

Spray Away: Making the case for legal graffiti as a legitimate form of public art in Sydney

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Abstract

Graffiti is increasingly being recognised by both professionals and the general public as having the potential to be used as a legitimate form of public art. Graffiti's history is firmly ingrained in the streets, providing the art form with a unique suitability for use in public domain projects. One of the challenges faced by planners, artists and local authorities is that of differentiating between the legal and illegal forms of the practice, as well as educating the public on how the graffiti sub-culture can positively impact upon the community through youth engagement, development of young artists' skills, and increased community pride and ownership. This thesis will strengthen the case for the use of graffiti in public art projects in Sydney through a survey of existing policies, initiatives and projects relating to graffiti management in metropolitan Sydney. It involves an examination of tools and resources available to local councils that provide a context for the principles and actions necessary for implementing successful graffiti projects. National and international case studies offer examples of how graffiti can be used successfully within the public art context with important implications for Sydney.

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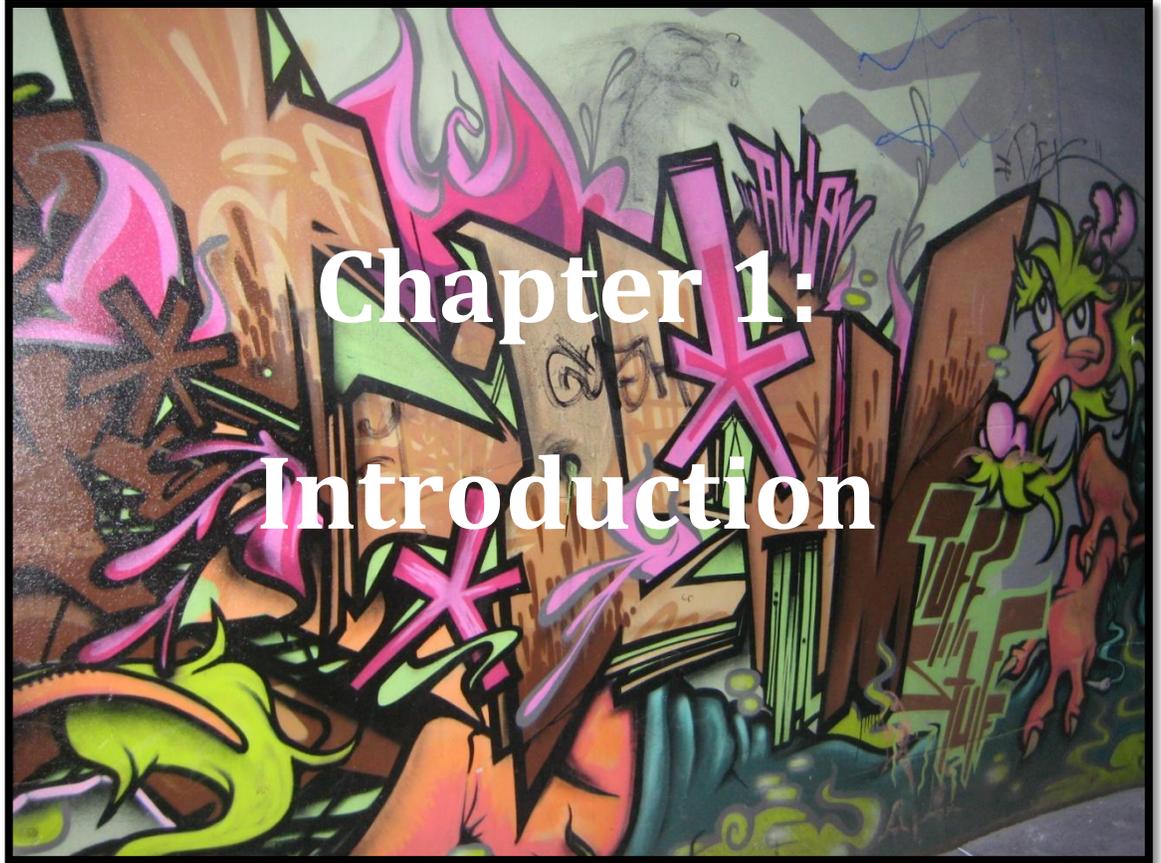
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Cover image: Graffiti in Hosier Lane (Source: Irons 2009)

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Introduction

Graffiti is increasingly being recognised by both professionals and the general public as a legitimate form of public art. Graffiti's history is firmly rooted in the streets, providing the art form with a unique suitability for use in public domain projects. In its illegal form, graffiti is traditionally ephemeral, current and often controversial: qualities which can be utilised, controlled and mastered through its implementation in legal projects. Similarly, the skills which have evolved through illegal graffiti writing offer a variety of aesthetic options for legal works, with techniques varying from stencilling to decorative letter styling.

This thesis will strengthen the case for the use of graffiti in public art projects in Sydney. A survey of existing policies and initiatives relating to graffiti management in metropolitan Sydney, as well as an examination of tools and resources made available to local councils, will provide a context for the formation of key recommendations for implementing successful graffiti projects. National and international case studies stand to provide sound examples of how graffiti can be used successfully within the public art context, with their analysis allowing for the identification of important lessons for Sydney.

Whilst the meanings of 'graffiti', 'street art' and 'graffiti art' vary within the literature and policy documents, for the most part they are interchangeable. For the purpose of this research, the term graffiti will be used to encompass all forms of the genre, with the prefix legal or illegal used to differentiate between that which is commissioned or retrospectively approved, and that which is done without permission.

Problem Setting

One of the challenges faced by planners, designers and local authorities, is that of implementing meaningful public art into the built environment. Providing public art for its own sake is no longer seen as a viable approach and increasingly councils are being encouraged to initiate projects which provide a site specific link, an element of memory and a certain level of meaningfulness. Public art can be used to address problems linked to a lack of care, maintenance and respect for a place by fostering a community's investment in art, and thereby encouraging a sense of ownership and pride.

There remains a common perception in Australia that graffiti is a social problem and a threat to the normality of civic life (Dickinson 2008; Iveson 2008). Since being linked with disadvantaged young people, graffiti has frequently been viewed as a sign of urban decay within a city. Whilst often based on media or government portrayal, this belief is central to the issue of how the public has received legal graffiti projects in the past. There is currently debate over the genre's legitimacy as an art form and therefore its suitability for encouragement by local councils is under scrutiny. The lack of distinction between what is classified as illegal graffiti, and thus vandalism, and what is legal, and hence assumed as art, is a major problem in moving forward with new projects. This lack of separation has raised the concern that by commissioning, or providing permission for legal graffiti projects to be implemented, local authorities are sending mixed messages to young people about what is and is not acceptable. They are essentially condoning and condemning the practise simultaneously. Similarly, this raises ethical issues for those designated to remove illegal graffiti. If authorities condone legal graffiti it makes it more difficult for them to oppose illegal graffiti since

by accepting graffiti as an art form they are effectively destroying art when they remove illegal graffiti. This then raises the point that if they destroy art, they may be seen to be no different from the graffiti artists who 'destroy' the public domain (Schacter 2008).

Illegal graffiti is linked to a number of social and economic problems, both real and perceived. According to the New South Wales government, illegal graffiti costs local councils across NSW up to 100 million dollars each year, with money being spent on preventative solutions as well as removal programs. Illegal graffiti is often related to a community's perceptions about the safety and crime levels of that place, emphasising the negative connotations of graffiti. Similarly, the activity is commonly linked to the issue of youth boredom and lack of youth engagement, where young people with limited access to community facilities and activities turn to illegal graffiti as a means of voicing frustrations or expressing themselves. It is for these reasons that legal graffiti projects are often utilised as a means of deterring illegal graffiti activity.

A general lack of understanding of the genre by those other than the youth is another key obstacle in the path to using graffiti as public art. In its traditional form graffiti was, and is, often cryptic to those not familiar with the stylised text. This lack of understanding often creates a sense of exclusion, with only a minority being able to fully understand the message of the work. Legal graffiti projects, however, have the benefit of adapting styles to suit a wider audience, and often take the form of a graphic mural-style artwork rather than a highly stylised, text-based work.

Research Question and Objectives

The main aim of this thesis is to make a strong case for the use of legal graffiti as a legitimate form of public art in Sydney. Through an examination of the current state of policies and initiatives within the councils of metropolitan Sydney, a start point will be provided for later recommendations which are to come out of an analysis of successful Australian and international legal graffiti projects. The core research question being addressed is: how can graffiti, as a genre, be effectively used in metropolitan Sydney as both a legitimate form of public art and as an illegal graffiti deterrent?

The key research objectives of this thesis are:

- To survey the current state of legal graffiti policies and projects in metropolitan Sydney;
- To identify lessons based upon Australian and international examples of successful or innovative legal graffiti projects; and
- To provide recommendations for both the NSW Government and local councils within the Sydney metropolitan area regarding the most effective programs and policies to instigate.

Research Methodology

The research methodology for this thesis involved both primary and secondary research and included: a literature review; a policy critique; site visits; and analysis of case studies. Each of these key elements of the research methodology is outlined below.

Literature review

A literature review was carried out in the initial stages of investigation. This process involved the identification of books, journal and newspaper articles, web pages, documentaries and government documents, which outlined key arguments and issues surrounding graffiti. Topics explored include: the need for public art in the city; the debate over whether graffiti is art or vandalism; the way in which the graffiti genre has developed and changed over time; and the ways in which authorities are addressing the issue of illegal graffiti.

The literature review provides the reader with a broad theoretical context, within which the research question resides. It also introduces the key ideas which are used and developed in later chapters when critiquing policies and projects.

Survey and critique of local council policies and projects

A survey of local council policies and programs related to graffiti within metropolitan Sydney was carried out in order to determine each council's approach to graffiti management as well as their level of commitment to encouraging innovative legal graffiti projects. This survey was conducted via exploration of council websites and/or conversations with relevant planners

at the councils, should limited information be provided on their website. This information was then tabulated and the information analysed.

Site visits

Site visits were made to key locations in Sydney where there were noteworthy legal graffiti projects. These included: Casula Powerhouse in Casula; the Sydney University graffiti tunnel; Birrung Art Space at White Bay in Balmain; and MAYs Lane Gallery in St Peters. Similarly, a site visit to Melbourne was made to explore the inner city laneways containing legal graffiti. The aim of these site visits was to observe the context within which the sites reside, as well as their perceived successes.

Thesis Structure

Figure 1 below outlines the structure of this thesis.

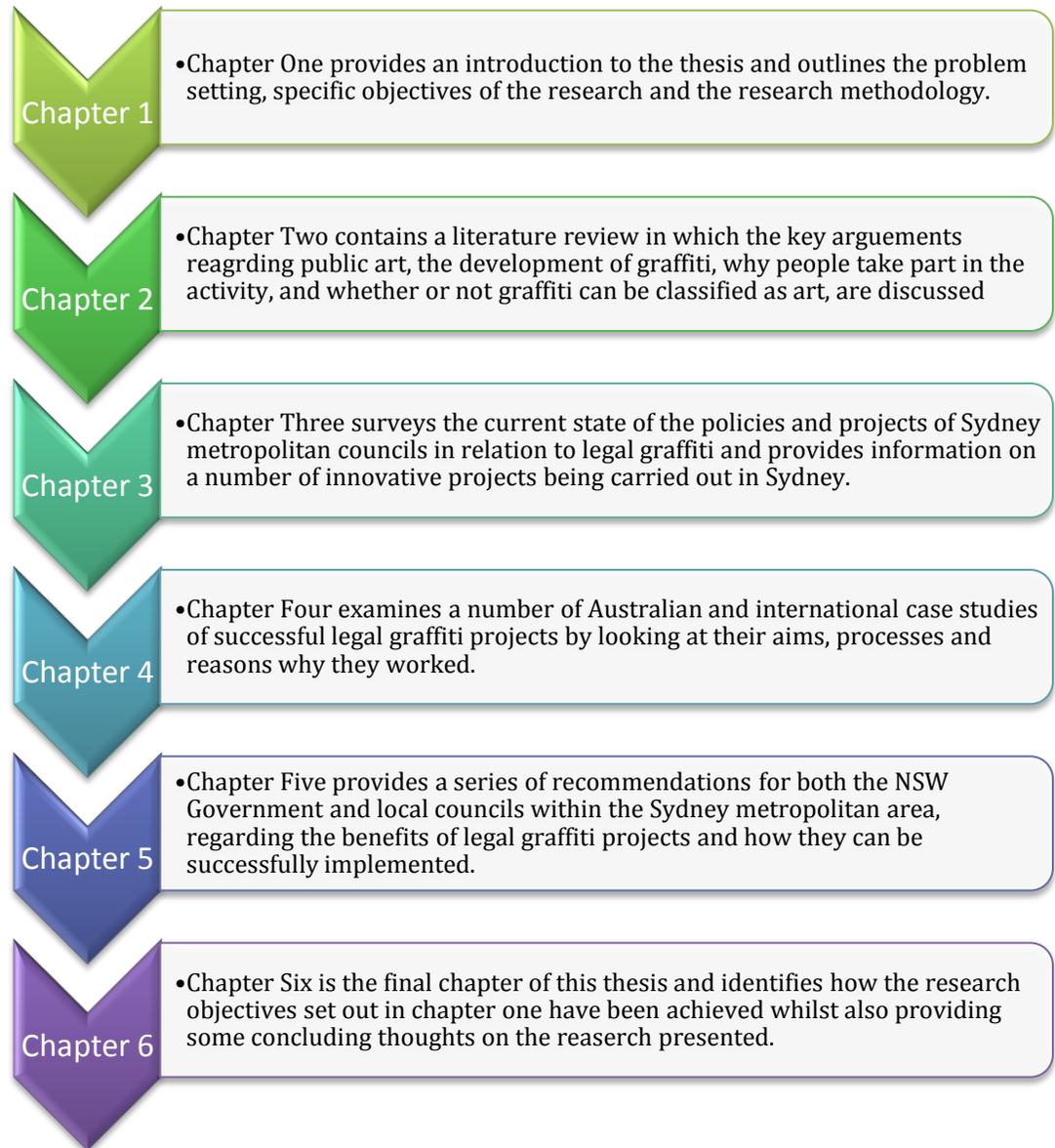
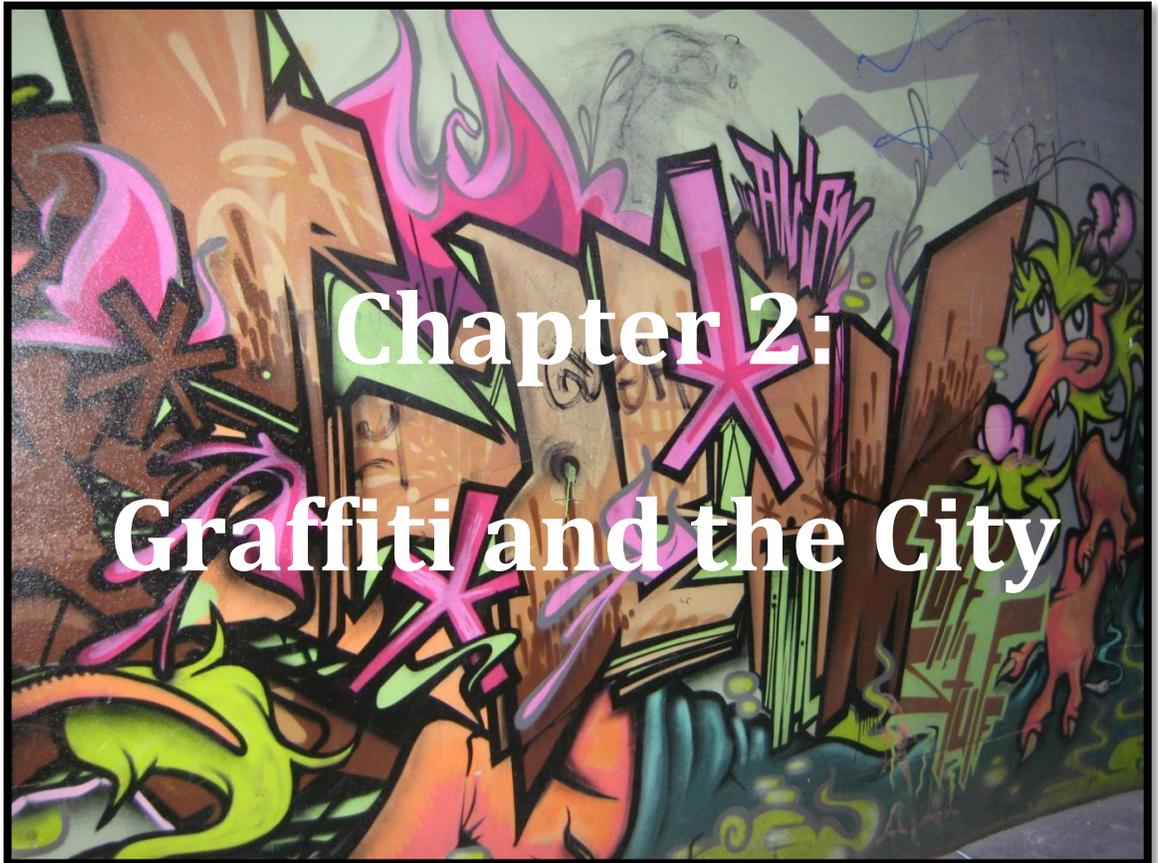


Figure 1: Diagram of thesis structure (Source: Irons 2009)



Introduction

Chapter Two provides a review of the relevant literature available which addresses issues relating to graffiti and its role in the urban context. It explores the concept of public art as a means of improving the urban environment; discusses the key arguments surrounding the question of whether or not graffiti can be considered as art; outlines a brief history of graffiti development on both an international and local scale; and highlights

the key responses to the 'problem' of illegal graffiti as initiated by various groups, including the instigation of legal graffiti projects.

Figure 2 below outlines the main issues explored in the literature on graffiti.

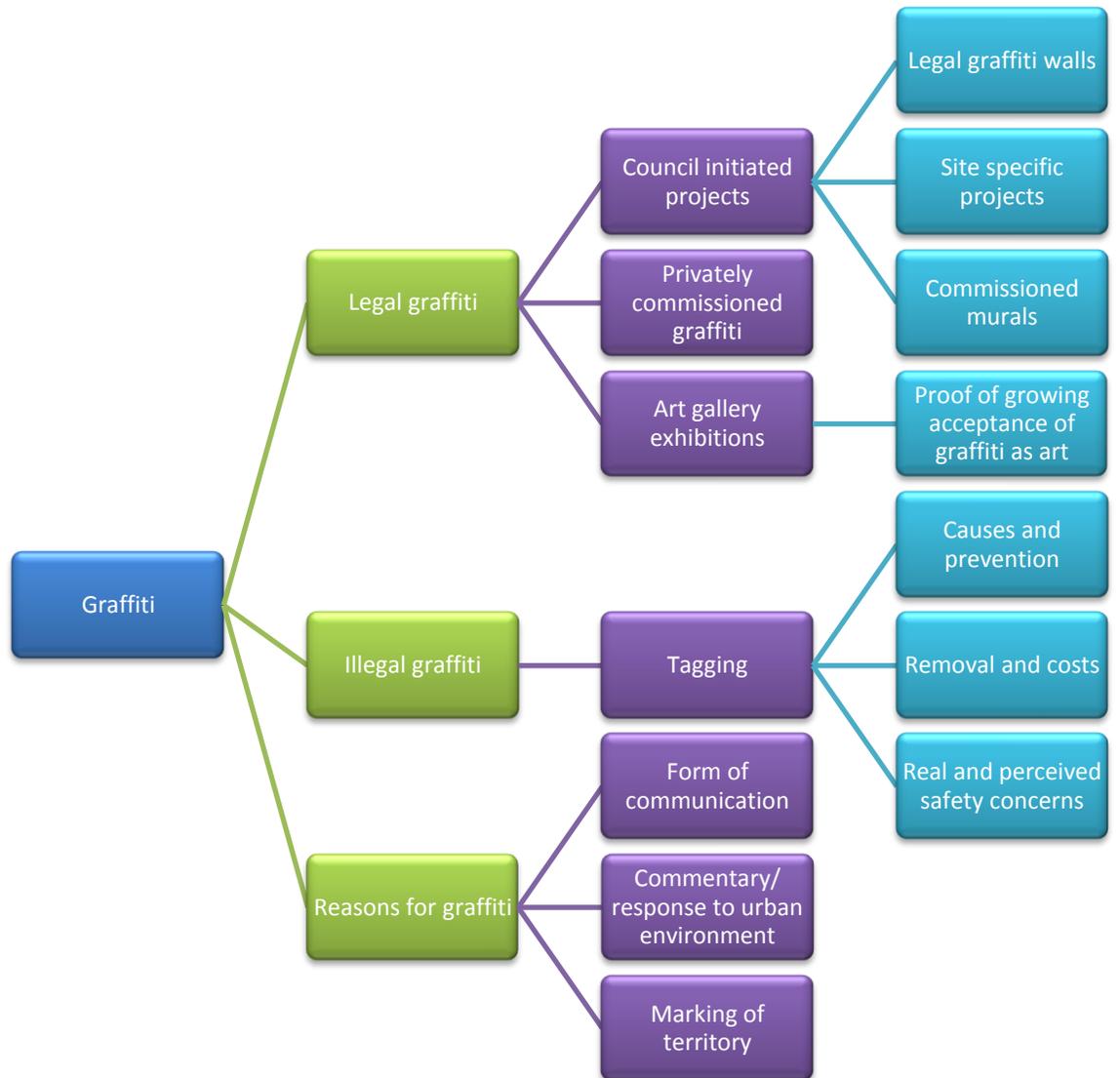


Figure 2: Diagram of the key ideas present in the literature on graffiti (Source: Irons 2009)

Public Art and the City

Public art can be defined as “art which has as its goal a desire to engage with its audiences and to create spaces- whether material, virtual or imagined- within which people can identify themselves, perhaps by creating a renewed reflection on community, on the uses of public spaces or on our behaviour within them” (Sharp, Pollock et al. 2005: 1003). Public art can contribute to a community through a number of means including the following: increasing the use of public spaces; improving the aesthetics of a locality; encouraging a sense of ownership and community pride; creating landmarks and distinctive features in the urban landscape; and supporting growth in cultural tourism. However in her essay *Public Space: Civilising the City*, Elizabeth Mossop warns that public art projects should not be looked to as miracle cures for urban problems, with their power to significantly combat many problems being limited (Mossop and Walton 2001). This is important to note in the context of legal graffiti public art projects, as sometimes these projects are initiated as an attempt to solve the problem of an unengaged youth population.

One of the key issues raised in the literature on public art is that of how to define ‘the public’. It is increasingly common for ‘a public’ or ‘publics’ to be referred to in recognition of the fact that society is becoming fractured and varied (Mossop and Walton 2001; Phillips 2003). These various publics have conflicting notions of how space should be used. The significance of this realisation is that even through a process of public consultation, it is not possible to reflect all the desires of the various publics which will be affected by a particular project. The increasing government requirements for consultation, with not only citizens but also with a wide array of specialists, coupled with the generally high level of bureaucracy in the process of getting

a public art project from the conception stage to completion, has often been criticised for producing bland and highly controlled results (Phillips 1988).

One of the key roles of public art is to provide access to the art world for a mainstream audience. In their book *Spraycan Art*, Chalfant and Prigoff highlight the ability of graffiti projects to provide this type of accessibility by describing the impact that the Graffiti Hall of Fame in New York provided in the 1980s: “it gave something to kids they could relate to, some art form, more than going to galleries and museums. It gave thousands of kids a relation to art that they couldn’t get in school or at home or anywhere else” (Chalfant and Prigoff 1987: 24). The physical nature of graffiti, being primarily on the surface of walls, creates great potential for a high level of accessibility to the public. In the past, this has been both a help and a hindrance to graffiti artists with potential for vast exposure of their work but also increased risk of being caught for illegal work.

Graffiti Takes Form

The concept of graffiti is not an entirely recent phenomenon, with markings made on the surfaces of walls being traced as far back as 20,000BC to Ancient Roman times. Graffiti’s current form, however, is generally acknowledged as finding its origins in Philadelphia and New York in the late 1960s. Graffiti writers were primarily using graffiti as a means of marking territory and attempting to gain notoriety, leaving as many ‘tags’ as possible around the city. As tagging frequency increased, graffiti writers were forced to develop the style of their works to provide differentiation amongst writers, resulting in the ‘hip-hop style’ which dominates the genre today. The materials used by writers also evolved from ink markers to aerosol cans as a response to the

need for larger scale, more elaborate works. Much of this early graffiti writing in New York took place on the subway cars which acted as an effective communication network amongst writers, providing them with maximum exposure.

In the early 1970s much of the media's portrayal of graffiti in New York was favourable, with the style being seen as a unique new form of local art. In 1971 the New York Times ran an article on one of the first graffiti writers in the city, TAKI 183, providing instant notoriety for both him and other associated writers, whilst also allowing a much wider circulation of their ideas and works (Iveson 2008). In 1973 the Razor Gallery in New York presented a show containing a number of graffiti writers: it was the first exhibition of its kind to showcase the works in a formal gallery setting. This positive representation was short lived however, as the subway system became increasingly saturated with graffiti during the New York fiscal crisis of the mid 1970s. Graffiti soon came to be associated with deviance and urban decay and local authorities began portraying graffiti writers as a danger to the proper functioning of civic life (Dickinson 2008; Iveson 2008).

Films like *Wild Style* (1982) and *Style Wars* (1983) helped the graffiti movement to gain momentum and transition to other parts of the world. Graffiti artists in Australia followed the lead of London and other European countries whose writers focused on using walls as their primary canvas, rather than the subway cars which had dominated the New York scene. The way in which graffiti has developed in each city has had a direct relationship to the built form of that particular place in terms of the architectural, cultural and design history (Manco 2002). The strong relationship between the city and graffiti is a reoccurring theme in much of the literature, with the built

environment affecting the strength and type of graffiti culture in that place (Bandaranaike 2003; Appel 2006; Klausner 2009). In Australia, Melbourne's laneways are a good example of this, with the narrow spaces providing effective cover for illegal graffiti writing whilst still exposing the work to a thoroughfare of people daily.

Why Graffiti?

To effectively address the graffiti phenomenon it is important to have an understanding of the driving forces behind people getting involved in this particular sub-culture, as well as the type of person who takes part. There are four main reasons for young people to become involved in graffiti: fellowship, fame, art and crime, all of which can be interrelated. Fellowship and fame are the most common reasons for young people taking part in graffiti activities as they experience a sense of inclusion and often seek recognition through their work (Jones 2003; White 2003). Further reasons for young people taking part in the graffiti sub-culture include "artistic creation (perhaps following a commission), an act of imitation, protest against a particular political order or policy, expression of rage, boredom or dissatisfaction with life, destruction of others' property, notice of territory" (Arcioni 2003:2). Whilst it is commonly assumed that teenagers are the sole demographic taking part in graffiti writing, there is evidence that teenagers frequently continue the activity into their twenties and thirties. It is generally accepted that it is the teenage demographic that carries out the highest level of tagging, whilst the older writers are more likely to create the elaborate works known as 'pieces', which often contain slogans and graphic elements.

Graffiti can provide proof that cities are places of public dialogue and heterogeneity (Schacter 2008). Graffiti writing is often carried out as a response to what writers see as the homogeneity of the urban landscape. When graffiti writers are met with what they see as a bland and uninspiring urban environment, they use graffiti to add character and interest to a place in the hope of providing some form of differentiation from one space to another. This idea is intrinsically linked to another two key reasons for graffiti writers to take part in the activity: the desire for creative expression; and the right to freedom of speech. This concept is summed up by 3D, one of the first English graffiti artists: “...you live in a city in which you really don’t get a say at all. You could go and join some kind of committee and try and get things passed which might take years and it’s all watered down. To actually go out and paint the streets to me is something still uncontrollable” (quoted in Chalfant and Prigoff 1987:10).

Art versus Vandalism

One of the major debates on graffiti at present is that of whether or not graffiti can be classified as art. This challenge is succinctly addressed by Schacter: “It is, on the one hand, considered to be pure, unmediated expression and the most natural manifestation of public art; but, on the other, it is considered to be defacement, destruction, and an anathema to a ‘civil’ society” (2008:36). One of the factors affecting this argument is the illegality of the practice. Matthew Lunn’s book entitled *Street Art Uncut* focuses primarily on the graffiti culture in Melbourne and rather ardently makes the argument that graffiti is art. He argues that graffiti writers use many of the same skills that are recognized by the public when used in creative fields such as graphic design, highlighting the significance of context in the interpretation

of graffiti (2006). One way of helping people to identify the difference between graffiti that is classified as vandalism, and that which can be referred to as art, is by rebranding the legal forms of graffiti as 'street art'. This is something that a number of councils are doing in order to distance the illegal from the creative.

Dr Lachlan MacDowell of the University of Melbourne also succinctly summarises a number of key issues relating to graffiti; issues which are covered extensively in other literature. He states that in Australia "graffiti has often been seen as a significant social problem, requiring substantial public resources in policing, cleaning and diversionary programs. However, graffiti also appears in a range of legitimate spaces in Australian cities....Over the last decade, the reception of graffiti in Australia has been highly uneven, with forms of graffiti erased or proscribed in some zones, while being tolerated, preserved or celebrated in others" (quoted in Dew 2007:1).

In her 2003 conference paper entitled 'Graffiti, Regulation, Freedom', Elisa Arcioni argues that the assumption that a place which contains graffiti signifies an area with high levels of crime is not necessarily true. Similarly, Dew argues that a place in which graffiti exists may be a sign of a successful city, as opposed to signifying a problem or that the area is in a state of decay, stating that characteristics which encourage a healthy graffiti culture are the same characteristics which encourage healthy communities (2007). Dew lists these characteristics as including: "a lively CBD; accessible and extensive public transport; opportunities created through architecture, town planning and government initiatives for diverse populations to meet and mix; a tolerant population; and a culture of support for young people and the arts" (2007:49).

Despite the presence of graffiti not necessarily indicating that a place is unsafe, or that there is a high level of crime, the perceived negative effects from the occurrence of graffiti are still important to recognize as they may eventuate into real negative effects. This can, in turn, alter the desirability of a place, therefore changing the number of people using the space, ultimately affecting the actual safety of the area (Arcioni 2003). This point is further explored by Doran and Lees in their conference paper entitled 'Using GIS to investigate spatio-temporal links between disorder, crime and the fear of crime' by drawing upon a theory tested by Wilson and Kelling in 1982 which argued that: "if a window in a building is broken and left unrepaired the other windows will soon be broken because the community interprets the first broken window as a sign that no-one cares...disorderly behaviour, if left unchecked, soon leads to further disorder and eventually to serious crime...residents change their activities to stay off the streets and avoid areas perceived as unsafe. By doing so, they relinquish their roles of mutual support with fellow citizens and weaken informal social control. Where the social fabric of a neighbourhood is undermined in this way the ultimate result is increasing vulnerability to an influx of further disorderly behaviour and serious crime" (Doran and Lees 2003:1).

Evidence of graffiti's growing acceptance into mainstream culture has come in the form of an increasing number of formal gallery exhibitions featuring graffiti artists' works, as well as more councils commissioning graffiti artists to create public artworks in their local government areas (LGA). Formal exhibitions featuring graffiti artists are growing in number and their profile is rising. A significant example of a high profile, high exposure exhibitions was at the Tate Modern Gallery in London. It hosted an exhibition entitled *Street*

Art from 23 May- 25 August 2008, for which six internationally acclaimed graffiti artists were invited to create artworks on the facade of the museum building overlooking the Thames River. The exhibition was also accompanied by a walking tour of graffiti in the streets surrounding the museum. It successfully related an art form that began in public urban spaces, to the traditional art world. Just as exhibitions can increase the profile of graffiti, local councils' programs of promoting legal graffiti art have also had the effect of making the community more familiar with, and have a better understanding of, this genre of work. Similarly, another trend is that of business owners being increasingly willing to sponsor walls specifically for the use of graffiti artists, again further cementing graffiti as a legitimate art form (Bandaranaike 2003).

Responses to Illegal Graffiti and the Rise of Legal Graffiti Projects

Key methods used by local government to try to curb illegal graffiti in their local areas include: regulation; rapid graffiti removal programs; monitoring and recording of incidences of graffiti; legal aerosol murals; and community education. Local councils are increasingly turning to legal graffiti programs as a way of reducing undesirable or illegal graffiti activity. The promotion of legal graffiti art, as part of local council cultural programs, can help to reduce the incidences of illegal graffiti activity, with associated benefits including youth engagement and community capacity building. The argument is also made that an area which has a high saturation of illegal graffiti activity shows the need for legitimized public art projects (Frost 2003). Dew echoes this

point by indicating that in order to promote youth culture, local Councils can provide legal graffiti walls: a strategy which may also be successful in encouraging young people to stay in rural areas, rather than relocate to the city in search of a creative outlet (2007). The implementation of legal graffiti art programs can also be used as a way of improving neglected areas which are currently perceived as unsafe by the community, with future vandals being deterred from the area (Spooner 2003). These legal art projects can help the participants feel a sense of belonging, one of the previously identified reasons for involvement in graffiti.

According to Iveson, legal graffiti opportunities began to emerge in Sydney in the mid 1980s, primarily from community based youth organizations. One centre initiating such programs was the Marrickville Youth Resource Centre (MYRC), which began its Contemporary Urban Art Project in 1984. The MYRC created opportunities for young people to learn the skills involved in graffiti writing through weekly workshops led by an established graffiti writer and obtained funding from the Department of Juvenile Justice for a program specifically targeted at young people determined to be 'at risk' of committing crimes (Iveson 2008). Aside from youth organizations, private business owners also created opportunities for legal graffiti works in Sydney. In Alexandria in the 1990s, Tony Spanos, allowed graffiti writers to adorn the car park of his business, which became known as the Graffiti Hall of Fame.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the literature on graffiti can be broken down into two main schools of thought. The first is that graffiti is art: a statement justified by acknowledging the technical skill involved in the practice. In this sense, graffiti is seen as a sign of a thriving city and viewed as an enhancement to the urban environment, rather than a sign of decay. Countering this argument is the literature which claims that graffiti is vandalism and that it needs to be removed and controlled. Within this literature, a number of methods are explored in terms of how to reduce the incidences of illegal graffiti in a certain place, with the emphasis being on a multi-faceted, holistic approach.



Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the tools and resources available to local councils, developers, planners and the community. A survey of the current commitment of metropolitan Sydney councils to providing legal graffiti opportunities is then presented in a table format. Finally, a number of innovative and successful projects that have either recently taken place, or are currently happening, have been examined with the aim of providing ideas on the types of legal graffiti projects that can be implemented.

Tools and Resources

Legal projects are often used as strategies to reduce the incidences of illegal graffiti, and are therefore generally promoted for use as part of an holistic approach to addressing illegal graffiti. The following resources are available to councils and community organisations in NSW and provide information and funding for the use of legal graffiti projects as deterrents for illegal graffiti:

- NSW Graffiti Solutions Handbook for Local Government, Planners, Designers and Developers; and
- Beat Graffiti Grants Scheme.

NSW Graffiti Solutions Handbook for Local Government, Planners, Designers and Developers

Prepared in 2000, by the NSW Premier's Department, as part of the NSW Graffiti Solutions Program, the NSW Graffiti Solutions Handbook for Local Government, Planners, Designers and Developers aims to provide the aforementioned groups with the information required to understand the problems associated with graffiti. It also provides a number of case studies of successfully implemented strategies. An emphasis is placed on collaboration, with the State Government, local councils and community encouraged to work together to achieve common goals. The handbook is divided into four parts:

1. Background
2. Practical Issues
3. Pilot Projects and Resources

4. Reading List and Contacts

The handbook promotes an holistic approach to addressing the problems associated with illegal graffiti. In addition to the traditional approach of policing and punishment, strategies such as education, constructive alternatives and improved design of places to reduce opportunities for illegal graffiti are discussed. These strategies are broken down into two categories.

1. Environmental Measures, which aim to reduce the opportunity for illegal graffiti writing by altering the environment. These measures include the following:
 - a. Use of graffiti resistant materials;
 - b. Improved lighting;
 - c. Improved opportunities for passive surveillance;
 - d. Employment of security guards to patrol graffiti prone property;
 - e. Encouragement of responsible retailing of graffiti materials; and
 - f. Encouragement of community surveillance.
2. Social Measures which aim to ease youth issues of boredom and alienation. These measures include the following:
 - a. Keep potential offenders occupied;
 - b. Raise the self esteem of young people;
 - c. Promote a sense of pride and ownership over community resources;
 - d. Make legal options available; and

- e. Develop a positive profile for young people in the community (NSW Government NSW Government Premier's Department 2000).

The handbook provides a strong starting point for local councils to write their graffiti management strategies and offers enough examples of legal graffiti projects for them to take cues from in the formulation of their own initiatives.

Beat Graffiti Grants Scheme

The Beat Graffiti Grants Scheme is an initiative of the NSW Government's Crime Prevention Division and aims to reduce incidences of illegal graffiti by providing legal opportunities for young people who are interested in aerosol art. The funding from the scheme is available to councils, community youth clubs, community organisations and the police. Projects funded by the scheme are intended to complement the strategies outlined in the NSW Graffiti Solutions Program, to achieve a multi-faceted approach to addressing the problem of illegal graffiti.

The potential outcomes of projects initiated because of the scheme include:

- Improvements to public spaces;
- Strengthening of local partnerships;
- Improved communication between local government, State government departments and community organizations;
- Engaging young people and making them part of the solution;
- Developing the creative and vocational skills of young people through workshops and mural painting;

- Engagement of the wider community in projects that impact upon their local environments, increasing their sense of ownership; and
- Offender programs have extended their clean-up and remediation programs into legal art or mural creation (Crime Prevention Division 2003).

Another important component of the Beat Graffiti Grants Scheme is the Beat Graffiti Traineeship Program. This program provides young community artists with the opportunity to take part in specialized workshops and training programs which focus on both community art and youth mentoring in the hope of encouraging them to embark on an arts-based career path. Councils who hold the workshops are awarded \$2 600. This scheme can provide councils with the resources necessary to carry out the legal graffiti projects that they deem appropriate for their community.

Survey of Councils' Commitment to Legal Graffiti

Projects

The following table provides a summary of the current position of Sydney metropolitan councils on providing legal graffiti projects and using legal graffiti as a means of deterring illegal graffiti activity. Its aim is to reveal the varied approaches being used and identify significant initiatives that have been implemented in recent years.

Council	Legal Opportunities and Projects
Ashfield Council	Ashfield Council has a Mural Program which aims to both provide public artworks for the community and deter illegal graffiti activity from the area. Council has commissioned over 35 aerosol art murals since 1996.
Auburn Council	Auburn Council focuses on prevention and removal strategies to address graffiti. No legal walls are provided within the LGA, however graffiti and spray can art workshops have been held in school holiday periods.
Bankstown City Council	Bankstown Council once has a legal walls project but abandoned its due to tagging of areas close to the legal designated areas. It also had a program in the late 1990s which produced 'Moveable Murals' on Council vans as well as a number of other murals using aerosol art. However, since 2001, the Council no longer supports the use of aerosol art murals with the only acceptable murals being those of traditional paint and brush technique. These murals appear

	in a number of highly vandalised areas as a means of deterring illegal graffiti.
Blacktown City Council	Blacktown City Council is currently conducting a graffiti questionnaire to determine how best to address the problem of graffiti. The Council has adopted a multi faceted approach to tackling the problem of illegal graffiti with the implementation of a number of projects which aim to teach 'at risk' young people about legal opportunities, develop their skills and provide education about the damages associated with illegal graffiti. Projects include: Graffiti Traineeship; Keep it Street Aerosol Art Exhibition; and Electric Art Project.
Botany Bay Council	Botany Bay Council has recently prepared a Draft Graffiti Management Plan 2009 which outlines the criteria for finding appropriate locations for legal graffiti walls and promotes murals as one means of deterring illegal graffiti. They are recommended in areas which have high incidences of illegal graffiti and that youth are consulted in the design process to promote ownership and pride. Graffiti on the legal walls must be registered with Council and the walls are repainted white at the beginning of each month.
Burwood Council	Burwood Council has held a number of aerosol art workshops as part of both their Youth Programs and of particular events in the area, such as the Burwood Festival.
Camden Council	Camden Council does not have any legal graffiti walls, however one aerosol art mural has been completed at an underpass in Mt Annan with the aim of deterring illegal

	graffiti.
Campbelltown City Council	Campbelltown City Council currently has no legal graffiti spaces but has incorporated Aerosol Art workshops and competitions into events such as Youth Week.
Canterbury Council	Canterbury Council has incorporated legal graffiti projects into a number of events and festivals. One such project is the legal graffiti art traffic signal boxes which came as a result of a partnership between the Crime Prevention Division, Roads and Traffic Authority, Canterbury City Council and Brisbane City Council. Its aim is to promote the Beat Graffiti Grants Scheme which funds legal graffiti projects aiming to reduce incidences of illegal graffiti.
City of Canada Bay Council	City of Canada Bay Council has recently prepared its Graffiti Vandalism Management Action Plan 2009, which makes a number of suggestions relating to legal graffiti opportunities. One of these is to promote an understanding of youth culture within the general community through the inclusion of street art in community festivals and events. It also notes the success of Canterbury Council's legal graffiti art traffic signal boxes project, and suggests that a similar initiative could be successful within the LGA. Council has hosted a number Aerosol Art workshops over school holiday periods.
City of Ryde Council	City of Ryde Council focuses on removal and prevention strategies to address illegal graffiti, however one of their strategies also involves redirecting illegal graffiti offenders into other forms of artistic expression.

City of Sydney Council	City of Sydney Council has a zero tolerance approach to illegal graffiti with rapid removal and persecution being the key strategies used. The Art of Traffic Signal Boxes Project funded by the Beat Graffiti Grants Scheme involved young people helping to design artworks for signal boxes. Legal projects within the LGA include: MAYs Lane Art Project in St Peters; the University of Sydney Graffiti Tunnel; and the Pine Street Creative Arts Centre in Chippendale.
Fairfield City Council	Fairfield City Council has a legal mural initiative called BadArt Project which is funded by the Beat Graffiti Grants Scheme, with an example of the project being at Bonnyrigg skate park. Similarly, a number of public buildings which have been identified as being prone to graffiti, have commissioned artists to create murals on them and Council claims the murals have been highly effective in reducing incidences of illegal graffiti.
Holroyd City Council	Holroyd City Council provides graffiti provisions within their Crime Prevention Plan 2009-2014. One of the actions listed is to further investigate the use of aerosol art in murals to deter illegal graffiti. Council has initiated a project developed in partnership with City Rail, and working with young people, to design and paint murals in the railway tunnels of Merrylands, Guildford and Wentworthville stations in the hope of reducing the amount of illegal graffiti in these locations.
Hornsby Shire	Hornsby Shire Council has an Aerosol Art program with legal

Council	walls at Greenway Park, Cherrybrook and Ruddock Park, Westleigh.
Hurstville City Council	Hurstville City Council focuses on removal and prevention strategies to address illegal graffiti. No legal graffiti walls are provided.
Kogarah Council	Kogarah Council works in collaboration with the Shopfront Theatre for Young People who run a number of graffiti programs including graffiti workshops and creating opportunities for local graffiti artists in magazines. Council has also hosted a number of aerosol art exhibitions including Spray On! Urban aerosol art exhibition held in October 2009, which showcases works created by young people in workshops held earlier in the year.
Ku-ring-gai Council	Ku-ring-gai Council's provisions for legal mural projects are contained within their Public Art Policy. Council has an annual program called Artstart which funds the creation of murals. In 2009 as part of this program a stencilling and aerosol art project was initiated at the Fitz Youth Centre in St Ives. The project involved an established artist mentoring and assisting young people to design and carry out the artworks on the building's exterior.
Lane Cove Council	Lane Cove Council's graffiti provisions are contained within their Public Art Strategy and Management Plan. One of the legal projects carried out by the Council was the Synergy Youth Mural Project which involved the designing and painting of a mural at Synergy Youth Centre in Lane Cove.

	Workshops were held with as established graffiti artist who acted as mentor to the young people taking part in the project.
Leichhardt Municipality Council	Leichhardt Municipality Council has no legal walls within its LGA, however Birrung Art Space at White Bay, Balmain allows artists, as well as anyone from the community, to paint the spaces, provided that they receive Council's approval. The project was initiated in March 2008 with one of the aims of the space being to reduce the incidences of illegal graffiti in the area. This project has been complemented by painting other surfaces in the park in anti-graffiti coatings.
Liverpool City Council	Liverpool Council has a Draft Graffiti Management Strategy 2009-2011 which includes as one of its key approaches to addressing graffiti, and art redirection program. This program includes the creation of murals as well as the legal graffiti tanks at Casula Powerhouse. The strategy also includes the Miller Square Mural Project as well as the proposal to develop a new mural in a different site each year.
Manly Council	Manly Council holds a Kanga Hip Hop Festival as part of the annual Manly Youth Council Fringe Arts Festival, which includes aerosol workshops. Council has also supported the creation of a mural in Market Lane, Manly, with the aim of deterring illegal graffiti.
Marrickville Council	Marrickville Council works in partnership with both the Marrickville Youth Resource Centre (MYRC), which offers

	<p>aerosol art projects targeting ‘at risk’ young people, and the Dulwich Hill High School of Visual Arts and Design, to create public artworks using graffiti. The Council offers funding, resources and legal walls for MYRC’s projects. Council has a Youth Strategy 2009-2011 for which one of the aims is to create youth friendly public spaces and support the production of legal graffiti murals. Council also promotes legal graffiti as a local cultural asset and as a way of encouraging young people to enter the arts economy.</p>
Mosman Municipal Council	<p>Council focuses on rapid removal and prevention strategies to address illegal graffiti. No legal graffiti walls are provided within the LGA.</p>
North Sydney Council	<p>North Sydney Council runs the Planet X Youth Centre, which holds art programs and promotes the use of legal aerosol art. Planet X also holds aerosol art events as part of festivals within the LGA such as Youth Week. Council has determined that they have adequate resources to produce one large mural each year and examples of aerosol art projects include the Barry Street Plaza and North Sydney TAFE.</p>
Parramatta City Council	<p>Parramatta City Council has eight legal graffiti sites within its LGA and several murals have been commissioned by Council. Council has also supported workshops through which legal murals were created and within their Hoarding Policy, there is scope for some hoardings to be used as sites for legal graffiti projects.</p>
Penrith City	<p>Penrith City Council carried out the Glenmore Park Mural Art</p>

Council	Project which was funded by the NSW Attorney General's Beat Graffiti initiative. It involved a workshop with young people from the Glenmore Park Youth Centre to determine the content of the wall and then, under the leadership of an established artist, they carried out the painting.
Pittwater Council	Pittwater Council has a specific policy regarding aerosol art projects. In October 2008 Council initiated the Xhibit art project which involved aerosol art workshops in which a canteen in North Narrabeen was painted. There are currently three legal graffiti sites within the LGA and Council claims they are well used and successful at deterring illegal graffiti vandals from the surrounding areas.
Randwick City Council	Council focuses on removal and prevention strategies to address illegal graffiti. No legal graffiti walls are provided within the LGA.
Rockdale City Council	Council focuses on removal and prevention strategies to address illegal graffiti. No legal graffiti walls are provided within the LGA.
Sutherland Shire Council	Council focuses on removal and prevention strategies to address illegal graffiti. No legal graffiti walls are provided within the LGA.
Strathfield Council	Council focuses on removal and prevention strategies to address illegal graffiti. No legal graffiti walls are provided within the LGA.
The Hills Shire Council	The Hills Shire Council has previously hosted the 'Can Create' legal aerosol art project and in October 2009 held 'Your Start

	to: Stencil Art' workshops which involved an emerging artist providing guidance and lessons on stencilling to young people.
Warringah Council	Warringah Council provides six legal graffiti sites in locations with a history of illegal graffiti incidences. There are also a number of community murals within the LGA at sites such as schools, bus stops and private businesses which aim to reduce the incidences of illegal graffiti in the area. Council runs weekly 'Spray In Sessions' at their youth centre YOYO's, in which an established graffiti artist runs workshops.
Waverly Council	Waverly Council has hosted aerosol art workshops with an environmental theme where young people can learn skills and develop their techniques. At Bondi Beach there are a number of legal mural sites available for 'one off' murals, community space and memorial walls.
Willoughby City Council	Willoughby Council holds regular aerosol art workshops, with established artists providing mentorship to participants. As part of the Spring Festival, live aerosol artworks were created on the walls of the Chatswood Youth Centre rooftop basketball court.
Woollahra Council	Woollahra Council received a Road Safety Grant in 2003 to hold aerosol art workshops to create panels with road safety messages. One of the actions outlines in Council's Community Safety Plan is to produce at least one aerosol art mural per year.

One of the main findings from the above table is that the most common use of legal graffiti projects in metropolitan Sydney is through aerosol art workshops. Often these are held during specific events, such as Youth Week, or during school holiday periods. A number of these workshops also specifically target 'at risk' young people to take part in the hope of curbing their desire to carry out illegal graffiti. Similarly, it is apparent that the majority of these workshops utilise the skills of an established graffiti artist and incorporate an element of education regarding the costs of illegal graffiti and ways to develop skills through legal avenues.

It is evident that the Beat Graffiti Grants Scheme is being used by a number of councils to implement various legal graffiti projects. The Scheme has allowed councils to provide services to their young people, which their budgets may otherwise have not been able to accommodate. However, there are also a number of councils which are not providing any legal graffiti projects for young people within their LGAs. These Councils have focused on rapid removal and prevention strategies rather than providing legal creative outlets for potential offenders.

Notable Projects and Initiatives in Sydney

Despite a number of councils providing no legal opportunities for people interested in graffiti, there are several noteworthy projects and initiatives being carried out in the Sydney metropolitan area that stand to provide sound examples of how legal projects can be successfully implemented. The impacts of such projects include: educating the public about the skills involved in the creation of graffiti pieces; the breaking down of barriers between an often misunderstood youth and other demographics; the raising of cultural awareness and understanding; and an outlet for creative energy and expression for young people. The following projects aim to shift the discussion about graffiti in Sydney from that of vandalism, to an appreciation of its artistic merits.

Creative Sydney Festival

The Creative Sydney Festival took place from 27 May to 12 June 2009 and consisted of 19 free events, which attracted over 8000 people. Over 250 local artists and practitioners took part in the festival, contributing to panel discussions, interviews, presentations and performances. The festival was part of Vivid Sydney, an event initiated by the NSW Government. It was curated by Jess Scully and Marcus Westbury and produced by Mixed Industry. One of the major partners of the festival was the City of Sydney Council.

According to the Creative Sydney website, the feedback for the project was highly positive and the potential for future initiatives and events are now being explored.

MAY's Lane Art Project, St Peters

MAY's Lane Art Project is an outdoor gallery space. Created in 2005 by the owner of a graphic art business which backs onto the laneway, the gallery hosts monthly exhibitions featuring a different artist or collective of artists, both local and international. Their artworks are created on five 2.5 x 3.5 metre panels which are hung in the window spaces along the laneway, although artists are generally free to use the entire wall surface as well as the panels (Figure 3). These panels are then retained for future use in a retrospective exhibition of the project. Being outdoors, the gallery is open 24 hours a day, seven days a week, making the artworks highly accessible to the public. One of the aims of the project is to provide street artists with a forum in which they are able to create works in a street setting, but also produce pieces which are collectable.



Figure 3: Artwork by Bonsai and Two from MAY's Lane July 2009 (Source: MAY's 2009)

University of Sydney Graffiti Tunnel

The Graffiti Tunnel at the University of Sydney is a legal space which runs from the Manning to the Holmes Building within the campus (Figure 4). It is a pedestrian only space in which anyone can spray or paint the walls, provided they follow the university's guidelines which limit the use of offensive material. The tunnel is frequently used and the turnover of works is high, providing users of the thoroughfare with an ever changing backdrop.



Figure 4: Sydney University Tunnel (Source: flickr 2009)

Pine Street Creative Arts Centre, Chippendale

The Pine Street Creative Arts Centre is an initiative of the City of Sydney Council. Its focus is on community art and it frequently hosts exhibitions, events and workshops. One of the annual events held by the centre is ST2K: Sydney Street Art Festival, which includes the creation of live artworks, an art exhibition, wearable artworks, stencil workshops and musical performances. The festival runs for the entire month of October, with an exhibition of local and international artists being the focal point.

Another event held at the centre is the annual Sydney Stencil Festival, an event inspired by the well established Melbourne Stencil Festival. The festival includes live demonstrations from high profile stencil artists, workshops where the public can learn how to create and spray stencils, a group mural painting sessions and a charity auction of collaborative works.

CarriageWorks, Eveleigh

CarriageWorks is a gallery and exhibition space for contemporary artworks. It is located within the old Eveleigh Rail Yards and opened in 2007 as an initiative of the NSW Government through Arts NSW. In March 2009, CarriageWorks hosted the MAY's Lane Street Art Retrospective, which showcased works created for the MAY's Lane Street Art Project between 2005 and 2008.

SoapBox Project

The SoapBox Project is a highly innovative idea conceived by three Masters of Interactive Media UTS students for their final project. It is a multimedia project which uses a projector to display images of street art on the surfaces of walls. It is interactive in that users can upload photographs of street art that they have seen, which can then be used by the project in their projections. The project aims to provide a platform for sharing graffiti even after it has been removed by authorities, or painted over by other street artists. Similarly, its creators hope to send a message about the acceptance of street art in Sydney, whilst attempting to change the zero tolerance mentality which is exhibited by many councils. It effectively links the works to their original context, even if the exact location of the projection is not where the work was created.

Recognition of the innovative nature of this concept came in 2009 when it was awarded \$1000 in the Back My Project funding scheme. Both the judges and audience agreed that the project should be awarded the \$1000. The prize money was provided by General Pants Co. and its director Phil Staub said of the project: "To tweak the balance, if only to a small degree, between advertising and art spaces in our communities would be a great cultural gain not only for the city of Sydney but for the country"(Creative Creative Sydney 2009).

Casula Powerhouse

Casula Powerhouse is located in Sydney's south west and is an arts centre which includes galleries, theatres, artist studios and a number of permanent public artworks. The building stack was originally erected to supplement electricity production in 1955 and over the years fell in and out of use until it was turned into an arts facility in 1985. Refurbished in April 2008 they hold regular art conferences and performing arts events. It provides an example of how a disused building can be revitalised by issuing it with a new use.

There are a number of large water tanks on the site, which serve as legal graffiti surfaces (Figures 5 and 6). These legal spaces have been established in response to Liverpool Council's Graffiti Management Strategy which encourages the use of education and youth involvement and legal aerosol projects which provide a safe environment for those taking part. Legal walls are open to anyone on Saturdays and established graffiti artists act as mentors for the workshops. Participants will focus on the positive aspects of graffiti as well as learning about the legal and social implications of illegal graffiti- education. The program provides opportunities for emerging artists to develop their skills as well as provide information about other legal programs in the area. It also aims to raise community awareness of positive aerosol artwork and skills and try to improve the understanding of this sub-culture within the area. The space aims to educate and engage perpetrators of graffiti as well as the wider community- enhancing the image of Liverpool while instilling an improved sense of community pride

At present, a registration scheme is being introduced at Casula Powerhouse so that participants in the project will be identifiable and graffiti vandals claiming to be part of the group can be discovered.



Figure 5: Graffiti tanks at Casula Powerhouse as viewed from the car park (Source: Irons 2009)



Figure 6: Close up of graffiti on tanks at Casula Powerhouse (Source: Irons 2009)

Bondi Beach Mural Sites

Following a history of aerosol art around the Bondi Beach area dating back to the 1960's, Waverly Council decided to dedicate a number of sites as legal mural spaces to maintain the character and vitality of the area. The four areas provided are:

- The walls around the skate park (Figure 7);
- The Bondi Promenade wall (Figure 8);
- North Bondi Pool; and
- The lower level left corner of South Bondi.



Figure 7: Legal graffiti on the skate park wall at Bondi Beach (Source: Waverley Council 2009)



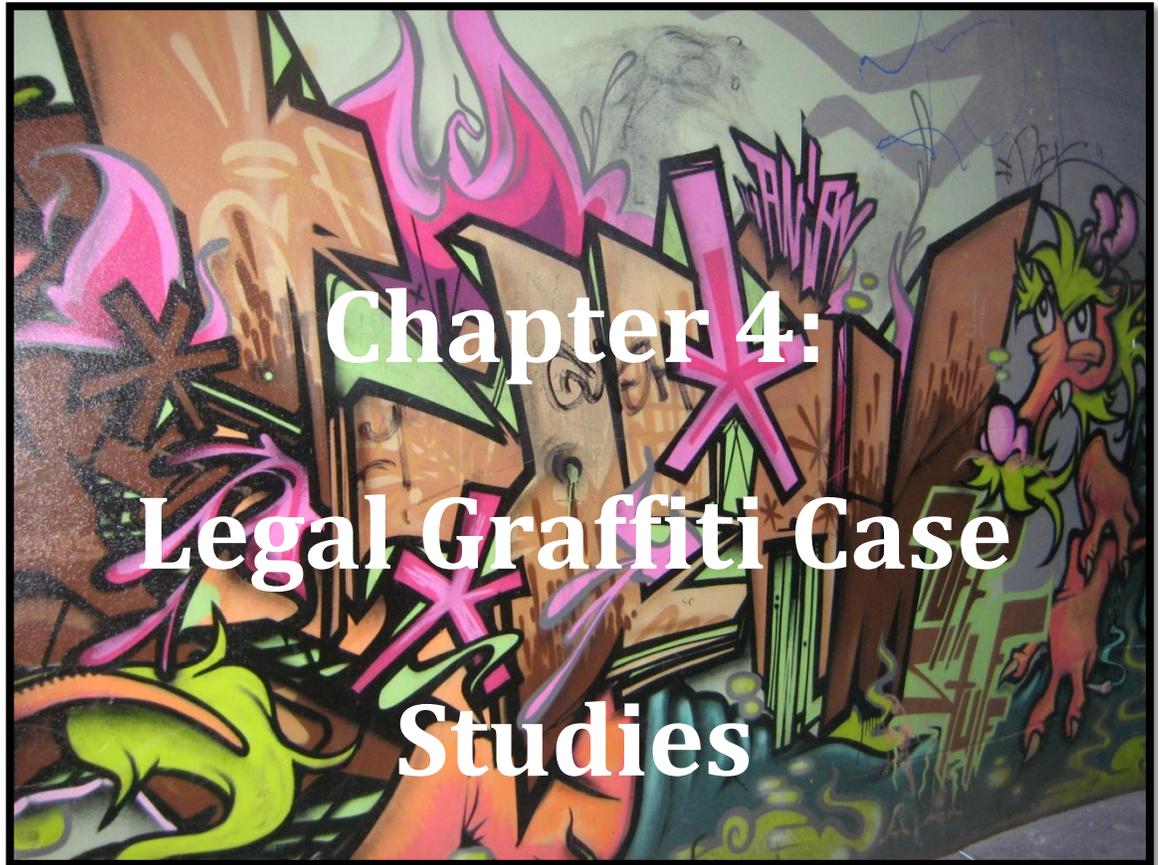
Figure 8: Legal graffiti on the promenade wall at Bondi Beach (Source: Waverley Council 2009)

Anyone wishing to use the walls is required to make a submission to Council which must include a sketch of the intended content of the artwork and a permit is required before painting can take place and must be carried on the artist's person at all times while painting. According to these permits, a register is kept of all the artworks and artists to make regulation as straight forward as possible. The intention of Council is to maintain the murals for a period of at least six months, although sometimes the turnover of content is higher. Council has also divided the walls into two different uses:

- 'One off' mural spaces, for which preference is given to submissions which contain local artists, a group of artists, community groups or content that reflects the character of the area; and

- Community space for use by community groups or professional artists;
and

Memorial walls were also originally available, but have since been removed from the permissible uses for the walls, resulting from Council's desire for the walls to be changing relatively frequently. Special sections of the 'one off' mural space have been allocated for international artists or one off events (Waverley Council 2009).



Introduction

This chapter examines case studies from both Australia and overseas of legal graffiti projects. They aim to provide examples of innovative projects from which lessons can be learnt by local government and community organisations about how to implement effective legal graffiti initiatives.

Venice Beach, Los Angeles

The legal graffiti walls at Venice Beach, Los Angeles in the United States of America provide an example of how legal graffiti can be used successfully in an area which has historically exhibited illegal graffiti. The walls were originally part of the Venice Beach Pavilion which was built in 1961. In the 1990s, there was a move to clean up the beachfront and it was proposed that the pavilion be demolished as part of this transformation. However, as a result of high levels of protest from community members and artists, it was decided that rather than remove the entire building, portions of the pavilion's walls would be retained in recognition of the strong connection between the locality and its graffiti sub culture. Subsequently, the city's Cultural Affairs and Parks and Recreation Department issued the group In Creative Unity (ICU Art) the task of designing a program which could manage the site. ICU Art is a graffiti arts advocacy group whose approach to the site was to create an evolving memorial to the graffiti which has a historical link to the site.

The initiative originally began as a supervised program, through which artists could paint on the walls, provided they had submitted a sketch of their proposed artwork to the group and had it approved. Early criticisms of the program revolved around the high level of restrictions on artistic freedom and eventually supervision of the walls disappeared and illegal graffiti spread to surrounding areas. In 2007 the ICU Art launched a new program called 'Paint Out' in which artists are allowed to paint during two sessions on Saturdays and Sundays. Artists can elect to paint on either the large or the small walls and are required to submit sketches of proposed artworks to the ICU Art to obtain a permit should they wish to use the large walls (Figure 9). Specific times must also be scheduled to paint one of the large walls. No

sketches need to be submitted to be granted a permit to paint the small walls, cones, tabletops, picnic tables and rubbish bins (Figure 10). All permits are free to obtain and Council contributed \$15,000 to assist the program.

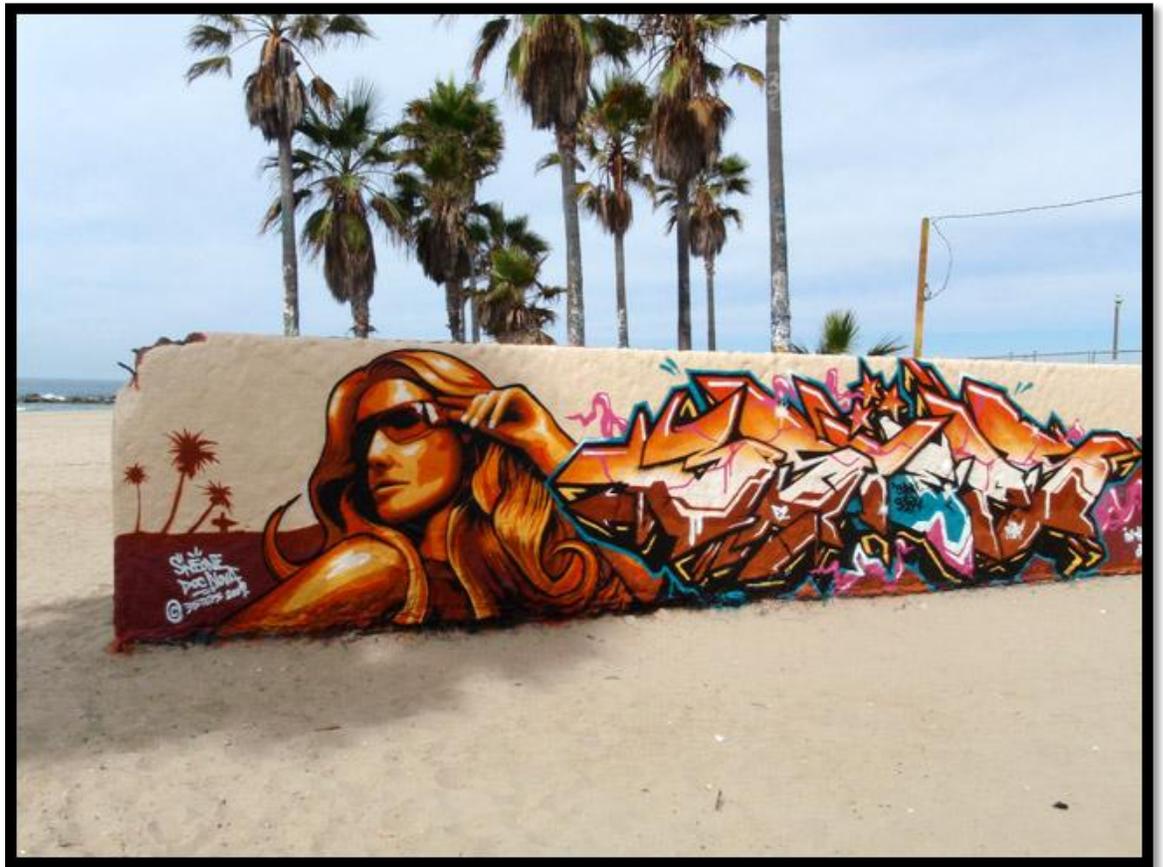


Figure 9: Large wall painted in 2009 by SNE One and DOC NOVA (Source ICU 2009)



Figure 10: Small wall and cone painted in 2009 by Skills and Cali86 (Source: ICU 2009)

One of the reported positive impacts of the legal walls is an increase in cultural tourism to the area, as people recognise the high quality of the works and their artistic merit. Another favourable impact has been the emergence of informal mentoring on the weekends, where established artists share skills and techniques with less experienced participants using the site. Similarly, despite the regulations placed on content, many of the artworks are still able to reflect the essence of graffiti as a means of communication and expression, through politically charged artworks, as seen in Figure 11. Conversely

however, residents have also claimed that illegal graffiti has spread around the surrounding area. The ICU reacted to these claims by increasing the regulations controlling the use of the walls. The Council and ICU Art have also funded significant maintenance to the surrounding area, such as new public facilities and lighting, in an attempt to raise the overall quality of the public space and encourage respectful use of its facilities.

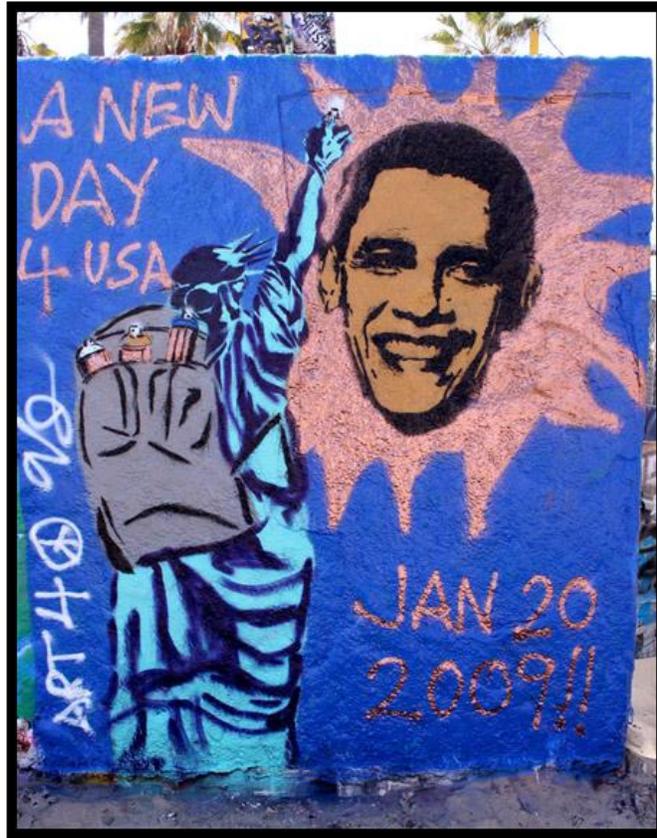


Figure 11: Political artwork on large wall painted in 2009 by unknown artist (Source: ICU 2009)

Streets 2K9 Mural Jam, New Brunswick, New Jersey

Created in 2006 by the non for profit art collective Albus Cavus, the Streets 2K9 Mural Jam is an annual event held each September in New Brunswick, New Jersey in the United States of America. The event involves the painting of murals along a 1.6 kilometre wall which runs between a major highway and the Raritan River (Figure 12). The space can fit between 500 and 600 murals and each can last up to two years (Figure 13). Peter Krsko, co-founder of Albus Cavus, explains the unique approach that the project takes: “What separates our work from other organisations is that we have very blurry lines between the artist and the audience. There is not really a passive audience, everybody interacts, everybody is part of the process, everybody is part of the experience and the artists are the audience and the audience are the artists” (Quoted in Brookhart 2008). This emphasis on interaction and process, rather than on solely the end product, as well as the potential for a high volume of people to be directly involved with the project, makes the event especially inclusive.



Figure 12: Wall being painted with murals (Source: PaperMonster 2009)



Figure 13: Example of mural (Source: PaperMonster 2009)

The project began in response to the high level of illegal graffiti occurring along the length of the wall. The path running alongside the wall, which is intended for use by both cyclists and pedestrians, had become overgrown, littered and perceived as dangerous. It therefore appeared to be a suitable location for the introduction of a legal space for artistic expression and subsequently a mini revitalisation of the area. Approval was sought from the City of New Brunswick to make the wall a legal space and as one of the conditions, it was determined that anyone wishing to take part in the event was required to submit a sketch of their intended artwork to the City. From approximately 50 applicants, a panel of judges containing representatives from the local university, a local art museum, public schools and the Centre for Latino Studies, choose five artists to receive free paint supplies.

Aja Washington, a student of the School of Visual Arts in New York City, was one of the winners in 2008 and said of the event: "It's a way to beautify the community but also bring a lot of the local artists together in a place where they can let their guard down and see what everyone else is doing and talk and network" (Quoted in Brookhart 2008). These networks can help to build a strong art community and provide informal mentorships to young or inexperienced artists, reflecting one of the aims of the project which is to show young people that there is more to graffiti than tagging.

This project effectively shows how a neglected or forgotten space can be given a new life with the help of a public art project, In this case graffiti was a suitable medium considering its historic link with the site, something to consider when deciding upon appropriate sites for legal graffiti projects.

Southbank London

London's Southbank area is known for its cultural activities and two examples of how street art has been displayed in this precinct are the Tate Modern Street Art Exhibition 2008 and the undercroft of Queen Elizabeth Hall.

Tate Modern

In the summer of 2008, the Tate Modern Gallery of London hosted an exhibition entitled 'Street Art'. The exhibition ran from 23 May to 25 August and involved six international graffiti artists creating artworks on the exterior of the gallery walls (Figure 14). The artists chosen to participate included: Blu from Bologna, Italy; Faile from New York, United States of America; JR from Paris, France; Nunca from Sao Paulo, Brazil; Os Gemeos from Sao Paulo, Brazil (Figure 15); and Sixeart from Barcelona, Spain.

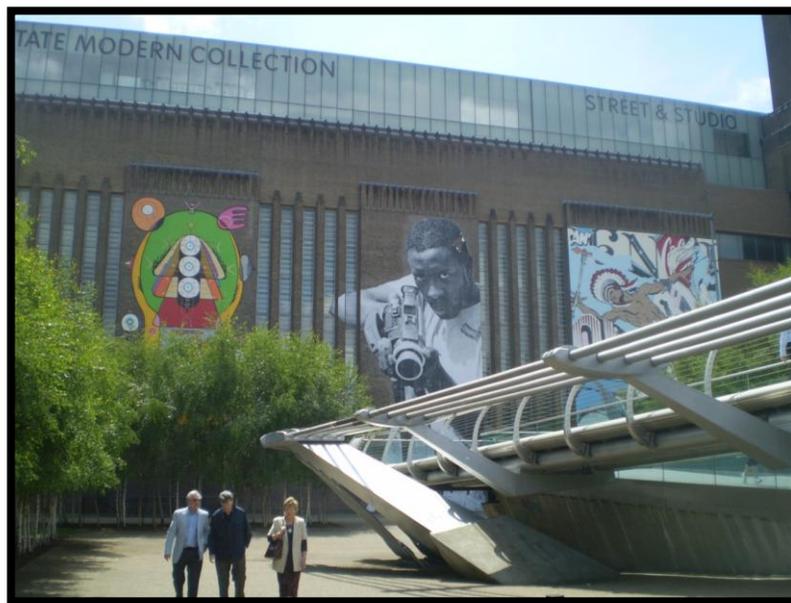


Figure 14: Graffiti artworks on the exterior of the Tate Modern Gallery (Source: Irons 2008)



Figure 15: Artwork by Os Gemeos (Source: Irons 2008)

Accompanying the six large scale artworks, a self guided street art walking tour was part of the exhibition. The allocated route was marked out on a map which was provided as part of a brochure for the exhibition. This walking tour led the audience down alleyways behind the gallery to graffiti artworks by five Madrid based artists: Spok; El Tono; Nuria; Nano 4814; and 3TTMan (Figure 16).



Figure 16: Graffiti works by 33TMan in London (Source: Irons 2008)

The Undercroft of Queen Elizabeth Hall

The undercroft of Queen Elizabeth Hall is an open public space that since the early 1970s, has been home to skateboarders, bike riders and graffiti writers. The Queen Elizabeth Hall itself is a music venue and is part of the bigger Southbank Centre, which includes a number of cultural and arts based venues. The buildings which make up the Southbank Centre were built in the architectural style of brutalism, a style characterised by raw concrete surfaces, for the Festival of Britain in 1951. The centre was intended to provide high culture to the community and visitors. The undercroft was essentially unused, forgotten space until skateboarders started using it in the 1970s. Today skateboarders, photographers, street performers and graffiti

writers share the space and help to create a vibrant street life (Figures 17 and 18). This space has become popular with tourists as well as many locals and draws crowds on holidays and weekends in particular.



Figure 17: Undercroft (Source: Irons 2008)



Figure 18: Graffiti writers contributing to the rich tapestry of street art (Source: Irons 2008)

The future of this space has been threatened in recent years as redevelopment plans for it to be turned into commercial units are discussed. Advocates of allowing the space to remain as it is argue that the skateboarding and graffiti writing which takes place within the undercroft are valid forms of cultural expression and that this area provides a type of event for spectators to observe. Will Alsop of SMC Alsop Architects has conveyed the idea that there is a distinct sense of ownership over this place for the young people who use it: something which would be near impossible to replicate should the space be relocated and this type of street activity

institutionalised in a sense (Whitter and Shuall 2008). In response to the proposed redevelopment, the Government released a statement which said: “any activity that engages young people can have a positive impact on society, and the skateboarding community that has grown up around the undercroft has brought together people from various backgrounds, created a vibrant public space and added real value to the lives of many young people” (Quoted in Curtis 2008).

This case study illustrates how complementary uses can co-inhabit a space to provide an outlet for creative expression. It also highlights how the successful juxtaposition of highbrow and popular culture can create interest within a locality and allow for the formation of a unique and distinct character, making the place more marketable in terms of tourism.

City of Melbourne Council

The City of Melbourne Council is a good example of local government forming a positive relationship with graffiti artists. It sees legal graffiti as a way of combating graffiti vandalism, since in the street culture it is seen as disrespectful to deface another graffiti artist's completed work. On this note, the Lord Mayor of City of Melbourne Council, John So, said: "legal street art contributes to the vibrant urban environment Melbourne has become so well known for and we believe it has the potential to reduce the amount of illegal graffiti tagging" (Quoted in Hewitt 2007).

Melbourne's extensive graffiti culture arose partly as a result of the huge number of laneways that run through the city, providing writers with a good level of cover for the illegal activity. Until recently, the relationship between graffiti writers and the authorities was a strained one. However more recently, efforts have been made to preserve the graffiti culture, for example through the installation of a clear Perspex cover over a Banksy artwork. Another way that Melbourne City Council has shown recognition of what the graffiti culture can contribute to the cultural heritage of the city is through its allocation of retrospective permits. Similarly, an artist can apply for a street art permit from the Council for a new artwork and the Council keeps a street art register of all permits, which is accessible to the public via their website.

Since 2007, the City of Melbourne Council has been running a graffiti mentoring program and in 2008 Union Lane was host to an event called the Union Lane Street Art Project. This involved the obtaining of a Street Art Permit and Planning Permit (Figure 19) as well as the support of the building owners David Jones and the Walk Arcade. The project was carried out by over

50 young people under the mentorship of established artists and spreads along the entire length of both sides of Union Lane, a total area of approximately 550sqm. Once the project was completed, there was an exhibition and walking tour to showcase the artworks. Union Lane is one of the most frequently visited graffiti sites in the city (Figure 20).



Figure 19: The permit number of approved applications gets stencilled onto the wall (Source: Irons 2009)



Figure 20: View down Union Lane from Little Collins Street (Source: Irons 2009)

Since 1999, Australia's National Trust has been considering the protection of graffiti in Melbourne's inner city laneways. There are both supporters and opponents of this with Andrew Mac, a Melbourne curator and artist noting: "The work is ephemeral. It's not meant to last. It lasts purely as long as the weather and other graffiti artists allow it to last. When you interfere with what is an organic process like that, you actually make the graffiti stagnant and what makes graffiti thrilling and interesting to the public and to other graffiti artists is the fact that it's a never-ending, changing, kind of living art form" (Quoted in Brown 2008). As an alternative, Tracey Avery, the National Trust's Cultural Heritage Manager, suggests that instead of listing the graffiti,

it may be more appropriate to keep records of the graffiti, interview artists and receive public comments to provide a visual and oral history of Melbourne's graffiti.

Citylights Gallery, Hosier Lane

The Citylights Gallery was founded in 1996 by artist Andy Mac and consists of a series of illuminated boxes attached to the walls of Hosier Lane. Since its creation, Citylights Gallery has showcased over 400 artworks. One of the aims of the project is to blur the line between art, advertising and vandalism. This is achieved by providing pedestrians with art where they would ordinarily expect to see advertising (Figures 21, 22 and 23).



Figure 21: Citylights Gallery in Hosier Lane (Source: Irons 2009)



Figure 22: Artwork by Melbourne artist Ash Nolan (Source: Irons 2009)



Figure 23: Artwork by Ash Nolan (Source: Irons 2009)

Tunnel Project, Princes Park

Another initiative carried out within the City of Melbourne LGA is the Tunnel Project at Princes Park. Tagging in the railway tunnels under Royal Parade at Princes Park had been problematic for a number of years and in 2006, at a meeting of the City of Melbourne Council's Graffiti Group, it was decided that rather than continue with the, at best, temporary solution of graffiti removal, they would attempt to break the cycle by launching an innovative program offering a new approach to combat the illegal graffiti problem. The Artful Dodgers Studios were invited to participate and create legal graffiti artwork in the tunnel. The Artful Dodgers Studio is part of the Jesuit Social Services Gateway Program which aims to assist young people by assisting them to access education, employment and training. The Artful Dodgers Studios helps this cause by providing an environment for young people to develop their creative skills (Jesuit Social Services 2008).

The aim of the project was to create artwork that will be respected and therefore not tagged or destroyed. Two members of staff from the Artful Dodgers Studios coordinated the work and PHIBS, an established and well known graffiti artist was appointed as mentor of the project. Before any work was carried out a Street Art Permit and Planning Permit were obtained from Council and both the Department of Justice and City of Melbourne Council provided the funding for the project for which painting began in May 2007. Along with the two staff members coordinating the work, five additional artists from the Studio participated in the project. Their painting schedule consisted of painting for two days each week, over a seven week period.

The brief for the work was to create artworks that both showcased the individual strengths of each artist and resulted in a larger unified artwork. To achieve this cohesion, the artists decided on a common theme to guide their works. 'Candy' was selected and through colour choice and repetition of common motifs, each individual's artwork was tied into the larger concept (Figure 24). The tunnel was completed on 27 June 2007 and an event was held for the opening of the project to help publicise the benefits that such programs can bring.



Figure 24: Portion of the wall painted as part of the Tunnel Project (Source: Jesuit Social Services 2008)

Since the Jesuit Social Services Gateway Program is a Registered Training Organisation (RTO), those who took part in the project were able to receive accreditation for several units in the Certificate 1 in Art and Design. Aside from this benefit, participants were also paid for their work, although they donated their time for half the hours that they worked, and it provided participants with an opportunity for to share skills and experiences.

The Alley Project, Cairns

Located on Grafton Street, Cairns, the Alley Project aims to challenge traditional views of graffiti in both the community and media. The project, conceived as an effective way of showing the local council how graffiti can be considered as a legitimate form of art, was carried out collectively by a local contemporary arts collective called The Upholstery, a fashion boutique called Taste-y, a cafe called Caffiend and a group of well known Cairns based graffiti artists. The inspiration for this project came partly from the success of graffiti as a tourist attraction in Melbourne's laneways.

The project took place along a 75metre long wall which was divided into two separate sections:

- A pre-planned mural involving 12 local and national artists which remains as a permanent mural; and
- A freeform mural involving approximately 11 local artists.

The permanent mural was painted within the theme of 'tropical, beats n treats' and aimed to reflect the character and attributes of far north Queensland (Figure 25). The freeform mural provides artists with the chance to collaborate with other local artists and develop their skills and to develop their skills and techniques. It is intended that the content be updated approximately every six months in order to keep the artworks relevant and to maintain interest in the project.



Figure 25: Six of the artists in front of their far north Queensland themed mural (Source: The Cairns Post 2009)

Once the artworks had been completed, an event was held for the official opening of the project, which included breakdancing, MCs and food and beverages. Organisers of the project were able to secure the internationally renowned, Melbourne graffiti artist PHIBS, who attended the opening of the project, with the aim of improving the project's credibility (Figure 26).



Figure 26: Artwork by PHIBS as part of the Alley Project (Source: The Cairns Post 2009)

The Alley Project is Cairns' biggest public artwork to date and aims to create a visual landmark for the area. According to an article entitled 'Spray it on!!!' which appeared in The Cairns Post on 14 May 2009, there have been 30 to 40 tourists visiting the site each day that the walls were actively being painted, with the creators of this project hoping that the site will become a major tourist attraction and subsequently provide evidence to both the public and the authorities that there is a place for legal graffiti art projects and that they can be highly successful. Further to this point, one of the artists participating in the program, Daniel "Wally" Wallwork says: "I think the public in general

don't really know how to approach it. The businesses in the vicinity of the project have been really great and are vocalising their support, so I do think it will change how the public views it" (Quoted in Kuch 2009). Evidence of this support from businesses has come in the form of a number of surrounding businesses providing sponsorship and donations for the project.

This project shows how cues can be taken from successful projects in other locations and the initiative adapted to suit the context of the place and the desires of the community. It also illustrates how business owners, local councils and community and arts groups can form partnerships to deliver successful and interactive public art projects.



Introduction

This chapter uses the available literature on the subject of legal graffiti, coupled with the lessons learnt from the national and international case studies examined in Chapter Four, to provide a number of recommendations for Sydney. These recommendations are broken down into categories specific to the following groups:

- NSW state government; and
- Local governments.

NSW State Government

It is clearly evident from my research that there is no one point from which young people can access information about legal graffiti opportunities taking place in NSW. If this information was more readily available it would make it easier for young people to access legal avenues for creative expression which should, in turn, reduce the number of young people resorting to illegal means.

One suggestion would be to gather all the information regarding legal projects from local councils, community groups and arts organisations to create a comprehensive list of programs and opportunities. The type of information that could be listed includes:

- A schedule of aerosol art workshops being run throughout the year;
- Details of available mentoring programs;
- The locations of legal walls and information on whether a permit, or some type of approval, is required to use them;
- A calendar of events which involve some type of graffiti project or workshop;
- A virtual noticeboard of councils seeking artists to take part in commissioned public artworks; and
- Engaging and easy to read information on the benefits of taking part in legal forms of graffiti.

Youth.NSW is a website which has been created by the NSW State Government, with the aim to: “provide people aged 12 to 25 with links to New South Wales Government, community services and information. It also contains a range of information for young people about getting involved in their community through programs and events. The site is a forum for youth participation and for government to hear young people’s ideas on a range of issues” (NSW Government 2009). This site would benefit from having a whole page dedicated to information about legal graffiti projects, perhaps on the ‘Links & Resources’ page indicated in Figure 27.

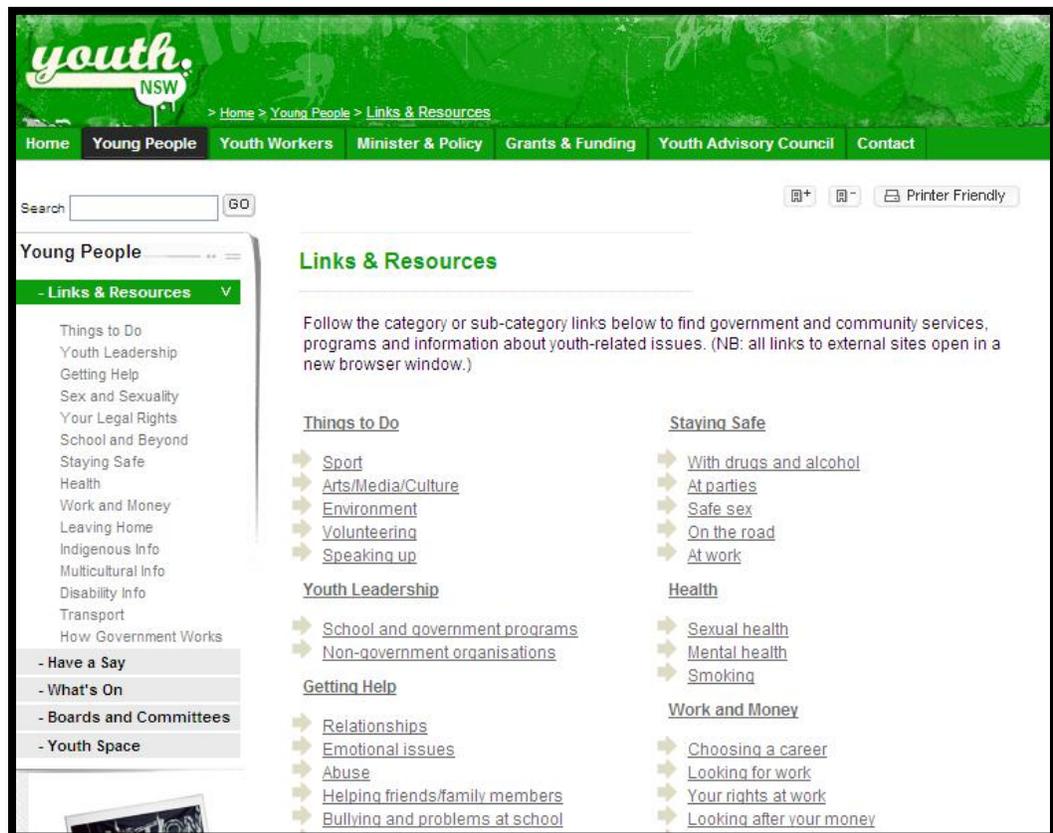


Figure 27: Screen shot from the Youth.NSW website (Source: NSW Government 2009)

Cross promotion would be beneficial to making the information more widely available. Local councils could post a link to the site on their 'Youth Services' page to help direct young people to the site and the Youth.NSW webpage could post links to the websites of local councils, community groups and other independent programs. Cross promotion would also be beneficial amongst NSW Government programs, such as the Artstart initiative (Figure 28) which is an art program targeted at young people between the ages of 12 and 24 in NSW that aims to build skills and networks by helping young people to become involved in creative projects. Every second year, 23 organisations are funded by TAFE NSW to create a program of art based projects throughout NSW (NSW Government 2009).

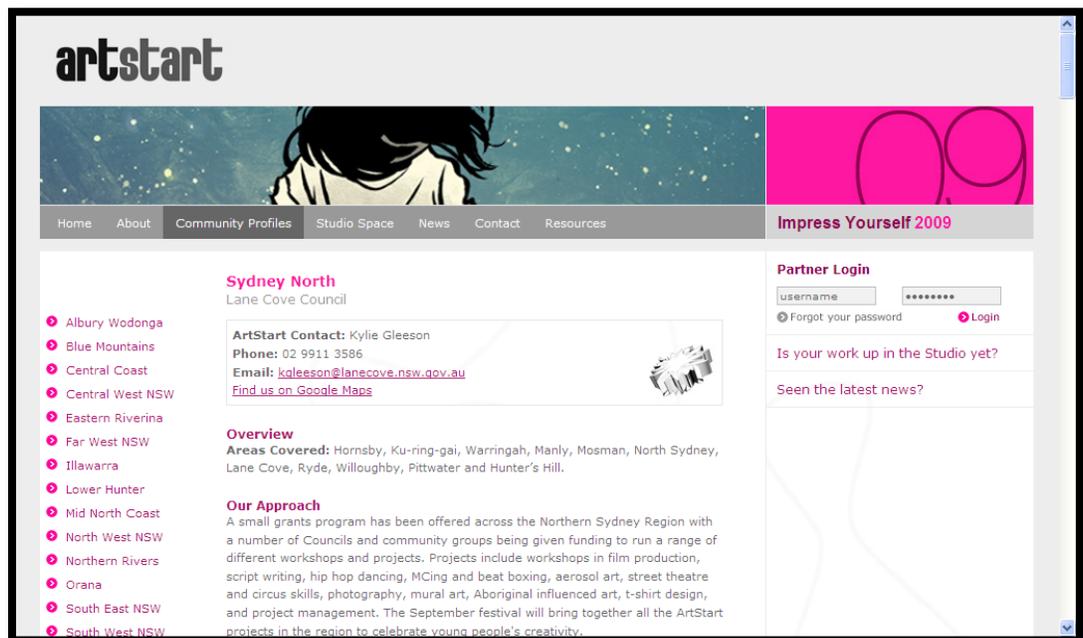


Figure 28: Screen shot of the Artstart website (Source: NSW Government 2009)

Local Government

There are a number of actions which local councils could take to increase the number of legal graffiti projects which they initiate or support, as well improve the quality and success of existing programs.

Benefits of providing legal graffiti opportunities for young people

There are some significant benefits of providing legal graffiti opportunities to young people. These include:

- A flourishing arts culture;
- An empowered youth;
- Decrease in incidences of illegal graffiti;
- Revitalisation of neglected spaces;
- A positive relationship with young people; and
- A boost to the local economy.

A flourishing arts culture

Graffiti is often seen by artists, musicians and writers as a sign that a city supports an underground or youth culture. This, in turn, encourages more creative minded people to live in that area and they will undoubtedly further contribute to the arts scene of the city. Allowing legal graffiti projects also shows that a council is willing to acknowledge a variety of art genres as legitimate forms of art and as being able to contribute something to the community.

An empowered youth

Youth empowerment can come about through the inclusion of young people in the decision making processes of resolutions which affect them. Empowerment can also result from young people being given certain responsibilities, such as a key role in the organisation or coordination of a legal graffiti project as well as through forming meaningful networks with other artists through various initiatives. Workshops and mentoring programs can provide young people with the confidence to take on projects by themselves, and secure employment opportunities. One of the benefits of youth empowerment is the development of young adults who take an active role in their community and take pride in their neighbourhoods.

Decrease in incidences of illegal graffiti

Following on from the previously point, Councils must find ways to empower individuals who commit illegal graffiti offences and cater for their desire for creative expression. To achieve this, positive alternatives and education must be provided and an increase in youth engagement is key. When effective and well thought out legal graffiti opportunities are provided, young people are given less motivation to resort to illegal means of self expression.

Revitalisation of neglected spaces

As Spooner notes, commissioning graffiti can improve the appearance, and subsequently increase the use of neglected spaces (2003). Graffiti, in its traditional form, is suited to spaces which are often overlooked or poorly used. It therefore makes sense for graffiti to be used to liven up such spaces and bring attention to their potential. When legal graffiti is used for the

purpose of public art, interactive spaces are formed and stagnant and irrelevant art is avoided. The ephemeral nature of graffiti keeps the artwork, and the place, current and relevant.

A positive relationship with young people

As noted in Chapter 2, Dew argues that by providing legal graffiti walls, local councils are not only acknowledging the youth culture, but promoting it (2007). This promotion shows that a council has a positive relationship with its young people and can help to get the youth on side for future projects. Providing legal graffiti spaces can signal a council's willingness to deal with social and environmental problems and such programs can also help to make 'at risk' young people employable, resulting in higher self worth and hence empowerment.

A boost to the local economy

There are a number of ways in which providing legal graffiti opportunities can help the local economy. The first is that these projects can create employment opportunities, ranging from project coordinators, to event planners, to the artists themselves. Often these projects can also create a destination within an LGA, resulting in a higher number of visitors frequenting the area. This has flow on effects for local businesses which can benefit from the higher number of potential customers passing by.

Possible Strategies and Projects for use by Councils in metropolitan Sydney

Strategies and projects which can be implemented by Councils within metropolitan Sydney include the following:

- Graffiti management strategies and policies;
- Commissioning artworks;
- Providing legal walls;
- Conducting workshops;
- Hosting events; and
- Promoting projects.

Graffiti Management Strategies and Policies

At present, the majority of Council in metropolitan Sydney have few or no provisions relating to graffiti management strategies that are not prevention or removal policies. Policies need to have a better balance between ways to reduce illegal graffiti and ways to encourage alternative ways for young people to express themselves creatively. There are many positive approaches which can be taken by Councils, as detailed in the following sections, which provide productive, community building solutions, rather than pure vilification of offenders.

It is recommended that a multi-faceted approach be taken in the creation of a Council's Graffiti Management Strategy. The following diagram provides a suggestion of how such a strategy could be formulated.

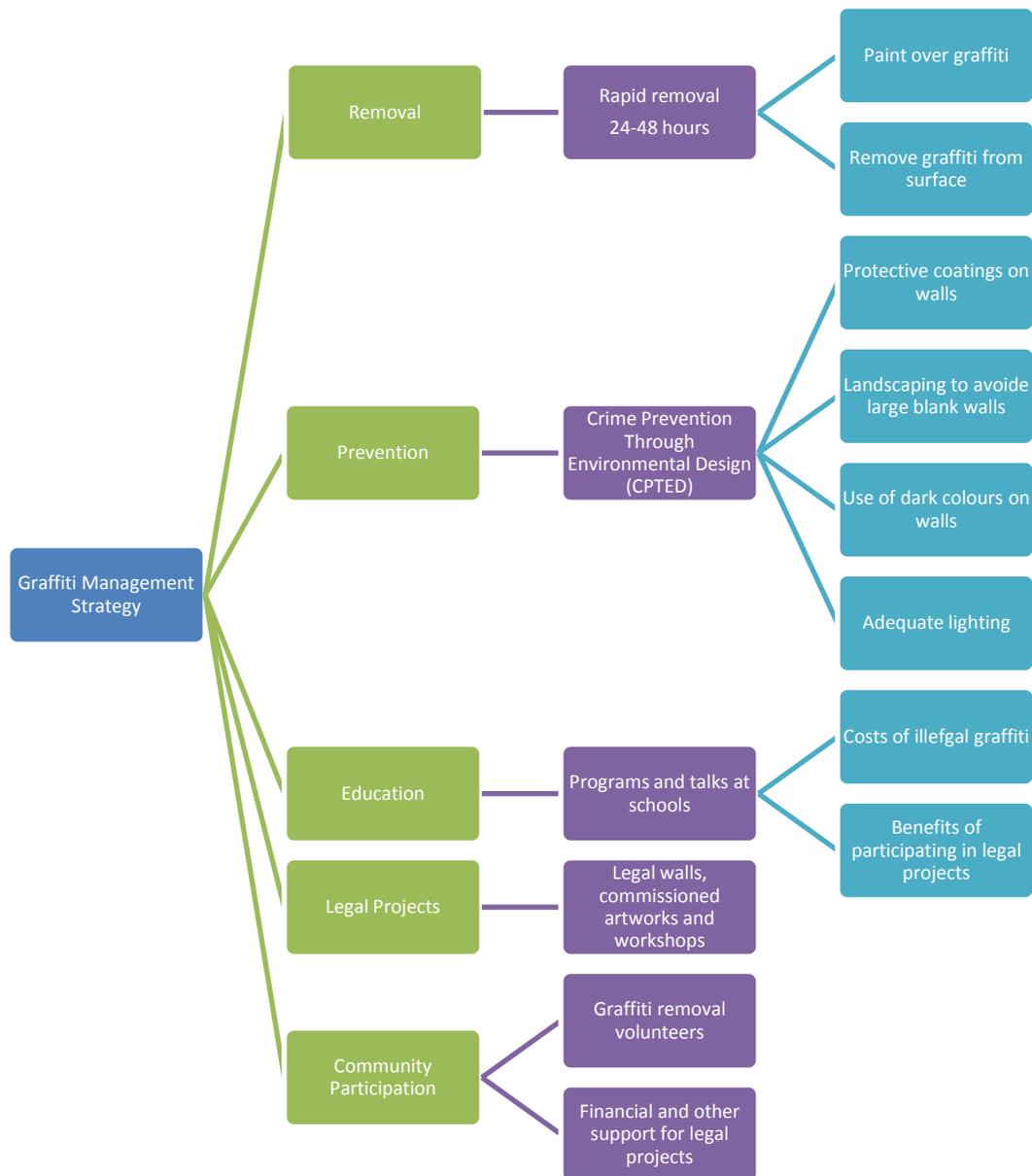


Figure 29: Recommended Graffiti Management Strategy layout (Source: Irons 2009)

Commissioning artworks

Whilst there is still some debate over whether or not commissioning legal graffiti artworks reduces the incidences of illegal graffiti in the surrounding locality, there are still multiple benefits to this type of project, including providing employment opportunities, developing artistic skills and youth empowerment. The commissioning of artworks often works best when partnerships are formed between the Council and other organisations, groups or businesses.

The process involved in these projects can often involve workshops to develop themes, content and execution details and there is the potential for young people to adopt key roles in the organisation of the project. This type of project can be useful in allowing young people to experience all elements of the creative process, from deciding upon a suitable site, to completing the actual artwork. This comprehensive involvement also helps to instil a sense of pride and ownership, not only over the artwork itself, but towards the neighbourhood in general.

The following diagram provides a recommended process for commissioning graffiti artworks.

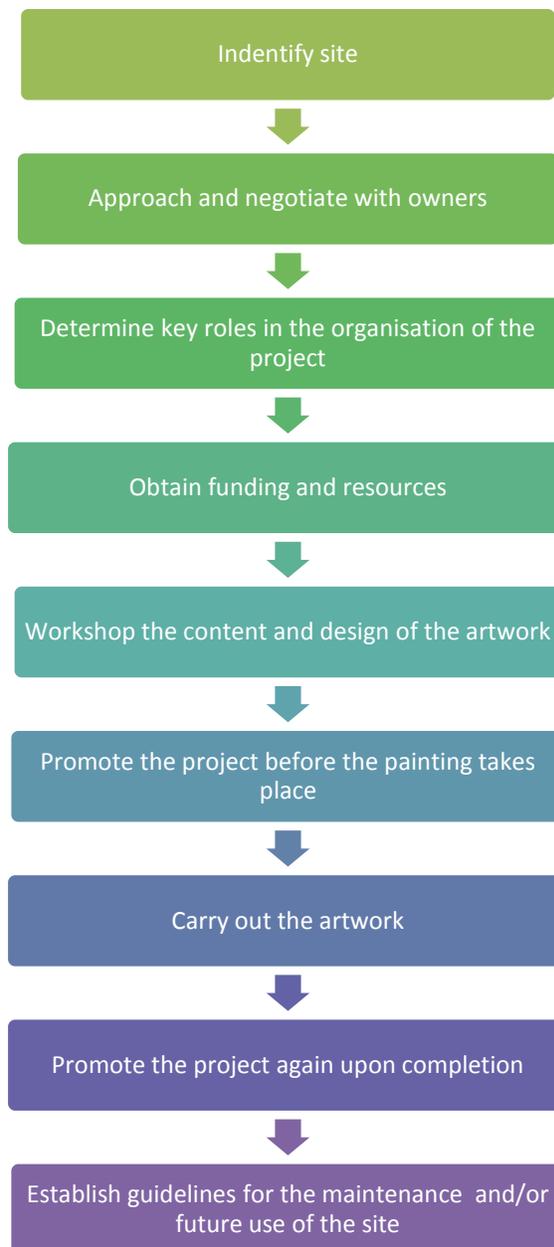


Figure 30: Recommended process for commissioning graffiti artworks (Source: Irons 2009)

Providing legal walls

Sites with a history of high levels of illegal graffiti are often the most effective sites for legal graffiti walls. This is due to the fact that there are some inherent features in the site which make it pre-disposed to this type of activity. When providing legal walls, Councils should ensure that the wall or space is clearly marked as being a legal space, and any requirements, such as obtaining a permit before painting, should be clearly spelled out. Plaques or stencilled approval numbers, such as those used by City of Melbourne Council, signifying a wall as legal, can help differentiate between legal and illegal spaces and reduce confusion for artists.

It is possible to require participants to register with the Council, upon which time they receive a permit stating that they have received permission to use the site. The downfall with this strategy is that it may discourage certain potential users from taking part due to administrative hassle. Similarly, it also removes some of the spontaneity of the activity, making the action a more controlled process.

The location of a legal project should be thought about carefully. If it is in a high profile location, the wall may double as a public artwork. This has been shown in the case study on the Queen Elizabeth Hall undercroft in London where the legal graffiti walls of the skate park became a type of interactive art and an event in itself. Legal walls are able to provide an expressive outlet for young people and can often be used in conjunction with other youth activities, such as skate boarding.

Conducting workshops

Workshops are an effective way to encourage young people to pursue legal avenues for their creative expression. Partnerships with youth centres are often utilised, with the workshops being run at the youth centre's facilities. Providing a mentor, in the form of an established graffiti artist, will give a workshop program increased credibility and provide a positive role model to the younger aspiring artists. Workshops should have both an educational element to them and skills-based tuition and guidance. Possible topics and classes that could be covered include the following:

- Identification of potential sites. Conduct a walking tour of the surrounding neighbourhood to identify possible sites for legal graffiti projects and approach the owners about the use of their walls.
- Obtaining a permit. Provide information on the process to go through in order to obtain a permit from Council.
- Aerosol techniques. Allow for experimentation with various types of aerosol cans and techniques on wooden boards before carrying out the final works.
- Developing a portfolio. Providing information on the significance of developing a comprehensive portfolio of work, the types of examples that should be provided within a portfolio and how a portfolio should be used to obtain employment in the industry.
- Development of business skills. Provide information on the importance of sell presentation, skills in how to address members of the community and how to create business products, such as material promoting their projects.

Workshops can provide participants with the skills they need to enter the arts economy and significantly improve their sense of self worth. An event held at the conclusion of the workshops can help to validate the work produced as well as educate the general public on this element of youth culture.

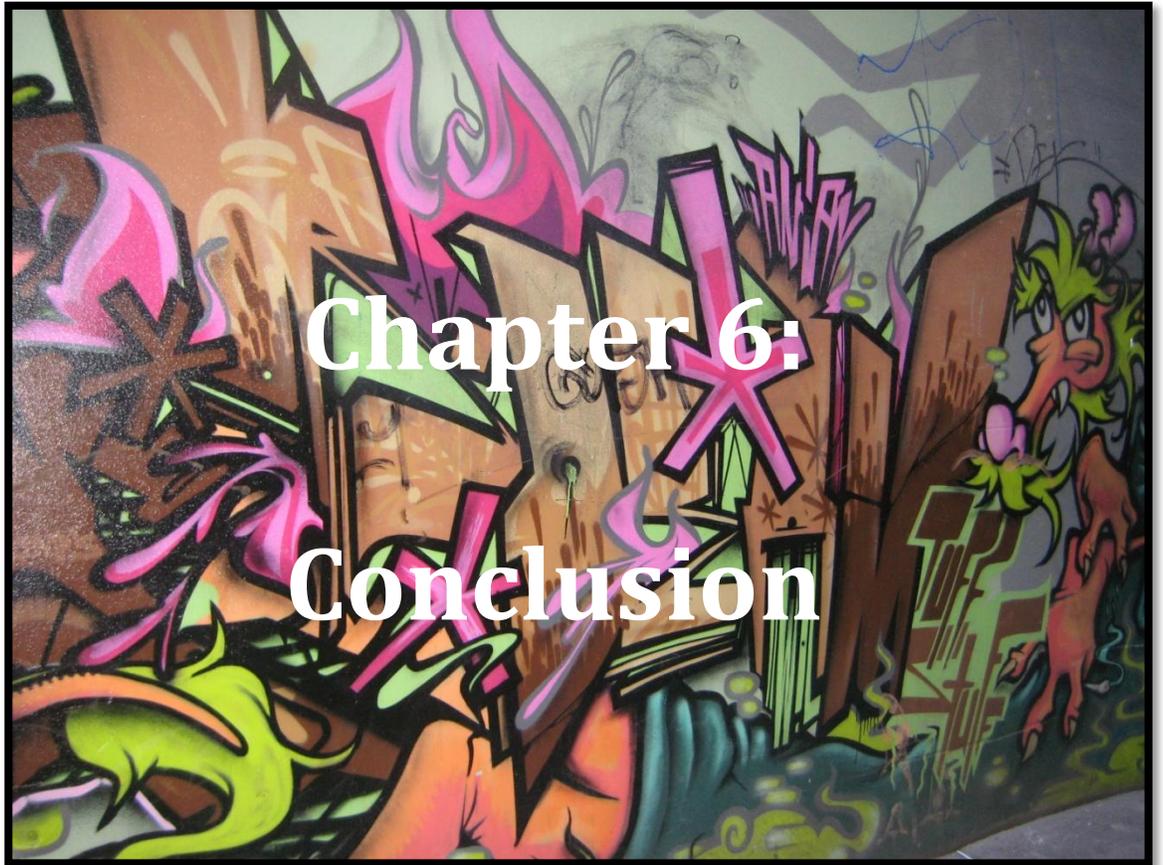
Hosting events

As illustrated in both Chapter 3 and 4, one-off events can be highly effective in educating the public about youth culture. Whether intentional or not, most events will have some educational aspect to them through demonstration of techniques and outcomes. This demonstration of youth culture can help to remove the threat of the unknown for members of the community who know little about graffiti writing and its associated sub-culture. It also helps to make youth culture more easily accessible to the wider community and can assist in fostering relationships between young people and others in the community.

Events involving graffiti work well during Youth Week as it can be demonstrated and celebrated alongside other youth activities and help to demonstrate how young people are positively contributing to the community. Another time when graffiti events are successful is at the opening of a commissioned graffiti project, helping to promote the positive aspects of legal graffiti opportunities. Similarly, graffiti could be incorporated into existing events in Sydney, such as Art and About. As part of an attempt by City of Sydney Council to reinvigorate some of the inner city laneways, Council could take cues from City of Melbourne Council and incorporate graffiti projects into this event and offer the community and visitors another aspect of our arts culture.

Promoting projects

Councils' promotion of legal graffiti projects is key to their success and positive reception. One recommendation is to rebrand legal graffiti to either 'street art' or 'aerosol art' to help with the differentiation between that which is legal and that which is not. This differentiation should also assist the public in its acceptance of legal graffiti, with the artistic merits of the genre being emphasised. Promotion of a legal graffiti project as a destination can have positive economic impacts for a community. In order to inform both community members and visitors of the site information should be easily available on the Council's website and if there are a number of sites within close proximity of one another, it may be useful to create a map with a walking tour marked out on it. In this way graffiti can be used as a tourist attraction for the city with flow on effects for cafes and shops in the vicinity.



Introduction

Chapter Six is the final chapter of this thesis and aims to address how both the core research question has been answered, and how the research objectives, as set out in Chapter One, have been achieved. A summary of the key findings which emerged from the research is then provided. Finally, some concluding comments are given and suggestions for further research made.

Research success

The main aim of this thesis was to make a strong case for the use of legal graffiti as a legitimate form of public art in Sydney, with the core research question being addressed was: how can graffiti, as a genre, be effectively used in metropolitan Sydney as both a legitimate form of public art and as an illegal graffiti deterrent? This has been achieved through a review of available literature on the subject, an examination of the current state of policies and initiatives within the councils of metropolitan Sydney, as well as an examination of successful Australian and international legal graffiti projects.

The key research objectives of this thesis, and how they have been successfully addressed are outlined below:

Objective One: To survey the current state of legal graffiti policies and projects in metropolitan Sydney;

An examination of the policies, strategies, projects and partnerships for each of the 37 Councils in metropolitan Sydney was carried out with the results provided in a table and the findings discussed.

Objective Two: To identify lessons based upon Australian and international examples of successful or innovative legal graffiti projects; and

By researching the aims, processes and outcomes both Australian and international case studies of legal graffiti projects or initiatives, a number of important lessons emerged. These stood to provide a basis for the recommendations for Sydney provided in Chapter Five.

Objective Three: To provide recommendations for both the NSW Government and local Councils within the Sydney metropolitan area regarding the most effective programs and policies to instigate.

Objective Three has been addressed in Chapter Five, in which a number of key recommendations have been made for both the NSW Government and local councils. These recommendations outline both the suggested strategies and their potential benefits.

Key Findings and Subsequent Recommendations

The key findings which emerged from the research are outlined below.

- There is a fear from some authorities that if they allow graffiti to be legal in some places and let it remain illegal in others, the line between the two forms will become blurred and more incidences of illegal graffiti will occur. One of the recommendations made in Chapter Five addresses this with the suggestion of rebranding legal graffiti as either 'street art' or 'aerosol art' and clearly defining the scope and requirements of participants taking part in any legal projects to avoid confusion.
- Many councils in metropolitan Sydney have graffiti management strategies which focus on prevention and removal of illegal graffiti only, and provide no legal alternatives for young people who wish to use graffiti as a means of creative and personal expression. The recommendation has been made that councils adopt a multi faceted approach to their graffiti management strategies, striking a balance between the prevention and removal policies on the one side and

education, community involvement and providing legal alternatives, on the other.

- A number of councils hold aerosol art workshops at various times throughout the year, commission graffiti style artworks and host events involving graffiti based activities, with benefits including young people being provided with the opportunity to develop their creative skills, create meaningful networks with other artists, obtain life skills to put them in a better position to find employment in the arts industry and essentially, youth empowerment and involvement within their community. The recommendation is that more councils adopt these types of programs in the hope that a better relationship between council and its young people is forged and that young people are provided with tangible alternatives to illegal activity.
- It was often found to be difficult obtaining information regarding a particular council's legal graffiti programs and details of the locations of legal graffiti walls in Sydney. It is recommended that the NSW Government initiate a state-wide register of programs and projects that can be easily accessed by young people. A web based database would be preferable considering the target groups' familiarity with this medium.

Concluding Remarks

It is important to note that whilst significant lessons can be learnt through the examination of successful projects in other locations, the projects are not necessarily directly transferrable. Community consultation is key to determining what type of project is suitable for a particular location, and whilst cues can be taken from elsewhere, the final project must be adapted to suit those individual people and that unique place. This idea could provide the basis for further investigation into the role of community consultation over the lifespan of a legal graffiti project, from its conception to completion.

In conclusion, whilst the line between graffiti as art and graffiti as vandalism may still seem blurry, there are numerous actions which can be taken by councils to help improve the reputation and reception of legal graffiti. The benefits of such actions include: a thriving arts culture; an empowered youth; less illegal graffiti; the potential for a boost to the local economy; and the creation of unique and vibrant public spaces. Not only does the provision of legal graffiti opportunities provide benefits to young people, it also provides significant benefits to the whole community.

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