

Posting Places in Dis^{*}us^{*}ing Spaces

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ABSTRACT

Posting Places in Dis^{*}us^{*}ing Spaces

Sandra Jensen

This thesis is the conclusion of an experiential research project on Montreal street posters. These posters are a primary means of communication at the direct pedestrian level and they are a means through which people literally write their experiences on the built environment, narrating the story of the city. Based on an iconological method of investigation, this thesis reveals that in the historic Red Light district of Montreal, street posters author a history of marginality and conflict. They are bound in analogy, where the history of the street posters parallels the history of prostitution and marginalization in the district. This relationship transcends analogy, however, and in many ways street posters, prostitution, and other unwanted behaviours have become one united problem in the eyes of the city. Called immoral, sinful, or just plain dirty; street posters, prostitutes, architecture and other marginalized individuals in the area have been framed as disgusting. This is not to say that these posters, places or people are in fact *disgusting*; it is to say that they are *treated* this way. The disgust that has shaped this neighbourhood and the existence of street posters has done nothing but keep individuals and businesses trapped in marginalization. Subsequently, laws based in disgust have been written to control street posters. Serving as a form of camouflage and social control, obscuring the city's action, inaction and motivations; these laws intended to control the "disgusting" posters merely penalize a vibrant art form for problems, which might be concurrent, but may have no direct relationship with the medium.

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INCEPTION

This project began with my own poster fascination. As an academically trained graphic designer, I am drawn to the bold colours and shapes, distinct purpose, and unique style of poster artists. I am also drawn to the content of the posters. Advertising music, theater, dance, festivals, exhibitions and entertainment, posters describe our cultural and social existence. A product of technology, they are tightly bound to changes in human culture, social interaction and the urban environment. Quickly produced and quickly discarded, the poster is a replenishing documentation of daily life. Visually, posters embody an intentional composition of colours, lines, shapes, images and texts that are intended to leap off the surface of a wall or piece of street furniture and grab the attention of passersby. Conceptually, a poster should have a strong clear message. An effective poster combines strong visuals with a strong concept and has the ability not only to convey an idea to the viewer, but inspire them to act. This clarity is essential because posters usually have, at most, a few seconds to capture their viewer's attention. Each poster is a presence drawing upon artistic trends and the designer's own visual desires in order to convey a message. The city, then, becomes a gallery in which the poster can traverse its communicative function and enter the realm of art.

Posters are as a valuable form of public art, a fact that can be verified by an increase in both mainstream and academic interest. Mainstream interest can be seen in the prevalence of books such as *Gig Posters Vol. 1: Rock Show Art of the 21st Century* by Clay Hayes; *Juxtapoz Poster Art* by Juxtapoz Magazine; and *Paper Kingdom: A Collection of Baltimore Music Posters* by Elena Johnston. This interest in posters is also

illustrated by the prevalence of auctions on websites, such as [gigposters.com](#), and by auctioneering companies, such as Sothebys.

General academic interest focuses attention upon overarching historic surveys, such as Max Gallo's *The Poster in History*, Ervine Metzl's *The Poster: Its History and its Art* or Marc Choko's *Posters of the Canadian Pacific*, while other scholarship validates the significance of posters and graphic design as objects of value. Dissertations such as Kevin Michael Moist's "A Grounded Situational Assessment of Meanings Emerging from the Consideration of Psychedelic Rock Concert Posters as a Form of Subcultural Visionary Rhetoric" and books such as Dara Greenwald and Josh Macphee's *Signs of Change: Social Movement Cultures 1960s to Now* or Jean-Pierre Boyer, Jean Desjardins and David Widgington's *Posters of Social Movements in Quebec 1966-2007* draw attention to the graphic arts as a creative and socially valuable medium, postulating that design objects, such as street posters, make a valuable contribution both to artistic and cultural practices as well as our understanding of society. This art historical thesis contributes to this growing field of scholarship on posters and graphic design by presenting the street poster as an art form and symbol that is capable of expressing complex meaning.

The street poster can be drawn into the discipline of art history through ideas applied in German art historical practice. As Horst Bredekamp describes in his article "A Neglected Tradition? Art History as Bildwissenschaft," in 1970 German art historical practice incorporated the term and concept of *Bildwissenschaft* into the discipline. Loosely translated as image science, the term *Bildwissenschaft* broadened the scope of German art history to include "advertisements, photography, nonart mass

photography, film, video, [digital art, netart] and political iconography [as] regular subjects.” This occurred because the “German word *Bild* includes *image, picture, figure, and illustration*” in its meaning.¹ As Bredekamp argues there is no equivalent term for Bildwissenschaft in the English language. Thus, where German art history was able to contend with all types of images, English-speaking art history struggled to find an equivalent term. It is within this broader definition of art history that street posters can have a strong presence in art historical practice. As Bredekamp suggests the established art historical method “iconology would have become a Bildwissenschaft if Erwin Panofsky had not encapsulated this method into an analysis of Renaissance allegory. Therefore, following the tradition of the nineteenth century, art history has been forced to neglect the media arts and deal only with works of “high” art.”

This thesis is also the conclusion of a project that examines street posters on Montreal’s lower Main. As such, it builds upon the existing body of scholarship on the city of Montreal and Saint-Laurent Boulevard: including Pierre Anctil’s *Saint-Laurent: Montréal’s Main*, which describes the rich history of Saint-Laurent Boulevard; Aline Gubbay’s *A Street Called The Main: The Story of Montreal’s Boulevard Saint Laurent*, which discusses the Main’s built environment; and Julie Podmore’s thesis “St. Lawrence Blvd. as ‘Third City’: Place, Gender and Difference Along Montreal’s ‘Main’,” which historically analyzes representations of gender identity on the Main. Diverging from these previous approaches, this thesis adds a new dimension to the history of Saint-Laurent Boulevard through an examination of the street posters’ and their literal and metaphorical layers.

Originally titled “Writing on the Main: the Street Posters’ Traces upon St. Laurent Boulevard,” the initial project focused upon an analogy between street posters and the historic Red Light district in Montreal. It was part of a broader collection of research papers written for *Montreal as Palimpsest: Architecture, Community, Change*, a graduate project by Dr. Cynthia Hammond at Concordia University. The comprehensive project sought to “explore the significance of architecture within the cultural landscape of Montreal,” by seeing the “city of Montreal [as] a palimpsest, a series of surfaces upon which various actors, communities and organizations have left their trace in the form of the built environment.”² Street posters are a part of that built environment. A primary means of communication at street level, they are a method through which people literally write their experiences, past, present and future, on the city space.

In order to read this story, I developed an experiential research methodology that references Erwin Panofsky’s (1892-1968) iconological approach, treating the historic Red Light district like a multidimensional work of art. Panofsky’s analytic method was useful because it accounts for three stages of meaning in the analysis of visual objects: primary meaning, which incorporates a basic or factual level of understanding; conventional meaning, which draws an interpretation that is sensible or intelligible; and intrinsic meaning, in which all social, cultural, and technological elements are incorporated in the synthesis of a meaning, which seeks to understand broader social and cultural conditions. This tri-part framework was effective because it set forth a systematic method through which to explore the posters’ meaning. Further, while the first two stages of Panofsky’s tri-part analysis correspond with semiotic

ideas, which set forth a framework to analyze signs, his intrinsic meaning allows for an interpretation that goes beyond inherent significance and does not bind a sign or symbol to a semiotic lexicon.³ This freedom allowed me to explore beyond the image and develop a more complex analysis of the posters' sociological significance.

In the application of this method I literally examined the posters and the area for their primary meaning by repeatedly viewing and documenting both the posters' location and their content. From this experiential research, I was able to distinguish the posters' conventional meaning, determining that the posters could further be categorized as legal and illegal and that each category maintained distinct aesthetic and locational tendencies. From this categorization, I explored the intrinsic meaning of the posters. During this stage of the analysis, the posters' significance fractured and the posters' intrinsic meaning became dependent on context. I say that the posters meaning fractures because this analysis does not preclude the poster's potential to have other significances. Due to the poster's communicative nature, one could expect all posters to be capable of numerous concurrent meanings. However, within this context, the posters become historic narrators and icons that symbolize the conflicts, attitudes, and changes within the social space.

Through this multilayered analysis, street posters in the historic Red Light district of Montreal began to tell a story of marginality and conflict because they have been bound in an analogy (ill. 1). The history of the street posters parallels the early history of prostitution in the district and treatment of the posters' mirrors the cyclical efforts to restrict or eliminate marginalized individuals from the area. The posters' intrinsic meaning, though, transcends this analogy because street posters,

prostitution, and other municipally unwanted behaviours came to symbolize one single problem in the eyes of the city. The city's response to this unified problem has been one of rejection and the historic Red Light district and street posters have been subsequently established as objects of disgust. Laws based in disgust have been written to control the space. Targeting street posters as nuisances, these laws have served as a form of camouflage, obscuring both the city's action and inaction and reflecting the municipality's opinion of the district.

This is not to say that these posters, places or people are in fact *disgusting*; it is to say that they are *treated* this way. Called immoral, sinful, or just plain dirty, street posters, prostitutes, architecture and other individuals in the district have been framed by the municipality as “anti-social behaviour,” graffiti, and disgusting. The social implications of these labels have kept individuals, businesses and objects in this district in a state of marginalization. The city has continuously attempted to restrict and conform the historic Red Light district, and everything in it, to fit within a normalized social ideal. Since the mid-twentieth century, buildings have been razed, citizens forced out, and revitalization projects initiated in order to achieve this goal. The city has also tried everything possible to restrict and eliminate street posters in an attempt to erase their graphic history from city structures. However, the laws and actions intended to remove and control the poster “pollution” are problematic, because they serve to penalize a vibrant art form for problems, which might be concurrent, but may have no direct relationship with the medium.

POSTERS AND TECHNOLOGY

Johannes Gutenberg (1398-1468) gave rise to the poster medium when he developed the printing press in the fifteenth century. This innovative technology offered the ability to produce multiple printed copies of the same text or image. The printing method used cast metal type sets to print text and images were printed with relief woodcuts or the intaglio method.⁴ For about 300 years after Gutenberg's initial design, technology in the printing industry remained stable. During the Industrial Revolution, a number of technological advances developed in order to meet the demand for inexpensive, quality prints and the processes began relying heavily on more automated systems.

Lithography developed as a fast and ideal method for printing imagery. This printing method is a process through which an image is applied to a block of limestone, zinc, or aluminium with a grease pencil; the image is fixed with gum of arabic and diluted nitric acid; the stone is dampened with water and then an oil based ink is spread over the image. Ink binds to the oil drawing and the watered surface repels it. An impression is then taken by laying paper over the stone and applying pressure.

By 1850, the printing process was automated: impression cylinders replaced hand scrapers, the dampening and inking of the stones was mechanized, and the placement and removal of the paper was automated. Lithographers could now pull 800-1000 prints in an hour, compared to 100 pulls by an unautomated machine.⁵ Chromolithography, developed in 1830, allowed colour prints to be made. These early forms of lithography evolved into the photolithographic and offset processes.

The new technologies brought with them sharper images, faster production, and more typographic options.

Screen printing, or serigraphy, was developed alongside lithography. The method requires no complicated machines and is an effective method of printing signs, cloth banners and pennants. Serigraphy is a process that forces ink through a stencil that is fixed to a framed fabric screen. The ink passes through any areas of the screen not covered by the stencil and prints upon the desired surface below. Screen printing is a unique method because it allows printers to use a wide variety of inks, paints, and lacquers, and permits a thick layer of pigment to be printed on a surface. Serigraphy also provides the ability to print on almost any type, size or shape of object.

The printing industry grew steadily throughout the twentieth century. The increase in speed and the addition of colour imagery drastically changed the possibilities of printed media.⁶ By the 1960s and 1970s, digital methods were being integrated into the printing process. By 1980, both image and text were created digitally and “electronic publishing” became dominant.⁷ The launch of Apple Computer’s desktop system in 1985 was a revolution. It introduced a personal computer, laser printer, and user-friendly software that would democratize the reproduction of basic documents. Twenty years later, desktop publishing is the norm, design software is elaborate, and printing options are expansive. Local print shops can now run up hundreds of colour posters in a matter of hours.

The evolution of poster aesthetics coincided with improvements in production technology. Prior to the twentieth century, printed imagery was confined to decorative

borders and block illustrations. Text and image lived on the same page but were segregated compositionally and it was uncommon to see colour printing.⁸ Layouts changed at the end of the nineteenth century due to improvements in lithography and through design innovations by artists, such as Jules Chéret (1836-1932). A print shop owner, artist, and innovator, Chéret exploited lithography to bring vivid colour and unified compositions to the streets of Paris. His prints displayed boldly contoured designs, simple, flat fields of colour, concise text, and illustrations of joyous young “pin-up style” women that marked a revolution in poster design.⁹

Japanese woodcuts, also known as ukiyo-e, heavily influenced these revolutionary poster aesthetics. Ukiyo-e, or “pictures of the floating world,” were imported into Europe during the mid-nineteenth century. These images inspired poster artists in France to produce designs that were more confident and increasingly erotic. Bathhouses, restaurants or brothels, beautiful women and geisha, kabuki actors or Japanese landscapes were commonly depicted in the image. Flat fields of colour, contoured imagery and altered perspectives also characterized these prints.

Artists such as Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901), Eugène Grasset (1845-1917), and Alphonse Mucha (1860-1939) would follow Chéret, illustrating the streets of Paris with a new style that would be known as “art nouveau.” Characterized by organic lines and shapes, bold outlines, flat colour fields and seductive figures, *Art Nouveau* would influence artists across Europe. In England, designers such as Aubrey Beardsley (1872-1898) and the Beggarstaff Brothers, also known as William Nicholson (1872-1949) and James Pryde (1866-1941), flourished. Berlin, Munich, Vienna, and Austria became hubs for poster innovation, supporting artists such as

Koloman Moser (1868-1918), Julius Klinger (1876-1942), Egon Schiele (1890-1918), Josef Hoffmann (1870-1956) and Henry van de Velde (1863-1957).¹⁰

However, the aforementioned artists only represent a moment at the conception of the modern poster. Numerous artistic movements have since utilized this type of medium: including Situationist, Dadaist, De Stijl, Constructivist and Futurist artists. Poster aesthetics also evolved in response to changes in technology, social movements, and artistic practices. Reflecting the industrial nature of war, the emotive nature of music, or the tensions inherent in political activism, posters became powerful images that describe distinct cultural experiences.

THE (AD)VENTURE

My investigation into the primary meaning of Montreal street posters in the historic Red Light district began with first hand observations: I walked the streets of Montreal looking for posters. My initial path began at the intersection of Mont-Royal Avenue West and Saint-Laurent Boulevard; traveled down Saint-Laurent Boulevard to René-Lévesque Boulevard; doubled back up to Sainte-Catherine Street; finally travelling east along Sainte-Catherine Street until Papineau Avenue (ill. 2). I walked this route twice discovering that, not only did my hypothesis have intriguing potential to reveal social space, but that my research area was enormous, diverse and problematic. The route was problematic because it traversed three socially distinct areas in Montreal: the Plateau, the contemporary Gay Village and the historic Red Light district.¹¹ In each of these districts, I discovered that the posters' presence was different and suggested an alignment with the area's social history.

In the Plateau the posters' presence was subtle (ill. 3). Posters were fixed directly in front of the businesses that they were associated with or on street furniture. Posters on street furniture were not visually dominant in the landscape. They seemed unwanted, especially in the more gentrified areas, and one could easily imagine covert, midnight postering operations. The posters were also fixed in locations that could be quickly and easily accessed, usually within a meter of the street curb.

The streets of the Gay Village were almost free of posters (ill. 4). The posters I did find there were primarily displayed in the doorways of private businesses and on sanctioned posting spaces, such as construction boards and a few poster stands. Interestingly, posters for clubs and events in the neighbourhood were out of direct sight, tucked in the doorways of private businesses, while the mainstream posters, such as those for movie theatres, museums or municipal events, were on exterior posting locations. This created a sense of privacy or discretion. The local posters were present but I had to literally enter businesses to read them, thus alluding to a separation between the community and the general public.

In the historic Red Light district, I found posters anywhere and everywhere, layer upon layer pasted on the built environment (ill. 5). The postering seemed chaotic and neighbourhood looked rundown. The type of poster varied and included advertisements for mainstream city events as well as local businesses. The posters seemed neither wanted nor unwanted, they were just there, pasted on city structures and left to deteriorate.

The posters' diversity both reinforced my hypothesis and made the size of my research area problematic. It became necessary to limit the geographic area of my

research site. I chose to narrow my research area to the Saint-Laurent Boulevard and Sainte-Catherine Street axis in the historic Red Light district (ill. 6). Intrigued by the chaotic nature of the posters there, I wondered what might lie beneath their literally peeling layers.

I further observed the posters on ten more occasions, limiting the scope of my research area to the historic Red Light district and documenting the posters photographically. Through my continued observations, I discovered what seemed like two primary types of poster. Generally, the first type was fixed upon hoarding boards, fences and construction sites in the area. The posters were visually dominating, colourful, glossy, mass-produced advertisements designed for brand name and commercial products, city museums, theatres and large social events. These posters were visible in many areas of the city and seemed to be a part of a more comprehensive advertising scheme intended to target a broad demographic (ill. 7).

The second type of poster had a personal or idiosyncratic aesthetic and typically promoted grassroots causes, modest events, and local venues or artists. These posters were fixed upon lampposts, mailboxes and any other available street furniture or surface. These posters were physically smaller and appeared to be of lower production cost, frequently printed in black and white with a matte finish. The posters seemed to be a primary method of advertising for locals and individuals with modest budgets and did not appear to be a part of full-scale, multimedia advertising campaigns (ill. 8).

My investigation into these two apparent types of poster revealed that they could be categorized further as legal and illegal. The legal posters were those located

on hoarding boards, fences and construction sites around the city. The illegal posters were those fixed upon lampposts, mailboxes and any other available surface.

The definition of a poster as legal or illegal was derived from Montreal's bylaws and an unwritten street code. Under bylaw 99-102, Section III, Article 21 (6), no person may "stick, nail or staple anything onto street furniture,"¹² where street furniture is defined as all,

trees, shrubs, benches, bollards, dry fire hydrants, fire hydrants, benchmarks, speed bumps, cables, gate chambers, fences, conduits, fountains, grates, lampposts, monuments, walls, low walls, street signs, parking meters, poles, waste containers, catch basins, containers for recoverable resources, manholes, street lights, pipes, vaults and other similar objects, whether useful or ornamental, put up by the city for its purposes.¹³

Chapter V, Section III, Article 564 and 565 of the urban planning bylaws state the only exceptions to this rule. These exceptions state,

[Temporary] advertising posters may be put up without limit on poster display modules specifically used for that purpose by the city" and "[temporary] advertising posters may be put up without limit on hoardings except if the owner prohibits it or limits it by means of a notice to that effect.¹⁴

The company Publicité Sauvage dictates the unwritten street code. Sauvage began as an illegal poster operation. It was through this illegal working method that the business got its name: sauvage means wild or untamed.¹⁵ However, efforts put forth by the company and its clients in 1994 led to the official legalization of posterizing on hoarding walls and construction sites in Montreal.¹⁶ The altered bylaws provided Publicité Sauvage, the only posterizing business supported by city institutions,

with a monopoly over the legal posting spaces: a monopoly that Sauvage comfortably enforces by covering up the posters of others. Sauvage further asserts their postering dominance, stating on their website that they “will remove [themselves] from any campaign that uses street furniture or any other illegal surface.” This exclusive status as “legal posterer,” simultaneously “tamed” Publicité Sauvage and made them king of the poster display modules in the district, and one of the few spaces Publicité Sauvage could not control, describes the conflict aptly stating,

Publicité Sauvage monopolizes the construction walls. They don’t share them. If you go and try to use a small area of those walls for a poster, they’ll consider it a good reason to use more of their clients’ posters and they’ll cover yours up. They feel they can dominate these walls and as a result the smaller people have to stick to illegal alternatives—mailboxes, private walls, posts.¹⁷

Subsequently, it was rare to find the “illegal” type of posters fixed on a legal location.

LEGAL AND ILLEGAL POSTERS

After considering Montreal’s bylaws and the code of the street, it seemed that the primary distinction between legal posters and illegal posters was location. The primary determinant of the posters’ location was affluence. Those who could afford to utilize Sauvage’s services were granted access to a wide range of legal poster sites and those with modest budgets were forced into illegality. This conclusion is advanced further by an analysis comparing legal and illegal posters.

First, compare a legal poster for a production of *Bye Bye Baby* playing at the

Monument National theatre, with an illegal poster for a band, the Saigon Hookers, playing at the club Katacombes, both documented on March 12th, 2009 (ill. 9 & 10). The poster for *Bye Bye Baby* displays a large, colour photograph of a woman's back. The woman is nude and softly lit, with her hair pulled up, looking gently to the right. There is hand written type scribbled across her torso and a black graphic band with additional type across the bottom of the poster. The Saigon Hookers poster is black and white and displays a personified incarnation of the headlining band's name. The graphic female figure is dressed in lingerie and holds a guitar between her legs. She looks out from the poster, daring and seductive. The typography is bold and intentionally mismatched.

Aesthetically, these posters are different. The legal poster was printed in colour, the illegal in black and white. The legal poster uses a photograph, the illegal an illustration. The legal poster uses soft typography, the illegal is more haphazard. The only distinct commonality is the use of an attractive female to seduce the viewer. Yet, while the posters are different aesthetically and in their targeted demographics, both follow a poster convention and utilize the female form to sell a product. Both also have potential to attract their intended audience. The posters are eye catching and it is difficult to argue one is superior to the other.

Further, compare a legal poster for a concert at Café Campus, found near the Saint-Laurent Boulevard and Sainte-Catherine Street axis on February 11th, 2009, with an illegal poster for a concert at Le Divan Orange, found on March 31st, 2009 (ill. 11 & 12). The Café Campus poster is for a show on Valentine's Day. The composition is comprised of bold red, black and white colours; the type has

a hand written or comic book style appearance and there is a bold, simple graphic illustration. The illustration shows three stylized female faces with round red cheeks and lips, graphic black hair, and delicate features. Swirling red, black and white graphic shapes join the three faces, which are surrounded by tri-colour hearts. A female arm, placed to correspond with either the bottom face or the middle face, demurely holds a fan. The Le Divan Orange poster features three bands and is for a POP Montreal concert on April 11th, 2009. The poster was printed in black and white, with hand drawn type, displaying an illustrated lion's head and an African American boxer surrounded by graphic shapes and lines.

These two posters bear aesthetic similarities. Both posters utilize a simple bold colour scheme, have illustrations with a graphic comic book appearance, use typography that appears hand drawn, and both posters are for music shows at venues on Saint-Laurent Boulevard. The differences are the scale of the venue, Café Campus is much larger, and the legal poster is in French, while the illegal poster is in English.

This comparison suggests that legal and illegal posters possess the same potential for quality of design, vibrancy and communicative effectiveness. Dominated by illustration, alluring figures, flat shapes and derivative forms, current street posters are part of an artistic lineage that aligns with those who posted before them. However, one might argue that the illegal posters have greater potential to be art objects. While talented artists and designers create both types of poster and both posters serve a communicative purpose, the illegal posters are not usually restricted by the same concerns as legal posters. Often, the illegal posters target a smaller demographic and they have fewer corporate restrictions. This means that there is potential for the artist

of the illegal poster to utilize greater creative and stylistic license in their effort to reach a more exclusive population. Illegal posters are also unbound by the language laws that restrict legal posters. The city is so distracted by the posters' removal that language is a secondary concern.

Conversely, corporate branding programs that strictly delineate items such as colours, logo sizes, graphic placements, and images used by a company to identify itself; the constraints of provincial language laws and the need to reach a broad demographic can artistically restrict designers of legal posters. While legal poster artists are capable of stunning work, these boundaries limit their creative options, thus limiting the potential for legal posters to be a pure expression of individuality or locality.

Most empirically, though, the notion that a poster's status as legal or illegal is governed municipally and geographically, not by the poster's artistic merit, is illustrated by the fact that "illegal" posters can also be found in legal locations. Along the Saint-Laurent Boulevard and Sainte-Catherine Street axis there are six legal postering boards intended to be used by local businesses. As it can be seen in illustrations 13 and 14, posters found in illegal locations can also be found in legal locations. Further, posting on hoarding boards was originally an illegal act. It was only after the support of Publicité Sauvage's clients (i.e.: several municipal institutions) that hoarding boards became a legal location to post. I restate this point to emphasize the fact that the poster's status as legal or illegal is not inherent in the image because the city of Montreal previously designated all posters as illegal, regardless of location.

FRACTURED MEANING

The meaning of posters in the historic Red Light district fractures when we acknowledge that the poster's distinction as legal or illegal is determined by location and the posters' content becomes secondary, possibly irrelevant, in the symbolic comprehension. Upon this acknowledgment, the posters' significance can crystallize and each poster becomes one of two symbols that communicate a legal or illegal status. Street posters then turn into a graphic roadmap written upon the built environment, indicating the social and physical space as well as broader municipal concerns (ill. 15). This indication occurs because the municipal government, not the poster, determines the posters' location and the government defines those restrictions to suit their civic purpose. That purpose is influenced by official opinions, normative ideals and the need to maintain respectability in the eyes of others. Given that the municipality places similar restrictions and judgements on other individuals in the district, street posters also come to visually symbolize both the inhabitants of the area and negative attitudes that have been imposed upon them. The posters maintain this significance through rhetoric produced by the city and media, which perpetually associate this district and street posters to what the city asserts are unwanted elements of society.

RHETORIC

This firm connection between posters and the “unwanted” did not, however, occur overnight. Beginning in the 1900s, the city of Montreal began imposing legal restrictions upon posters and signage that traversed the boundary of practical or

spatial concerns, such as sign size and location. At this time, laws regarding posters and signs became about censorship and social values, reflecting the city's efforts to impose social and physical reform upon the lower Main.¹⁸

In order to appreciate the rhetoric of the city, it is important to understand how the lower Main became associated with immorality. The historic Red Light district encircles the Saint-Laurent Boulevard and Sainte-Catherine Street axis in Montreal.¹⁹ This axis is close in proximity to the city's port and its transient nature attracted and encouraged all varieties of social interaction.²⁰ Saint-Laurent Boulevard also bisected the city, separating French and English Montreal. This border resulted in an interstitial territory where Montreal's French, English, immigrant, wealthy, working class and all other citizens coexisted.²¹

In the early twentieth century, the historic Red Light district was alive with vaudeville, burlesque, music, avant-garde theatre, cinemas, prostitution and many other activities that were illegal or perceived to be immoral. The Monument National was a vital site for avant-garde and Yiddish theatre. Montreal's first major nightclub, The Frolics, employed free spirits like the celebrity hostess Texas Guinan.²² The Gaiety Theatre regularly presented the striptease "star artiste" Lili St. Cyr on the stage²³ and bawdy houses and gambling were prevalent (ill. 16). Many of the businesses were controlled by mobsters, madames and corrupt officials that further encouraged illegal behaviour. As described by Norman Olson in 1960,

[You'd] have all the factories and the moment twilight hit and all the clothing workers went home, all the kids and perverts and tourists would come out. [...] It was like a stage—as the lighting changed, the city changed; it underwent a daily metamorphosis. At twilight all the lights

would flicker and the hoors and transvestites came out and this other world began.²⁴

The city of Montreal initially encouraged the lower Main's reputation for leisure activities. The municipality's disregard for prohibition laws of the 1920s facilitated the theatres and clubs on the lower Main. American productions, performers and entrepreneurs flooded into the city in order to take advantage of the employment opportunities, while tourists flocked from across the continent to indulge in Montreal's lavish entertainments. Saint-Laurent Boulevard became famous in North America as a wide-open, glamorous, creative, and seductive urban space. Bruce Hutchinson eloquently describes this period in Montreal's history in his 1942 book, *The Unknown Country*:

[There] is something about Montreal, a feeling that we do not have in our other Canadian cities – city manners, the acceptance of the city as a natural home and way of life, where most other cities are only villages trying to ape New York. There is something here which, for lack of a better name, must be called elegance with a touch of wickedness; for beneath all the culture, the refinement, and luxury, is not the only poverty but an organized underworld of vice and crime, with politics not as bold as in some American cities, but worse than anything Canada has ever known.²⁵

Concurrent to the success of lower Saint-Laurent Boulevard's thriving entertainment district, the city of Montreal experienced an explosion in the demand for social reform. World War I, the rise in venereal disease, increasing leisure time, access to pleasurable urban amusements, a transition away from stringent Victorian values and the development of a new youth culture all contributed to social anxiety and an intense social purity movement.

In 1918, an anti-vice organization called the Committee of Sixteen released a survey publicly exposing the Red Light district as a corrupt space, overwhelmed with drunks, prostitution and venereal disease. The committee believed the city was ignorant and apathetic to the problem district and their goal was to draw the attention of the church and social reform groups to what the committee deemed was a growing social threat. The survey resulted in a vociferous demand to eradicate the alleged threat of prostitution and immoral behaviours in order to save society, and more specifically to save young womanhood.²⁶

The Committee of Sixteen survey was significant because it marked a shift in the perception that women of the Red Light district were “victims” to the perception that they were “problem girls.” The general public was now convinced that girls out in the city were “occasional prostitutes” willingly meeting and flirting with men and trading sexual favours for a night on the town.²⁷ Social reformers equated a girl’s moral downfall with the negative influence of the city, mental deficiency, independence and a young woman’s quest for a “good time.” The new attitude saw the moral downfall of women around every corner and delinquency in young women was no longer determined by prostitution alone; it represented girls who participated in dating, leisure and dancing activities. The delinquent girl was found in public spaces such as streets, parks, cinemas, theatres and restaurants.²⁸

Many of the new social reform beliefs stemmed from two branches of psychiatric science that also propagated the view that the Red Light district was a threat. Psychologists, such as Henry H. Goddard and Alfred Binet, pursued the first branch in the 1910s. In this branch, they determined through various

forms of cognitive testing that delinquent behaviour was the result of a hereditary “feeble-mindedness.” This eugenic downfall was supposedly most common within the female, immigrant, poor and delinquent populations. Lucy M. Brooking of Toronto’s Alexandra Industrial School for girls and Nancy Stork of Montreal’s Girls Cottage Industrial School further supported this notion with their 1920 publication documenting the close relationship between girls’ “mental deficiency” and “loose morality.” Their documentary efforts bred the belief that feeble-mindedness resulted in girls that were both easily corrupted and a threat to society.²⁹

Concurrently, the second branch of psychology emerged in 1904. Psychologist G. Stanley Hall purported that delinquency was caused during puberty when “the adolescent experienced an emotional upheaval and was tormented by confusion.” He declared that adult supervision and direction was necessary in order to prevent adolescents from a “descent into delinquency.”³⁰ Psychologist William Healy further propagated the notion that delinquent behaviour was caused by more than feeble-mindedness. Healy believed it was more complex and caused by additional factors such as home life, education, social and environmental factors.³¹ This second branch of psychology resulted in a school of thought that blamed the urban space, modernity and poverty for the demoralization and delinquency of girls.

Catholic and Protestant church associations, social workers and members of the judicial system viewed the Red Light district as a particularly dangerous territory. The Red Light theatres, cinemas, dance halls and restaurants were spaces that seemed to embody the alleged “social evils” and were connected to the instigation of delinquency and the moral downfall of girls. Films introduced new fashions,

emphasized rouged lips, exotic hairstyles and the rejection of modest outfits.³² Love scenes in films produced a “deplorable mentality” because they were thought to be too authentic and passionate.³³ The Red Light restaurants and dance halls provided a place where the youth populations could connect physically and there were large immigrant and working class neighbourhoods nearby, providing local girls with easy access to the district.³⁴

The Red Light district was threatening to society because the youth demographic was drawn to the area. The district provided work, anonymity, freedoms and entertainments that were not available in any other area in Montreal. Lodging was inexpensive and the lawless nature of the space provided an escape from the stifling surveillance that was imposed upon young women by their parents and social reform groups. Citizens believed that the Red Light district embodied the downfall of society and traditional values. The church and social reform groups responded to the growing threat and anxiety with initiatives to salvage the youth population.

Normative society was now convinced that the district's inhabitants were unsavoury or immoral and in need of social reform. Campaigns to revitalize the pedestrian area led to the imposition of severe legal restrictions on street posters. An aggressive pursuit of regulations upon “certain pictorial representations displayed in front of places of amusement” followed the outcries of social reformers.³⁵ Posters, and other signage, were targeted because they were a clear visual representation of the perceived problem. Forcing posters to harmonize within a social ideal became a tool to visually support the illusion of change.

The reformers targeted all street posters and images displayed in front of the

theatres, cinemas and dance halls in the Red Light district. The posters displayed by these establishments embodied all of the perceived ills within society. They frequently depicted women in seductive poses and were intended to entice customers into local businesses. The posters were also located in the public sphere, rendering them visible to innocents traveling within the city. The visibility of the posters was especially problematic because the social reformers believed the working class and poor girls living in the district were predisposed to “feeble-mindedness” and that they were particularly vulnerable to the influence of imagery in the city space. They were afraid that erotic images could incite innocent viewers to become promiscuous or delinquent themselves.

The city of Montreal responded to the church’s outcry with the initiation of a bylaw that would exert extreme control over all street posters in the Red Light district. In the mid 1920s, the city legislated that the police “morality squad” must approve all theatre advertising so that nothing exhibiting immorality could be displayed. In addition, no signs could be posted upon poles or posts in any public street or lane and it became necessary to have the owner’s written permission to post on private property. Anyone breaking the bylaw could be charged a maximum of forty dollars or sentenced to two months of incarceration.³⁶

Montreal’s poster bylaw of the 1920s was, however, an illusory tactic. Maintaining vice in the Red Light district was financially profitable for the city. The district attracted tourists and provided city officials with regular bribe money, allowing administrators and police to maintain a high quality of life.³⁷ Furthermore, many members of the city council and police department believed that prostitution

was a necessary evil.³⁸ The Red Light entertainments and prostitution distracted Montreal's delinquent men from pursuing the women of perceived higher morals.³⁹ Thus, the police department's assuaging tactics and the visual restrictions on street posters enabled the Red Light district to remain profitable in spite of objections made by "moral" reformers.

Montreal officials could not support the Red Light district or maintain the illusion that they were cracking down on crime forever. World War II reinvigorated anxieties regarding venereal disease that would cause the Canadian military to force the officials' hands.⁴⁰ Montreal was a primary port. When the military discovered that more soldiers were contracting venereal diseases in Montreal than any other city, they demanded the Red Light district be extinguished.⁴¹ They claimed that between January 1, 1940 and December 31, 1943, four thousand and seven cases of venereal disease were reported in Montreal and that seventy-eight percent of those cases were contracted in the Red Light district.⁴² The military would not port in the city if they did not eliminate the problem and Montreal's economy could not withstand the loss of the military support. The brothel doors closed in 1944.⁴³

Anxiety about venereal disease affected girls in public spaces. World War II amplified the presence of women in the city and young girls suddenly became extremely visible.⁴⁴ The prevalence of both father and mother working outside the home meant girls could move easily beyond the domestic sphere.⁴⁵ Girls now gathered in social groups outside the home. They were working in the factories and moving further away from traditional values. Women were demanding a new role in society and their movement away from the home was often blamed.⁴⁶ The connection made

in previous decades between public spaces in the Red Light district and the downfall of women resulted in a direct association between venereal disease and any girl within that space.⁴⁷

In 1945, the city of Montreal formed a committee to study the spread of venereal disease. The subsequent findings blamed venereal disease upon prostitution and resulted in legislation that required that all girls who were arrested submit to a medical exam. This law officially stripped these women of their rights and placed them under municipal control.⁴⁸ Prostitutes and other women in the Red Light district's public space were increasingly targeted as visible markers of disease. They were perceived to be a plague upon society and social reformers believed they had to be eliminated.

Social reformers continued to see exposure to sinful imagery within urban space as a direct link to this plague and depravity (ill. 17). In the mid 1940s, reformers led by Monsignor Joseph Valois once again directly linked posters to the Red Light district, demanding that more severe censorship must be imposed upon the posters. Montreal's police director, Fernand Dufresne, was subsequently installed as the head of a new "censor squad" and "purity drive." All street posters and signage had to be personally approved by the police director before they could be displayed and it was explicitly forbidden to display photographs, statues, magazines and billboards that depicted nude or semi-nude women (ill. 18).⁴⁹

The year 1946 would mark the commencement of a complete downward spiral in the Red Light district. Pacifique Plante, the recently assigned commander of the morality squad, believed the Red Light district needed to be completely extinguished.

He began to initiate unannounced and unplanned raids upon the brothels that were re-opening in the postwar era. In 1948, Plante was fired for these efforts, though he would return in the early 1950s united with Jean Drapeau to finish the task. In 1954, Plante and Drapeau were responsible for finally removing the corrupt police and city officials from power. Jean Drapeau went on to become mayor from 1954 to 1957 and 1960 to 1986, reinstating Plante as the head of the police morality squad. Together they initiated a new crackdown on crime and attempted to wipe clean the perceived sins of the past.⁵⁰

The Habitations Jeanne Mance housing project was constructed in the late 1950s on the Dozois site in the Red Light district.⁵¹ The development represented Montreal's first and only large-scale low-rent housing project to be built in the downtown core. It was constructed based on the ideal that the Red Light slum could be purged through architecture and environmental changes.⁵² The project represented a vision of urban renewal that included green spaces, modern design and pedestrian walkways.⁵³ The Habitations Jeanne Mance, however, did not quite meet the proposed expectations for revitalization. Bulldozing the original neighbourhood did not eliminate vice, criminal or "immoral" behaviour.⁵⁴

In the public mind, the area was a lawless and dangerous place. Redevelopment had forced all remaining illegal activities into one small area and the power struggle between the remaining organized crime and the police was violent. As the violence and police presence increased, so did the media attention. In the 1960s, the media began calling the lower Main Montreal's "jungle" after a waiter was assaulted at the Canasta Cabaret.⁵⁵ Members of marginalized society were also

prevalent in the lower Main. All “moral” people were being encouraged out of the district, leaving behind the working class, prostitutes, homosexuals, transvestites, and other individuals unwanted by normative society.

Mayor Drapeau attempted to snuff out the businesses in the Red Light district through increased police surveillance and discouragement of citizen and tourist travel to the area.⁵⁶ He also withheld liquor licenses and imposed earlier closing times. In 1963, twenty establishments in the Red Light district, including the Canasta Café, Taverne Montréal and the Rialto, were refused new liquor licenses due to the upcoming Expo ‘67, an international exposition held in Montreal in 1967.⁵⁷ Those who were able to get their license had to bargain with the city. Café Casbah was only able to get its license renewed after promising to eliminate transvestite shows. Despite this accession, the district attorney still stipulated that taxis be instructed to avoid taking tourists to Café Casbah because it was a “cheap and sleazy bar.”⁵⁸

Throughout the clean up, Drapeau maintained the association between posters and the unwanted elements of society. The rhetoric, however, shifted. Concurrent with the attempts to hide and redevelop the district, the posters were linked with ideas of pollution. Mayor Jean Drapeau imposed new taxes and content restrictions upon all signage within the city as a part of a beautification campaign. The new tax and restrictions were intended to “change ‘several streets’ characterized by garish and disgraceful advertising.”⁵⁹ Further, in the late 1970s, Drapeau requested a bylaw that would allow the city to charge promoters listed on posters. The law was based on the assumption that individuals described on the poster were also responsible for its placement and the bylaw would bypass the need to catch offenders in the

act. Fortunately, his request was rejected and renounced by the Montreal Citizens Movement as an “infringement of the freedom of speech.”⁶⁰

For the past six decades, the Red Light district has reflected a dilapidated shadow of the area’s former vitality. The area continues in a downward spiral, many residents remain socially marginalized, some are considered sexually provocative and the built environment is in physical disrepair.⁶¹ Prostitution was driven into the streets or other neighbourhoods and drug addicts and dealers moved in. Businesses that could not be sustained were abandoned, leaving numerous elegant Montreal grey stone structures in dilapidated condition.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, discussions about revitalizing the historic district were renewed when developer Socrates Goulakos unsuccessfully proposed a multi-million dollar complex that would see the bars, restaurants and clubs in the district closed; and new visual arts, theatre and dance spaces built. The proposal was met with mixed reactions: some businesses in the area were vehemently against the idea, while others supported the notion of a clean up.⁶²

During the 2002 Sommet de Montréal, a conference of city officials, organizations and concerned citizens, the area was officially proposed as the Quartier des spectacles (QDS) and the Quartier des spectacles partnership (QDSP) was formed. This partnership was comprised of twenty one local stakeholders who made the revitalization of the lower Main their goal. The QDSP proposed a new vision for the area with the belief that “the combination of a consolidated cultural chain, from creation to live performances, and greater coexistence of activities [would] improve the quality of life, and stimulate economic growth.”⁶³ This vision became a plan that

included structural intervention and general development efforts as well as a new “branding” of the area. This notion set forth the task of maintaining the historic streets’ character, while making it a place that was desirable to investors.⁶⁴ a task that seemed to involve celebrating elements of the area’s mythology that the municipality supports, such as theatre, while erasing the area’s sexual and marginalized history.

In 2006, the Société de développement Angus (SDA) won the bid to build on the corner of Saint-Laurent Boulevard and Sainte-Catherine Street, also known as lot 2-22. Angus is a development agency that mandates sustainable, green development and the creation of strong communities. Known for their redevelopment efforts in Rosemont, where the SDA rejuvenated the Angus Shops industrial center, the agency was seeking its next project.⁶⁵ As stated by corporate President Christian Yaccarini of their business direction and interest in the QDS project, “we’re not interested in just any development [...] We’re interested in urban revitalization and in improving the social fabric. You don’t get much more urban than the corner of Sainte-Catherine Street and Saint-Laurent Boulevard.”⁶⁶ The SDA began the task of acquiring authority over most of the block between René-Lévesque Boulevard and Sainte-Catherine Street. On April 14th, 2009, the developer Société de développement Angus held a public meeting and announced dramatic changes in the historic Red Light district’s future.

Angus proposed an extreme plan to revitalize Montreal’s historic Red Light district; the developer wanted to turn the Red Light “green.” Their plan described sterile modern buildings with glass facades that would tower over the existing two and four story Montreal grey stone buildings (ill. 19 & 20). The plans also included

eco-friendly designs, pedestrian green spaces, bike racks and stalls for electric cars.⁶⁷

The proposal proclaimed responsible development, environmental concern and a devotion to working with social groups in order to respect the current residents of the area. The buildings were meant to be architectural tourist attractions, intended to house theatres, cinemas, dance companies, and businesses dedicated to fair trade and socially responsible activities. The developer designed a glass case on the outside of the building on lot 2-22 to house posters. Angus promised that the new development would remain true to the district and integrate within the space, simply adding a new built layer to the architectural fabric of the Red Light district's history.⁶⁸

The public reaction to the SDA's proposal was not ideal for the developer. While most citizens and district residents agreed that the area needed change, many were opposed to the modern, sterile, tall, glass buildings. Resident Michel Leblanc commented, "the area is near the Monument National; you should be inspired by the stone façade of this building, even if it means going back to the drawing board."⁶⁹ Dinu Bumbaru of Heritage Montreal stated, "This project does need time to mature, to chill down a little to a level where it can actually be a good thing, and not just a big thing for Montreal."⁷⁰ Johnny Zoumboulakis, local business owner, maintained the stance that, "[it] is a historic part of our city. [The red light district] should be restored, revitalized, not just bulldozed. History, once you break it down, you don't bring it back with an office tower. What we have now is the real thing. It's our heritage, it's part of our history."⁷¹ The QDSP seems to hold a position somewhere in between with executive committee member Phil O'Brien stating in 2006,

The problem is the social habits of drug users, pushers and the sense of violence they bring to the area [...] It's not about gentrifying, its about

cleaning up – making it accessible, friendly and safe [...] It would still be a red-light district. So if you want to do something kinky at 2 a.m. you could do it – but not robbed!⁷²

Angus' proposal set in motion a renewed public battle over the lower Main; fought between those who believe the area needs to be reconstructed and those who believe the space simply needs polishing. Yaccarini seems to believe that "People are creating folklore. This part of Saint-Laurent Boulevard is in a catastrophic state [...] Behind the myth of Saint-Laurent Boulevard are real people, and misery. The area has completely deteriorated. We've let it go [...] [As for Café Cleopatra] [t]his isn't heritage. It's just a nude dance club."⁷³ Conversely, Zoumboulakis, owner of Café Cleopatra, his friends and coworkers have been key players in promoting the district's past: stating that the area's sexual history and open nature are to be celebrated not razed. These individuals have played a key role in blocking the development project.

Johnny Zoumboulakis opened Café Cleopatra, previously Café Canasta, in 1975 and many believe it is an institution in Montreal. A traditional strip club on the lower level and a space for alternate entertainment and transvestite shows above, Cleopatra's has come to symbolize both the lower Main's history and the districts plight for reprieve. For its artists and promoters, such as Eric Paradis, "[Cleo's] is [their] place."⁷⁴ As Zoumboulakis describes, "It was the first place to employ transvestites and transsexuals [...] Back then, gay was not very accepted. Cleopatra was where everyone felt secure, safe and equal."⁷⁵ For patrons, Cleopatra's is a place like no other. A blog post by Rae Dooley seems to encapsulate what the historic district and Café Cleopatra still represents to its supporters and why they are fighting for it, stating

Cafe [Cleo's] is one of the most important historical cultural centers for the queer and trans communities in Montreal. [...] At [Cleo's] I feel safe, welcome, and cared for as a member of a large queer family. [...] Those who are attempting to "reform" the lower Main scoff at the poverty that they see there and choose not to help those in need, but simply force them into different sections of the city in the spirit of making a buck for themselves. They also lack sensitivity and respect for sex workers and their families. These acts of gentrification have threatened the vibrant cultural centers of the queer community as well as other communities all over the island. I think that those who claim that [Cleo's] is stopping "culture" from coming to the lower Main have a very close-minded view of what culture is. [Cleo's] is part of MY culture... and I'm proud of its efforts to preserve that culture.⁷⁶

Thus, Zoumboulakis held out against the redevelopment, even when Yaccarini successfully acquired all of the other necessary real estate on Saint-Laurent Boulevard. Zoumboulakis has consistently refused to be a part of the Angus project, driving the city to pursue expropriation in the name of Hydro Quebec offices. Friends, co-workers, entertainers and historians have consistently supported Zoumboulakis' effort. All a part of the "Save the Main" coalition, advocates have staged protests and organized community events in order to obstruct Angus' plan.⁷⁷ Supporters even attempted to catch Prince Charles' attention when he toured Montreal in November 2009: staging a demonstration and calling upon the prince to help save the Main.⁷⁸

These community and artist's efforts to fight erasure have been, in a sense, successful. Presently, many projects are on hold. Construction on lot 2-22 halted temporarily, due to funding disagreements between the local government and the federal government. SDA also requested that the city of Montreal cease its efforts to expropriate Café Cleopatra, stating that they will revise their development plan.⁷⁹ However, while Cleopatra's is safe for the moment, the historic district presently sits

under construction and waiting for the next development (ill. 21).⁸⁰

Contemporaneous to the broad revitalization efforts, the city continued to use rhetoric that associated street posters with undesirables in the city. Posters remained in the same category as graffiti, contrary to their purpose as advertising, and as one can see in police reports their current terms were now politically correct. Instead of labelling posters and the marginalized as “social evils” or “poster pollution,” they were labelled “anti-social occurrences.”⁸¹ Efforts to cure these anti-social occurrences shifted from severe campaigns of censorship, to eradication efforts, and finally the quiet removal of posters, repainting of telephone poles, distribution of information and community association meetings.⁸²

In 1996, the city instigated a clean-up project, hiring about two hundred youths to clean graffiti in five districts in the city core: Ville-Marie, the Plateau, Petite Patrie, Park X, and Côte-des-Neiges. This project included cleaning graffiti off of the streets and posters off of hoarding boards, a potentially legal posting site.⁸³ This effort was a part of a cyclical city plan which saw the municipality spending 2.3 million dollars on “cleanliness brigades” in the downtown core, cleaning up posters and refuse.⁸⁴

Concurrently, the city of Montreal attempted to regulate the uncontrolled posters in the area through the construction of poster display modules. In 1997, the city spent ten thousand dollars to construct five poster display boards in the Plateau and Ville Marie burroughs.⁸⁵ In 2006, another pilot project was initiated and six display modules were installed along Sainte-Catherine Street (ill. 22). The modules were to be used by a select number of club and concert venues regularly fined for

illegal poster. The modules were regulated by an individual from the Table de concertation du Faubourg Saint Laurent, who was to receive the posters through email, print them in black and white, and post them. The poster modules were used and maintained, however, they did not provide enough advertising space and illegal poster still occurred. Further, “illegal,” or unregulated, posters were frequently pasted on the regulated boards.

THEORY OF DISGUST

Given that posters are advertising, it seems important to question further why the city of Montreal created an association between posters and criminal or seemingly illicit activity. It is also pertinent to consider why the posters have not broken free of their negative reputation and restrictions, especially considering that advocates have tried to break this bond. At this point, the notion of disgust becomes valuable because, while the posters or inhabitants of the Red Light district may not in fact be “disgusting,” the city has purported that they are. To elaborate upon how this might have occurred I turn to the work of Paul Rozin and April E. Fallon then Martha C. Nussbaum: first Rozin and Fallon, for their definition of the disgust emotion as it pertains to food, then Nussbaum, who utilizes Rozin’s work to explain how disgust can influence and affect law formation.

As Rozin and Fallon acknowledge in the article “A Perspective on Disgust,” disgust is a distinct human emotion, which literally means “bad taste.” It is a feeling of revulsion, nausea, and rejection. Disgust, however, is a particular type of rejection, which contains within it both a literal and psychological contamination of the

offending object. This contamination is key because there are other emotions or motivations that cause humans to reject food and other objects. Rozin and Fallon describe three of these motivations as they pertain to food: distaste, which results from a sensory rejection due to unpleasant taste, smell or appearance; danger, which is a rejection due to “anticipated harmful consequences;” and the inappropriate, which most incorporates most “non-food” objects.

Disgust is unique among rejective emotions because, while it may develop from or overlap with a response to distaste or danger, it “is [distinctly] a rejection motivated by ideational factors: the nature or origin of the item or its social history (e.g., who touched it).”⁸⁶ In other words, items of disgust carry with them a presumption that they are bad, which is both sensory and ideological. For example, through interviews Rozin and Fallon found that many adults reject the idea of consuming disgusting objects, such as cockroaches, based upon the perception that they might cause harm. However when asked, “would you eat a sterilized cockroach?” the response was still one of rejection.⁸⁷ There seemed to be something inherent in the cockroach that was unacceptable, regardless of tangible risk of harm. This response was specific to objects of disgust, not to those of distaste or danger. Genuinely dangerous items, such as allergenic foods, became acceptable if rendered safe.⁸⁸

Rozin and Fallon then present several elements that seem to be inherent properties of disgust objects. First, they note that objects of disgust have an *animalness*. Almost all disgust objects come from animals, including: “body waste products, decayed animal matter, carnivorous animals, scavengers, and animals close to humans in appearance or social relations.”⁸⁹ This means that non-disgusting

animals or animal products are viewed as the exception, not the rule. This animality seems to be present, in part, due to the human need to maintain the animal-human boundary, where humans remain superior and separate from animals or have a certain respect for the animals' personification. The disgust response exists as a defence against the risk associated with the incorporation of that animality into the body. This animality could also be problematic due to the animals' potential to literally contaminate the body. Consumable animals, also known as dead animals, have consumed other dead or decaying matter and thus have the potential to carry disease.⁹⁰

Disgust, then, can be associated with *spoilage and decay*, which presents as a rejection of a potentially diseased or polluted object, often of animal origin. Spoilage or decay, on its own, is not an element of all disgust objects. However, it is closely associated with the emotion, as rotting matter can evoke the smells, visuals, and risk of disease that could provoke a disgust response. Similarly, disgust is also evoked by *feces*, a human and animal waste product that is spoiled, decaying, and potentially diseased. Feces, Rozin and Fallon note, is a central component of disgust and an almost universal object of disgust, which potentially elicits the most powerful disgust responses.⁹¹

This notion of contamination is consistent in disgust responses. Rozin and Fallon postulate that this contamination is what complicates a concrete definition of disgust objects. While there may be common items that provoke the disgust response, such as feces, bodily fluids and animal products, new foods or items may become disgusting through contact or association.⁹² For example, Rozin and Fallon describe

an incident where

nurses in a children's hospital were inappropriately consuming glasses of juice meant for the children. This problem was handled by serving the juice in new urine-collection bottles. The nurses no longer drank the juice, even though there was no possibility of a physical trace of urine in this case.⁹³

Rozin and Fallon relate this association to the notion of sympathetic magic, as defined by James Frazer (1890-1959) and Marcel Mauss (1902-1972). The notion of sympathetic magic is drawn from several laws, which benefit my discussion of posters in the Red Light district. First, Frazer's idea of contagion, where "things which have once been in contact with each other continue ever afterwards to act on each other" and even minuscule objects can embody the whole.⁹⁴ Second, Frazer's idea of similarity, in which like produces like and similar objects can influence one another. While acknowledging other laws of association, Rozin and Fallon utilize the idea of sympathetic magic in order to postulate their theories of disgust. They argue that,

[Only] the laws of sympathetic magic hold that harming an image of a person (similarity) or a residue of a person, such as fingernail parings (contagion), can harm the actual person. [...] Unlike the laws of association, the laws of magic are not only principles of thought but statements about causation in the world.⁹⁵

This then facilitates the idea that an object might not be, itself, disgusting, but that it may become disgusting through contextual contamination or similarity.

While there is some instinctual component for self-preservation, a learned fear of contamination seems to be a powerful motivator of the disgust response. That contamination might be of the physical or the psychological body. It might also

be readily apparent or merely a trace. As psychoanalytic theory and other studies suggest, children do not initially possess the disgust response. It is not until the age of seven or eight that children seem to distinctly reject food or other items based upon disgust. These ages seem to signal the time when children actually conceive of the contamination inherent in disgust objects, indicating that response could indeed be learned.⁹⁶

RED LIGHT DISGUST

In the case of the historic Red Light district, current disgust responses seem to have begun with moral distaste. As stated previously, the city initially accepted, even protected, the historic district's distinct atmosphere and financial profitability. Further, at this time the district did not threaten city's global reputation and it was only the local social reform groups of the 1920s that objected to the morally threatening area.

In the 1940s, attitudes shift. It is at this point that the area becomes contaminated and subsequently "disgusting." At this time, the historic Red Light district was literally contaminated by venereal disease, which means it posed a genuine health risk. During the World War II, when it was established that more soldiers were contracting venereal disease in the Red Light district than elsewhere in Canada, the military threatened abandonment of the port. This condemnation by government and global outsiders impressed a psychological contamination upon the Red Light district. The district went from having a reputation as a wide-open and glamorous space, to a place of disease. Not only was Montreal's port a place of disease; it was the most diseased in Canada.

This contamination was not purely geographical, but also resided with the carriers of that disease. In addition to the locational infection, the contaminant merged with specific individuals: the women of the Red Light district. Women in the historic Red Light district were an obvious target because the female body has long been the object of misogynistic disgust. Women have been closely linked to animal life through their ability to give birth and their perceived connection to creation and the natural world or Mother Nature. As a result, Nussbaum suggests that women “have often been imagined as soft, sticky, fluid, smelly, their bodies as filthy zones of pollution.”⁹⁷ Through the life cycle, women receive the rejected bodily fluids of another, which as Rozin and Fallon suggest, are acceptable in the body and become disgusting and contaminating upon departure. Women have thus been linked to objects of disgust through their philosophical connection to the animal, the life cycle, birth and its subsequent decay, as well as sex and the rejected fluids of the male body.

The area only became more contaminated in the minds of the municipality and social reformers as its sexual demographic shifted. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Red Light district began to attract a large portion of the homosexual and transvestite communities as well as male prostitutes. The anonymity of the space provided the same freedoms for these marginalized residents that it provided for girls of the 1920s and 1940s.⁹⁸

This further encouraged the municipality’s disgust response because disgust has been rooted in a fear or hatred of homosexuality. The mix of fluids, feces and semen in the male homosexual experience has been seen by some as disgusting. As Nussbaum summarizes,

The idea of semen and feces mixing together inside the body of a male is one of the most disgusting ideas imaginable—to males, for whom the idea of nonpenetrability is a sacred boundary against stickiness, ooze, and death. The presence of a homosexual male in the neighborhood inspires the thought that one might oneself lose one's clean safeness, become the receptacle for those animal products.⁹⁹

Thus, for those who see homosexuality as repulsive, the presence of even one homosexual male in a community could cause a “loss of cleanliness.”

Finally, the Red Light district was a lower class neighbourhood surrounded by industrial factories. It would have literally been polluted with smells, refuse, and dirt. As the factories closed, many fell into disrepair. The impoverished nature of the area would have only promoted the idea of pollution and disgust. Further, like women, the lower classes have also been seen on a level closer to animals and targeted for disease or sanitation efforts. As Judith R. Walkowitz & Daniel J. Walkowitz, discuss in their article “‘We Are Not Beasts of the Field’: Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts,” Montreal is not the only city in which this association has occurred. Reform efforts, also fueled by ideas of disease and pollution, were initiated in England in the late 1800s.¹⁰⁰ The eventual increase in crime and drug use in the Red Light district would only perpetuate these ideas of contamination, as drug use has also been associated with disease, the sharing of bodily fluids and promiscuity.

Therefore, the historic Red Light district became associated with the animality, spoil and decay, and pollution necessary to provoke a disgust response. The district became a contaminated area within the city; one that social reformers believed needed cleansing. This is apparent in the municipality's desire for erasure and the media's

usage of terms such as the “jungle” in its’ descriptions of the area. This contamination can also be evidenced by current blog comments made by citizens reacting to the issue.¹⁰¹ For example, THEMONTREALGUY posted the following statement on the article “Save the Main” by Adam Bemma: “This section of the main is so disgusting! Something needs to be done there. I don’t know if [Angus’] project is the solution but something need to be done NOW.”¹⁰²

POSTERS AND DISGUST

Posters could then become contaminated by context and proximity, subsequently rendering them disgusting through sympathetic magic. As Rozin and Fallon suggest, secondary disgust “can be evoked by an object associated with a disgust item.”¹⁰³ As stated previously, to some the posters were a visual index of the “disgusting” people and behaviours that were polluting the city. Not only did the posters promote unwanted businesses, their imagery was a sign of the “social downfall” and “moral corruption” in the historic Red Light district. Further, posters tend to reside on the cityscape like decaying paper corpses: the walls and street furniture, a mortuary for past events and social interactions.

Rhetoric that associates posters with the “unwanted” and declares them to be “disgusting” remains entrenched. The linkage between the posters, other purportedly unwanted and disgusting objects or individuals can still be seen in media today. Robert Laramee, the mayor’s adviser on the environment in 1996, literally stated that street posters were “really disgusting.”¹⁰⁴ In a statement discussing the city’s conflict over posting bylaws in 1993, Eliane Francoeur, director of public relations for the

Museum of Fine Arts stated, “The city can’t prevent posters – it’s like prostitution – so why not determine places where we’d be permitted to put up posters, for the pleasure of everyone?”¹⁰⁵

LAW FROM DISGUST

The municipality reacted to this disgust with endeavours to hide the contaminant and preserve the animal-human boundary between the disgusting and moral society, thereby attempting to preserve Montreal’s reputation in the global context as Expo ’67 approached. Part of the city’s effort was to literally raze and conceal urban structures. Another part of the effort was the instigation of bylaws that restricted, and continue to restrict, street posters.

As Nussbaum discusses in her book *Hiding from Humanity: Disgust, Shame, and the Law*, “disgust [...] plays a very powerful role in the law. It figures, first, as the primary or even the sole justification for making some acts illegal.”¹⁰⁶ These laws are influenced by a “magical thinking about contamination and purity, and [...] involves the projection onto the group in question [...] characteristics that do not belong to those human beings anymore than to other human beings.”¹⁰⁷ They are mitigated by criteria, which asks “whether a ‘reasonable’ or ‘average’ man would find the item in question disgusting [as] a way of asking how bad it is, and therefore how important it is to keep it away from those who might actually like it.”¹⁰⁸ These are often laws of obscenity or offences against moral society.

Disgust has been used as a justification for laws against pornography, sodomy,

necrophilia, prostitution and homicide. Proponents of these laws use disgust to illustrate how detrimental the act is to victims or society. Disgust can also be seen to influence nuisance laws, which

[Intervene] to protect people from an actual disgust-experience, which interferes with their use or enjoyment of their property [...] Disgust, then, is the actual harm that occasions the legal prohibition, not a criterion allegedly showing how bad a certain type of act is.¹⁰⁹

Nuisance laws based in disgust have been used productively to regulate water pollutants, toxic chemicals, smoke and garbage. They have also been used offensively to racially segregate the sharing of toilets, drinking fountains and other public facilities in the Southern United States; facilitate zoning laws that require permits for “homes for the insane or feeble-minded or alcoholics or drug addicts,” in Texas¹¹⁰ and to regulate posters in Montreal. This alliance between disgust and the law is justified by its proponents as a civilizing process, where disgust is the explanation for a specific moral judgment and it is on these “virtuous” grounds that laws based in disgust are problematic.

POSTERS AND THE LAW

While some laws based in disgust could be posited as beneficial, as they can create a broad, shared social-moral guideline, it seems that there could be more reliable bases for lawmaking. As Nussbaum proposes, laws based in disgust are complicated. It is often difficult to separate primary and secondary causes of disgust¹¹¹ and the determination of disgust objects is subjective when one is considering those that are not literally dangerous, such as toxic food, disease or chemicals. For while it

is true that ignoring the literal disease in the historic Red Light district was dangerous and the repercussions would have likely been devastating to the economy, subsequent laws rooted in this disgust are problematic. To censor or restrict street posters, which are a reasonable type of advertising, for their risk to the “moral” and “feeble-minded” or as pollution when not enough socially acceptable posting alternatives are provided is a violation of other rights and seems to be an unconstitutional method of social control.

The problematic nature of these laws can be seen in the continuous challenges to Montreal’s anti-postering bylaws, challenges that the city of Montreal resists. This opposition is ironic, when one recalls that city institutions were at one point illegally posting. While this resistance asserts the municipality’s anti-postering stance, it is interesting to remember that in 1994, when Montreal first changed the city bylaws, they only legalized the posters that support their own interests.

The city’s adaptation for the posterers who could not afford to hire Sauvage was problematic at best. The six poster modules that were intended to accommodate the many smaller posterers in the neighbourhood did not provide enough space or exposure. As explained by John Milchem, posterer and front man for local band Starvin’ Hungry,

The plan [was] doomed [...] Postering culture, which is street culture, is competitive and driven by individual, [need and] desire. If you have some sacred space where posters are supposed to go, people are obviously going to cover it [with other posters]. And the whole notion of people going out of their way to visit the postering site is moronic and completely out of touch with the audience for posters [...] The reason for the repetition [of putting up posters everywhere] is because people aren’t really going out of their way to look at posters. They notice them when they walk from one destination to another.

The city continued to fine those who could not afford Sauvage's services and were not given space on the modules, escalating the dichotomy between legal (mainstream) and illegal (independent) posters. In the year 2000, citizen Jaggi Singh began a more aggressive fight against the city's oppression of independent posters. Singh challenged a ticket he received for posterizing as a violation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This action follows a precedent case in Toronto, Ramsden v. Peterborough (City) [1993], in which Kenneth Ramsden fought, and won, against a posterizing citation in Toronto, claiming it violated his freedom of speech.¹¹² Paradoxically, the same precedent case aided Sauvage in their 1994 fight to change city posterizing bylaws.

Singh's case was taken to the Quebec Appeals court where, in July 2010, the violation was overruled in accordance to the 1993 precedent.¹¹³ Now, the City of Montreal is being forced, once again, to alter the bylaws and accommodate more than its own posters. To do so, they are proposing a solution much like the one used in Ottawa and Vancouver. The cities of Ottawa and Vancouver have adapted a system that provides easily accessible public spaces for posters. Cuffs have been installed around light poles in the downtown core and the regulations for posterizing can be found online (Ill. 23).¹¹⁴ Accordingly, the City of Montreal's plans to install at least 500 poster collars and states that they will seek the advice of users when deciding upon placement and design.¹¹⁵

Current posterers have a stronger voice than they did in 1994. The Association des petits lieux d'arts et de spectacles (APLAS) and the Coalition for Free Expression (C.O.L.L.E.), both comprised of independent venues, promoters and artists, have

been aggressively pursuing the posterizing issue. In March 2010, the APLAS released a twenty eight page document that both reviewed the current situation and proposed solutions to the posterizing problem.¹¹⁶ C.O.L.L.E. has also been aggressively pursuing the poster issue in order to develop a solution. Member Patricia Boushel, a producer at POP Montreal, reinforces their position stating that, “[posters] are part of the environment of Montreal, the cultural environment, so we need to [jointly] come to an agreement or policy with the city that allows for posters.”¹¹⁷

VERDICT

Now Montreal’s posterers must wait. The collars have yet to be installed, though it seems the city has no choice but to follow through: a moment of triumph for an art form that many believe should not have been regulated in this manner in the first place. Some regulation of posters is reasonable, but to treat posters as “disgusting” or as graffiti is by definition incorrect. Graffiti is “a drawing or writing scratched on a wall or other surface.”¹¹⁸ It is commonly a form of self-expression that can be positive or negative (i.e.: murals vs. tags)(ill. 24 & 25). A poster is “a printed or written notice posted or displayed in a public place as an announcement or advertisement.”¹¹⁹ Thus, while both can be considered street art, posters are first and foremost advertising (ill. 26). To make this distinction is not a judgment upon graffiti, which certainly has similar social frictions, it is merely to enforce that posters are different and should be treated as such.

Locally, independent posterizing, which is often illegal posterizing, is a vibrant part of Montreal’s culture and social appeal. The Bibliothèque et Archives nationales

du Québec has been archiving posters from Publicité Sauvage for several years.¹²⁰

There is also a substantial cultural network built to foster print art and media, which includes posters, zines, comic books, and graphic novels. This network includes exhibitions in restaurants such as Casa del Popolo and Le Cagibi. It also includes gallery spaces such as Monastiraki Galerie, which is operated by Billy Mavreas: a poster artist, businessman and a key player in Montreal's independent print scene. Independent print culture is also fostered by events such as Expozine, a yearly small press fair that showcases both local and international producers of print media, and groups such as C.O.L.L.E (ill. 27).

For local artists the media provides opportunities that do not exist in traditional arenas. As renowned Montreal poster artist Jack Dylan has stated,

I love the music scene for its energy. Coming from a fine-arts background, I realized that the audiences weren't in the galleries. They were at the shows. You can get any kind of audience to go see bands in Montreal, all the time. I loved that energy. I wanted to do art shows that were a big event. At my first one-man show, we had can-can and burlesque dancers, absinthe being served, people showing up in costumes.¹²¹

For businesses and artists who use posters, they are a necessary and effective means of promotion. As Boushel of POP Montreal stated, for most users

[Posters] grant visibility to events that aren't otherwise visible. Grassroots culture can't afford flashy billboards [...] So many really exceptional cultural offerings in our city are communicated to Montrealers through street posters, which are hugely important to the vibrancy of the arts here.¹²²

Thus, the poster's presence extends well beyond the city street. As it can

be seen in the dichotomy between legal and illegal posters or the conflict between Publicité Sauvage and other posterers, the subculture has within it distinct nuances, conflicts and successes. These shades of meaning are why the poster's significance can fracture. Different intrinsic denotations are produced within different contexts and thus it is necessary to examine posters from multiple perspectives. If one were to examine a single street poster as a work of art, its value and meaning could be based upon factors such as the artist or designer, subject, and style. A body of posters in an archive possesses a different cultural and documentary value: as the value is now placed upon the individual poster's aesthetic and its message in relationship to the collection. Viewed in the context of the street, the posters' meaning might reside in its locality, where the posters' layers reveal the area's socio-cultural layers.

As we have seen in the case of street posters in the Red Light district, the posters' reflection of municipal and social attitudes is not dependent on the poster's artistic value, but on location. A graphic road map into the districts history, the posters tell a conflicted tale of marginalization and repression of both posters and people. Now, these posters and people continue on their parallel path, as we seem to be facing a new era where street posters in Montreal might be respected for their actual purpose as art and advertising, not penalized legally for separate social issues, and marginalized individuals might have a more powerful voice, as the posters' reprieve arrives at the same time as Café Cleopatra's current liberation. While this turn of events will not contend with all future postering or social concerns, it creates opportunities for cultural expression, where artists, designers, or anyone, can continue to post on.

NOTES

- 1 Bredekamp, "A Neglected Tradition? Art History as Bildwissenschaft," 147-148.
- 2 "Overview," *Montreal as Palimpsest: Architecture, Community, Change*, April 18, 2008. http://art-history.concordia.ca/institute_site/conf08_palimpsest/en/palimsest_overview.html
- 3 Hansenmueller, "Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics," 292-294.
- 4 The wood cut method involves placing engraved wood blocks directly into the type set. The intaglio method involves engraving or etching an image into a copper plate, which is then inked, wiped of excess ink, and placed under paper. The plate and paper were then passed in between two rollers, printing as a result of the pressure.
- 5 Dewalt, *Technology and Canadian Printing: A History from Lead Type to Lasers*, 43.
- 6 Typesetting was another popular printing method that developed alongside lithography.
- 7 Dewalt, 133. Electronic publishing became a popular term to refer to the new technology in the 1980s.
- 8 Dewalt, 38.
- 9 Muller-Brockman, *History of the Poster*, 39.
- 10 Muller-Brockman, 40.
- 11 The Red Light District is approximately located between René-Lévesque Boulevard and Sherbrooke Street, and between Saint-Laurent Boulevard and Saint-Denis Street. The Gay Village is approximately located between Berri Street and de Lorimier Street and between Sainte-Catherine Street and Ontario Street. The portion of the Main discussed in this thesis follows Saint-Laurent Boulevard between Sherbrooke Street and Mont-Royal Avenue.
- 12 See the City of Montreal By-Law 99-102, Section III Cleanliness and Protection of Public Property.
- 13 See note above.
- 14 See note 2 above.
- 15 "About Us," *Publicité Sauvage*, http://www.publicite-sauvage.com/htm/english/frameset_main.htm.
- 16 "History," *Publicité Sauvage*, http://www.publicite-sauvage.com/htm/english/frameset_main.htm.
- 17 Kristian Gravenor, "Paper Chasers," para. 8.
- 18 See *Montreal Gazette*, "Censorship of Theater Posters Evokes Protest;" *Montreal Daily Star*, "City to Supervise Poster Publicity."
- 19 Podmore, "St.. Lawrence Blvd. as 'Third City': Place, Gender and Difference Along Montreal's 'Main,'" 176.
- 20 Weintraub, *City Unique: Montreal Days and Nights in the 1940s and '50s*, 65. The Red Light madames would send young boys down to the port with business cards for the sailors.
- 21 Gubbay, *A Street Called The Main: The Story of Montreal's Boulevard Saint Laurent*, 11.
- 22 Gubbay, 102. The Frolics was the first nightclub in Canada to host a radio broadcast and Texas Guinan was a celebrity. She arrived at work in a bullet-proof limousine and made upwards of \$30,000 dollars per month. Her presence brought in other performers and fueled Montreal's reputation as an entertainment center.

- 23 Weintraub, *City Unique*, 116-119. Lili St. Cyr was a strip-tease artist like no other. Her performances were renowned as art and she told a story with her body on the stage. St. Cyr loved Montreal and Montreal loved St. Cyr. She evoked all of the mystery, seduction, and sin that the Red Light district was famous for.
- 24 Gravenor, "Standing up for sleaze," para. 21.
- 25 Hutchinson, *The Unknown Country*, 74-75.
- 26 Myers, *Caught: Montreal's Modern Girls and the Law, 1869-1945*, 60-61. Three thousand copies of the survey were disseminated to police and civic officials.
- 27 Myers, 63-64.
- 28 Myers, 63-64.
- 29 Myers, 78. This branch of psychology was popular with the Anglophone Catholic elite.
- 30 Myers, 78.
- 31 Myers, 79.
- 32 Myers, 68. A survey printed in *La Bonne Parole* determined that of 284 films viewed there were: 448 immoral, 6 antireligious, 93 antisocial and 113 scenes in bad taste.
- 33 Myers, 68. The Fédération national Saint-Jean-Baptiste discovered through a survey on how girls spent their wages that a large quantity was spent upon the cinema. Furthermore, judge Lacroix advocated that children under sixteen be banned from the cinema.
- 34 Myers, 160. A young girl named Irene J. claimed that a restaurant was where she "learned to be bad."
- 35 *Montreal Gazette*, "Picture Posters are Condemned."
- 36 *Montreal Daily Star*, "City to supervise Poster Publicity."
- 37 Weintraub, *City Unique*, 61. Gambling establishments, alone, provided around \$5000 in regular payoffs.
- 38 Weintraub, 64.
- 39 Weintraub, 60-61, 81. The police used numerous strategies to create the appearance that they were cracking down on vice within the Red Light. They also made false arrests and padlocked front doors, leaving side entrances functional. Paulette Dery was arrested approximately 85 times for Madame Beauchamp, a woman who owned 24 brothels.
- 40 Weintraub, 67.
- 41 Podmore, "St. Lawrence Blvd. as 'Third City,'" 189.
- 42 Podmore, 189.
- 43 Weintraub, 67.
- 44 Myers, 71.
- 45 Myers, 70-72. World War II brought additional risk to these girls because mothers were working and fathers were away at war.
- 46 Myers, 70-72.
- 47 Myers, 73-74.
- 48 Podmore, "St. Lawrence Blvd. as 'Third City,'" 190-192.

- 49 Posters were defined as “posters, illustrated or not, bill-boards, cards, placards, photographs of vaudeville or other theatricals, of paper, cardboard, metal or other material exhibited to the public for the purpose of bringing something to their notice.” See *Montreal Gazette*, “Police Director Starts Campaign for ‘Purity’;” *Montreal Star*, “City to Censor All Trade Signs In Sweeping ‘Purity’ Campaign.”
- 50 Weintraub, *City Unique*, 72-84. On November 28, 1949, Plante published the first of several articles in *Le Devoir* called “Montréal sous le règne de la pègre.” The articles provided a detailed account of Montreal’s underworld. The articulates prompted the Public Morality Committee to petition the courts for an enquiry. The petition was 1095 pages, had 15,000 signatures and was granted. This petition lead to the subsequent court proceedings, lead by Plante and Drapeau, and the removal of the corrupt police and officials.
- 51 The site is bounded by the streets Ontario, Boisbriand, Sanguinet and St. Dominique. It was named for Paul Dozois the chair of the city’s executive committee, who produced a detailed report on the social an economic conditions as well as solutions to the low-rent housing issue. His report and subsequent plan were the foundation of the Habitations Jeanne Mance project.
- 52 Germain and Rose, “Montreal’s Built Form: French Heritage, Victorian Legacy and Modernist Ambitions,” 82-83; Siblin, “City housing experiment 40 years old: Habitations Jeanne Mance was Montreal’s first and only U.S.-style project,” A.3.
- 53 For more information on the Habitations Jeanne-Mance see Choko, *Les Habitations Jeanne-Mance; Habitations Jeanne-Mance* corporate website, <http://www.chjm.ca>.
- 54 Siblin, “City housing experiment 40 years old,” A.3. Though the Habitations remains inhabited, it has fallen into the Red Light’s vortex of marginalized disrepair and it is considered a mistake not to be repeated.
- 55 Podmore, “St. Lawrence Blvd. as ‘Third City’,” 221.
- 56 Interestingly, Jean Drapeau was against the Habitations Jeanne Mance project. He envisioned a center for radio and other telecommunications for the site that would foster a Francophone area. In a sense, if the new Angus project is built, Drapeau will get his wish. The developer’s intention is to cater to Quebec businesses and cultural endeavors. Site 2-22 is also supposed to house CIBL Radio Montreal.
- 57 Podmore, 225.
- 58 Podmore, 225.
- 59 *The Monitor*, “‘Tough’ sign bylaw sought,” para. 8.
- 60 *Montreal Gazette*, “City plans hard line on ‘poster pollution’;” *Montreal Gazette*, “City loses bid to control posters;” Linney, “MCM warns city about ‘police state.’”
- 61 Podmore, “St. Lawrence Blvd. as ‘Third City’,” 230-233. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Red Light district began to attract a large portion of the homosexual and transvestite communities. The anonymity of the space provided the same freedom to these other marginalized residents that it provided for the girls of the 1920s and 40s. The space also began to attract male prostitutes.
- 62 Becker, “Red-light face lift? No way, locals say,” A.3.
- 63 qdt. *Canada Newswire*, “Quartier des spectacles Partnership unveils vision and initial plan,” 1.
- 64 *Canada Newswire*, “Quartier des spectacles Partnership unveils vision and initial plan,” 1.
- 65 Lamey, “Seedy pursuits brushed away by higher culture,” B.1.
- 66 Lamey, B.1.
- 67 “Assemblée de consultation populaire,” *Société de développement Angus*, 9-16.

- 68 Magder, "Changes to The Main must fit in, residents;" "Assemblée de consultation populaire," *Société de développement Angus*, 9-16.
- 69 See note above.
- 70 Lalonde, "Project needs time to mature," A.6.
- 71 Heffez, "Addendum: Cafe Cleo's John Zoumboulakis," para. 3.
- 72 Hall, "Red-light asset or eyesore?" D.10.
- 73 Peritz, "A flickering last stand for a red-light landmark," A.1.
- 74 Faure, "Save for the belles," para. 9.
- 75 Faure, para. 10.
- 76 Rae Dooley, comment on Shoukri, "Café Cleopatra refuses to relocate," March 22, 2011.
- 77 For more information see www.savethemain.com.
- 78 Prince Charles and Camilla, Duchess of Cornwal toured Montreal in November 2009. Supporters of Café Cleopatra reached out to the prince because he avidly supports the maintenance of heritage sites. For more information see Mclean, "If the Mayor won't listen, maybe the Prince will;" Riga, "please, charlie boy, save Montreal's red-light district."
- 79 Heffez, "SDA Backpedals on Lower Main Redevelopments;" Levesque, "Plus rien ne bouge au 2-22."
- 80 The historic Red Light district in Montreal is in a fast and continuous state of evolution, the information contained in this thesis is current as of March 2011.
- 81 "Annual Review 2001," Service de police de la Ville de Montréal, 2.
- 82 See note above.
- 83 King, "New work project for youth targets graffiti, posters," A.3.
- 84 See Ville de Montréal website. <http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=5837,38301575&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL>
- 85 Mainville, "Hitting Urban Scrawl: Montreal puts \$50,000 into projects to cover up graffiti, cut down on the number of illegal posters around the city," A.5.
- 86 Rozin and Fallon, "A Perspective on Disgust," 23-24.
- 87 Rozin and Fallon, 25.
- 88 Rozin and Fallon, 25.
- 89 Rozin and Fallon, 28.
- 90 Rozin and Fallon, 28.
- 91 Rozin and Fallon, 29.
- 92 Rozin and Fallon, 28.
- 93 Rozin and Fallon, 29-30.
- 94 qtd. Rozin and Fallon, 30.
- 95 qtd. Rozin and Fallon, 30.
- 96 Rozin and Fallon, 34.

- 97 Nussbaum, *Hiding from Humanity: Disgust, Shame, and the Law*, 111.
- 98 Podmore, “St. Lawrence Blvd. as ‘Third City’,” 230-233.
- 99 Nussbaum, 113.
- 100 Walkowitz and Walkowitz, “We Are Not Beasts of the Field”: Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts,” 73-106.
- 101 A blog is an abbreviated term for a weblog, which is “a frequently updated web site consisting of personal observations, excerpts from other sources, etc., typically run by a single person, and usually with hyperlinks to other sites; an online journal or diary.” See Oxford English Dictionary Online, <http://oed.com>.
- 102 THEMONTREALGUY, comment on Bemma, “Save the Main,” December 14, 2009.
- 103 Rozin and Fallon, “A Perspective on Disgust,” 30.
- 104 Fine, “A sticky situation,” A.5.
- 105 Peritz, “Poster outlaws: City heavyweights are accomplices in crimes committed with paper, glue,” A.1.
- 106 Nussbaum, *Hiding from Humanity*, 72.
- 107 Nussbaum, 129.
- 108 Nussbaum, 134.
- 109 Nussbaum, 161-162.
- 110 Nussbaum, 158-162.
- 111 Nussbaum, 162.
- 112 See “Ramsden v. Peterborough (City), [1993] 2 S.C.R. 1084.” Judgments of the Supreme Court of Canada. <http://csc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1993/1993rcs2-1084/1993rcs2-1084.html>.
- 113 See Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, “Case Law: Peterborough (City) v. Ramsden, [1993] 2 S.C.R. 1084 (Supreme Court of Canada),” http://www.charterofrights.ca/en/12_00_03.
- 114 *City of Ottawa*, “Postering on Poster Collars;” *VanMap*, “Poster Cylindars.”
- 115 “Legal collars: a proposal from the City of Montreal,” *C.O.L.L.E*, <http://collemontréal.org/>
- 116 Fraser, “Going Posters,” para. 3.
- 117 Christoff, “Cultural coalition takes stand against Montreal’s poster ban: Poster campaign,” para. 3.
- 118 See *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. <http://oed.com>.
- 119 See note above.
- 120 Dewolf, “Bibliothèque nationale to preserve posters.”
- 121 Bottenberg, “Ordinary heroes: Montreal poster artist Jack Dylan rocks a fine line,” para. 3.
- 122 Christoff, “Cultural coalition takes stand against Montreal’s poster ban: Poster campaign,” para. 2.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Illustration 1

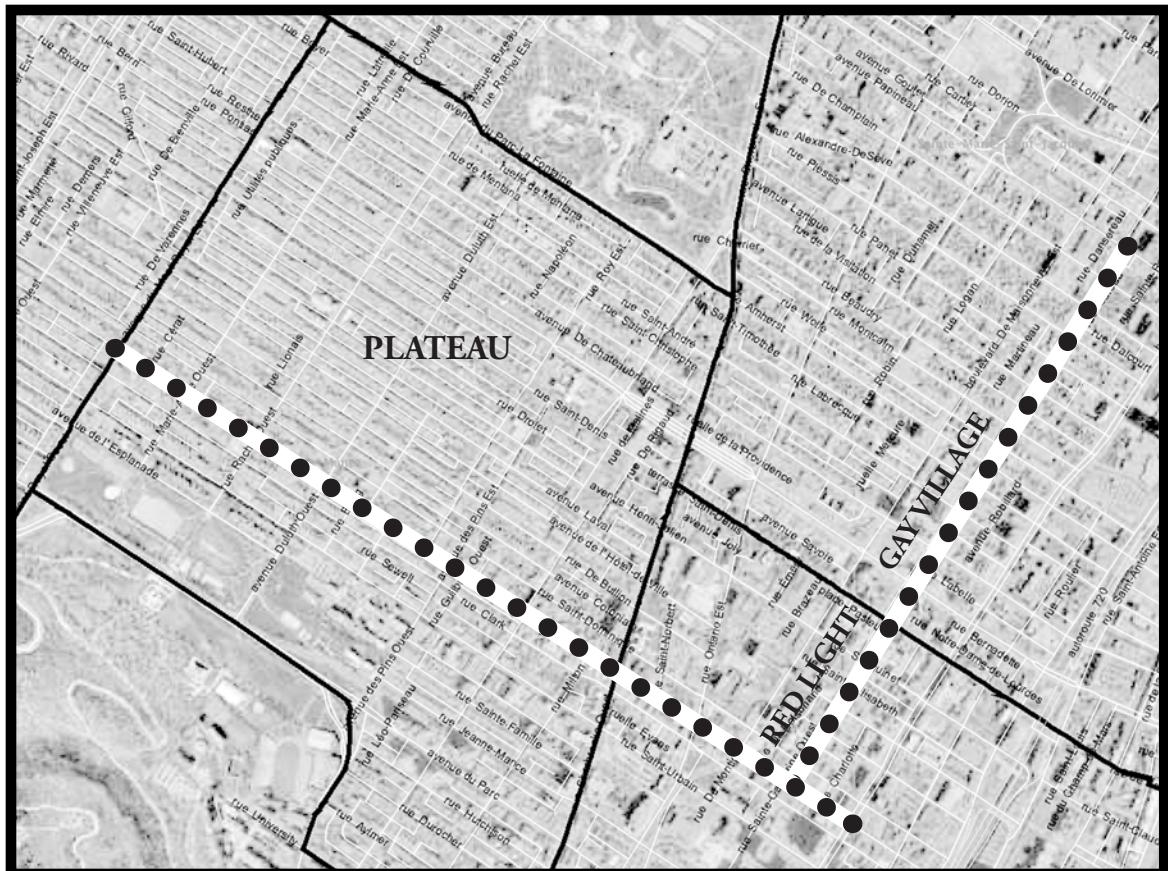


Illustration 2

My Route ● ● ●



Illustration 3



Illustration 4



Illustration 5



Illustration 6

Research Area



Illustration 7



Illustration 8



Illustration 9



Illustration 10



Illustration 11

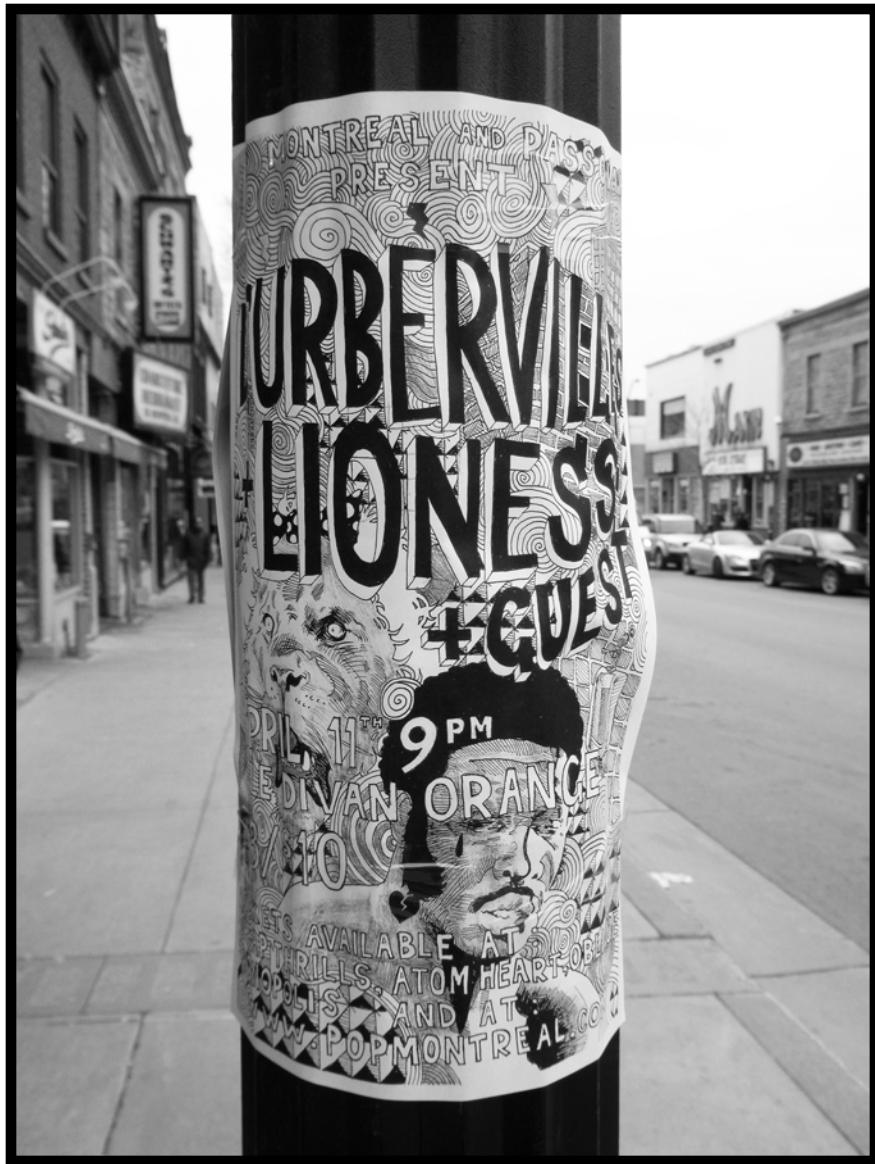


Illustration 12



Illustration 13



Illustration 14



Illustration 15



Illustration 16



Illustration 17



Illustration 18



Illustration 19

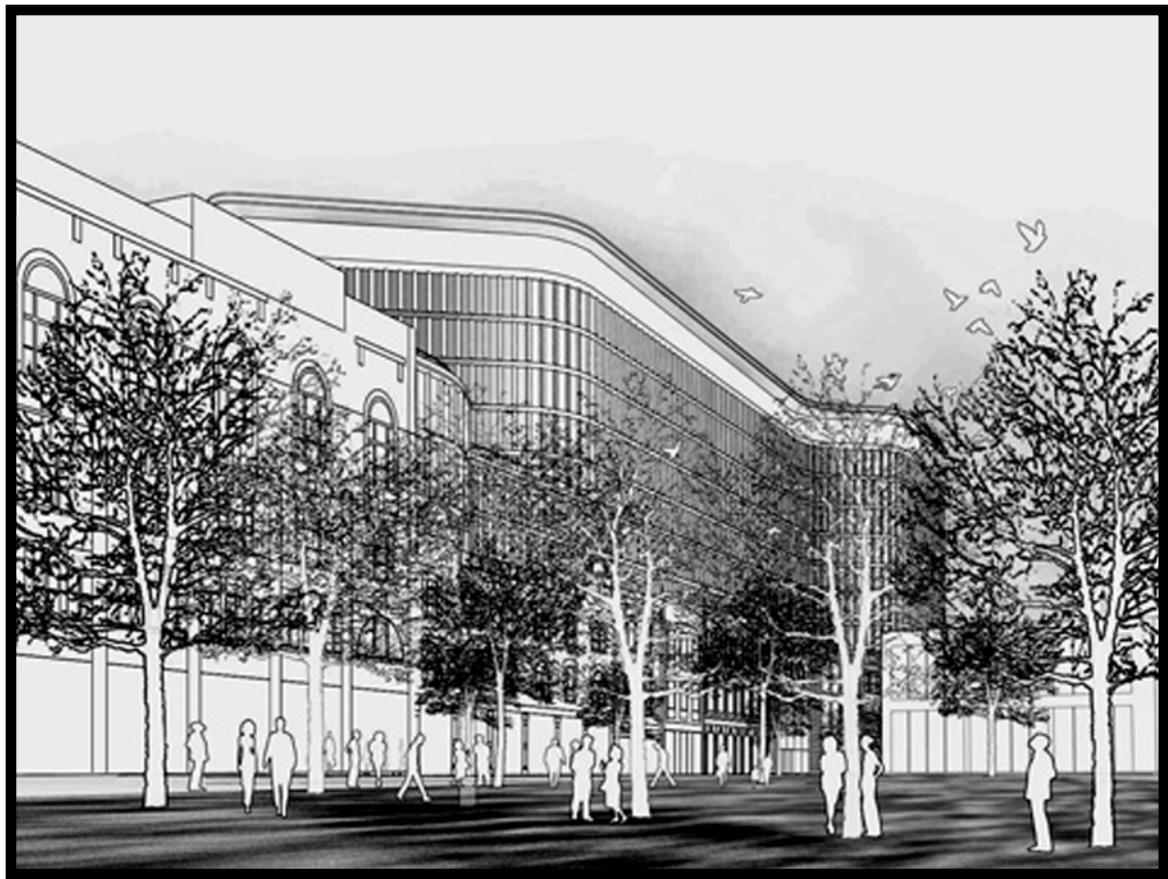


Illustration 20



Illustration 21



Illustration 22

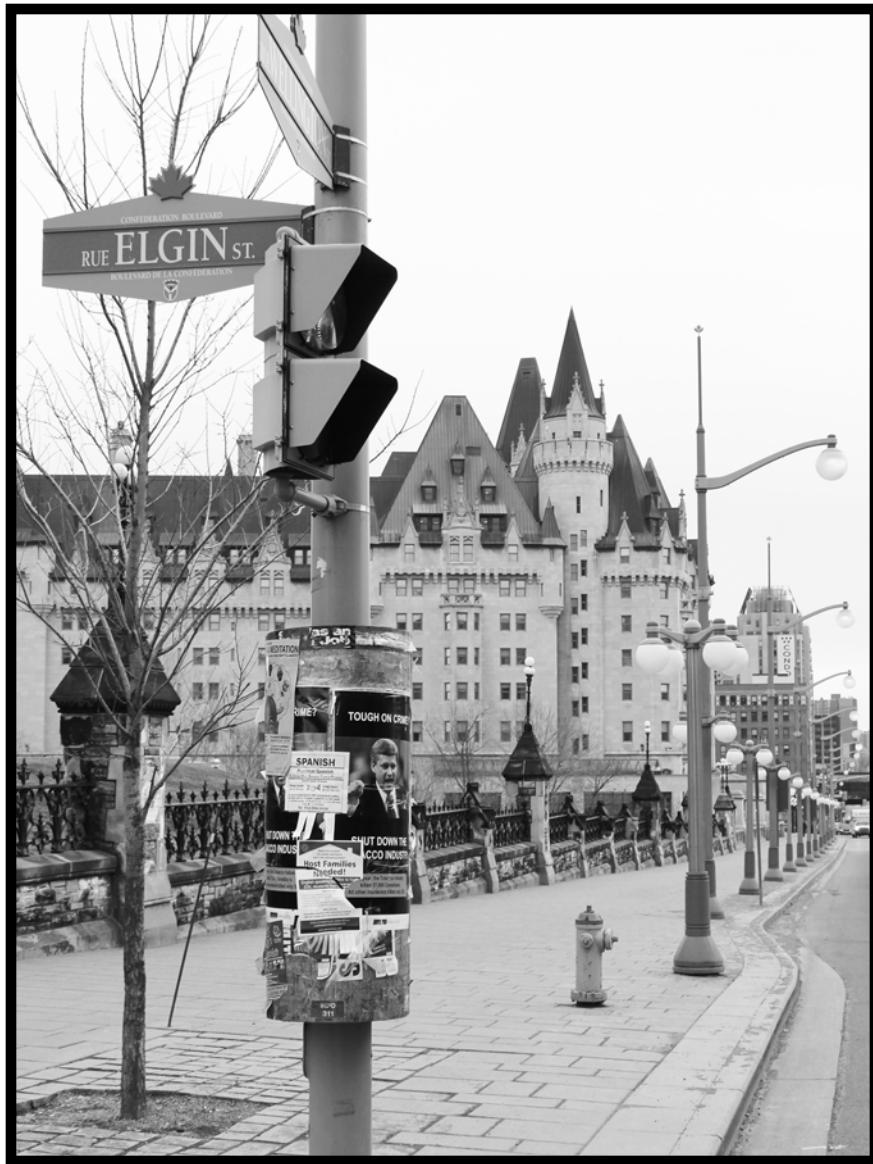


Illustration 23



Illustration 24



Illustration 25



Illustration 26



Illustration 27