1987; Miraftab, 2009). In this article, we analyze if and how the planning of LA Pride might be recuperated as a radical spatial practice that resists a long history of state power over queer life.

Throughout this article, we refer to queer organizing as the collective action and mobilization tactics used by the 2SLGBTQIA+ community. We use *queer* as an umbrella term for anyone who does not fall inside of normative heterosexual, cisgender identities. This includes but is not limited to gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, two-spirit, pansexual, genderqueer, agender, or intersex people. We also use *radical planning* to describe planning practices which emanate from grassroots mobilization to effect systemic change (Beard, 2003; Friedmann, 1987). Radical planning owes much to Black feminist thought, incorporating community participation, dialogue, and epistemologies of lived experience toward intersectional activism against oppressive state structures (Jacobs, 2019). We draw inspiration from Ella Baker's definition of radical as "getting down to and understanding the root cause" (Ransby, 2003, p. 1). Radical planning thus borrows from insurgency, centering grassroots movements against systems that do not meet human needs, and strategies to change such systems (Miraftab, 2009). In her theory of insurgent planning, Miraftab (2009) critiques "inclusion" as neoliberal "tokenism," especially through participation, that distracts from systemic change. Miraftab thus prescribes insurgent tactics as necessary for disrupting relationships sterilized through inclusion models. In this sense, radical planning stems from a long history of the failures of rational planning models, offering an alternative for planning just and equitable futures through oppositional practices like C. Cohen's (1997) queer politics rather than the formalistic, participatory inclusion espoused by neoliberal regimes. C. Cohen's (1997, p. 438) proposal for a *queer politics* beyond sexual orientation destabilizes queerness based on singular identity categories and, instead, recognizes manifestations of power across and within intersecting systems of oppression to "create a space in opposition to dominant norms, a space where transformational political work can begin."

To better understand the complex history of LA Pride and the insights it provides on how we plan for queer people and spaces, we ask: *To what extent and how does the historical planning of LA Pride demonstrate a radical planning praxis, especially in relation to policing?* To answer this question, we examine historical artifacts from the CSW collection in the ONE Archives. Despite LA's long history of Pride, and its radical origins contesting police violence, its recent iterations have emphasized corporate advertising and consumer culture over political protest. Pride began as an invented space, but it became an invited space as historically marginalized queer subgroups needed to assert oppositional practices as a way of creating their own terms for engagement and joy. We argue that the historical struggle to develop Pride parades has been a key arena for radical planning, intervening in the urban imaginary to create spaces for queer bodies to flourish in the city. Furthermore, we draw from theories of the feminist killjoy (Ahmed, 2016) and Black joy (Bonilla-Silva, 2019; Lu & Steele, 2019) to see Pride marches as a reflection of a spatialized *queer* joy. In this kind of joy, queer people have agency to express joy in LA public spaces that demonstrates ritual and resistance.

We begin with a historical overview of urban planning's relationship to queer people, highlighting the importance of studying LA queer space. We then demonstrate how early LA Pride artifacts indicate a spatialized queer joy through (a) ritual opposition to police and (b) political organizing toward justice in the city. Our discussion of joy as radical queer planning builds on queer of color interventions into urban justice (Cullors, 2018; Haritaworn et al., 2019) to chart how LA Pride has turned toward a neoliberal inclusion model that fits into existing municipal governance structures. We conclude with reflections on the how LA Pride's radical organizing model offers new insights for radical planners.

2. Methods

Through archival materials from the CSW collection in the ONE Archives, we foster collective remembrance of missing stories that can reshape dominant narratives (Burns, 2019). The artifacts offer an opportunity to compare past planning practices with those of today. Though the artifacts we have analyzed might not be generalizable, our findings reflect how engagement with the past is a key element of queer space (Reed, 1996) and queer theory's focus on partial, locally-situated knowledges (Bailey, 1999; Browne & Nash, 2010). Given how white, gay male narratives have often dominated queer histories, we focus on unearthing and analyzing materials that center people of color, women, and transgender people as an act of archival justice (Rawson, 2015). These narratives point toward the contours of a radical, queer planning praxis as one which can create spaces for people who have historically been excluded from urban planning.

This is also true in the geographic dimension of our work. Though patrons of a gay bar in LA, the Black Cat, resisted against police violence two years prior to Stonewall, the organizing body of LA Pride sought to make explicit their solidarity with Stonewall by naming their organizing body "Christopher Street West" (CSW). CSW became the "West Coast" group organized in commemoration of the Stonewall Inn's location in NYC on Christopher Street. The origins of LA Pride were symbolically connected to the Stonewall actions in New York, and subsequent national organizing, despite local grassroots efforts around the world that happened independently of New York's primacy in recorded histories (e.g., S. Cohen, 2005; White, 2008). We also see the social networks, community, and activism unfolding in LA during this period as reflective of LA's own role as a locus for queer activism within these lesser recorded histories. In this sense, our examination of the CSW collection in the ONE Archive, also located in LA, is both an act of archival as well as spatial justice, reorienting queer histories away from a linear narrative of progress centered on an origin point in New York and toward their messier, diverse, and even joyfully unexpected realities.

For our analysis, we surveyed the CSW Collection in the ONE Archives located in LA. The Collection contained, per the ONE Archives records, "Agendas, minutes, clippings, correspondence, fliers, parade, and permit applications, press releases, souvenir programs, photographs and slides of the CSW Association parade and festival. The collection documents the pride parade and festivals held in LA and later West Hollywood, California, 1970–2009." The Collection included nine linear feet of materials, including two archival boxes, four archival cartons, three binder boxes, and one flat box. Each item in the collection was reviewed, including hundreds of photos, negative sheets, slides, notes and letters, legal documents around permitting and lawsuits, publicity materials, organizational flyers and materials, and other ephemera. These items were then coded and organized into themes, starting with materials that focused on planning-related activities and materials centering people of color, women, and transgender people in Pride planning activities. After a second round of coding and organization, we noticed additional themes emerge from the materials, including many items that related to police and policing, religion and ritual, and acceptance of queer individuals within broader societal norms. From these themes, we used close reading and content analysis to analyze these groups of materials. We noted changes over time as archival materials were organized by year, pointing toward shifts in the topics and tones seen in materials from Pride's earliest planning to today.

3. Los Angeles and Queer Planning History

The planning profession has historically played a major role in developing and enforcing regulations and policies that police bodies. Municipal planning heavily depends on policing to shape urban built environments, land-use regulations, and budgets that "establish a spatial and social order" (Simpson et al., 2020, p. 133). Although the norms that planning generated have evolved over time, telling the same planning histories through everyday repetition can give a mask of permanence to them (Foucault, 1971, pp. 145–172).

Feminist and queer planning scholars have critiqued planning as a colonial project rooted in heterosexist norms to control what is believed to be disorder, including immoral sexuality (Bain & Podmore, 2021; Doan, 2015; Frisch, 2002; Greed, 1994; Hayden, 1981; Winkler, 2017). Gail Dubrow (2012) demonstrates the importance of preserving queer history in the built environment through the recognition of places of homophobia (e.g., military bases) and places of gay liberation (e.g., Compton's Cafeteria). Recognition through historic preservation can prevent misrepresentation and erasure as an act of archival justice (Rawson, 2015). However, Agyeman and Erickson (2012) propose that recognition, alone, is not sufficient in planning for social justice: To pursue just futures means not only recognizing but also understanding and engaging with difference, as well as redistributing power and resources toward historically underserved groups. We thus see the need for

queer planning as one that is inextricably linked to the development of a radical planning approach that creates space, as C. Cohen (1997) argues, for opposition and transformation.

LA's history as one of the first locations for Pride (along with NYC, Chicago, and San Francisco), a celebration that has since been adopted in cities around the world, is justification for needing greater examination of LA's queer history. As Moira Kenney (2001) explores in *Mapping Gay LA*, queer people's experiences in LA are representative of many non-urban landscapes across the United States. Unlike the enclave cultures of gay neighborhoods in San Francisco and NYC, LA's size and sprawl generates a decentralized queer community and thus a greater fight for visibility. LA is at once a confederation of neighborhoods in search of a queer center, even as it is home to the incorporated City of West Hollywood, one of the few political bodies in the US borne out of a fight for queer representation and belonging. Conversely, we note that the history of West Hollywood as an incorporated city within Greater LA is tied to its queer residents' desire for the right to the city, and the sense of belonging that comes with having a clearly defined place in the city.

4. Pride as a Ritual of Remembrance

In the early years of LA Pride, the organizers framed the event as one of remembrance for and solidarity with the Stonewall Uprising of 1969 by targeting both police and religious institutions. The march centered a commemoration of the June 28th event when a group of queer people resisted the NYPD's routine raid of the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar located on Christopher Street. Queer theorist Jose Esteban Muñoz (2009, p. 322) described the Stonewall Uprising as "a manifestation of pent-up energies that erupted on the streets of Greenwich Village." This eruption is often cited as the symbolic starting point of the modern gay and lesbian movement, as well as the "formalizing and formatting" of queer identities (Muñoz, 2009, p. 323).

The initial CSW planning materials for LA Pride describe the "purpose" of the event as "a statement of gay solidarity with our homosexual brothers and sisters of Christopher Street, New York, who on June 27, 28, and 29, 1969, fought back in rage, resentment, and frustration in their powerlessness" (CSW, 1970). Organizers used religious imagery to create a march that became a memorial, a living ritual, to remember and reflect on the Stonewall rebellion as a revolutionary demonstration against police brutality. In doing so, people could protest both police violence as well as religious persecution and exclusion, which was another major issue during the time. Like the Stonewall Uprising itself, Pride as a ritual of remembrance involved the performance of queer bodies in public space, marching down streets, highlighting the collective power and voice of queer communities in solidarity with one another. The shared and embodied repetition of queer people moving through public space constituted a key element of Pride as a ritual of remembrance.

Public ritual to develop a collective identity and purpose coexisted with associated activities to stage alternative visions for gay liberation in the streets of LA, including organizing meetings, private parties, and resource sharing. Like many communities that marched for revolution, these public displays of solidarity suggest an attempt to assert a queer public interest. Religious institutions and healing through ritual were central to planners, according to documentation from the early years of LA Pride. Additionally, religious imagery and faith-based congregations were often found in Pride parade floats and at stands (Figures 1 and 2).

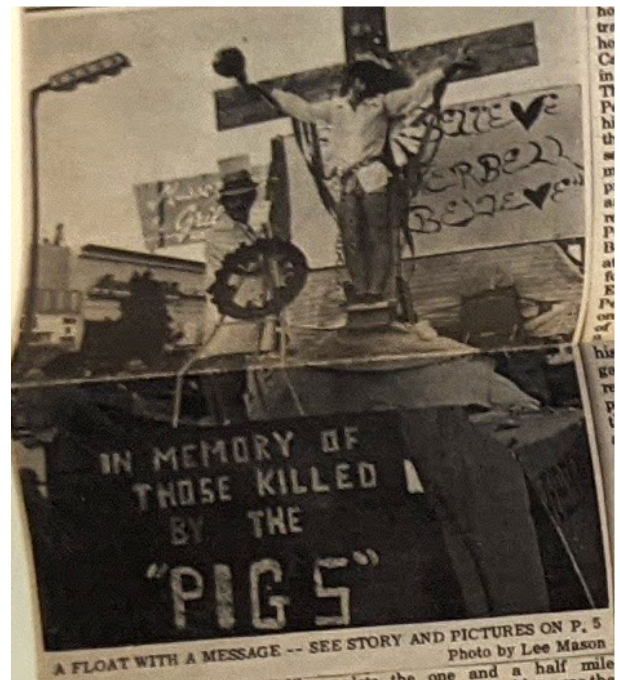

Figure 1. Parade float connecting Christ's crucifixion to police violence suffered by queer individuals at Stonewall. Source: Mason (1970).

We use the notion of "ritual" to highlight the importance of faith-based and religious practices to emotionally, mentally, and physically process the emerging collective queer identity of the time, and the trauma and oppression felt by queer communities (Ben-Lulu, 2021; Drinkwater, 2019). The term also suggests the important role that familiar symbols play as they are appropriated and utilized to confer legitimacy, pleasure, and belonging—much in the same way that Payne (2021) has identified in his analysis of Pride rituals in Mexico. The ritual aspect of Pride suggests the importance of public grieving as a form of resistance (Sandercock, 1998; Schweitzer, 2016). Figure 1 shows crucifixion imagery that contested queer people's experiences of violence and exclusion from both the Church and police. The centrality of ritual in Pride demonstrates its importance as well as the deep grief that queer people experience from

Figure 2. Stand at Pride showing the presence of a Jewish congregation. Source: Photograph of Beth Chayim Chadashim [ca. 1975].

being excluded from such faith-based spaces. In contrast, Figure 2 depicts congregants from Beth Chayim Chadashim reaching out to LGBTQ+ people at an early Pride march. Metropolitan Community Church, founded in 1968, and Beth Chayim Chadashim, founded in 1972, were some of the world's first congregations established explicitly for the queer community. Both groups began in LA and served as important organizing grounds for efforts such as LA Pride.

Religious institutions seemed to play a foundational role in fostering connection and social cohesion in early Pride planning. Eboo Patel (2016), a sociologist and the founder of the Interfaith Youth Core, notes the role of interfaith leadership in strengthening social cohesion, reducing the chances for identity-based conflict, bridging social capital, and creating binding narratives for diverse societies. Drawing on Bakhtin's (1984) concept of the *carnivalesque*, which decodes underlying, transformative purposes of the festival, Santino (2011) develops the notion of the *ritualesque* as a central element of Pride. Though there are festival elements in early Pride, he argues that Pride differentiates itself from other large gatherings in public spaces through the centrality of formal rituals. Such rituals disrupt the status quo, unite people, and ultimately affect social change using performative symbology, such as images and movement (Santino, 2011). In the carnivalesque fashion, marchers display a joyous festiveness in their public ritual. We see Pride's early formation, through ritual practice linked to faith-based organizing of the time, as a public and collective experience for processing trauma and building solidarity.

In the early years of Pride, the march was a healing ritual to process the contested relationship between the queer community and police. Policing has long been a tool for exclusion and regulation of queer people in the US (Chauncey, 1994; C. Cohen, 1997; Delany, 1999; Hanhardt, 2013; Martinez, 2015; Turesky, 2021; Warner, 2002) and LA, specifically (Ellison, 2019; Faderman & Timmons, 2006; Hwang, 2019; Quin, 2019). In Jeanne Córdova's (2011) memoir, she explains that CSW leaders, such as Morris Kight, spent months begging for a permit but ultimately were denied and, instead, got "qualified permission" to stay on sidewalks and with "one misstep the cops would be all over us" (Córdova, 2011, p. 46). LAPD Chief, Edward Davis, wrote at the time to Councilman Art Snyder "it's one thing to be a leper; it's another thing to be spreading disease" and "giving a permit to homosexuals would be like giving one to robbers and rapists" (Córdova, 2011, p. 46). According to Córdova, the organizers chose to march on Hollywood Boulevard's especially wide sidewalks as a tactic in response to the police mandate that participants stay on sidewalks. LAPD mandated how queer bodies could exist in public space by refusing to grant permits and regulating the physical parameters of where marchers could exist. Hollywood Boulevard remains a key part of the LA Pride route today.

This antagonizing relationship between the LA queer community and the LAPD was one factor in why the first Gay Rights Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union was established in LA, led by Dick Caudillo. The initial Pride parade permit was at first denied, then provided with the qualification that organizers acquire an amount of insurance that was not required for any other group and was so onerous as to all but deny granting of the permit. Ultimately, it was only after the ACLU filed a

lawsuit that the permit was granted with reduced insurance requirements. When CSW filled out applications during subsequent years, they even noted in a space for additional information, "We hope we don't have to challenge the Police Commission in the courts as we did last year" (CSW, 1971). Douglas made this struggle visible and central in their flyer by adding the celebratory line "Parade permit granted!" (Douglas, 1970).

LAPD was not the only institution seeking to limit the LA queer community's rights. In 1970, the LA chapter of the Gay Liberation Front led one of the first acts of resistance against the medical establishment's classification of homosexuality as a mental illness. This classification was widely used by governments to justify discriminatory policies and by medical institutions to legitimize the practice of sexual conversion therapies. In 1970, Gay Liberation Front leaders stormed the International Conference on Behavioral Modification, located at the Downtown LA Biltmore Hotel. By 1973, the American Psychiatry Association removed homosexuality from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual. Nevertheless, a few years later in 1975, CSW leadership invited Chief Davis to participate in Pride and he replied on official LAPD letterhead: "I would much rather celebrate "GAY CONVERSION WEEK" which I will gladly sponsor when the medical practitioners in this country find a way to convert gays to heterosexuals" (E. M. Davis, 1975). It is no surprise that anti-police signage and performance flooded the early Pride events (Figure 3). Queer participants even used BDSM imagery to reclaim police symbology as connected to queer sexual practices, diminishing police control, and making fun of police behavior through the public celebration of their own sexual experiences.

5. Pride as Political Organizing

Through this ritual of remembrance, archival pieces also demonstrate how Pride operated as a joyous space for diverse queer communities to mobilize in urban landscapes. The earliest archival artifacts from LA Pride demonstrate its potential as a site for radical planning. The first LA Pride poster was designed by Angela Douglas, an early white trans woman activist, and founder of Transvestite/Transsexual Activist Organization. Her poster decenters the cisgender, white male figure that has come to dominate LA Pride, featuring instead a gender ambiguous figure whose headpiece resembles Pharoah-like iconography (Figure 4). Despite being organized by CSW from its earliest years, the first LA Pride flyer lists numerous queer organizations, suggesting a role for Pride as a bridging organization to build grassroots political power across heterogeneous groups, as well as to develop social capital among queer people.

In exploring Fanon's theories of decolonial resistance, Pile (1997, p. 23) reminds us that in this postmodernist era, "the map of resistance is not simply the underside of the map of domination." Rather, resistance charts a new course toward transformational space that brings people and groups from the margins to the center (hooks, 1984). From this, we see an opportunity for destabilizing power dynamics as social movements reinscribe the streets as sites of cultural production on their road trip toward social, economic, and political capital. As a vehicle for developing a collective identity, early Pride flyers demonstrate general demands that the queer marchers and organizers sought from public institutions. Like many other gay liberation groups at the time,

Figure 3. A "Pride float" in the form of a re-tooled "police car" that incorporates BDSM imagery to protest police violence. Source: Photograph of Pride marchers [ca. 1975].

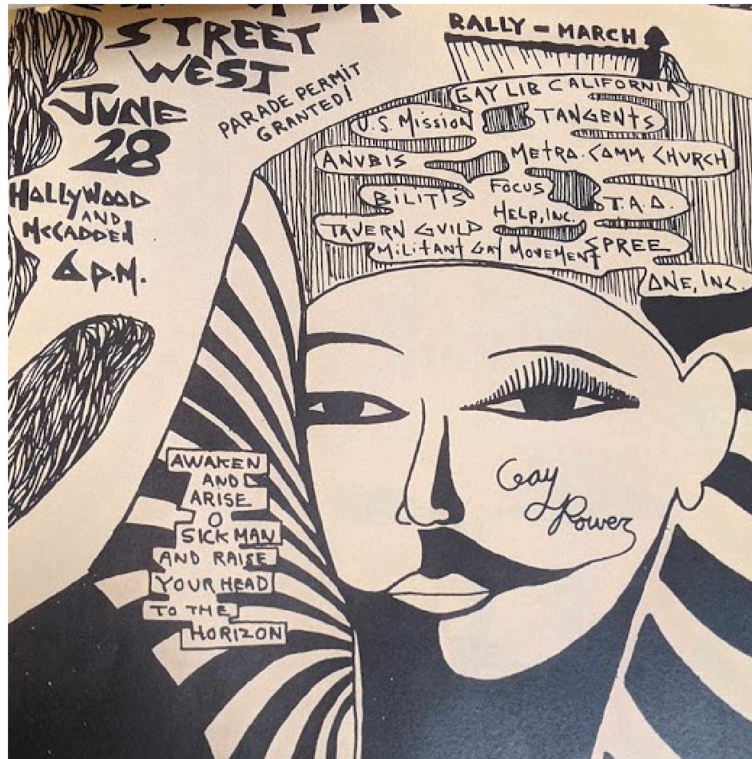

Figure 4. 1970 LA Pride poster designed by Angela Douglas. Source: Douglas (1970).

the Lavender People demanded abolishing homophobic laws and police harassment, obtaining rights to employment and child custody, and releasing people who were incarcerated because homosexual acts were criminalized (Figure 5). Betty Friedan, the President of the National Organization for Women, first used the phrase "Lavender Menace" in 1969 to demonize lesbians as a threat to the women's movement, effectively banning them from the organization. The term was here reclaimed and used by many lesbian groups. Other demands centered criminal justice reform, aligning with our observation of this repeated policing theme within archival materials.

By 1974, artifacts show less uniformity in demands and more fragmentation. Though groups of women, such

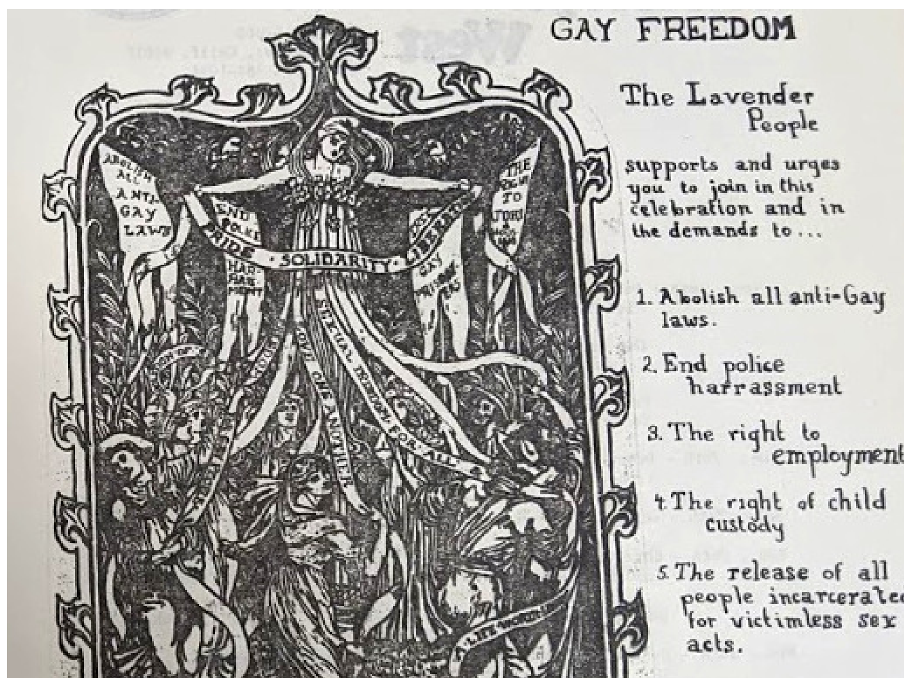

Figure 5. Flyer from The Lavender People listing their political demands. Source: The Lavender People (1972).

as the Gay Sisters' Christopher Street Coalition, called for an end to police harassment, they also developed feminist goals since independence as women was essential to their sexual liberation. They called for rights to economic equity and houses, as well as child custody. Family courts became a key site for criminalizing lesbians during the 1970s and 1980s, ruling that lesbians were unfit mothers and granting full custody to fathers or extended family (Gutterman, 2019).

By 1980, planning rosters show that over 100 groups participated in Pride. It is unclear whether having a float necessarily signifies any meaningful engagement with the larger queer rights movement, but they at least needed to contribute money, time, and their own visibility to collective efforts of the parade (Figure 6). There is substantial variety in the types of groups that were participating: groups hailed from different universities, ethnicities, religions, and geographies. While these groups may not have all shared political demands like in Pride's earlier years, the annual act of planning Pride nevertheless acted as a joyous space of community organizing where disparate groups came into discursive interaction with one another, building social and political capital as they demonstrated a shared, public identity.

Only a few of these groups had participated in the initial Pride parade. The radical political elements of early LA Pride manifested in joyful, spontaneous, and informal kinds of participation with less cooperation from the LAPD. This radical political space created an opportunity for heterogenous political groups to gather and express joy. We see the radical and queer planning represented in Pride's earliest days as demonstrative of the kind of spatialized queer joy that might offer potential for political and spatial justice in the city.

40 – 89 = DIV. B CROFT
90 – 150 = DIV C

A 80 Abe Lincoln Republican Club
M 15 Abortion Rights
M 21 Action Coalition
M 85 Advocate Experience
M 45 Afirmation / Mormons
A 37 Ah Men
M 14 Alcoholic Center for Women
T 56 Don Amador, Mayor's Laison
A 136 Andrea "Miss Gay California"
T 96 Apache Disco
M 93 Bakersfield Contingent
63 Steven Banks
M 33 Temple Beth Chayim
AM 119 Blue Parrot auto & marchers
F? 120 Blue Parrot Elephant and attendants
A,A 10 Buckingham Livery
M 125 Cal Poly Pomona
M 68 Cal State Long Beach
M 95 Cal State Los Angeles
T 116 Chateau Properties
T 32 Chrysalis Hotel Float, Palm Springs
F 132 Circus Disco Float
M 133 Circus Disco Clowns
A 60 Compass Magazine
F 3 C.S.W. float
A A 84 Cycle Sluts
T 61 D.E. Motor Club
M 35 Dignity L.A. / S.F.V.
M 1 Dykes on Bykes
F 36 Eagle Bar Float with marchers
M 58 East Side Assoc.
A 26 Supervisor Ed Edelman
M 25 L.A. Gay Community Services Center
50a Gay Fathers
M 27 L.A. GAY Freedom Band
M 43 Gay &Lesbian Psychotherapists
T 82 Gene's TV
A 5 Grand Marshal Grace Davis
73 Julie Hanson & Superstuff
M 100 Hawaii Gays
M 30 H.E.L.P.
88 Hollywood Hawaiian
T 34 Holy Trinity Church
M 83 Hudson House
M 118 The Hunger Project
M 91 I.C.A.U. Athletic Teams
M 46 Iglesia Latina
M 66 Imperial Courts of Long Beach
A 42 Just L.A. Magazine
A M 59 Keystone Cops
M 75 Keys to the City
M 72 K-9 Corps
F H 70 L A Bar Float with 2 horsemen
M 55 L.A. City College Gay Student Union
M 65 Lambda Democratic Club
S 41 Lambda Roller Skate Club
T 40 Lambda Roller Club Soundtruck
106 L.A. MimeCo.
T 76 L.A. Tool Co.
M 8 Lesbians of Color
M 47 Lesbian & Gay Latins
M 126 Lesbians & Gays from Pomona
M 103 Lesbians & Gays from Orange Co.
65-69 LONG BEACH CONTINGENT
M 13 L.O.V.E.
F 112 Machismo, Jeep & Tank
M 57 March On Washington
M 52 MCC All Saints / West Hollywood
M 105 MCC Anaheim / Santa Ana
54 MCC Downtown Chorus
53 MCC Downtown Float
M 67 MCC Long Beach
M 127 MCC Pomona
B M 48 MCC Valley, bikers & marchers
HT 49 MCC Valley horse drawn wagon
M 51 MCC West Bay / Santa Monica
A 29 MECLA
M 2 Men's Biker Team
A 131 The Men's Room "Mr. Leather"
A 113 Midnight Cowboy, Databoy
M 97 Jim Morris Gym
M 18 N.O.W.
A 109 Odom's Intermission Bar
F 114 Odyssey Float with Love & Kisses
T 110 Once Only, Brotherhood
T 31 One, Inc. L.A.
AH 98 One Way Bar (auto or horses)
B 102 Orange County Bikers
A 104 Orange Bussinesspersons Assoc.
M 38 Orange County Community Center
ORANGE COUNTY CONTINGENT
103a Orange Co. Firetruck
A 12 Palms Women
A 139 Parade Chairpersons Ernie & Joy
M A,A 4 Parents & Friends, L.A.
A 16 Women of Peanuts
M 108 The Phoenix Gym
86 Charles Pierce
F 107 Pink Elephant Float
POLICE ABUSE CONTINGENT
POMONA CONTINGENT
M 128 Pomona Valley Women's Assoc.
44a Press Release Newstand
AM 122 Probe auto and marchers
F 123 Probe Club Float
T 101 P.X. Village People Tribute
M 50 Rainbow Society of Deaf
AM 62 Riverside County, P.A.C.
A 134 Ron Allen Shoes
T 44 Rooster Fish Bar
F 24 Rusty Nail Float
M 135 San Diego Pride Alliance
M 90 San Francisco Freedom Day Band
M 64 San Francisco Men's Chorus
M 137 San Gabriel Valley Coalition
F 74 Spike Bar Float
TS 92 Sports Locker/ Jeep, Boat, Dave Kopay
129 Starwood Disco
M 28 Stonewall Democratic Club
F 78 Studio One Float
M 79 Studio One Marchers
A 130 Sweet As A Rose Flowers
M 11 Swinging Misses
M 115 U.S.C. Gay Student Union
M 111 U.C.L.A. Gay Student Union
M 22 Union of Lesbians and Gay Men
T 124 El Camino, Veronica Va Voom
M 17 Wages for Housework
M 140 We Are Everywhere
87 Dan Webster
T 121 West Hollywood Presbyterian
WOMENS CONTINGENT
M 7 Women's Outreach
M 9 Women's Softball Teams
M 6 Women United
F 94 Zephyr Productions Float
M 81 Zero to Success
99 Zipco with skaters

Figure 6. Alphabetical list of participating organizations for 1980 Pride. Source: List of march participants (1980).

6. Inclusion vs. Queer Joy

Political theorists have long cited a politics of recognition as critical for gaining social and political inclusion (Taylor, 1992; Young, 2002). Normative interpretations of Pride are often limited to the march being a "coming out" for queer people, an expression of desire for *inclusion* in dominant society. Only focusing on inclusion decenters the radical potential of a queer politics, favoring a limited vision for heteropatriarchal institutions to accept queers into dominant society. This has certainly become the primary goal for Pride in recent years, but this goal appears to have generated some tension during Pride's earliest days. The very first CSW newsletter hints at the othering of non-white, non-male identifying people, listing "women" as a separate agenda item. Though our modern interpretation suggests this to be indicative of a male hegemony, gay men and lesbians were distinctly different groups during the start of Pride; meanwhile, Angela Douglas' contributions are the only artifacts to reflect trans involvement. The notion of a broader umbrella group had not yet developed. These early archival materials reflect a reality that Pride organizers may not have fully realized the potential in Audre Lorde's (1984, p. 111) perspective that people's differences offer a "creative function" for social movement work.

What else, then, does Pride offer as a political practice apart from inclusion? Our reading of early Pride marches centers the agency of expressing public joy as an act of resistance. What is the power that lies in one's agency to choose joy in light of oppression? Sarah Ahmed (2016) offers the theory of the feminist killjoy whose everyday practice is to speak uncomfortable truths, disrupting the comfort of the dominant, patriarchal culture. We offer queer joy as a complimentary practice to the feminist killjoy: By taking joy in one's own identity, an identity constituted from all that is antithetical to heteropatriarchal culture, one also disrupts the comfort of that culture. The queer joy of Pride also holds tight to the feminist killjoy within its performance. Thus, Pride demonstrates a powerful message to "the straight state" (Canaday, 2009) precisely because its central purpose is for queer pleasure.

In addition to Ahmed's work, our formulation of queer joy owes much to scholarly theories of Black joy. Jessica Lu and Catherine Knight Steele (2019, p. 824) have examined Black "rhetorical arguments in pursuit of freedom," tracing a line from the "hidden transcripts" of enslaved people found in music and oral cultures to digital cultures of today, citing author Alice Walker's line that "resistance is the secret of joy." Bonilla-Silva (2019, p. 7) has noted that there is a "racial economy of emotions" that spans all races and both positive and negative feelings, serving to construct shared subjectivities and "affective interests." Where dominant racial groups can use animosity and exclusion to reinforce supremacy, subjected groups can use pleasure and joy as a form of resistance, maintaining some degree of protected space, freedom, and humanity. Bonilla-Silva cites Stephanie Camp's (2002, p. 552) scholarship on enslaved women in the plantation south, who notes "pleasure gotten by illicit use of the body must be understood as important and meaningful enjoyment, as personal expression, and as oppositional engagement of the body." Cohen's "queer politics" intersects neatly with this joyful practice, borne out in the presence of intersectional contingents in Pride since its earliest days, such as queer Chicanos and Latinos, or queer Black performers (Figures 7, 8, and 9).

By the mid-1970s, however, queer social groups that formed around LA Pride began to fracture and people formed more varied groups with different goals. Ironically, the emerging inclusion model from the earliest days exhibited tensions between Pride leaders' goals and the heterogeneity within the queer population. One organizing flyer of the time proclaims, "Speak up for inclusion—and be heard!!!" (Lavender & Red Union [L&RU] [ca. 1975a]). Yet as some groups questioned the limits of Pride's inclusion, particularly for racial, gender,

Figure 7. A contingent of "Gay Chicanos and Latinos" marches in an early Pride parade. Source: Photograph of Pride marchers [ca. 1975].

Figure 8. A trio of queer Black performers joyfully play tambourines in an early Pride parade. Source: Photograph of Pride marchers [ca. 1975].

and class minorities, leaders doubled down on a version of inclusion that privileged a focus on being "included" within broader society rather than including diversity within Pride planning itself.

The 1975 strike against the LA Gay Community Services Center (now the LA LGBT Center, colloquially referred to as "the Center") demonstrates how radical politics was expunged from Pride and its organizing in favor of identities that were more palatable to mainstream capitalist society. Archival materials from 1975 show how a socialist contingent in previous Pride parades, The L&RU, helped launch a strike for workers at the Center. The managers were infringing on employees' rights, so they went on strike. Management

Figure 9. Dykes on Bikes rides in the Pride parade, accessorized with balloons. Source: Photograph of Pride marchers [ca. 1975].

fired about 20 staff within one week, mostly women and working-class white people. Because the organizers of LA Pride publicly sided with management, Pride organizers banned militant gay groups, including L&RU, from marching in the 1975 Pride, saying they were likely to create violence and disrupt the commemoration (Quin, 2019). Among those banned from Pride was Ron Grayson, an LA activist who was regarded as the "dean of the black gay community in Los Angeles" (Quin, 2019, p. 227). One flyer for "The Liberation Contingent," which L&RU leaders like Ron Grayson created, contested Pride organizers' "neutrality in the face of a strike [and] police violence" and called for an alternative march in opposition to Pride (Figure 10).

With their banishment from any Pride events, the Liberation Contingent marched separately along the parade route on Hollywood Boulevard and invited Grayson to speak. As depicted in the flyer, he weaponized the theme of that year's parade, "It's a Gay, Gay World" to alert the crowd "it's Not a Gay, Gay world." His speech reflects his "sustained antiracist and anticapitalist critiques of the political and economic gains of gay liberation" (Quin, 2019, p. 234). Other archival materials from L&RU detail an ideological split between:

> Those people who want nothing to do with revolution and whose primary interest is to continue to make a profit from the Gay sub-culture (for example the pimps, bar owners, bath owners, government sponsored Gay projects, many professionals, etc) and those people who want to overthrow the system that oppresses them. (L&RU [ca. 1975b])

Yet another flyer notes the hypocrisy of CSW's call for Pride participants to remain "non-political" despite its radical, anti-police origins. This strike shows not only how Pride began to transform into what it is today, but it also shows how radical planning might be reintegrated into Pride activities: through the incorporation of participants and organizers who pursue grassroots action.

Miraftab (2009, p. 41) argues that citizens' perceptions of inclusion are critical to neoliberal governance: "Insurgent planning recognizes, supports and promotes not only the coping mechanisms of the grassroots exercised in invited spaces of citizenship, but also the oppositional practices of the grassroots as they innovate their own terms of engagement." Some 25 years later, the inclusion model focusing on "gay rights" within existing legal structures became dominant, contrasting gay liberation models from Pride's earliest days (e.g., Bernstein, 2016). In one *LA Times* article from 1990, for example, a white businessman promoting CSWA's $30,000 advertising campaign is showcased. Nothing in the advertisement explicitly tells readers that the models are gay. Even the verbiage is diluted for mainstream readers' comfort: "With pride in yourself, you can appreciate the differences in others" (Figure 11).

7. Conclusion: Pride and Joy Moving Forward

Bacchetta et al. (2015), in their work on queer of color formations, have posited that queer urban justice requires dismantling market-driven violence and racial and colonial capitalisms. Telling critical histories about who has been allowed to take up space and be remembered is one strategy for doing so. During the first few years, Pride seemed relatively radical, featuring trans women and women of color in its promotional materials and offering space for queer groups and individuals to resist loneliness by building community and *joy*. In our analysis, we highlight how the importance of rituals and political resistance manifested in queer people's

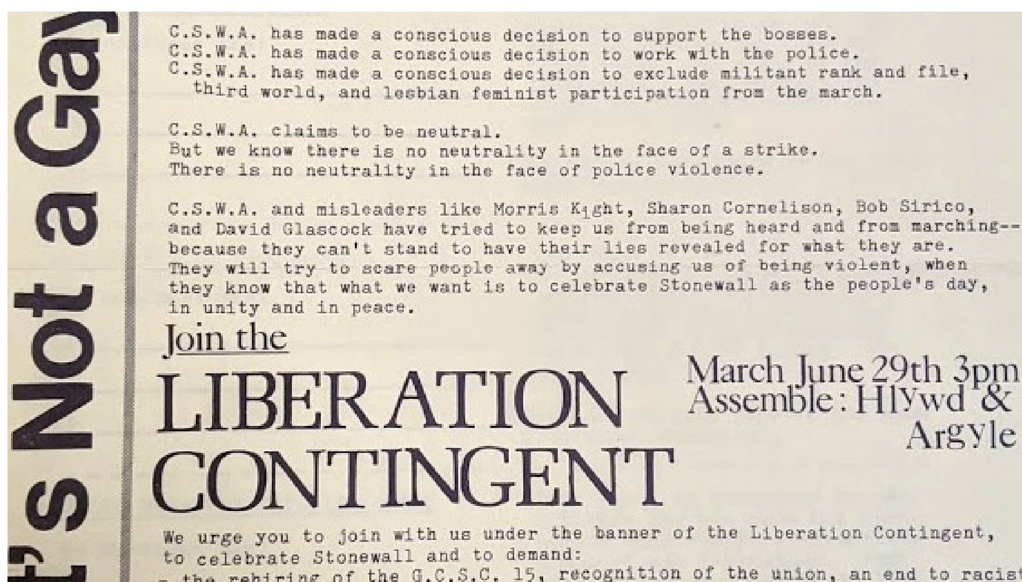

Figure 10. Flyer from "The Liberation Contingent," calling people to join a parallel march in opposition to Pride. Source: Liberation Contingent (1975).

MARKETS / MONEY / PERSONAL FINANCE

SECTION D

TUESDAY APRIL 24, 1990

Los Angeles Times

BUSINESS

D6 TUESDAY, APRIL 24, 1990

MARKETING / BRUCE HOROVITZ

Gay Pride Ads—and a Proud Gay Adman—Challenge a Broader Public

Howard Wallman had never been nervous about having lunch with his daughter. Until last week.

After more than 25 years in the advertising business, Wallman told his 18-year-old daughter that he was finally about to star in one of his own ads, and he knew she wasn't likely to welcome his impending celebrity.

That's because the ad campaign—which broke Monday in Western editions of Newsweek—promotes the Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Pride Celebration scheduled for June 23 and 24 in West Hollywood. The ad was conceived by Christopher Street West, the Los Angeles gay-rights group that has sponsored the celebration for the past 20 years.

In one of the ads, a smiling Wallman, who is senior vice president at Vogel Communications Group, is leaning shoulder to shoulder with another man. Under the headline "Take Pride," all the ads in the campaign feature similar portraits of gays and lesbians smiling—and occasionally hugging—for the camera. "With pride in yourself," Wallman wrote for the ads, "you can appreciate the differences in others."

The goal is not to promote homosexuality, said Joe Toy, president of Christopher Street West. "It's not meant to be confrontational. I hope it will simply get people to ask themselves, 'What is pride, and what does it mean to me?'" said Toy. "If you feel better about yourself, you're not as likely to want to step on other people's toes."

In fact, the ads never say explicitly that they feature gays. Many of the photographs look as if they might just as easily be used to sell soft drinks or shampoo. All the adult models are unpaid gay and lesbian volunteers.

Until now, ads concerning sexual preference have generally been limited to gay-oriented publications. Is the larger public ready to accept ads sponsored by a gay-rights group that show men hugging men and women embracing women?

Wallman concedes that his daughter, who attends a local college, doesn't think so. Wallman was divorced from his wife five years ago and told his daughter of his homosexuality then. He now lives with a male lover. "She's very unhappy that people will suddenly judge her father as bad or good without knowing him," said Wallman, who added, "She is afraid that people will now jump to a conclusion about me that is unjust—and maybe even dangerous."

But a handful of national magazines and a major outdoor billboard company seem to think the public is ready for these advertisements. Notable among them is Newsweek, which several years ago was the first general-circulation news magazine in the United States to accept condom ads. For the "Take Pride" campaign, however, Newsweek asked that all models appearing in the ads sign releases.

"The ad went through our normal review process," said Diana Pearson, director of communications at Newsweek. "We don't discuss that process." More ads from the "Take Pride" campaign will appear in June issues of Harper's, Egg, L.A. Style and Interview. In addition, Gannett Outdoor Co. has donated 10 billboards in the Los Angeles area. "I imagine there will be people who object to the ad," said Bonnie Kingry, a spokeswoman for Gannett Outdoor. "Gannett has a policy of donating public service advertising. We try to help as many people and groups as we can."

Not a single publication contacted by the group turned down the ad, said David M. Smith, the public relations coordinator at Christopher Street West, who had the idea for the campaign. "There were no problems at all."

It hasn't always been such smooth sailing for gay advertising. Just five years ago, a number of major publications rejected a public service print ad from Christopher Street West. The ad featured actress Rita Moreno next to the headline, "Gay pride begins with me."

Not surprisingly, some groups are unhappy with the latest ads. "Like anyone else, Christopher Street West enjoys the right to advocate and advertise their own political agenda," said Louis P. Sheldon, chairman of Traditional Values Coalition, a fundamentalist lobby based in Anaheim. "However, what is really sad is that while Christopher Street West spends hundreds of thousands of dollars promoting homosexuality, thousands are tragically lying in hospital beds dying from the very same behavior."

As for Sheldon's contention that the ads promote homosexuality, well, Toy says it simply is not so. "What we're trying to sell is a human virtue—respect for others." He said the group is spending about $30,000 on the campaign, including $5,500 for the Newsweek ad, which the magazine sold to the nonprofit organization at a discount.

For Wallman, 43, his decision to appear in the ads as well as to create them was at once scary and uplifting. "No one strong-armed me or high-pressured me to do this," he said. "Hopefully, we can begin to change the opinions of what many people think gays are. We don't wear dresses and hate women. We have to change that stereotype. We just have to."

DOUGLAS R. BURROWS / For The Times

Howard Wallman, senior vice president at Vogel, with ad he created for the Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Pride Celebration.

Castellanos Makes a Big Point With Small Account

A piece of advertising business worth $3 million doesn't sound like much. But when an account that size was handed to Castellanos Latina Advertising last week by the Board of Tourism of Mazatlan, Mexico, it ranked as one of the most intriguing wins by a Los Angeles agency this year.

Reason: Although the agency specializes in Spanish-language ads, it has now been hired to create general market advertisements written only in English. This is highly unusual in the ad business. "Many general market agencies get into Hispanic advertising," said Julio J. Castellanos.

Figure 11. Article celebrating the "Take Pride" ad campaign, and a sample of the ad. Sources: Horovitz (1990, p. D6; left) and "Take Pride" (1990; right).

expressions of joy in public space. The use of imagery, symbols, and movement might have affected the social attitudes, but such change was not the only transformative result of early LA Pride space making. This spatialized queer joy marks a kind of radical planning because it expressly centers queer pleasure. The freedom to find and express pleasure in one's queer identity in public space disrupts heteropatriarchal cultures.

Some principles of radical planning practice that we derive from our analysis of the history of LA Pride are as follows. We urge urban planning scholars, educators, and practitioners to center affective experience, joyful expression, and emotional labor in meaningful ways as "a mode of relationality [that] redefines care or mutualism by its ability to reorient ourselves to one another, that is, beyond an assertion of capitalist extractive productivity" (Hwang, 2019, p. 570). Such a reorientation aligns a radical queer planning with existing movements to repair histories of harmful policing and caging (Cullors, 2018). Today, BLM holds space for collective healing and political rituals (Farrag, 2018), suggesting that abolitionist organizing and the queer politics of early Pride hold similarities. We also observe that Pride has been its most powerful when the most marginalized are empowered to lead, enabling an intersectional approach to organizing and resisting state violence.

Future research must investigate questions to improve our understanding of how to sustain radical projects: How might planning redistribute resources toward abolition and reparation movements, and toward marginalized individuals and communities more generally? LA Pride's example suggests that a radical origin is not enough to sustain a justice-oriented practice into the future. Instead, a radical planning praxis requires continuous and ongoing evaluation and disruption to ensure that the state power embedded into planning is not captured, coopted, or otherwise utilized by empowered interests, let alone used to reify and justify the expansion of police power into planning practices and institutions themselves.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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About the Authors

Marisa Turesky researches how identity and emotions influence people's access to urban spaces and services across the lifespan. Her main areas of focus are community development, housing, and social movements. She is a PhD candidate in Urban Planning & Development at the University of Southern California.

Jonathan Jae-an Crisman, PhD, is a Los Angeles-based artist and researcher whose work focuses on the intersections between culture, politics, and place. He teaches at the University of Arizona in the Department of Public & Applied Humanities.