

Stop in the Name of the Law

Uncovering attitudes about authority in acts of vandalism of Montreal stop signs

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Abstract: Explored here are the sentiments of Montreal stop sign vandals towards institutions of law, specifically the police and the Church. This project inquires about the ability of archaeological methods to deduce affective and ideological processes, through experimentation in spatial analysis. Specifically, is it possible to determine if Montreal stop sign vandals' material remains reflect their feelings towards institutions of authority as demonstrated by comparing the vandalism of stop signs that are located in front of churches and police stations to the vandalism of signs that are not in view of such buildings?

Introduction

The notions of fear and force, religion and state that are central to modern anthropological inquiry (see Bourdieu 1990, Derrida 1987) are not necessarily ideas beyond the scope of experimental archaeological methods. The prevalent criticism that state and religious institutions dominate individuals in a process of relentless social engineering may or may not be reflected in the archaeology of material reality. It is certainly important to recognize the limitations of archaeological methods and statistical analysis in general when dealing with human culture, especially when attempting to sort out matters of belief from material remains. So even though we have had access to intact and stable artefacts and environments (for the most part) throughout this project, and even with the availability of precise knowledge of spatial patterning, it remains impossible to speak in terms of direct causality and effect when it comes to human beliefs and material records. The following research questions and approach, however, have been fashioned with these limitations in mind, but also with the hope that some understanding of the empirical data can be gained.

There are few symbols that represent authority like the stop sign and the church. In bold font and blaring red luminescent, the stop sign stands at the corner of an intersection commanding the respect of oncoming drivers to obey the legal injunction that is emblazoned across it. In more or less subtle ways the architecture of the classical church building has been developed with ideological and emotional responses in mind to mystify, awe or instil fear in the person who enters the house of God (Kieckhefer 1995). These two symbols are meant to evoke proper behaviour in either the traditional religious sense or in the sense of justice in modern state. It is also interesting to note that both of these symbols have retained their intended meanings as the church as well as international driving regulations have spread throughout the world. But do these symbols actually evoke the intended response? (Feest 1968)

This question was conceived in my mind after data collection for the *Stop:Toutes Directions* project was already under way, in our explorations throughout different Montreal neighbourhoods. As my group recorded data about stop signs I could not help but imagine the vandals with spray-paint can or sticker in hand stealthily approaching their next target intersection in the night. What could be going through their minds when they come upon a corner with a church or police station at it and is it possible that their fears or feelings of dissent are plastered for us to read, literally or in absentia, in the stop sign data that has been collected. Such questions, formed of imagination have at their starting point certain assumptions about the psychology of vandals that are not necessarily realistic. Since so little is known about the identity of defacers of signs (at most a name or slogan) it is also problematic to speak of vandals as a community of people who are acting and thinking alike. While I will refer to the sentiment of

vandals, I understand that this is not necessarily the way that a person who tags a stop sign conceives of themselves. It is safe to assume however, that anyone who has sullied a stop sign has, at least momentarily, disregarded the authority of the law by defacing property that is not theirs, even if this action does not symbolize any bold ideological resistance. It is entirely possible that concern for the authority of the church or police (Block 1971) does not cross the mind of most vandals at all if they do not see a problem with spray painting or stickering a stop sign.

Furthermore, I do not assume that the people who are vandalizing stop signs necessarily accurately reflect the opinions of the general population who are not vandalizing, and so this research can only attempt to understand the intentions of those who deface signs. Certain social conclusions about people who deface stop signs, if they are based on accurate statistical analysis, may be drawn because actions like vandalism may be studied in the material record. I have not presumed to know what sort of data will emerge and it is possible that analysis of data may reveal no significant statistical difference in front of churches or police stations at all. If any data does emerge it may be problematic to jump from vandalism data to a simplistic understanding of psychological intention.

I can think of few more interesting cities to explore these questions considering the history of religion and government in Quebec. The relationship of Quebecois to the Catholic Church is a storied and complex one, as most simplistically exemplified by the taboo nature of words like tabernacle and chalice (Tassie 1961). More apparent are the turbulent politics of separation that involve the conflicting authority of government and society at municipal, provincial and federal levels. For now, however, I have isolated my research agenda from issues that arise out of this history like language and the socio-economic conditions of primarily French versus English speaking inhabitants. From the outset I am wary of the multitude of issues other than fear and rejection of the law, such as language, that may overshadow what I am searching for. I would not be surprised if issues of language, socio-economic status or even traffic density patterns influence the vandalism of signs from zone to zone, obscuring evidence that may be useful to my question.

As I have become interested in exploring how data on stop signs collected throughout Montreal, and specifically the vandalism of these legal signals, may demonstrate sentiments towards institutions of the law I have focused on finding stop signs that are located directly in view of institutions of law so that they can be compared to general vandalism data to see if any significant difference exists at the statistical or ideographic levels.

Methods

This research seeks to explore any positive, neutral or negative sentiments towards institutions of the law as demonstrated by comparing the vandalism of stop signs that are located in front of or in view of buildings like churches and police stations to the vandalism of signs that are not in the view of such buildings. To study this question, intersections that are located in discrete zones have served as spatial units of archaeological and statistical analysis and there are many concerns that must be acknowledged about the way in which zones were determined and the possible reality effects. It is my understanding that zones were mapped out based on factors of accessibility to students collecting data in addition to the geographical realities like major thoroughfares and topography. While such grid drawing techniques can be problematic if they fabricate information based on imagined boundaries, they may also be helpful in reducing the number of variables at play in different areas of the city. Ideally the analysis of vandalism based on zones will control variables like economic status.

Despite the potential subjectivity of the data collection, steps have been taken to limit the possibility of differences between collection teams. It is conceivable, for instance, that data collection teams in more heavily vandalized zones (as in zone 21) would be more consistent in their grading of vandalism than a group who came across fewer instances of vandalism (zone 12) making them less desensitized. To regulate the collection of data, scores were designated before data collection began as follows:

Grades for vandalism analysis in the field

- 0- No vandalism
- 1- Signs that contain a small tag filling up less than 20% of the sign, or 1 sticker
- 2- Between 20% and 50% of the sign is covered in graffiti, or 2 stickers or separate tags
- 3- More than 50 % of the sign is covered in vandalism or 3+ stickers.



Figure 1: Clockwise 0,1,2,3 ratings of vandalism (Notice the churches and synagogues in 0, 1, and 3

I have computed all of the data from both the back and front of signs to create a vandalism sum for each sign for comparison throughout the zones. For the purposes of this project, I see no distinction between an act of vandalism on the front or back, because I am primarily concerned with the act itself that has taken place before the law. This choice may miss evidence for the subtle meanings that can be derived from the difference between vandalizing the back versus the front.

Since it would have been impossible to re-survey the entire zone in question in order to locate churches and police stations, I resorted to Google and Google maps as the primary resource for identifying intersections of spatial interest. The process of mapping the churches with Google, however, was less reliable than visiting the actual sites to determine if signs are in full view of institutions of the law. If I had conceived of my project in this form before data collection had started, I would have included a question on data sheets like- is this intersection in view of a church or police station (y/n)? I have experienced quite a few problems with Google maps as the tool for determining where stop signs with vandalism corresponded to churches. In fact, I would now say that the functions of the Google search engine and Google maps have completely shaped and limited this inquiry. Although, this paper is not an effort to unwind the intricacies of the algorithms used in Google searches, it is important to note some basic things about the use of this form of spatial analysis.

Results of different Google search of "Churches in Montreal" and other similar wording have led me to conclude that there are between 700 and 1278 churches in the greater Montreal area. There is an entire Google search category dedicated to locating churches and related organizations. The results of the

Google searches included a variety of synagogues, mosques and Bahai temples in the category of churches, that for the purpose of this paper, I will continue to refer to as churches as they are also buildings that contain institutions of law and reverence, albeit in varied ways with histories that may not be as contentious as that of the Quebecois Christian churches. Another website, <http://www.ziplocal.com/>, served a similar purpose, although with a more exclusive definition of Church limited to Christianity. This website allowed me to verify many of the Google results that were questionable. This larger body of results (see appendix A) was then focused by excluding churches outside of the zone in question as well as by rooting out Google results that were not actually houses of religious prayer like foundations or incorporated businesses that were likely included by Google because of the relationship that they have with actual churches. Furthermore, there were quite a few duplicate listings that needed to be removed. If I was not able to determine if these were distinct institutions I assumed that they were and did not remove them. Ultimately this should have no bearing on the vandalism findings unless a stop sign vandal is more fearful of two churches at an intersection than one. There were also some listings that were labelled "unverified" and I included them and their location if further research deemed that they were indeed church buildings that are related to law.

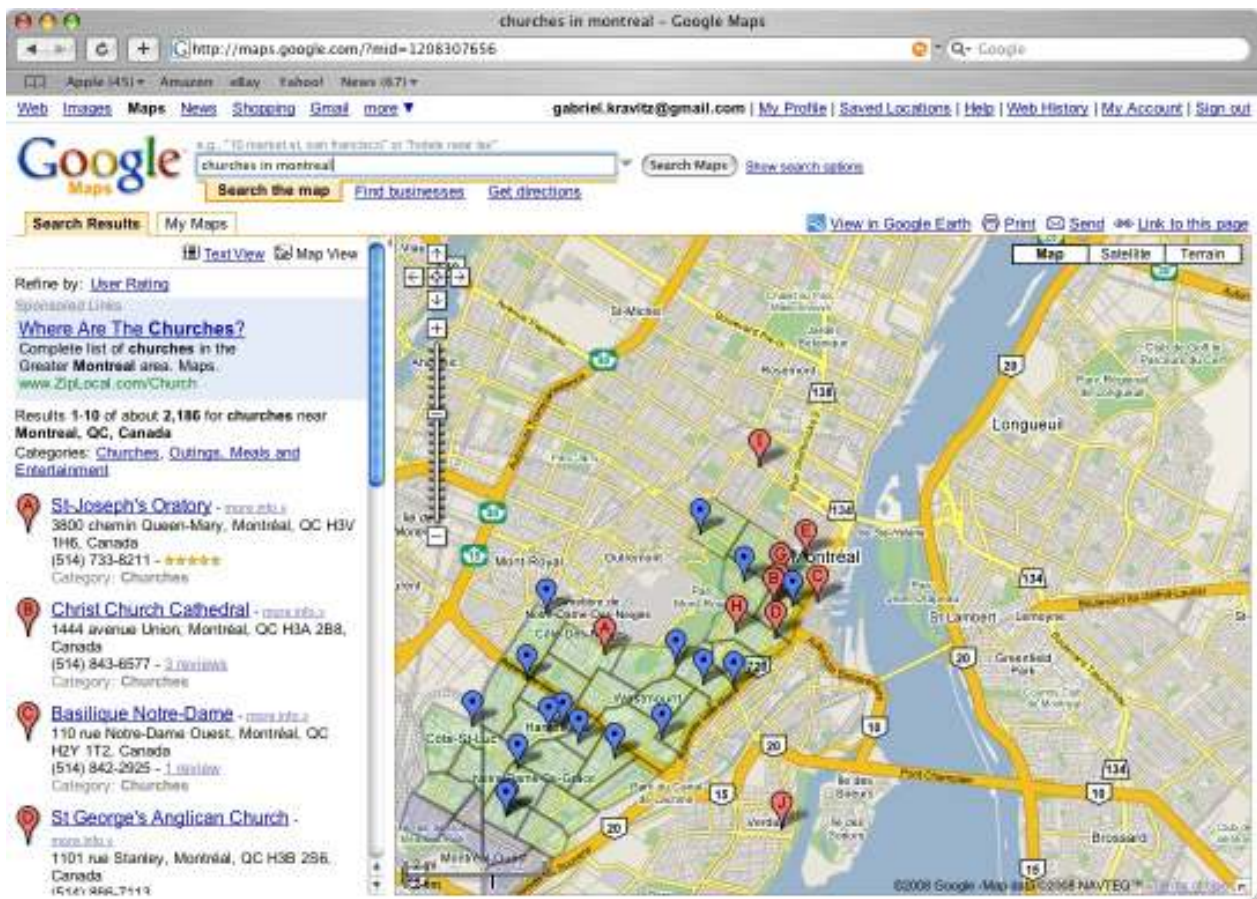


Figure 2: By laying the Stop:Toutes Directions map over the data that was being pinpointed by GoogleMaps it was possible to determine where churches were located by zone and intersection.

Of the approximately 100 churches that were determined to be in the zone of study (See appendix A), I needed to use Google maps to determine the locations of these churches more specifically so that they could be integrated and analyzed with the entirety of collected data of the project which relied on the format of intersection names. Stop signs could be sorted based on North/South and East/West intersection and so I needed to be able to match intersections with each other.

Since physical intersections are not being re-examined, the processes of verifying the accuracy of Google mapping, a technology that has been called into question, has proven to be difficult. Although the most magnificent churches in the city are visible from the satellite data that accompanies Google maps, the churches that have less of a presence are nearly impossible to verify without going to the location. While efforts are being made to ensure the accuracy of physical locations in Google maps (see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZP653VGcJno>), that I have needed to rely solely on Google for much of this information, despite my best efforts to ensure accuracy by comparing Google Earth satellite images, has weakened any answers that this research may determine for my initial questions. This means that signs that are in the range of churches may have been excluded, and more problematically there may be signs that are not actually in the range of a building of authority that are being analyzed, in turn skewing the target data. These limitations were demonstrated clearly as I scrolled through photographic data only to find a sign in plain view of a church steeple that was not analyzed accordingly because it is not on the intersection directly related to the church.



Figure 2.5 Sign 3-55-a exemplifies the limitations of using Google maps for the purpose of spatial analysis which really needs human eyes to collect accurate data of this nature.

The search for police stations has been easier because the Montreal police department has included the intersection of each station in their information online. In order to ensure accuracy, this data too was cross-referenced with Google maps and then with the data. Since it is likely that police stations appear prominently on more traffic laden intersections with traffic lights, there are only three stations that have corresponding stop sign data.

Results

In order to work with a large enough sample size to produce meaningful data I decided to analyze the entire set of data that was determined to be at intersections in front of churches. The police station data will also be looked at as a whole data set because there are only three intersections of interest with a total of eleven signs. Some correlation will likely arise due to the fact that I have not removed the corners that have churches and police stations on them from the general zone vandalism averages. I have also separated the church data from the police data in order to see if there is a significant difference between graffiti in front of these two institutions.

The entirety of the church vandalism data on 40 intersections with a total of 112 signs were graded in the field with a total of 85 points. I then added together the grades of front and back vandalism data to determine a vandalism sum for each sign. The mean vandalism of signs was then computed by dividing by the total number of signs analyzed and this was then calculated for each zone.

Zone	Total Signs	Sum Vandalism	Avg Vandalism	Churches	Stop Signs Near Churches in Zone	Sum Church Vandalism	Avg Church Vandalism
1	100	106	1.060	0	0	0	#DIV/0!
2	119	139	1.168	1	4	3	0.75
3	104	132	1.269	4	9	9	1
4	41	21	0.512	1	4	1	0.25
5	49	54	1.102	1	2	5	2.5
6	12	5	0.417	1	1	0	0
7	57	29	0.509	1	4	0	0
8	128	71	0.555	3	8	8	1
9	135	37	0.274	0	0	0	#DIV/0!
10	79	28	0.354	1	4	2	0.5
11	91	25	0.275	0	0	0	#DIV/0!
12	127	81	0.638	5	9	7	0.777778
13	116	128	1.103	5	13	13	1
14	97	28	0.289	2	3	3	1
15	94	22	0.234	0	0	0	#DIV/0!
16	94	46	0.489	1	1	0	0
17	188	16	0.085	0	0	0	#DIV/0!
18	84	29	0.345	5	12	3	0.25
19	42	30	0.714	1	2	2	1
20	78	97	1.244	4	10	13	1.3
21	63	38	0.603	2	4	4	1
22	176	15	0.085	2	7	2	0.2857143
23	93	43	0.462	1	4	2	0.5
24	104	11	0.106	1	2	0	0
25	54	22	0.407	0	0		#DIV/0!
26	94	16	0.170	0	0		#DIV/0!
27	55	15	0.273	0	0		#DIV/0!
28	71	31	0.437	1	4	4	1
29	94	49	0.521	1	4	2	0.5
30	0	0	0.000	0	0	0	#DIV/0!
31	120	19	0.158	0	0	0	#DIV/0!
32	57	17	0.298	0	0	0	#DIV/0!

Figure 3: Mean Vandalism by zone table for computation

Once it was determined that this data was normally distributed, histograms were constructed to illustrate the mean of the church data by zone as distinct from the total stop sign data by zone.

Bin	Frequency
0	4
0.1	0
0.2	0
0.3	3
0.4	0
0.5	3
0.6	0
0.7	0
0.8	3
0.9	0
1	7
1.1	0
1.2	0
1.3	1
More	1

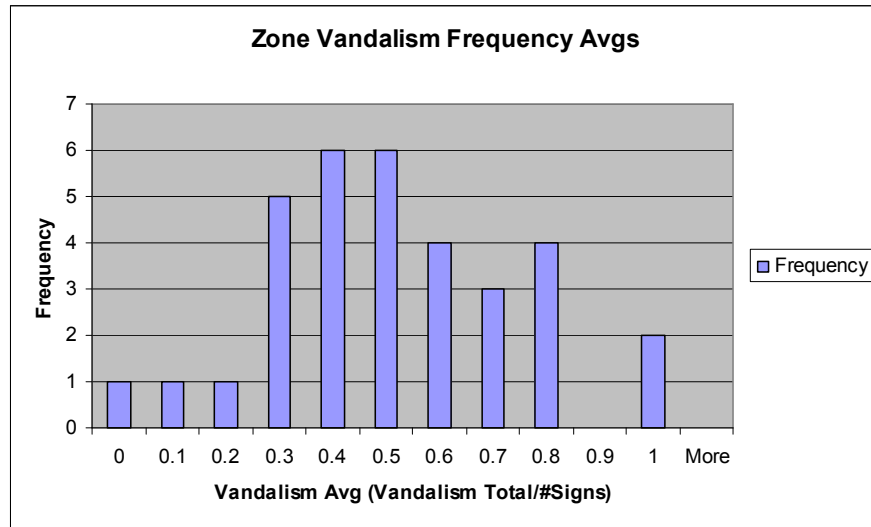


Figure 4: Histogram of vandalism averages of ALL signs by zone

Bin	Frequency
0	1
0.1	1
0.2	1
0.3	5
0.4	6
0.5	6
0.6	4
0.7	3
0.8	4
0.9	0
1	2
More	0

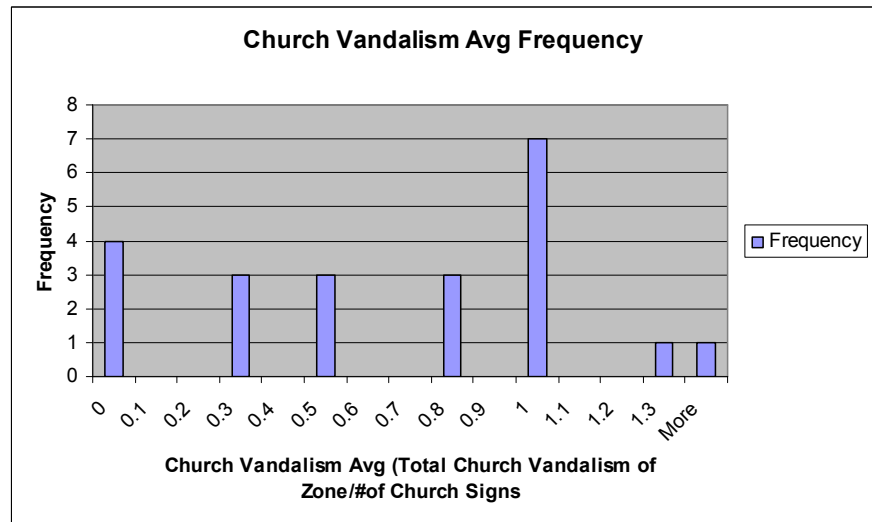


Figure 5: Histogram for average vandalism of signs in front of churches by zone

A t-test of these two sets of data revealed a much higher average of vandalism in front of churches (.759 of signs with vandalism) than in the general data (.497). The p-value of this test was .234, accepting the null hypothesis that these two variances are different. A further t-test assuming equal variance, demonstrated strongly (with a two-tailed p-value of .0065) that there is a significant difference between the mean rates of stop sign vandalism in front of churches versus signs throughout the city. Such findings would be exciting if not for the minute sample size of data from in front of churches.

Total Data F test
F-Test Two-Sample for Variances

	Variable 1	Variable 2
Mean	0.497159	0.758929
Variance	0.98969	1.085505
Observations	2816	112
df	2815	111
F	0.911732	
P(F<=f) one-tail	0.233695	
F Critical one-tail	0.808704	

Figure 6:
t-test to determine if the mean of the vandalism

t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances

	Variable 1	Variable 2
Mean	0.497159	0.758929
Variance	0.98969	1.085505
Observations	2816	112
Pooled Variance	0.993325	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	2926	
t Stat	-2.72592	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.003225	
t Critical one-tail	1.645375	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.00645	
t Critical two-tail	1.960775	

averages in front of churches are significantly different than the vandalism averages of the general population of surveyed signs. The small two-tail p-value on the right of .0064 means that the means are significantly different.

If we cannot analyze each zone for the differences between the church stop signs versus general vandalism rates because of small sample size, it is at least important to look at the relationship between total zone data and church intersection data graphically.

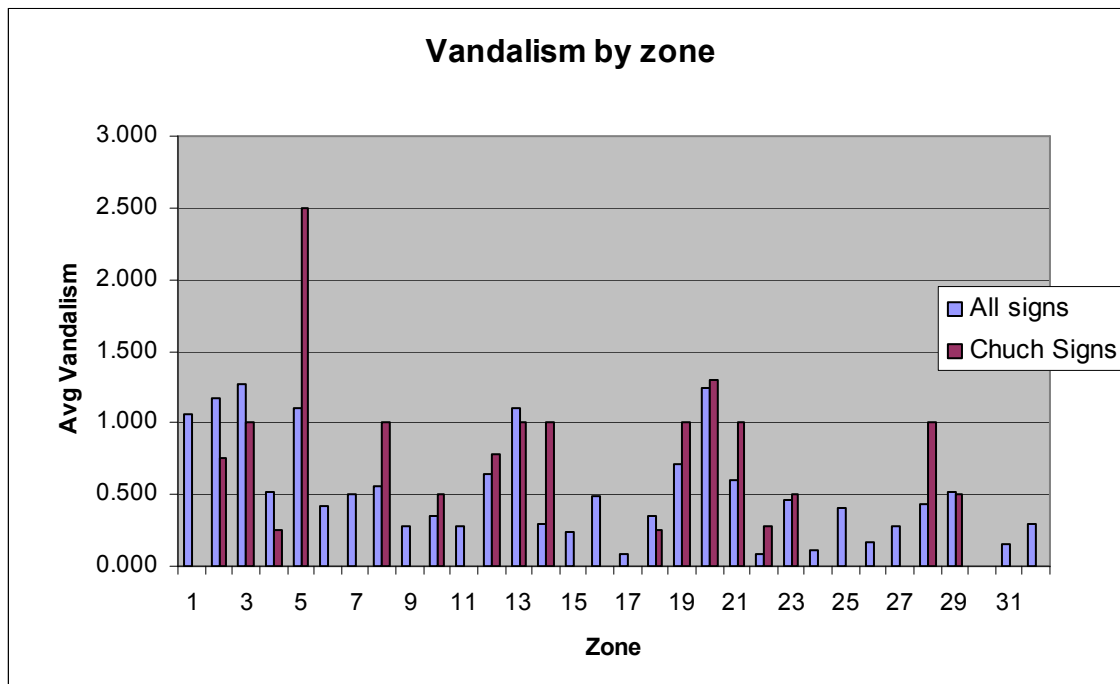


Figure 7: Average Vandalism of Church signs versus general signs by Zone. This bar graph obscures those zones that have no churches in them (1,9,11,15,17,25,26,27) versus those locations that have no vandalism at church intersections (6,7,16,24).

T-tests were also calculated to determine the relationship between the mean vandalism that takes place in front of police stations versus the vandalism of the general population of stop signs. (See Appendix B and D for police station locations and data of signs in front of them.)

F-Test Two-Sample for Variances			t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances		
	Variable 1	Variable 2		Variable 1	Variable 2
Mean	0.497159	0.181818	Mean	0.497159	0.181818
Variance	0.98969	0.163636	Variance	0.98969	0.163636
Observations	2816	11	Observations	2816	11
df	2815	10	Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
F	6.048105		df	10	
P(F<=f) one-tail	0.001635		t Stat	2.555443	
F Critical one-tail	2.539707		P(T<=t) one-tail	0.014298	
			t Critical one-tail	1.812461	
			P(T<=t) two-tail	0.028596	
			t Critical two-tail	2.228139	

Figure 8: t-test comparing the mean sign data in front of police stations versus the averages of vandalism of the all signs reveals with a p-value of less than .05 (.0286) that there is a significant difference between these locations when unequal variance is assumed.

Discussion

It could be effortless now, with the result of these t-tests to state boldly that there is clear evidence that Montreal stop sign vandals have no regard for the authority of the Church and even spite the institution by vandalizing more heavily in front of church buildings. It would also be easy to simply explain how the significantly lower occurrences of vandalism in front of police stations reflect a sense of fear of the municipal authorities in the hearts of vandals. However, as expressed earlier, jumping to conclusions about causality from this data is problematical. In addition to the stress that I have placed on recognizing the issues of small sample size being less representative of the universal population, there are more readily-apparent reasons to question such bold conclusions. A brief glance at the notes and pictures that were taken at the intersections of the police station locations serves as one small example in a mountain of non-numerical data that has not really been touched on here. Two separate stop signs that are located at the same intersection as PDQ 12 in Westmount’s zone 12, have notes on them that recognize possible removal of graffiti. This sort of complexity eludes the simple grading system that was used in data collection and in the statistical analysis in this paper. Simply skimming the non-numerical data I have noticed quite a few similarly interesting notes that record the restoration of once vandalized signs like “sticker removed.” Since I have not examined this sort of data for vandalism on a general level, and this data was not collected uniformly, it would be impossible to determine if stickers that have been affixed to stop signs in front of churches are removed more often than in the entire sample of stop signs? Maybe this would represent efforts by law abiders to preserve the purity of the church or government and a study like this would be based on more assumptions that the stop sign serve as a medium for a discursive battle between believers and detractors. This is a question that could be expanded in future research.

This project is entirely dependant on findings in those inquiries about vandalism as related to socio-economic status, language and religious affiliation and many other variables. I am still not wholly convinced, despite very low p-values and scrutinized spatial analysis, that the findings here reflect any thing but a complex of related variables that are only ephemerally related to sentiments towards authority as reflected in stop sign vandalism. With that in mind, in the future I would focus my research in a slightly different way that I have now. Visiting each institution of the law in the zone of study to find which signs were actually in view of churches, as opposed to the reliance on Google maps would have immensely strengthened any findings in this study. It would not have been reasonable given the capacities of this project to have undertaken such a task so all we can do is recognize the limitations of the available methodology. This study also would have benefited greatly from a system of placing all of the stop signs on one spatial map that could be searched through Google. This, with accurate data about the physical

location of the church would have made this project easier and more sound. Finally, despite my scepticism towards the seemingly significant and interesting findings have emerged from the data, this essay has explored, although not completely, the limitations and possibilities of an experimental archaeological method for dealing with ideological remnants in the Montreal stop sign data.

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Appendix A: Results of all churches by zone of inquiry (number of churches per zone)

The numbers included along the left side of certain addresses corresponds to appendix C

Zone 1 (4 churches)

Montreal Chinese Alliance Church
405 Rue Marie-Anne E, Montréal, QC H2J 1A1 cross stdenis

Centre Zen De La Main
30 rue Vallières, Montréal, QC H2W 1C2 cross st laurent

Paroisses Catholiques-Catholic Parishes
4237 avenue Henri-Julien, Montréal, QC H2W 2K7 cross rachel e (ish)

Eglise Portugaise (Catholique)
60 rue Rachel Ouest, Montréal, QC H2W 1G3 cross: stdominique

Zone 2 (7)

St. John's Lutheran Church
3594 Jeanne Mance, Montreal, QC H2X 2K3 cross princearthur

Church Montreal Chinese Bap
3567 rue Saint-Urbain, Montréal, QC H2X 2N6 cross:(not really corner) princearthur

Baha'i Foi Centre d'Information
177 avenue des Pins Est, Montréal, QC H2W 1N9 cross closest to hotel deville

Mennonite Fellowship Of Montréal
120 avenue Duluth Est, Montréal, QC H2W 1H1 between coloniale and debullion

Sanctuaire De St-Jude
3980 rue Saint-Denis, Montréal, QC H2W 2M3 cross duluth

Paroisses Catholiques-Catholic Parishes
3760 avenue de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, Montréal, QC H2W 2G4 cross pins

Centre liturgique
306 Sherbrooke E, Montreal, QC H2X cross sanguinet

Zone 3 (9)

3.1 Church of St John The Evangelist
137 avenue du Président-Kennedy, Montréal, QC H2X 3P6 cross kimberly

Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes
430 rue Sainte-Catherine Est, Montréal, QC H2L 2C5 cross stdenis

Montreal Chinese Pentecostal Church
100 rue de la Gauchetière Est, Montréal, QC H2X 1P5 cross dubullion

Eglise Unie St-Jean
110 rue Sainte-Catherine Est, Montréal, QC H2X 1K7 cross berger maybe debullion

3.5 Mission Chinoise Catholique
979 rue cote, Montréal, QC H2Z 1L1 cross Viger sort of

3.6 DI Cormier
260 rue Sainte-Catherine Est, Montréal, QC H2X 1L4 cross ste elisabeth

3.7 Association Bouddhiste de Chan Hai Lei Jang
125 rue Charlotte, Montréal, QC H2X 1M2 cross debullion and (maybe) berger

Mosquée Al-Omah Al-Islamiah
1245 St Dominique, Montréal, QC H2X 2W4 cross but between stcatherine and charlotte

St-Benoit-de-Nursie Orthodox Church
Unverified listing
2014 Rue St-urbain, Montréal, QC H2X 3X8 cross ontario

Zone 4 (5)

Peoples Church Of Montréal
2097 avenue Union, Montréal, QC H3A 2C3 cross sherbrooke

Presbyterian Church In Canada
3495 rue University, Montréal, QC H3A 2A8 cross:milton

4.3 Chinese Christian Gospel Church
3564 rue Aylmer, Montréal, QC H2X 2B8 cross :not really prince arthur

Notre Dame De La Salette
3535 avenue du parc, Montréal, QC H2X 2H8 cross milton (ish)

Opus Dei -
630 Sherbrooke O, Montréal, QC H3A 1E4 cross between university and union
between milton and prince arthur

Zone 5 (5)

Christ Church Cathedral
1444 avenue Union, Montréal, QC H3A 2B8 cross ste catherine also university

5.2 St James United Church
1435 rue City Councillors, Montréal, QC H3A 2E4 cross stecatherine

St Patrick'S Basilica
460 boulevard René-Lévesque Ouest, Montréal, QC H2Z 1A7 Cross: St. Alexandre

Église du Gesu
1202 rue de Bleury, Montréal, QC H3B 3J3 cross:renelevesque

Archevêché De Montréal
1085 rue de la Cathédrale, Montréal, QC H3B 2V3 renelevesque (sort of)

Zone 6 (4 or 5)

6.1 St George's Anglican Church
1101 rue Stanley, Montréal, QC H3B 2S6 cross gauchertiere o

Church of St Andrew & St Paul
3415 rue Redpath, Montréal, QC H3G 2G2 cross sherbrooke

Church Of St James The Apostle
1439 rue Sainte-Catherine Ouest, Montréal, QC H3G 1S6 Crossst:Mackay

Finnish Lutheran Church
1500 avenue du Docteur-Penfield, Montréal, QC H3G 1B9 cross McGregor/simpson

Eglise Réformée St-Jean
3407 avenue du Musée, Montréal, QC H3G 2C6 cross sherbrooke

Impact Church
Unverified listing
1439 Rue Ste-catherine O, Montréal, QC H3G 1S6 cross mackay ish, more than bishop
Same address as above

Zone 7 (6)

7.1 Evangel Pentecostal Church
1235 rue Lambert-Closse, Montréal, QC H3H 1Z4 cross:tupper

Catholic Centre The
2005 St Marc, Montréal, QC H3H 2G8 cross maisonneuve

Spiritual Science Fellowship
1974 boulevard de Maisonneuve Ouest, Montréal, QC H3H 1K5 cross between du fort and towers

Archevêché De Montréal
Montréal, QC H3H 1G4 intersection of sherbrooke and du fort

Fondation Du Grand Séminaire De Montréal
2065 rue Sherbrooke Ouest, Montréal, QC H3H 1G6 cross between dufort and noname street

Greater Montreal Church of Christ
Unverified listing
1650 Boulevard De Maisonneuve O, Montréal, QC H3H 2P3 cross pierce

Zone 8 (4)

8.1 St Stephen's Anglican Church
1 Weredale Park, Westmount, QC H3Z 1Y5 cross dorchester

All Nation Baptist Church
1 rue Weredale Park, Westmount, QC H3Z 1Y5 cross: park maybe clandeboye
Same address as above?

8.3 Church House Of Prayer For All Nations
4119 boulevard de Maisonneuve Ouest, Westmount, QC H3Z 1K2 cross closest to wood, also elm

Bethel Gospel Chapel
4250 boulevard de Maisonneuve Ouest, Westmount, QC H3Z 1K6 cross: olivier

Zone 9 (5)

Christ Victorious Church
6484 avenue Victoria, Montréal, QC H3W 2S8 cross plamondon

Mount Zion Apostolic Church
4685 avenue de Courtrai, Montréal, QC H3W 1A2 no cross closest to unnamed oneway off of victoria

Pagode Tambao
4450 AVENUE VAN HORNE, Côte-des-Neiges, QC H3S 1A1 cross lavoie

Congregation Shomrim Laboker Beth Yehudah Shaare Tefillah
6410 avenue de Westbury, Montréal, QC H3W 2X3 cross plamondon

Victory Bible Church
Unverified listing
6260 Rue Victoria, Montréal, QC H3W 2S3 cross: kent (ish)

Zone 10 (3)

St-Joseph's Oratory
3800 chemin Queen-Mary, Montréal, QC H3V 1H6
(514) 733-8211 - Rated 4.6 out of 5.0 cross private near dufrere-andre

Fabrique de la Paroisse Notre-Dame-Des-Neiges
4300 Chemin Queen Mary, Montréal, QC H3V 1A6 no cross near cedar crescent

10.3 Soeurs de Saint-Paul-de-Chartres
3813 avenue Lacombe, Montréal, QC H3T 1M3 cross legare

Zone 11 (0)

Zone 12 (5)

12.1 St Matthias Church Office 24 Hours
10 avenue Church Hill, Westmount, QC H3Y 2Z9 cross cotestantoine

12.2 Westmount Baptist Church
411 avenue Roslyn, Westmount, QC H3Y 2T6 cross sherbrooke

12.3 West End Christian Fellowship
386 avenue Lansdowne, Westmount, QC H3Z 2L4 cross sherbrooke

12.4 Trinity Memorial Church Parish
5220 Sherbrooke W, Montréal, QC H4A 1T8 cross roslyn (bubble not pointing)

12.5 Ascension of Our Lord parish
375 Kitchener Avenue, Westmount, QC H3Z 2G1 cross sherbrooke (google map is off here)

Zone 13 (5)

13.1 Westmount Park Church
305 avenue Lansdowne, Westmount, QC H3Z 2L5 Maisonneuve/cheminacademy

13.2 Serbian Orthodox Church
349 avenue Melville, Westmount, QC H3Z 2J7 closest to mebourne

United Church Of Canada The Church Center
301 avenue Lansdowne, Westmount, QC H3Z 2L5 cross maisonneuve

13.4 Paroisses Catholiques-Catholic Parishes
4311 boulevard de Maisonneuve Ouest, Westmount, QC H3Z 1L1 cross: between kitchener and clarke

13.5 Oeuvres de St-Jude (Les)
2715 ch de la cote Ste Catherine, Montréal, QC H4A 1L2 no cross away from maisonneuve

Zone 14 (2)

14.1 Spanish & Portuguese Synagogue
4894 avenue Saint-Kevin, Montréal, QC H3W 1P2 cross lemieux

14.2 Congregation Zichron Kedoshim
5215 avenue de Westbury, Montréal, QC H3W 2W4 cross fulton

Zone 15 (1)

St Andrew's-Dominion-Douglas Church
687 avenue Roslyn, Westmount, QC H3Y 2V1 cross: the blvd

Zone 16 (5)

16.1 Unitarian Church Of Montréal
5035 de Maisonneuve W, QC H4A crossstreet bulmer

Korean Full Gospel Church of Montreal
3484 boulevard Décarie, Montréal, QC H4A 3J5 cross: 15?

Eglise Adventiste de Westmount
571 avenue Victoria, Westmount, QC H3Y 2R7 cross willow (which looks like it does not connect) between westmount and cote saintoigne

Paroisses Catholiques-Catholic Parishes
5333 avenue Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, Montréal, QC H4A 1L2 cross decarie (ish)

Westmount Seventh Day Adventist Church
Unverified listing
571 Rue Victoria, Westmount, QC H3Y 2R7 cross none near westmountave

Zone 17 (2)

Jesus Is Lours Church
6900 boulevard Décarie, Cote Saint-Luc, QC H3X 2T8 cross vezina

Adath Israel-Poale Zedek Congregation
223 croissant Harrow, Hampstead, QC H3X 3X7 cross chemin belsize

Zone 18 (8)

18.1 St Matthew's Church (Anglican)
4940 Macdonald Ave, Hampstead, QC H3X 2V3 Cross snowdon

18.2 Snowdon Baptist Church
5275 avenue Earnscliffe, Montréal, QC H3X 2P7 cross:Isabella

18.3 Chambit Presbyterian Church Of Montreal
5545 rue Snowdon, Montréal, QC H3X 1Y8 cross clanranald

Acts Pentecostal Church
4640 boulevard Décarie, Montréal, QC H3X 2H5 cross:none on map between snowdon and cotestluc

18.5 Ephraim Scott Memorial Presbyterian Church
5545 rue Snowdon, Montréal, QC H3X 1Y8 cross clanranald

St Malachy's Church
5330 avenue Clanranald, Montréal, QC H3X 2S6 cross isabella (sortof)

Shaare Zion Congregation
5575 cote St Luc, Montréal, QC H3X 2C9 cross between marcil and old orchard

18.8 Paroisses Catholiques-Catholic Parishes
5391 rue Snowdon, Montréal, QC H3X 1Y5 cross earnscliffe

Zone 19 (3)
Church Of Jesus-Christ Of Latterday
4355 de l'Orphelinat, QC H4A no cross closest at cotestluc

19.2 Christian Science Church First Church Montreal And Reading Room - more info »
5715 avenue de Monkland, Montréal, QC H4A 1E7 cross harvard

Trinity Lutheran Church
Unverified listing
4345 Avenue Marcil, Montréal, QC H4A 2Z9 cross monkland

Zone 20 (6)
Unity Church Of Montreal
3455 avenue Girouard, Montréal, QC H4A 3C5 Crossstreet-none near sherbrookandcotestantoine

20.2 Wesley United Church
5964 avenue Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, Montréal, QC H4A 1N1 cross street Hapton

20.3 River's Edge Communit Church
5567 ch de la cote St Antoine, Montréal, QC H4A 1R4 cross:oldorchard

20.4 Knox Crescent Kensington & First Presbyterian Church
6225 avenue Godfrey, Montréal, QC H4B 1K3 cross :between grand and Kensington
Also listed at same address: Korean Presbyterian Church of Montreal (The)

St Ansgar Lutheran Church
4020 boulevard Grand, Montréal, QC H4B 2X5 cross notredamedegrace

20.6 Church of St Columba
4020 avenue Hingston, Montréal, QC H4A 2J7 cross notredame de grace

Zone 21 (3)
Abundant Life Faith Church Int'l Inc
5675 chemin Upper-Lachine, Montréal, QC H4A 2A9 cross: between harvard and oxford

Taiwanese Robert Campbell Presbyterian
2225 avenue Régent, Montréal, QC H4A 2R2 cross maisonneuve

Bethlehem United Church Inc
2255 avenue West Hill, Montréal, QC H4B 2S3 cross maisonneuve (ish)

Zone 22 (2)

22.1 Montreal Chinese Alliance Church
13 rue Finchley, Hampstead, QC H3X 2Z4 cross queen mary

22.2 First Baptist Church

6215 chemin de la cote-Saint-Luc, Hampstead, QC H3X 2H3 cross holtham/kensington
Also listed at address: Christian Restoration Center

Zone 23 (3)

Montreal West Church of God
4874 boulevard Grand, Montréal, QC H3X 3S2 cross (sort of) somerlend

St Ansgar Lutheran Church

4020 boulevard Grand, Montréal, QC H4B 2X5 cross madison

23.3 Paroisses Catholiques-Catholic Parishes

6405 rue de Terrebonne, Montréal, QC H4B 1A8 cross benny

None in 24 or 25

Zone 26 (1)

Congrégation Tifereth Beth David Jérusalem
6519 chemin Baily, Cote Saint-Luc, QC H4V 1A1 cross randall

Zone 27 (2)

27.1 St Thomas Church
6897 avenue Somerled, Montréal, QC H4V 1V2 Cross Mariette

Logos Deliverance Ministries

6493 avenue Somerled, Montréal, QC H4V 1S6 cross cavendish

Zone 28 (1)

28.1 Rosedale-Queen Mary United Church
6870 rue de Terrebonne, Montréal, QC H4B 1C5 cross:rosedale

Zone 29 (1)

29.1 St-Richard
7070 chemin Guelph, Cote Saint-Luc, QC H4W 1G9 parkhaven ave

Zone 31 (1)

Ste-Catherine-De-Sienne
7070 avenue Somerled, Montréal, QC H4V 1V9 cross between belmore and st ignatius

Zone 32 (1)

St Ignatius Loyola Parish
4455 rue West Broadway, Montréal, QC H4B 2A7 no cross, somerled (circle not point)

Appendix B: All police stations in larger survey zone

PDQ 8

Lachine, Saint-Pierre
170, 15e Avenue
[near rue Notre-Dame]
Lachine (QC) H8S 3L9

PDQ 9

Côte-Saint-Luc, Hampstead, Montréal-Ouest
5757, boul. Cavendish
[near chemin Kildare]
Côte-Saint-Luc (QC) H4W 2W8

PDQ 12

Ville-Marie Ouest, Westmount
21, rue Stanton
[near av. Argyle]
Westmount (QC) H3Y 3B1

PDQ 21

Centre-ville (Ville-Marie Est), île Notre-Dame, île Sainte-Hélène, Vieux-Montréal
1180, rue Sainte-Élisabeth
[near boul. René-Lévesque]
Montréal (QC) H2X 3C4

PDQ 26

Côte-des-Neiges
5995, boul. Décarie
[near av. Van Horne]
Montréal (QC) H3W 3C9

Appendix C Relevant data from intersections in front of churches

Church	Zone	Int #	Sign #	Int (N/S)	Int (E/W)	Van (F)	Van (B)	Sum Vandalism	Notes
2.4	2	51	1	Coloniale	Duluth	0	0	0	
	2	51	2	Coloniale	Duluth	0	0	0	obscured
	2	51	3	Coloniale	Duluth	0	0	0	
	2	51	4	Coloniale	Duluth	0	3	3	
3.1	3	31	7	Kimberley	President Kennedy	0	0	0	
3.5	3	13	3	Côté	Viger	0	0	0	
	3	13	4	Côté	Viger	0	0	0	
3.6	3	48	7	St. Elizabeth	St. Catherine	2	2	4	vertical support
	3	48	8	St. Elizabeth	St. Catherine	2	0	2	
3.7	3	42	3	Berger	Charlotte	0	0	0	
	3	42	4	Berger	Charlotte	1	1	2	on front: etched "KNViYS" (?) on back: etched S"M"S
	3	43	1	Bullion	Charlotte	0	0	0	
	3	43	2	Bullion	Charlotte	1	0	1	
4.3	4	13	3	Aylmer	Prince Arthur	0	0	0	
	4	13	4	Aylmer	Prince Arthur	0	1	1	
	4	13	7	Aylmer	Prince Arthur	0	0	0	
	4	13	8	Aylmer	Prince Arthur	0	0	0	
5.2	5	12	3	City Councillors	St. Catherine	0	2	2	
	5	12	4	City Councillors	St. Catherine	1	2	3	
6.1	6	9	7	Stanley	La Gauchetière	0	0	0	
7.1	7	16	1	Lambert Closse	Tupper	0	0	0	RA-A3 front
	7	16	3	Lambert Closse	Tupper	0	0	0	on median
	7	16	4	Lambert Closse	Tupper	0	0	0	RA-A front
	7	16	5	Lambert Closse	Tupper	0	0	0	HUGE
8.1	8	8	7	Weredale Park	Dorchester	0	0	0	pin-striped luminescence
8.3	8	9	5	Wood	Maisonneuve	2	2	4	hinged and folded over
	8	1	7	Elm	Maisonneuve	1	0	1	
8.4	8	2	1	Olivier	Maisonneuve	0	0	0	
	8	2	5	Olivier	Maisonneuve	2	0	2	HAMMER TIME
	8	2	6	Olivier	Maisonneuve	1	0	1	HAMMER TIME
	8	2	7	Olivier	Maisonneuve	0	0	0	
	8	2	8	Olivier	Maisonneuve	0	0	0	
10.3	10	7	1	Legare	LaCombe	0	0	0	tied to wood post

	10	7	2	Legare	LaCombe	0	0	0	
	10	7	3	Legare	LaCombe	0	0	0	
	10	7	7	Legare	LaCombe	1	1	2	graffiti on back
12.1	12	47	3	Church Hill	Cote St. Antoine	0	0	0	
12.2	12	13	3	Roslyn	Sherbrooke	1	0	1	back to back with another sign
	12	13	7	Roslyn	Sherbrooke	0	1	1	sticker removed
12.3	12	12	1	Landsdowne	Sherbrooke	0	1	1	hinged
	12	12	4	Landsdowne	Sherbrooke	0	0	0	hinged
	12	12	7	Landsdowne	Sherbrooke		1	1	hinged, locked
12.4	12	13	3	Roslyn	Sherbrooke	1	0	1	back to back with another sign
	12	13	7	Roslyn	Sherbrooke	0	1	1	sticker removed
12.5	12	3	7	Kitchener	Sherbrooke	1	0	1	sticker removed
13.1	13	28	5	Lansdowne	de Maisonneuve		3	3	
13.3	13	28	7	Lansdowne	de Maisonneuve		2	2	
13.2	13	20	3	Melville	Melbourne	0	0	0	
	13	20	5	Melville	Melbourne	0	0	0	
	13	20	7	Melville	Melbourne	3	0	3	Orange & white striped pole w/ similar checkered back
13.4	13	14	3	Clarke	de Maisonneuve		0	0	Hinged and closed (front obscured)
	13	14	6	Clarke	de Maisonneuve		0	0	Hinged and closed (front obscured)
	13	14	7	Clarke	de Maisonneuve		0	0	Hinged and closed (front obscured)
	13	15	1	Kitchener	de Maisonneuve	0	0	0	
	13	15	3	Kitchener	de Maisonneuve	1	2	3	huge scratches that look intentional
	13	15	5	Kitchener	de Maisonneuve	2	0	2	
	13	15	6	Kitchener	de Maisonneuve	0	0	0	pole is tilted
13.5	13	1	5	Claremont	de Maisonneuve	0	0	0	closed, hinged
14.1	14	14	7	Lemieux	St.Kevin	0	0	0	
14.2	14	5	7	Fulton	Westbury	2	0	2	
	14	5	8	Fulton	Westbury	0	1	1	
16.1	16	35	3	Bulmer	Maisonneuve	0	0	0	tilted over
18.1	18	4	7	Macdonald	Snowdon	1	0	1	Front sticker removed
	18	4	8	Macdonald	Snowdon	0	1	1	Back-sticker
18.2	18	10	1	Earnscliffe	Isabella	0	0	0	
	18	10	2	Earnscliffe	Isabella	0	0	0	
	18	10	3	Earnscliffe	Isabella	0	0	0	wood pole
	18	10	7	Earnscliffe	Isabella	0	0	0	
18.3	18	3	1	Clanranald	Snowdon	0	0	0	

18.5	18	3	2	Clanranald	Snowdon	0	0	0	
	18	3	7	Clanranald	Snowdon	0	0	0	
	18	3	8	Clanranald	Snowdon	0	0	0	wood pole
18.8	18	2	5	Earnscliffe	Snowdon	1	0	1	Sticker-front
	18	2	6	Earnscliffe	Snowdon	0	0	0	wood pole
	18	2	7	Earnscliffe	Snowdon	0	2	2	
19.2	19	3	7	Harvard	Monkland	2	0	2	
	19	3	8	Harvard	Monkland	0	0	0	
20.2	20	19	3	Hampton	Notre Dame de Grace	2	0	2	Not an all way intersection
	20	19	4	Hampton	Notre Dame de Grace	0	0	0	Not an all way intersection
20.3	20	34	3	Old Orchard	Côte St. Antoine	0	0	0	Diamond Lattice Lum
	20	34	4	Old Orchard	Côte St. Antoine	1	1	2	Front: graffiti rubbed out
20.4	20	22	1	Grand Boulevard	Godfrey	1	0	1	Diamond Lattice Lum
	20	22	2	Grand Boulevard	Godfrey	0	0	0	Diamond Lattice Lum
	20	23	3	Kensington	Godfrey	0	0	0	
	20	23	4	Kensington	Godfrey	1	1	2	
20.6	20	20	7	Hingston	Notre Dame de Grace	1	2	3	back: faded graffiti
	20	20	8	Hingston	Notre Dame de Grace	2	1	3	front: one sticker removed
21.2	21	22	3	Regent	Maisonneuve	2	0	2	stickers removed front
	21	22	4	Regent	Maisonneuve	0	0	0	
21.3	21	27	3	West Hill	Maisonneuve	1	0	1	
	21	27	4	West Hill	Maisonneuve	1	0	1	
22.1	22	1	1	Finchley	Queen Mary	1	0	1	
	22	1	3	Finchley	Queen Mary	0	0	0	
	22	1	3.5	Finchley	Queen Mary	0	0	0	
	22	1	5	Finchley	Queen Mary	1	0	1	
	22	1	5.5	Finchley	Queen Mary	0	0	0	
	22	1	7	Finchley	Queen Mary	0	0	0	
22.2	22	22	3	Holtham	Cote-St-Luc	0	0	0	
23.3	23	10	1	Benny	Terrebonne	0	0	0	
	23	10	5	Benny	Terrebonne	0	0	0	Pinstripe Luminescent
	23	10	7	Benny	Terrebonne	0	0	0	
	23	10	8	Benny	Terrebonne	1	1	2	
27.1	27	16.5	7	Mariette	Somerled	0	0	0	Diagonal S.L.
	27	16.5	8	Mariette	Somerled	0	0	0	Horizontal S.L.
28.1	28	7	1	Rosedale	Terrebonne	1	1	2	

	28	7	3	Rosedale	Terrebonne	1	0	1
	28	7	4	Rosedale	Terrebonne	0	0	0
	28	7	5	Rosedale	Terrebonne	1	0	1
29.1	29	2	1	Parkhaven	Guelph	0	0	0
	29	2	3	Parkhaven	Guelph	0	0	0
	29	2	5	Parkhaven	Guelph	0	2	2
	29	2	7	Parkhaven	Guelph	0	0	0
40	112							85

Appendix D Relevant data from intersections in front of police stations

PDQ	Zone	Int #	Sign #	Int (N/S)	Int (E/W)	Van (F)	Van (B)	Sum Vandalism	Notes
9	24	1	1	Kildare	Cavendish	0	0	0	
	24	1	8	Kildare	Cavendish	0	0	0	
	24	2	2	Kildare	Cavendish	0		0	severely tilted
	24	2	7	Kildare	Cavendish Cote St.	0		0	
12	12	49	6	Stanton	Antoine Cote St.	0	0	0	wear pattern may indicate past vandalism
	12	49	7	Stanton	Antoine Cote St.	0	0	0	past vandalism
	12	49	8	Stanton	Antoine Cote St.	0	0	0	
	12	49	3	Stanton	Antoine Cote St.	1	0	1	
	12	49	5	Stanton	Antoine	1	0	1	Graffiti, restored (w/paint)
11	23	20	3	Kensington	Somerled	0	0	0	
	23	20	4	Kensington	Somerled	0	0	0	