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Public art or art in public space? A comparative study of public art and public engagement in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, and what this means for public art policy.

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts and Cultural Management.

Johannesburg, 2016

Abstract

Over the past few years there has been an increase in both the number and variety of works of public art in Johannesburg, as well as a movement towards seeing public art as a tool for social cohesion, urban regeneration and community engagement. All of these potential outcomes influence policies, strategies and production processes around public art, with varying results. This research report considers the relationship between public art and public engagement and sets up a scale of engagement that aims to measure the success of public artworks according to their potential to achieve the above outcomes. By asking the key survey question "What do you think of this work?" my research surveyed the users of the spaces surrounding sites of public artworks and uncovered that the public enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to engage with the artworks on different levels, some intended and some unforeseen. The findings in this report have relevance for future monitoring and evaluation of public art projects, as well as subsequent public policy planning in the field of public art.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the MA Arts and Culture Management Degree in the School of the Arts, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Chava Alheit (922563)

Signed_____

on _____ of _____ at _____

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Introduction

Topic

This research report compares different public art projects in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, in terms of engagement, according to the public's response to the question "What do you think of this artwork?", collected through a survey at the site of the public artworks. The public participants' responses reveal many interesting things about public engagement and how it relates to the successes, failures, and outcomes of these public art projects. I explore how the participants' responses compare to the intentions of the funders, originators and producers of these public art projects and the relevance this has for monitoring and evaluation of the projects, and subsequent public policy planning.

Public policy is increasingly looking to public art as an instrument to achive cultural development, place-making and urban rejuvination. All these terms bring up complex issues around inclusivity and exclusivity, where place-making and cultural development is essentially focused on inclusivity, yet the types of artworks produced and issues of ownership over public spaces raise concerns over exclusivity and elitism. I look at engagement with the artworks as a measure of the artworks' inclusivity or exclusivity as interpreted by the users of the space, to interrogate these complex issues from their perspectives. The public is often spoken for through policy, this research aims to interrogate the outcomes of cultural policy from the publics ' perspective.

I measure engagement through various methods such as the survey, observations and interviews with artists, policy makers and cultural theorists. I chose the survey method in an attempt to bring a quantitative element to a traditionally qualitative subject to mirror the analytical, statistical and systematic approach prefered by governmental policy makers. The government's startegies are based on timelines, budgets and measureable results. This is often contradictory to the artistic process which is based on intangible results that defy strict timelines and planned processes. In mixing the qualitative and quantitative methods I attempt to bridge the gap between the governements' concrete approach and art's more conceptual nature.

Aim

"Public art" is a complex term that evokes various issues around ideology, place-making, cultural development and various other frameworks that can often be conflicting or contradictory when looking at issues of inclusion and exclusion of the public it addresses. Richard Serra, the well-known abstract sculptor, declared: "Art is not democratic. It is not for the people" (quoted in Carter 2008). This reflects the modernist view of art being autonomous and operating for its own sake, detached from public opinion and scrutiny, as a

form of individual self-expression on the part of the artist. This view sees art as exclusive and elite, functioning for its own sake. Suzanne Lacy's *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art* (1995), maps the progression of public art from this modernist view of art as autonomous which she terms "art in public space" to a more open and inclusive "public art" (1995:21). "Public art" engages the public directly, and in many cases this engagement is what creates the artwork itself. Contrary to Serra's view, the notion of "public art" aims to democratise artworks and make them more inclusive. It follows a postmodern perspective where context, audience and multiple perspectives are foregrounded. This sets up a dichotomy which ranges from public art as totally detached and exclsuionary of the public it address and public art that is fundamental engaging and inclusive. The aim of this report is to explore these polar positions through the ways in which the public engages with the respective works.

Mirroring, or perhaps initiating, the move from the modern to the postmodern in public art practices is the move from modern to postmodern views on urbanity. In "Reclaiming Urbanity" (2005) Jacqueline Groth and Eric Corijn discuss the progression of urbanity from the "predominantly modernist planning regime" in which the production of space "catered for relatively uniform society" (2005:504), to "decentred cities" with "pronounced plurality and fragmentation in terms of lifestyle" (2005:504). Groth and Corijn hereby delineate the contrasts between a uniform society that produces universal and autonomous art, such as modern art; and a plural, multicultural society that produces art that is engaging and inclusive, as per Lacy's "public art". Therefore one could judge a city's perspective on urbanity and cultural development through the public art projects that are produced. I would like to apply this analysis to the context of Johannesburg, looking at the example of the Braamfontein urban regeneration project.

Using Lacy's "art in public space" and "public art" definitions, I compare four artworks in Braamfontein according to an engagement scale that I set up, referring to the polemic terms as type A and type B public art respectively, to ensure clarity. I use this scale of comparison to unpack the complex concepts and debates around public art. I am borrowing this technique from Francois Matarasso's and Charles Landry's *Twenty-One Strategic Dilemmas in Cultural Policy* (1999), which discusses a variety of public policy dilemmas as scales along which policy makers can judge their needs and priorities. The scale approach allows for the nuances in different artworks and public art projects to be addressed and investigated. The engagement scale runs from 1 to 10 with 1 being complete autonomy of art and 10 being intensive public engagement, where the artwork is dependent on public engagement for its production and meaning. The engagement scale allows me to consolidate the degree to which engagement with the artwork affects people's response to the question "What do you think of this work?", and what this means for public art policies that prioritise either type A or type B public art in their strategies. This research therefore aims to unpack the

different forms of engagement along these lines to assess the effect of the type of artwork on the audience, from the audiences' perspective.

My research incorporates the quantitative approach of using a scale to mirror the analytical approach typically favoured by governmental agencies in decision making. In using this scale I aim to make my findings attractive to the policy maker's bias towards facts and figures. Steven Miles and Ronan Paddison (2005:838) describe how funders and policy makers "obsess" about raw data in their introduction to the *Urban Studies* journal review of cultural lead urban development. Kirsten Harrison (2014:14), an experienced urban development, strategy and planning consultant, echoed this in discussing how the JDA focuses on quantities and numbers in their reporting on public art.

Rational

My fascination with the relationship between public art and public engagement was sparked by the growing interest and debate around the role of public art as an instrument of public policy, facilitating place-making, urban rejuvenation, community building and social cohesion. This motivated me to question whether different forms of public art engage the public in different ways, and the effect this has on the issues discussed above. This research report grew from the conviction that the benefit of public art and the relevance of these projects needed to be explored further, to assess if the implementation of the policy (and funding in particular) was being put to best use.

Specifically, I find it interesting that the public is seldom asked what they think of public artworks, yet the public is spoken for as beneficiaries of the public art projects. Cher Kruse Knight and Harriet F. Senie (2012:1), editors of *Public Art Dialogue,* advocate for the importance of discussion into audience response. They claim that although the public is often invoked in public art projects it is seldom consulted once the work is in place and the public's relationship with the art object is never considered except in the instance of controversy or vandalism. Therefore I decided to focus on the question: "What do you think of this artwork" to give the participants an open field to discuss their relationship and engagement with the artworks. Their responses to this question have allowed me to explore the complexities surround public art from the point of view of the daily users of the space and compare this to the 'public' that is spoken for by policy makers.

The JDA, a key stakeholder in public art production in Braamfontein, outlines the benefits of public art in the introduction to their *Public Art Strategy 2011-2016* (2012) ("JDA Strategy Document") as follows:

> Public art improves the quality of public environments by making places more attractive to work, live or visit. This can help increase the value of properties, create neighbourhood identities, and increase civic participation in public life and urban

> management. Public art can be a signal of improved fortunes in a neighbourhood and attracts new tenants, investors or buyers to the area (2012:2).

This opening statement shows the emphasis in policy for using public art for place-making and urban development. I felt these objectives needed to be interrogated through the survey I compiled to see if people did indeed find the place more attractive to work and live in. The notion of places being more atttractive to live in brings up debates around gentrification, a very controrversial topic that centers around issues of inclusion and exclusion. This issue is also discussed as part of my research, and motivated my to explore the experinces of the users of the space.

I feel the implementation of policy needs to be explored from funding, to commissioning, to monitoring and evaluation in order to assess the effect on public engagement. Funding is a central issue to this question, because different funders and funding models will favour the development of different types of public art. I therefore explore the effects and outcomes of different funding models in the sector, namely: public funding, private funding and public/private partnerships. Publically funded artworks carry with them the responsibility to reflect cultural policy. South African cultural policy is currently governed by the *White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage* (1996) ("White Paper"), which aims to address the inequalities of the past and create an inclusive arts policy focused on using culture for development, reconciliation and reconstruction. It highlights the key principles of the policy which are a focus on access, redress, diversity, encouraging participation, accountability, transparency and autonomy of art institutions from state or party political interference (1996:15). Criteria for distribution of funds are therefore quite particular and should align with these development strategies and principles. What is more the arts are notoriously underfunded, especially in South Africa where governmental budgets are under constant pressure. Private funders have fewer political and funding constraints, and are therefore important contributors to a thriving public art sector. They also offer the potential to fill the funding gap left by government's strained budgets. However, privately funded artwork carries the burden of representing the company's "brand" and could be seen as another form of marketing, as well as evoking issues of privately owned public space. Public/private partnerships seem to offer a happy medium between the different strengths and weaknesses public and private streams offer, but too comes with complications in balancing the priorities of each. I explore all these issues in the coming chapters.

I explore the different commissioning processes and how these work differently for different types of public art production, to interrogate the relationship between artist and audience and different perspectives on engagement. The artworks I explore are all done by men who are predominantly white. While I do not have scope in this research to delve into the issue of race it does become pertinant to my framework when looking at issues of inclusion and exclusion. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

In Johannesburg, and Braamfontein in particular, these issues are prominent. The scope, budgets and number of public art projects has grown rapidly over the past few years, with over 108 new works commissioned by the JDA between 2003 and 2012. The figure is now even larger[1]. Harrison (2014:8) explains that this increased focus on public art and its potential to define Johannesburg's post-apartheid identity was motivated by Johannesburg's partnering with New York in a sister-city project in 1994. This project facilitated the development of the On*e Percent Arts Policy*, that stated that 1% of capital budget be given to the City of Johannesburg for public art projects. This paved the way for the *City of Johannesburg Art, Culture and Heritage Services Public Art Policy* (2006), as the increased funding for the arts needed to be properly managed. Given the magnitude of fundign and number of projects involved, further research is necessary into the outcomes of these projects.

My report begins by introducing the artworks I have chosen as case studies and exploring my choice of Braamfontein as the location for my research in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2 I discuss my research methodology and research design, looking at the different strategies and sources I used in this research report. In Chapter 3 I begin by setting the background information around the development of public art practice and discourse that is relevant to my research. I then explore the complex terms: the public; place and engagement in the context of international and local theories and touch on how it relates to my research. Chapter 4 is a discussion around the artworks themselves and the findings of my surveys, observations and interviews in relation to the terms I discuss in the previous chapter. Chapter 5 is an examination around the findings and how these may affect funding and policy, and production, funding commissioning. I offer my recommendations based on these findings. I end off with a conclusion to sum up this paper and my findings. I have chosen to work thematically, applying the literature reviews and theoretical discussions about the terms "public" "place " and "engagement" to my analysis of the production, funding and commissioning of these artworks.

[1] Taken from the "Public Art Exhibitions" Poster outside the JDA offices at the Bus Factory, New Town, Johannesburg.

Chapter 1: Artworks

I chose Braamfontein as a site for my research from amongst the many in the city of Johannesburg because the public art projects in Braamfontein are predominantly initiated by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) which has a very specific public arts policy and strategy. I found this to be a key point of interest because the strategy and policy documents offer the opportunity to explore public art in Braamfontein from public policy lense, as opposed to research which focuses on the artworks themselves. This distinction allows for an exploration of how public policy and strategy affects the success or failures of public artworks. There is also a combination of different funding models and different production process which make for interesting comparison. The different funding modles, production process, and types of artworks will form the basis of my analysis and comparison because they speak directly to the types of project that the local government supports. As an assessment of policy these documents lend themselves well to my research and offer many interesting insights and observations that will guide my concluding recommendations.

Braamfontein is densly populated with different groups that use the space at different times. The surround space offers a lot of pedestrian traffic and different demographics from students and office workers to tourists (local and international) attracted by the weekend activities in the area. The different demographics in Braamfontein range in terms of races, income groups, diverse residential contexts and speak to issues on inclusion and exclusion that are central to my analysis and research. Braamfontein has undergone a large scale urban renewal project and is part of the development of a cultural arc that stretches from Braamfontein to Newtown. This development poses interesting discussions on gentrifiction which ties into my research on engagement as seen through the framework of inclusion and exclusion. In Braamfontein we see the intersection of cultural policy and urban policy, where arts and cultural interventions are being used for urban renewal and development. Therefore the artworks discussed, and the different forms of production they represent reveal a lot about the cities urban policy as well as cultural policy. As discussed by Groth and Corijn (2005) above, one can determine a city's view on urbanity and urban development through the cultural and art project they support and produce.

Finally the alleyway upgrade project has not been researched or written about, being a new project. Other monumental work in the inner city and Newtown have been researched by various writers and institutions. The alleyway upgrade project is based on a project which was developed in Melbourne, Australia. The relationship between these two spaces and places offeres some key insights which I discuss later in this research around the need to understand the specific context of each city and space for public art projects to be effective.

The four artworks that I discuss represent a variety of styles, materials, strategies, commissioning processes and funding models. I chose to explore artworks in outdoor public sites because I am engaging with the City's public art policy which is solely about outdoor public sites. I also chose public art as opposed to public museums, because museum audiences in South Africa are very limited. Art that is visible from the street to commuters and pedestrians has a much higher reach. Braamfontein is an art and design hub and a busy property development precinct, with a specfic agenda around using art for urban renewal.

The Braamfontein Alleyway Upgrade Project

Funder and Producers

The Braamfontein alleyway upgrade project was a joint venture between the Braamfontein Improvement District (BID) and the JDA, facilitated and curated by Trinity Sessions, an art production company. The aim of the project was to use public art to revitalise dead and unused spaces in Braamfontein. It was an experimental public/private partnership with the property developers in the area. Along with the artworks, the project included repaving the alleyways, planting trees and improving security with cameras and lighting.

I encountered some confusion around the planning of the alleyway upgrade project in my interviews with the various stakeholders. Celestine Mouton (2015) project manager at the JDA, described how the project came about as part of an initiative called the "Inner city public places challenge", where they asked different property owners within the city to make a bid to the JDA around areas they would like to see improved. They focused on the alleyways as points of connectivity, having the potential to revitalise "dead spaces". Mouton (2015) elaborated: "The best way to activate a space is by upgrading it and doing some form of public art so people can identify with (*sic*)". The focus on culture-led urban development is very evident here, and in keeping with international strategies and successful examples from other cities. However it is important to note, as I discuss futher below, that one cannpt simply "cut and paste" a strategy from one city to another, contextual specificity and local knowledge is imperative for successful development. .

Despite the focus on connectivity, Charlotte Johnson (2015) from Trinity Sessions described some confusion over sites for the artworks, where the property owners had undue influence on where artworks should go, and kept changing the sites of some artworks to suit their wants and needs, as opposed to what worked best to enliven the dead spaces. There were also concerns around how the alleyways were to be accessed and kept unobstructed. Gates were being closed by the property owners for security reasons, and cars were parked in the alleyways, blocking them and nullifying the project's aim to create access and intergration through the use of public art. Here the specific context of Braamfontein and the property

owner's daily activities and security concerns were not fully addressed by the project planners.

Commissioning Process

Mouton (2015) outlined the process where an open call was sent out publically and various artists responded. While Mouton described how the call was widely advertised via printed notices around Braamfontein and calls on various websites, Craig Smith (2015), artist, claims he found the reach of their call to be very limited and he only saw the notice by chance. Of these, a short list of artists was selected to work in a workshop environment for a few weeks, to generate proposals for public artworks. These proposals were then put to public vote which took place over one night at the exhibition space in Braamfontein. This is one of the factors that attracted me to the project as it appeared to include the public in the commissioning process.

Johnson (2015) described how their organisation (Trinity Sessions) came on board in a curatorial role at quite a late stage in the planning of the project and therefore did not achieve their usual planning and community engagement process. She claims they usually have much more community involvement at the planning stage, such as workshops and meetings with community members around the subject and nature of the artworks . In this case the artists ran with the projects and Trinty Sessions just came in, in a curatorial role.

When asked about the commissioning process for his work "The Guardians" (2014), the artists Craig Smith (2015) replied that he had seen a small poster somewhere around Braamfontein advertising the call for artists to submit work for a public art project. Smith was under the impression that it was all paid for by the property owner so he thought that they had decided which works would be realised. Nolan Dennis Oswald (2015) describes how he and Mr Fuzzy Slipperz, the artists behind "Seasons of Change" (2014) were also under the impression that the property owner, South Point, played a significant role in deciding which artworks were realised and where they were placed. This is interesting because Josef Talotta (2015) from South Point reported that they did not put any money into the project, they just supplied the spaces for the artworks and the space for the workshop. In terms of the voting process he explained that as far as he could remember they had little involvement in the vetting process, which he put down to the JDA.

I find it curious to note that each of the stakeholders, artists, curators, government representatives and private property developers reported a different version on what went on in the commissioning and production process of this project. The private/public partnership seems to be a process that is fraught with miscommunication and misinformation in this example; this becomes relevant when looking at the success of different funding models later in this paper.

The Artworks and Artists

I discuss two artworks in particular, being Mafuta's (a collaboration between Oswald and Mr Fuzzy Slipperz) "Seasons of Change" (2014) (Image 1) and Craig Smith's "The Guardians" (2014)

(Image 2). Both these work are murals and were created specifically for the sites in question, in a workshop process that was said to involve the collaboration between artists and the surrounding community, as mentioned above. While "Season of Change" is in relief, both are essentially 2 dimensional. Smith's work is more figurative while Mafuta's work is more abstract, so the works offer contrasting visual elements for comparison. Both works are located somewhat down the alleyways and are not visible from the main streets and walkways.

Mafuta comprises Oswald, who comes from an architecture background and does a lot of work with illustrations and installations, and Mr Fuzzy Slipperz who is a street artist. They are relatively young artists at the start of their careers. Smith (2015) on the other hand described himself as a mid-career artist who focuses on his studio work and has little experience with street art and commissions of this scale.



Image 1: "Seasons of Change" (2014), Mafuta

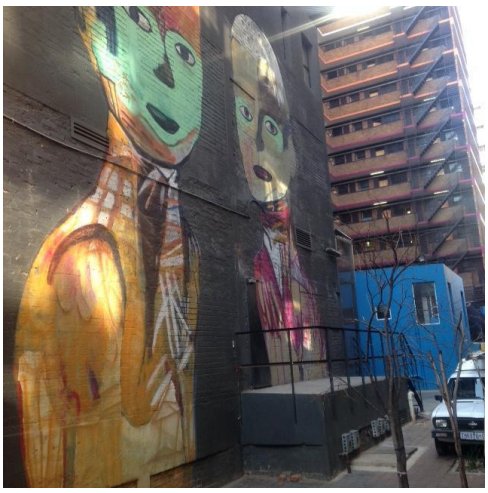


Image 2: "The Guardians" (2014), Craig Smith

Eland

Funders and Producers

The Eland is not part of the Alleyway Upgrade Project, and represents a very different funding, commissioning and production process that I am including for the sake of comparison and to explore an artwork that is more firmly type A.

Mouton (2015) explained that the policy of the JDA is that 1% of their capital infrastructure budget is allocated for public art and that there were no landmarks signifying the entrance to Johannesburg city for those coming from the northern suburbs. In light of this the JDA commissioned a gateway sculpture of significant size and prestige for this area. Again, this production process was facilitated by Trinity Sessions. The artwork, Eland, was funded by the City of Johannesburg with the aim of creating a landmark project.

Commissioning Process

The artwork was commissioned through a closed call to five well-known and established artists. It seems the commissioning process was therefore quite straight forward and all stakeholders had a clear picture of the project's strategy and aim. Johnson (2015) claimed that this work is the project that got the ball rolling for public art; the media attention and ceremonial opening, attended by the Major of Johannesburg, showed the potential for public art projects to attract public attention and positive public relations for the City. While favouring a big name artist for his PR potential seems exclusionary, it could be seen as positive in that it "got the ball rolling". Thought was given to the location of the work, being very central and visible to accommodate the brief for the gateway sculpture.

Artwork and Artist

Clive Van Den Berg's sculptural work "Eland" (2009) (Image 3), was chosen as the artwork for the site from the five submissions. The focus was on the city as a whole, not the immediate public of the space because it was contructed as a gateway project. Van Den Berg (2015) stated: "So my interest was rather as a beacon to the city not the immediate community". Given its function as a gateway sculpture the artwork is monumental in scale and prominently positioned where it is easily seen by pedestrians and cars.

Van Den Berg is a mid-career artist with much experience and recognition both in South Africa and internationally. His practice is split between studio work and public works that take the form of both monumental works like "Eland" and community projects.



Image 3: “Eland” (2009), Clive Van Den Berg

Mandela mural

This artwork too does not form part of the alleyway upgrade project and is included here to offer a comparison of a fully privately funded and produced artwork, as well as one that is proninently positioned and of momentous size and scale.

Funders and Producers

It was quite difficult to find information on this project. Jessica Hunkin (2014), of the creative showcase website *Between10and5.com* describes how the project came about through a collaboration between the artist and Hennessy Whiskey, where the whiskey brand brought the artist on a world tour to launch the bottle he designed. While on this tour he created the mural in Johannesburg. The wall space was provided by the property owners, Play Braamfontein. It is a very prominent position on the popular Juta St. and its size and colourful characteristic make it highly visible.

Commissioning Process

The mural was a private commission by Hennessy Whiskey, with space provided by Play Braamfontein. The artist was commissioned directly to produce this artwork.

The mural commemorates the 25th anniversary of the “Purple Rain Protest” which took place on the 2nd of September 1989. In this protest, held in Cape Town to protest against Apartheid, the protesters were sprayed with a purple dye enabling police to identify

protesters even after they fled the scene. Following this event the slogan “the purple shall govern” started appearing in graffiti all over the streets of Cape Town. This is a play on the line from the Freedom Charter [2] (1952): “The people shall govern”.

Artwork and Artists

The Mandela mural (title unknown) was created by a well-known international street artist, Shepard Fairey (Image 4). Fairey became famous for his “Obama Hope” poster. Fairey’s work is very political in nature and the street art genre and style of his works is fundamentally subversive. Fairey was not available for an interview, but his communication manager suggested I look at other information about him online, suggesting that his previous interviews and commentaries can be applied to this work. Speaking about this mural on his website obeygiant.com Fairey writes:

> I’m an advocate of Human rights, justice, and equality, so it should be obvious why Nelson Mandela is a hero of mine. Some people seem confused by the use of purple and the slogan on my Mandela mural but it is a reference to the anti-apartheid “Purple Rain Protest”.

The artwork is very large in scale, colourful and prominently places on Juta Street which attracts a great deal of foot and car traffic.



[2] Taken from anc.org.za (accessed on the 13/01/16).

Image 4: Mandela mural (2014), Shepard Fairey.

The variety in style, commissioning process, level of engagement and artists' experience that these artworks represent make for rich discussions on public art in the following chapters. These artworks and the motivations behind their production reveal many things about the JDA and other governing bodies view on Braamfonteins' urbanity and the priorities behind urban renewal, such as the desire to create a "world class city" and simulate international strategies around urban renewal that used public art for urban development.

Chapter 2- Methodology and Research

In this research report I explore the key issues of public engagement with different forms of public artworks and how these compare to the intentions of funders and producers of the work using various methods such as:

- Open-ended interviews with key stakeholders in public art projects
- Survey of random members of the public at the sites of public art projects.
- Observations at the sites of public art projects
- Research and analysis of primary and secondary sources on the topics of public art, place-making, audience engagement, types of funding and public art policies.

I then analyse this data to interrogate the relationship between public participation and funder/producer intention through comparison of the artworks. In total I interviewed eight key stakeholders in public art projects and surveyed 160 people, 40 at each of the four artworks sites I researched. This research was conducted with approval from the Wits Ethics Committee.

As a comparative study this research looks at similarities and differences between units of analysis, which are the artworks in Braamfontein. As discussed above, these artworks all differ in many respects, but are similar in that they are all public artworks, they are all part of the Braamfontein urban rejuvenation strategy and they all consider their surroundings in one way or the other. My units of analysis are the specific artworks compared along the engagement scale. My research also compares the intentions of the funders and producers of the works with the outcomes of this research.

For the survey I developed the engagement scale as a device to rank audience response as my research revealed that one cannot have a dichotomous approach to the subject. The proliferation of public artworks in Johannesburg over the past few years has resulted in public art projects that defy the kind of linear development process that Lacy (1995) describes. While some public artworks appeared to be more open in their production process, closer analysis revealed that the commissioning process was still relatively closed. Conversely, some artworks that seemed to be autonomous and disengaging proved to be engaging due to their size, position and subject matter. I also used the scale as part of a mixed method study approach which I discuss below, in an attempt to bring what policy makers would consider a “rigorous” approach to an otherwise qualitative subject such as art is.

In the application of the scale, I collated the information I got from the surveys, interviews and observation to assess the artwork on the following criteria:

- Did the production process involve the public/community/users of the space in any way? (Interviews)
- To what extent did the artists intend to engage the public? (Interviews)
- How did the artists and producers view the public of the artworks? (Interviews)
- How did the public physically engage with the artwork? (Observation)
- Was the position of the artwork accessible to the public? (Observation)
- How did people respond to the artworks (like it or dislike it)? (Survey)
- How did people claim to engage with the artwork, i.e. take photographs with it, walk past it? (Survey)

I give each of these elements a value out of 10 and then average out the final score between all these values. I lay this process out in a table that follows each artwork in Chapter 4.

Comparing these outcomes to the intentions of the funders and producers of the artworks offers the opportunity to analyse and evaluate public art strategies and how they translate in the implementation of projects, as discussed in Chapter 5.

The comparative nature of my research lent itself to grounded theory. In *5 Ways of Doing Qualitative Analysis* Frederick J. Wertz; Kathy Charmaz and Linda M. McMullen (*et al*) (2011:165) explain: "Grounded theory is a systematic yet flexible method that emphasizes data analysis, involves simultaneous data collection and analysis, uses comparative methods, and provides tools for constructing theories". I found this to be descriptive of my research methods as the data collected for this research came out of interviews, surveys and the comparative tool of the engagement scale. As I collected data I was conscious of recurring themes and ideas that then became the focus of my research, such as:

- Ideas around the definition of the following terms: 'the public', 'place' and 'engagement', as discussed in Chapter 3.
- Issues around commissioning and production of the projects discussed extensively by Molemo Moiloa (2015), head of Visual Art Network of South Africa (Vansa), Johnson (2015) of Trinity Sessions and Smith (2015), reviewed in Chapter 4.
- Ideas around place-making and public policy strategies, discussed by various theorists, who came to the fore in discussion around the alleyway upgrade project, which aimed to attract people to the dead spaces but has yet to achieve this in any significant way.
- The need for more information accompanying the artworks and follow-up engagement with the work, discussed by Van Den Berg (2015) and Smith (2015).
- How people actually response to the question "What do you think of this work?", as explored in Chapter 4.
- The implication this has for policy and funding, discussed in Chapter 5.

I use a combination of methods in order to get a more comprehensive understanding of the way in which the public responds to the artworks I am exploring. The open-ended questions and interviews allow for qualitative analysis, and the survey and engagement scale have elements of quantitative methods. Michael Quinn Patton, an expert on applied research and evaluation, explains that the opposing methods can be used to strengthen and support each other (1990:11). The benefit of qualitative research is that it fosters in-depth and detailed research on a specific topic. The qualitative nature of the open-ended interviews I did brought many interesting topics to the fore that became the focus of my research given the grounded theory framework, mentioned above.

On the other hand quantitative methods are advantageous in that they allowed me to measure varied responses from many people in a structured and generalizable way, and to test the hypothesis that arose from the qualitative data. I could then cross reference the survey results against different age groups and users of the space. These outcomes are discussed in Chapter 4 and again highlight interesting issues around where and how people experience visual art. As discussed, this more structured generalizable information is attractive to policy makers and government officials who tend to work with numbers and statistics in their decision making.

This approach allowed me to explore the artworks from a different perpective and have a variety of findings for comparison and analysis. The rich qualitative dimensions of the interviews could be compared to the qualitative outcomes of the questions, such as the idea that the policy makers and cultural producers project a public, which I discuss in chapter 5. Conversly issues that came out of the quantitative method guided my research of secondary sources, such as the instinctive nature of art described by Dennis Dalton which I discuss in chapter 3.

Interviews

I conducted open-ended interviews with the artists Clive Van Den Berg of “Eland”, Dennis Nolan Oswald of “Seasons of Change”, and Craig Smith of “The Guardians”. I interviewed Celestine Mouton of the JDA, Molemo Moiloa and Lester Adams of Vansa, Charlotte Johnson of Trinity Sessions and Josef Talotta from South Point. I tried to keep the format of the interview and questions standard across the three categories, namely 1) artists, 2) theorist/curators and 3) city officials. The open-ended nature of the interviews resulted in some topics being superseded and some coming to the fore, as discussed above.

The interview participants were on the whole very helpful and engaging, and some even provided me with booklets and information beyond the requested scope of the interview. In

Asking Questions Norman Bradburn, Seymour Sudman and Brain Wansink (2004:30) warn of four basic kinds of errors in participants answering questions, which are "memory, motivation, communication and knowledge". I have managed to avoid these errors by speaking directly to the people involved in the project thereby ensuring knowledge and memory of the topics discussed. However I did find it interesting that in some cases I got conflicting versions of the same events. These contradictions were very telling in that they uncovered issues of communication and accountability in public art projects that involved various stakeholders, already touched upon above in my discussion on the commissioning of the artworks. As for motivation, the artists were very enthusiastic when talking about their artwork and as discussed the city council members were also very helpful. Everyone conveyed a feeling of being invested in this topic and eager to help broaden research in the field.

Surveys

In keeping with the mixed method approach I conducted surveys at the site of the artworks with random users of the space which asked for socio-economic information that could be compared and generalised, and had an open-ended question that allowed for qualitative research.

The survey collected the participant's background information such as age, suburb of residence, highest level of education, occupation and level of participation in artistic activities. It also included the closed-ended questions "Does this artwork improve the space around it?" with the options of "yes", "no" or "indifferent". This quantitative information allowed me to map the various responses along different ages, levels of education and involvement in the arts. This approach resulted in information over-load, so I chose to focus on age, where people experience visual art, how often they use the space and if they felt that the artworks improve the space. These are all expanded upon at the end of Chapter 4. I included highest level of education in the survey because I thought it could provide interesting results in comparing level of education and engagement with art, but I was forced to prioritise other relationships in the data as the deductive nature of my research lead to information over-load. I do discuss eductation briefly but only in the context of the government's responsibility in arts programming as per Zolberg, discussed in chapter 3. The themes and categories I chose to focus on are age, frequency of use of the space, and where the participants experience art predominantly as I felt these yielded more pertinent results for my exploration of engagement in terms of the aims of the JDA's public art strategy and policy.

I attempted to survey a cross section of society. Although the participants were randomly selected at the sites, most of the residents and users of public space in Braamfontein fell

into the demographic of young, black students and professionals. However on the weekend the demographic changed to include people of all ages and races as well as some international travellers. I conducted the surveys during the week and on weekends in an attempt to get a variety of participants across all the demograhic criteria mentioned earlier. I did not ask participants to state their race in the survey because this too fell outside the scope of my research, and I did not want it to impact the participants responses in any way. I was concerned not to lead them to think there should be a distinction between the responses of different races.

It is however interesting to note that different people use the space in different times; predominantly black workers and students during the week and tourists, both local and international, on the weekend. This becomes noteworthy where I discuss issues of gentrification and a projected public and how this relates to the outcomes of my research below in chapter 3 .

The open-ended question in the survey originally simply asked: “What do you think of this artwork?” Further reading led me to include the sentence “How do you interpret it?” As mentioned above, Knight and Senie advocate for the importance of including discussions on audience response into public art research. Harrison (2014:14) echoed this in her view that research into public art fails to explore how the public interprets the artworks. The idea that the public is seldom consulted on their opinion and interpretation of public art motivated me to include this question. This question became central to my research into engagement and I took the participants answers to this questions, as well as observations at the sites of the artworks to reflect their engagement with the artwork. As discussed in the background section above I feel it is this surveying of the public that is lacking in public art research and policy evaluation. While the questions “What do you think of this artwork? How do you interpret it” are not truly open-ended and is somewhat leading, I wanted participants to give me their opinion of the artwork and I felt this was as open ended as the question could become in the context of a survey, as opposed to an interview.

Bradburn, Sudman and Wansink (2004:154) discuss the pros and cons of open-ended questions and advocate for open-ended questions when you want a participant’s opinion but caution that a participant’s thoughts may be haphazard. For these reasons I had the participants write their answers. Writing helps one to order one’s thoughts, and as Bradburn, Sudman and Wansink (2004:99) claim, self-administered questions are less threatening. I kept the survey short and simple to help ensure its validity and motivate people to participate in the research given that time is always an issue for people. The survey is included in Appendix A.

I was surprised by the responses to this question, particularly by how enthusiastically and thoroughly people answered it on the whole. Many asked if I was the artist, and seemed to

relax when they found out I was not, leaving me with the sense that they were responding honestly. The surveys were done anonymously so people could speak freely. In many instances I got the impression that the participant had never been asked their opinion on an artwork before and enjoyed the opportunity to engage with an artwork on this level.

Observations

I spent some hours observing the public's behaviour at the sites of the artworks; this was challenging in the case of the Braamfontein alleyways as they were usually uninhabited. However this finding brought up some interesting points in itself. The alleyway upgrade project was developed to increase access and revitalise dead spaces, yet these spaces remain largely dead and uninviting. The lack of access is a fundamental physical barrier for public to engage with the work. This was most noticeable in "The Guardians" and "Seasons of Change". Smith (2015) talked about "The Guardians":

> I think there are a few subconscious blocks, for instance at the bottom end there are gates, so people subconsciously will not go down, and from that square where mine [Guardians] is behind that big yellow wall, that also becomes a subconscious block… It's like a subliminal block so people stop using it and go through the hotel to the main street.

The scale of "The Guardians" and its inclusion in a small space where its size cannot be appreciated leaves viewers seeing it as ominous. The artwork cannot be appreciated from such close viewing and is overlooked despite its size.

Another unforeseen category that arose was that of public engagement with artworks through social media, especially the trend of taking selfies[3]. Various works in Braamfontein became the backdrops for photo opportunities. Although previously unconsidered I dedicate some thought to this in relation to public engagement further in this report. I discuss "actor network theory" in chapter 3 on how the public appropriates public artworks through their use of the space. This yields interesting discussions on engagement and new media in my conclusion and recommendations.

[3] A selfie is a photo taken of oneself.

Reading and Research

I locate my research within a wider framework of discussions on public art and public engagement happening both locally and internationally, and public policy debates, some of which I have discussed in the background section to this paper.

Initially my research and comparative frame was largely based on Lacy's *Mapping the Terrain, New Genres in Public Art* (1995) that establishes the foundation of the distinctions I explore between the concepts of type A and type B public art. However, these distinctions became less binary as my research developed and this text became more of a foundation and framework than a key reading. Other theories came to the fore such as Vera Zolberg's (1994) discussion on the responsibility of public art institutions to engage a wider audience, Michaels Warner's (2002) theories on the public and Dennis Dutton's (2009) discussion on the art instinct, that are expanded on in the coming chapters.

Primary sources such as government policies and strategic documents provided a solid foundation from which to assess the intentions and strategies of such organisations. The key documents I reviewed were the White Paper, the *City of Johannesburg Art, Culture and Heritage Services Public Art Policy* (2006) ("Johannesburg Policy Document"), the JDA Strategy Document and the *Mzansi Golden Economy* (2012) (MGE). As the findings of my engagement scale revealed key points for analysis of policy, these became key documents to my research.

Data Analysis

Peter Woods (1999:5), Professor of Education at the Open University, illustrates how with postmodernism there came a turn in writing from seeing the author as an objective observer to understanding the relativist aspect of knowledge. This relates to grounded theory where in grounded theory coding became "inductive and open-ended rather than preconceived and deductive, as in quantitative research" (Wertz; Charmaz; McMullen 2011:58). In using the mixed method approach I had to continually balance between these two poles to produce research that could work both quantitatively and qualitatively.

As a result, I was very careful with my categorisation and data mapping. Once all the interviews were completed I mapped them according to responses to the questions I set out, which are:

- The artist's work in general
- Motivation behind this particular work
- The commissioning process
- The artworks connection to the site

- How the artist viewed the public
- Feedback, constructive criticism and pros and cons of the projects - consistent with grounded theory.

I had to carefully analyse the survey responses as these form part of the foundation of the engagement scale. I grouped the public responses to the survey question as follows:

- They like it or dislike it – judged according to having a positive or negative response to the work.
- Discussion of formal elements – judged on any mention of the colour, texture, size and medium of the work.
- Discussion of skill of the artist – judged according to comments on the artist being creative, an excellent work or direct talk of the skill of the artist.
- They recognised the artist's intention – as compared to the artist's description of their inspiration for the works taken from interviews.
- Sense of civic pride – judged on any mention of building communities, attracting tourists and positive mention of the council doing a good job organising the artwork.
- Sense of place – judged on mention of the space improving, creating a sense of neighbourhood or belonging to the space, recognition of ownership of the space.

These responses became the themes of my research, and categorising them as such enabled me to compare these themes to the intentions of the funders and originators, to determine if the public art projects were fulfilling their intentions and reflecting public art policy, and if not, what other lessons can be learnt from the public's engagement with the artworks.

Limitations

I was originally limited by the examples I could explore, being conscious of my personal safety. However the range of different types of artworks in Braamfontein resulted in my research being enriched, and differentiated from other research in this field, as discussed.

Another limitation I did not foresee was people failing to complete the survey correctly. I therefore reviewed the numbers in percentages not totals because there was a slight variance in the number of people that answered each question. Despite these slight discrepancies I felt the data was still very valuable and relevant to my research.

The survey format also limited the open-ended nature of question I was asking. I tried to combat this by allowing the participants to write freely and ananymously but the question was still leading them to the focus point of my research. What is more, my attempt at grounded theory that used inductive methods lead me to request too much information in

the questionaire, to see what would come to the fore. This lead to information over load and some empirical data, such as highest level of education, being included needlessly.

Lastly, negating the race issue did offer some limitation to my research given that Braamfontein is a complex urban space with such a mixed audience however this would have taken my research beyond the scope of this paper. Indeed, this ommission made for interesting results in what can be found when one doesn't consider race, such as how issues of race are projected onto the public by the art world and policy makers that may not reflect the experience of engaging with public art, discussed further below in chapter 3. To be clear, I am not suggesting that race is not an factor in people's experiences, I'm suggesting it may not impact the experience of public art in the way that policy makers perceive.

Chapter 3-Some concepts in context

Background

The comparison established in this research report between "art in public places" (type A), which is autonomous, and "public art" (type B), which engages the public more directly, reflects the development and progression of public art projects over the past few decades. During this time there has been a development from seeing public art as merely art in public space to realising the potential that public art has to influence social inclusion, urban rejuvenation, place-making and community development. This development has been highly influential onfor the relationship between public art and public policy. Before delving into some central concepts in detail, I would like to give a brief overview of these central issues and how they relate to the context of Braamfontein and the artworks I have chosen to research.

Lacy (1995:21) gives a brief history of the development of type A public art, where she describes how "art in public places" became popular when public sites were identified as potential extensions of the gallery and museum space, and the insertion of art in these spaces aimed to increase access to, and audiences for, such works. Lacy (1995:21) describes these as "canons in the park" that focused on commissions by big name artists that turned these spaces into "disembodied museum zones" (Kelly in Lacy 2005:24). The art that was commissioned, constructed and displayed carried with it the ideology of this pre-determined idea of the canon of great art. This ideology was the modernist view of aesthetic art or "high art" that saw art as autonomous and separate from general society and public opinion, as a form of self-expression on the part of the artist. This ideology leads to art being seen as elistist and exclusionary.

Caroline Levine (2002:54) echoes this in her studies on the relationship between art and democracy. She explores the role that modernism and the *avant garde* played in the development of public art. She describes how the modernist movement was seen as "one that would be free, pure, and independent, liberated from established interests and demands". She goes on to claim that this refusal to conform gave the modernist art its reputation of being elitist. This elitist attitude complicated the relationship between the public and public art, where "public" and "elite" are seen as contradictory terms.

This relationship between art and elitism is an important one in public art. Jennifer Craik (2007:26), professor of communication and cultural studies at the University of Canberra, claims that there is growing tension between what counts as art and what counts as culture in policy making. Art is often associated with the elite, whereas culture is seen more broadly. This echoes Levine above, and becomes a central argument for issues of engagement. It raises questions around where the responsibility of cultural policy lies,

should it increase access to predetermined idea of art or facilitate a wider definition of art, often understood more braodly as culture. Tony Bennett, Professor of Sociology, Politics and Public Policy and Mike Savage, Professor of Sociology (2004:7) echo this tension where the speak of the importance of considering issues of social inclusion and exclusion in cultural policy. They agree that cultural policy has to be designed in such a way as to be broad enough to include and promote cultural participation beyond the idea of culture as "high art" (2004:8). This sentiment is echoed by Matarasso and Landry (1999:13), who address this issue in their discussion on the strategic dilemmas of cultural policy, one of them being that of cultural democracy or democratisation of culture. They explain that cultural democracy strategies that increase access to a pre-determined idea of art and culture and reflect a "top down" dispensation that does not produce a true democracy of culture.

The relationship between elitism and art discussed above makes it clear that "art in public place" or type A public art extends these ideologies into public places and spaces and can thereby create exclusionary public art practices. Public policy models, funders and commissioning processes that favour this type of public art can ironically create a situation where the inclusion of art in a public space can lead to the public feeling excluded not included. For example in Braamfontein, Moiloa (2012) asserts that there is a disconnect between the idea of a "world class city" which the JDA is trying to project, and the reality of homelessness and poverty experienced by many of the residents of Braamfontein. These residents are excluded from the vision of the "world class city" and the culture-led urban development projects that aim to achieve this vision.

Lacy (1995:29) posits "New Genre Public Art" as art that focuses on engagement as opposed to autonomy in an attempt to combat the exclusionary practices of public art described above. This is the foundation of the category that I refer to as type B public art. Lacy (1995:15) defines this type of public art as that which is built around concepts of "audience, relationship, communication and political intention" as she explains further:

> Unlike much of what has hereinto been called "public art", new genre public art - visual art that uses both traditional and non-traditional media to communicate and interact with a broad and diversified audience about issues directly related to their lives - is based on engagement .

As opposed to elitist view this newer approach focuses on including marginalised voices. These types of artworks often have a socio-political inclination, embracing rather than negating their context in public space. As opposed to embodying permanence and universality, these objects tend to be more transient, performative, experiential and ephemeral. Lacy (1995:35) elaborates:

> All art posits a space between the artist and the perceiver of the work, traditionally filled with the art object. In new genre public art, that space is filled with the

relationship between artist and audience, prioritized in the artists working strategies.

Mary-Jane Jacobs (1995:50), American writer and curator, poses the following question to further interrogate this relationship:

> [W]hat if the audience of art were considered as the goal at the centre of art production, at the point of conception, as opposed to the modernist Western aim of self-expression? And what if the location of art in the world was determined by trying to reach and engage that audience most effectively?

She explores new potentials for public art to challenge the mainstream art system because of its inclusive nature and audience-centeredness. The result of which she claims is a new audience and wider public engagement with the arts.

These ideas reflect the postmodern turn in viewing art, critiquing the autonomous and absolute framework of art in favour of a relative and multicultural view. However, while the postmodern turn may have critiqued many of the modernist theories of art's universality and aesthetic autonomy, postmodern and contemporary artworks still present a pre-determined concept of art to the public. Levine's (2002:57) explains: "Although postmodern artists may assert that they have left the principled isolation of modernism behind, contemporary art is still perfectly capable of exulting in its defiance of public taste". Ideas of audience centeredness still raise the question such as "which audience" and "to what end?" This brings up questions around inclusion, exclusion and gentrification which I discuss further in my research outcomes.

This distinction, between artworks that are autonomous and those that are audience-centred is the foundation of the engagement scale I use in this report. While there are countless other measures on which public artworks differs, such as permanent or semi-permanent, political or aesthetic, I chose to focus on engagement because idea of engagement is an important one in the South African context where participation in the arts is often relatively limited and engaging public art projects offers the potential to encourage participation in the arts and introduce alternative ways to confront the social and developmental issues South Africa faces.

The popularity of public art and culture-led urban development is a phenomenon that is evident world-wide, and could be a tools to confront these issues. Malcolm Miles (2005:889) describes how the arts have developed an important position in strategies dealing with urban development problems and culture-led urban development has become a public policy mantra for many cities . He explains that the success of a small number of cases such as Liverpool, England and Bilbao, Spain have become examples for all. Miles (2005:890) questions to what extent policies from one city can be mapped onto another.

Miles and Paddison (2005:837) also interrogate cultural-led urban development in claiming that it is not a question of whether or not it works in rejuvenating urban areas, but whether this rejuvenation works for diverse social groups. These views reflect the potential issues of gentrification that arise from cultural-led urban development where Miles (2005:889) claims cultural zones soon become synonymous with affluent zones and lower income social groups can be excluded or pushed out as a result. This echoes my discussions above and lays the foundation to explore these issues in the context of Braamfontein. Type A or type B public artworks could be argued to work to either facilitate or combat these effects and it is necessary to explore these relationships, and how they reflect the government's view on urbanity and development.

As discussed in my introduction, the scope, budgets and number of public art projects has grown rapidly over the past few years. The accelerated development and vast range of projects in Braamfontein make it difficult to plot precise movement from type A to type B public art, as is outline by Lacy. It is precisely this acceleration in the number of projects being realised that calls for more research into the responses these varied projects elicit from the public they are meant to address, and what this means for the assessment of policy.

This background lays the foundation for some of the issue I will be discussing in relation to my research and the key terms I explore below. I highlight some of these discussions and outline the frameworks through which I will be positioning my analysis. The concepts I am focusing on are the ideas of the public, place, and engagement. I am focusing on these three terms because the idea of the public is central to public art, yet is complex and difficult to define. Ideas of place, place-making and urban development are the focus of policy and public art projects, as seen above, and engagement is the yard stick by which I am measuring the outcomes of public art projects. These terms are intertwined so there are some overlaps and in my discussions.

The Public

The public is evidently a very important component of public art, as public art projects aim to benefit the public either through engagement and participation (type B) or increased access to a pre-determined idea of art (type A). Additionally, in this report I explore the public's engagement with public art and therefore the need to bring this term into focus. The term can be taken to mean anything from audience to community to crowd. Understanding the different meanings of the term "public" facilitates a deeper understanding of the relationship between the public and public art.

In his essay *Publics and Counter Publics* (2002), social theorist and literary critic Michael Warner discusses the notion of the public in great detail. Warner (2002:49) posits "the

public" as a specific term that he defines as a "social totality", which eliminates differences between members of the public. In other words, according to this definition "the public" is seen as a hegemonic collective, a mass without distinctions or variances. It seems this is the public that public policy addresses. Although cognisant of the diversity of the public, public policy aims at governing the public as a whole entity, not the individual needs, wants, and tastes that make up the public. This view runs parallel to the view of the public described by Groth and Corijn (2005:504) in their discussion on urbanity and how the modernist view of urbanity saw society as uniform.

Warner (2002:50) then posits "a public" that he defines as:

> A public can also be a second thing: a concrete audience, a crowd witnessing itself in visible space, as with a theatrical public. Such a public also has a sense of totality, bounded by the event or by the shared physical space.

An artist, writer or speaker, would address "a public", or at least create "a public" in addressing it. In the case of public art, a public of a shared physical space is addressed by the work of art. A public artwork therefore forces "a public" by its inclusion in public place.

Warner (2002:64) goes on to claim that "one projects a public". He elaborates:

> Public discourse says not only: "Let a public exist," but: "Let it have this character, speak this way, see the world in this way." It then goes out in search of confirmation that such a public exists, with greater or lesser success—success being further attempts to cite, circulate, and realize the world-understanding it articulates.

The producers of public artworks project a public that will benefit from these outcomes treating the public as a totality and negating different publics. Patricia C. Phillips (1995:61), independent art critic, warns of the dangers of this and asserts that the public that is constructed for public art often does not align with the reality of diverse communities and places where the artworks are located This idea motivated me to question the public that these public art projects address to get their points of view and their lived realities. It led me to question the users of the space to see if their experinces align with the strategic development objectives of the JDA, which I discuss further in chapter 5.

This sentiment is echoed by the Director of the Visual Arts Network of South Africa, Molema Moiloa (2015) where she explains:

> I think the biggest problem with a lot of the JDA artwork is that it's in fact in opposition to the public around it, so a lot of what the artwork is trying to do is change or deny what is happening in that space, it's the opposite to kinds of real community engagement. It is trying to say: "This is a world class African City" when

> the reality of the people around that space is not an experience of a world class African city; it is an experience of poverty, difficulty, isolation.

The contradiction between the ideas of an all-inclusive public and exclusion or isolation is also discussed by Rosalyn Deutsche (1996), an author on art and spatial politics, where she describes how the idea of unity works to naturalise and neutralise differences in society. She contends that differences in society are made to seem natural in this kind of discourse and this works to hide the true nature of society. Deutsche (1996:57-58) explains: "Neutralising concepts of diversity are wielded to defeat genuine diversity and to depoliticize conflicts". In treating the idea of the public as a social whole, or composed of "essential difference" (Deutsche 1996:57), these differences are made to seem normal and the artists' and cultural producers' responsibility to address them is negated. The different publics in Braamfontein should be mentioned here, because these ideas of unity and progress using public art work to facilitate gentrification. The process of gentrification is proposed as an improvement to be enjoyed by the public as a whole, neutralising the different publics in Braamfontein and how they might respond differently to the so-called "improvements". As Moiloa claims, the prioritisation of urban development seems to address the needs of the more affluent users of the space and private property owners over those of the lower income groups such as the students and workers living or working in Braamfontein. She feels the improvements are masking the reality of those low income groups publics whose struggles are unattended by local governement.

The discussion Warner (2002) proposes between "the public" and "a public" as projected social totalities, and the potentially exclusionary aspect of the term "public" discussed by Moiloa (2015) and Deutsche (1996) highlight the complexity of these terms. Following this I asked the artists how they view the public of their works. Van Den Berg (2015) described the public of Braamfontein as very "fluid", with a combination of a few residents, lots of business people and many students. He asserted: "my interest was rather as a beacon to the city not the immediate community" (Van Den Berg 2015). Smith (2015) regretted that lack of public in the alleyway and feels the project is not yet complete. He asserts it needs a "phase 2" to get people to use the space. Oswald (2015) describes the public as different communities, explaining that there are those that engaged with him while he was making the work, and a new community once the work is completed, who he calls the "Instagram people"[4] for whom the artwork becomes a backdrop for photos. These responses expose the interchangeable nature of these terms and conflation of public and community. Van Den Berg sees himself as addressing "the public" not "a public", in Warner's sense, and Oswald accepts that "a public" is made up of different publics (communities). Smith regrets there being no public, meaning audience, for his work.

[4] Instagram is a digital image sharing platform.

Apart from the public projected by policy makers, I found that there is another projected public: the public projected by the artist and art world. Deutsche (1996) and Moiloa (2015) speak of exclusion and naturalisation of differences, but the results of the survey found that few people felt excluded or marginalised by the works. The public seemed to enjoy the unity and sense of belonging that the public artworks created, as I discuss later in this report. The public I surveyed was indifferent to the complexities and theories assigned to them by artists and theorists and simply enjoyed the artworks' presence. The fact that most of the people I surveyed enjoyed the inclusion of artworks in their spaces and felt civic pride and a sense of belonging to a progressive city, despite being of different races, reinforces the negation of race as a factor in my research.

As discussed, for this research I am viewing the public as the immediate users of the space, "a public" for which the artworks were envisioned and produced. "A public" that is forced by the inclusion of the artwork in the space, that I myself produced by asking people to engage with the work, and often pointing it out to them, where they may not have noticed it before. This public does not seem to be concerned that they are forced into being "a public" because the majority enjoy the artwork's inclusion in these public places. I also survey a public that is projected by my research into them and theorising on their engagement with the artworks in the space. Although gentrification is an issue in terms of which publics are included and excluded in theoreticle terms, the lived experience is that of inclusion for most of the people I surveyed, despite their different demographics and the various diverse publics that use the space. Given my focus on the public primarily as users of the space, let me now explore issues surrounding the concept of space.

Place and Space

Just as the term public has various meanings and implications that need to be addressed and contextualised, so does the term place. Far from being neutral geographic indicators, public places and spaces are complex ideas that theorists interrogate in relation to accessibility, inclusion and exclusion, relationships and networks. Bettina Malcomess, writer, curator and artist, confronts these issues in an essay in the "2010 Reasons to Live in a Small Town" (2010) project run by Vansa. Malcomess (2010:23) cites Michel de Certeau in discussing the relationship between place and space and gives de Certeau's definition as place being "fixed and stable" and space as "practiced place", place that is composite of various changing elements. An alleyway is a place, but when an artwork is included and a restaurant opens its back doors into it, it becomes a creative, populated space. Malcomess (2010:23) goes on to explain that she sees the relationship between place and space as a narrative that is continually changing, quoting de Certeau in describing this relationship as a "two-way process of setting and transgressing limits". Applying these principles to the context of Braamfontein, the JDA and Trinity Sessions aim to use public art to attract

people, commerce and activity to the alleyways and thereby turn these unused places into public spaces and as such the alleyways become “practiced” places.

This supports the discussion that type A public art infuses public places with the ideology of the museum space. Public spaces become practiced place through this infusion. The Braamfontein.org website even states that the alleyways have become “open air art galleries”. Although this term is used positively, it overlook the complexities of the potentially elitist nature of galleries and accessible public space, as discussed above. Boitumelo Nicol Mthimkhulu’s (2012:30) explores Kim Dovey’s (2010) idea of “becoming places” in her Master’s thesis on public art in Troyeville. She explains that space is essentially non-hierarchical and becomes defined by its users. She quotes Dovey in discussing place as going beyond its simple definition and being a point of intersection of networks and meanings. According to Dovey, places “become” according to happenings, events, and bodies that occupy the space (Mthimkhulu 2012:30). The inclusion of type A public art in public place could be seen to act on the space, and imbue the neutral location with the ideology of the museum space. Mel Gooding (1998:17), art writer and critic, warns of the dangers of extending the museum into public places. He upholds that museums are separate dedicated spaces that members of the public choose to go into or not. Extending this exclusionary practice into public place has implications for the public’s ownership of, and interaction with, that space.

This influences the arguments around exclusion that are often raised against certain forms of public art. Deutsche’s book, *Evictions* (1996), discusses public art in this light, where she explores public art and democracy and the produced nature of social space. Deutsche (1996:xxiv) asserts that the relationship between art and redevelopment seen in urban regeneration projects masks the political nature of both art and space, and this political nature should instead be confronted for the democratisation of social space to begin. Deutsche (1996:57) contends that increased focus on “the public” and public space in the redevelopment of New York actually worked to mask the increased privatisation of space and “withdrawal of space from social control”. These arguments are used by critics of development that leads to gentrification.

The same fear over the masking of social reality is seen in Moiloa’s argument above that the JDA is masking the realities of homelessness and poverty on the city streets by focusing on public art. Moiloa (2015) reasserts that more often than not, projects that draw on ideas of public space work to exclude certain members of the public, which is the risk of gentrification as discussed below. Paul Crowther (2003:121), a specialist in visual culture, explains that this exclusion can happen in two ways, being “explicit” and “tacit”:

> Its explicit mode involves practices that affirm the superiority of one cultural group over others and either excludes those others from full and equal participation in

> society or allows inclusion only to the degree that the participants give up the practices that are basic to their identity in favor (*sic*) of those of the ruling culture. In its tacit form, factors of the above kind are involved, but as much broader attitudes embedded within institutions and practices. Often they will be neither recognized nor intended as exclusionist, and may even sometimes be of multicultural significance.

Inclusion of museum art in public place could perform this tacit exclusion even where the artworks and projects aim to foster inclusion, social cohesion and democratic development. By bringing the artworks out of the alienating space of the museum and into the open space of the streets, these projects seem to be opening these works up and democratising them through increased access. However as Gooding and Crowther warn above, this could be imposing tacit exclusionary practices onto spaces that should be open and accessible to all.

Another form of exclusion, discussed by Deutsche above, is the exclusion that comes with the increase of privately owned space and gentrification. Public art is often the catalyst to gentrify an area, as artist Smith (2015) discusses:

> It's a formula the whole world knows about. If you take a run-down area and put art there developers pass and see the public art and think "something is happening here, I'm going to buy this building, because the city is doing something." It's the first trick, clean up the street, cover it with art, and developers feel the city is doing something. And also you attract the artists, it gentrifies, and pfhew! Kick them all out.

However in the survey I conducted none of the participants mentioned feelings of exclusion or marginalisation. In fact if anything, feelings of ownership and pride were most prevalent. This feeling of ownership was reflected in the new relationships the participants formed with the artworks. As I observed on site, in public places these works became backdrops to photos, benches, advertisements and shade providers. The public's relationship with the place is a two way relationship and places "become" spaces the public lays a claim over. Similarly the surrounding inhabitants of the space become a public and audience for the artworks by engaging with them in various ways. It is important to note here the difference between a public that is projected and the actual public, who feel ownership and engagement despite theoretically perceived exclusionary practices.

Further, Kate MacNeill (2012:15) asserts that audience engagement with public art is immediately a part of the politics of public space and these politics involve Bruno Latour's "actor-network theory". This theory proposes that objects in networks become liberated from the predetermined ideas and come to be understood through an examination of interaction between people and the object with no prior assumptions. Placed in public places, artworks can move beyond their intentions and gain their own agency, as opposed

to carrying the weight of museum space. The artworks act upon the place, turning it into a creative space, and the place acts on the artworks, giving them meaning beyond the prior assumption of them being art. This is the two way narrative proposed by de Certeau above.

This idea is echoed by Alexander Opper's essay on the Vansa public art project "2010 Reasons to Live in a Small Town" (2010), where he claims:

> The space of the gallery or museum is an implicitly closed and alienating architectural envelope, accessible only to the select or informed insider, and peripheral to the everyday walkability of the city at large. When art 'leaves' the limiting confines of the white cube to position itself on the public urban stage, it subscribes to the institutional rules and regulations of the metropolitan grid (2010:14).

Again this supports my argument that the public appropriate all forms of public art in their spaces and make them their own. The exclusionary practices of museums spaces are negated by the artworks inclusion in public space through actor network theory.

Although the public I observed conveyed the feeling of ownership discussed above, one issue that did arise in relation to place, space and the artworks was the issue of access and safety. The alleyways are still largely unused, and while the project was aimed at creating access between the two sides of Braamfontein, lack of safety restricts this access. Many participants mentioned negative aspects of the alleyway artworks' obscure positions, and I observed few people using the space. Again we see the two way narrative of setting and transgressing limits defined by de Certeau. The artworks become limited by the threatening spaces of the alleyways.

However the two other artworks that are in more prominent and safe positions do work to attract weekend tourists to the area. These artworks make the space accessible to those that do not feel comfortable going to the inner city. Although gentrification is a concern and a sensitive subject that needs to be acknowledged, there are benefits to making the space more attractive to these sectors of society. There has been an increase in commerce in Braamfontein and various new restaurant, shops and business in the area. This creates jobs and commerce for everyone.

The public participants' feelings of inclusion or exclusion were more influenced by safety concerns than the type of artwork in the space. It could therefore be argued that they would welcome development that secured and revitalised the area, despite the issues of gentrification and exclusion discussed above. I found that in the context of Braamfontein, the idea of the public being tacitly excluded from a space by the artworks is a projection that did not align with the responses from the respondents to the survey. The respondents

there were more concerned with pressing issues of personal safety, and the majority enthusiastically welcome the artworks' inclusion in their spaces.

Engagement

There are different levels of engagement with artworks and different ways in which people choose to engage. Some artworks lend themselves to physical engagement and interaction, while others engage with issues, or engage with the space. In this report I am looking at how the public physically engages with the artwork and how the public responds to the survey, as well as keeping the artworks' production process in mind. Looking at the engagement scale I set up, I feel there are no artworks in Braamfontein that could be said to fit into either end of the scale, all the artworks are somewhere in between. Let me explore some theories surrounding the term "engagement" before delving into the examples I have researched.

When it comes to engagement, there seems to be a distinction made between the interviewees' use of the term "community" that can be directly engaged, and "the public", that cannot. Moiloa (2015) explains:

> One of the big differences is also between projects that are about monumental structures and projects that are about community engagement… Braamfontein is difficult because it's not a bounded community, its students who come in and out quite a lot, its working people, it's not impossible but it does make it a little more difficult to have a kind of community-led process because you don't have community structures.

This is echoed by Van Den Berg (2015) and Johnson (2015), who described the projects they work on in townships as involving more community engagement. Looking at the discussion above, it seems "the public" as a social totality, as per Warner, cannot be engaged as easily as a community. Deutsche (1996:57) explains that the public is seen as a unity or as "essential difference" which amounts to the same thing. As such, "the public" is seen to be harder to engage because it is made up of so many differences, whereas community is seen as a more fully unified entity with similar interests and needs. This becomes problematic when public engagement and participation are the focal points of the public art strategy, as seen with the City of Johannesburg's JDA Strategy Document and Johannesburg Policy Document, discussed below in more detail.

However, although the artworks are not interactive, and did not engage the public very deeply in the production process, the people I surveyed still found the works very engaging, once asked their opinion. The idea that the public needs to be directly involved in the production or creation of the artwork to feel ownership and engagement, as advocated by

the new genre public artists, is potentially a projected idea of the public. The public I surveyed engaged enthusiastically with the artworks when given the opportunity to do so. Many participants filled the space allotted to answer the core question in the survey.

The idea that enjoyment of and engagement with art is more about access than differing tastes (represented by "the public") is advocated by Zolberg in her article "An Elite Experience for Everyone" (1994). This article upsets the notion that appreciation of art is a natural, inherent quality that one either possess or does not, and explores the exclusionary and elitist effect such thinking has on art museums' practices and audiences. Although focused on museums, I feel this argument can and should be extended to public art. Contrary to Serra, Zolberg's argument suggests that art can be democratic with correct programming and education, despite the content and production process.

Zolberg (1994:55) embraces the work of well-renowned sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in upsetting the idea that taste, and therefore appreciation of art, is inherent. Bourdieu explores how the relationship between culture and power works to foster and perpetuate inequality in society. By interrogating the notion of *habitas*, Bourdieu reveals the inaccuracies in believing that tastes are inherent, where he positions *habitas* as a sort of "cultural baggage" that one gains through socialization, as opposed to an inherent quality (in Zolberg 1994:55). Zolberg (1994:58) claims that museums work to perpetuate this myth through the expectation that visitors to the museum have an inherent interest in art and are visiting the museum for that reason. With this mentality the museums absolve themselves of any responsibility to educate the public on art appreciation or create programming that will appeal to a broader audience.

Similarly, Leila Jancovich's and Franco Bianchini's discussion on problematizing participation has a negative view on cultural institutions that blame the individual for lack of engagement. Jancovich and Bianchini (2013:63) cite Malcolm Miles' deficit model, where issues of audience engagement, or lack thereof, are blamed on the individuals that fall into a "hard to reach" category for geographic and socio-economic reasons, as opposed to policy issues of content, programming and funding. Again this releases the producers of the artwork from any responsibility regarding public engagement. The so called "hard to reach group" can be reached through correct public art programming according to Zolberg ,and it's the governements perogotive to do so.

While taste may not be inherent, as argued by Bourdieu and Zolberg, the art philosopher and media activist Dennis Dutton (2009:1) argues that we all have an inherent art instinct that helps us to appreciate art on a fundamental level. Dutton (2009:30) discusses the apparent contradiction in the term "art instinct" because art is a logical and rational learned skill while instincts are automatic and unconscious. Yet he describes how the fact that art spontaneously appeared around the world suggests that art is a natural innate element of

fundamental human development. Dutton (2009:176) argues for “internationalism” in art, where he explains that seeking the authors’ intention is a fundamental aspect of interpreting and appreciating art because we have a natural instinct to appreciate skill, craft, talent and genius. Therefore these assessments help one to gain more pleasure from the works. The results of the survey I conducted showed this instinct and revealed another type of engagement with art: appreciation of skill. Many participants stated that they appreciated the skill involved even where they did not like the work. This motivates for the addition of information to accompany the work, because it helps people to engage with the work on this level and highlights the skill, experience and creativity of the artist. Thoughtful and effective programming can work to make either form of public art more democratic through additional information, public art walks, and other informative elements that help the public engage with the artworks and increase their accessibility.

Latour’s actor-network theory mentioned above also comes into play on the topic of engagement. Engagement with the artwork changes the relationship between artwork and public. In this way the public’s engagement with the objects/artworks can reveal a lot about the users of the space and their experiences. In using “Eland” as a shelter from the sun, or using “The Guardians” as a background for a photograph, the artworks take on new meanings through different forms of engagement. It is through engagement that the public of the artworks gain a feeling of ownership and negate the exclusionary potential of type A public art.

Following from this, the function of these artworks as backdrops for selfies is another interesting form of engagement. As Warner (2002) discussed above, for a public to exist it has to be addressed. In sharing images of the artworks on social media, the public of the artwork creates a new public for it by circulating the image to a wider audience. This form of engagement works to free the artwork from its physical location and turn it into an electronic image with a new public and new location online. I therefore see selfies and image-sharing as the ultimate form of engagement with the work, because it not only engages the user in the immediate space, but creates a new public for the work.

Through public engagement the artwork can gain agency and escape the associations of the gallery and museum space, to become new objects with their own agency. It seems to be less important for an artwork to be physically engaging and interactive, in order to engage the public, because the public will engage with it through actor-network theory regardless and create a new dimension for the artwork, once given correct access.

Chapter 4 –Engagement Scale Results

In this section I discuss the outcomes of the survey I conducted at the site of the artworks. I interrogate these findings in the next chapter, here I lay the foundation of the data that came out of my research. The tables I include represent the quantative nature of my research which I explore qualitatively in the next chaper. My first unit of analysis is the engagement scale which compares the artworks enagement. Also discussed in this chapter is the second unit of analysis, the funders and originators intentions and strategies in producing these public artworks. I have touched upon some points already in my discussion on the concepts in context but I explore these points in the coming chapter in more detail.

Artworks

Eland

Intentions of Funder and Producers

The artist , Van Den Berg (2015) had a very specific idea of the message he wanted to convey with this gateway project, as he described:

> So I wanted something which was indigenous in an area of town which…had covered up the landscape basically. So I wanted an object that brought the landscape back, hence its planting, indigenous planting, and we did a lot of research as to what would work there.

He explained that the eland has huge significance to indigenous cultures and used to roam the area. His desire was to embrace the local that he feels is often denied through the history of colonialism and apartheid. He expanded on this attitude in urging the viewer to embrace this indigenous sensibility: “Let’s look at what is local and let’s look at how we can re-think planning our cities, planting in our cities and thinking about our place in relation to a larger context” (Van Den Berg 2015). Although the artwork does relate somewhat to its site, it is a reflection of the artist’s view around history and representation.

As mentioned the artwork was created to be a beacon to the city, it is intended for “the public” in Warner’s sense. The artwork was produced to give Johannesburg a unique identity. It projects a public that can associate with the artist’s perspective on natural heritage and history and would appreciate this beacon and landmark.

Participant's Responses

The public participants responded to the works as follows:

Responses	Number of people out of 38 (two did not complete this section properly)	Percentage
● Participants that claimed they liked the work, or mentioned a distinctly positive response to it	32	84%
● Participants that discussed formal elements (colour, texture, size) of the work	1	3%
● Participants that recognised the artist's intention (any mention of nature or history)	12	32%
● Participants that commented on the skill of the artist	5	13%
● Participants that claimed they did not understand the work	4	11%
● Participants that directly claimed that the work is useless	5	13%
● Participants that mentioned a sense of pride in relation to the work	9	23%
● Participants that commented on the work in relation to its place/space	18	47%

Table 1: Survey responses to the "Eland"

This artwork can be viewed as a successful beacon to the city in that a large portion of the participants mentioned the work in relation to place-making with comments such as:

- "It brings out the environment we live in and adds more life to it"[5].
- "I think it is a very good artwork. It is the symbol of Braamfontein"[6].
- "The statue represents the culture of Wits and the bars connecting each part of the animal body represents unity between the Wits community regardless of age, race"[7].

Almost a quarter of people mentioned the work instilling a sense of pride with comments such as:

- "I think this art is beautiful, it makes our town more attractive to the tourists. I love it too much"[8].
- "It adds beauty to Braamfontein"[9].
- "The artwork stands out because it symbolises our culture and bringing us back to our roots"[10].

Considering that the survey was somewhat open ended, the results of 47% and 23% for civic pride and place-making respectively are very impressive and I feel indicative of the work achieving its goal of being a beacon to the city.

A large percentage interpreted the artist's intention of bringing nature and history back to the concrete jungle and representing an African natural heritage. The artist was successful in creating something the public could respond to positively and on the whole could engage with, giving the majority of those surveyed a sense of pride, a sense of place and a sense of history. In this regard, the artwork established a sense of successful place-making.

A few other interesting responses came out of this survey that I would like to mention here. Five participants mentioned the need for information accompanying the work. Interestingly in the interview with the artist, he mentioned the need for additional narrative to accompany the work as his only constructive criticism of the project.

> I mean I thought I made a very accessible thing, I mean, an eland, you can't mistake it, you know. The significance you obviously have to think a little bit more about. But many people think it is great just having an eland. I think for some people it is still baffling, for some people the whole idea of a public sculpture is a novelty. And like

[5] Survey respondent no. 38 (2015)
[6] Survey respondent no.49 (2015)
[7] Survey participant no. 128 (2015)
[8] Survey participant no. 48 (2015)
[9] Survey participant no. 127 (2015)
[10] Survey participant no. 79 (2015)

you seem to have experienced people seem reticent about engaging and I think if we had a narrative there then it gives people a kind of an opening (Van Den Berg 2015).

There seems to be correlation between appreciation of the artwork and recognition of the skill involved. The only person who mentioned the artist's skill didn't like the artwork at all, as they claim: "It looks ugly and old. It needs a cleaning on top of it. But the artist, whoever made it, is creative and you know he is good"[11]. The art instinct discussed by Dutton (2009) is evident here. Although the viewer did not like the artwork he did engage with it in appreciating the skill involved in its creation.

Observing people at the site offered little insight in terms of their responses to the questionnaire. Most people seemed to just walk past the artworks; however some sat on the artwork's platform and used the artwork for shade. This reflects the actor-network theory discussed above where the artwork is removed from the gallery space and escapes its prior assumption of being an artwork. In this case it becomes a bench and shade.

Two people took photos with the sculpture. A third participant mentioned liking the sculpture because they could take photos with it. The idea of engaging and sharing the artwork through photos and social media sharing platforms is evident here. As discussed in Chapter 3, the artwork engages a wider public through circulation on social media and online platforms.

Engagement Scale

Having reviewed and analysed these responses an accurate engagement scale reading for the work is at 5.1 out of 10 according to the factors I have outlined . Although the artwork is a form of individual expression produced through a closed process with no public involvement, the public still like the work and enjoy having it as part of their space. The artwork acts upon the space in which it is built and gives the space meaning as the entrance to the city. The public engage with it through actor-network theory, taking the object away from its role as autonomous art and incorporating into city life by sitting on it and enjoying its shade. It is a landmark sculpture that gives the surrounding public a sense of civic pride despite being the work of a white male artist or indeed, that its and part of an urban redevelopement project that carries a critical shadow of gentrification. The breakdown below shows the scale achieved against the specific criteria:

[11] Survey participant no. 39 (2015)

Criteria	Score out of 10	Reasoning
● Did the production process involve the public/community/users of the space in any way?	0	There was no public involvement in the planning or production of this work.
● To what extent did the artists intend to engage the public?	2	The immediate public of the space was seen as secondary to the general public of Johannesburg.
● How did the artists and producers view the public of the artworks?	3	The public is viewed as varied and diverse, and therefore difficult to engage with.
● How did the public physically engage with the artwork?	7	Many people used the artwork as shelter and seating, and it was popular photo opportunity.
● Was the position of the artwork accessible to the public?	10	The artwork is in a very prominent position. One cannot miss it when entering Braamfontein by car or by foot.
● How did the participants respond to the artworks?	7	The majority of participants responded positively to it.
● How did the participants claim to engage with the artwork?	7	Many participants mentioned a feeling of civic pride and a sense of place.
Engagement scale score[12]:	**5.1**	

[12] Calculated as an average of the scores – in other words I add all the scores out of 10 and then divide the total by 7.

Table 2: “Eland” engagement scale

The Guardians

Intentions of the Funders and Producers

Smith (2015) envisioned the idea of guardians watching over the alleyway in response to his brief which was to make the space more useable. As safety is one major concern in unpopulated areas of Braamfontein, the idea of guardians watching over one reflects the strategy to revitalise the alleyways. Smith (2015) claimed to see the figures as twins, modern day Artemis and Apollo, or Luke Skywalker and Princess Leia, but explained he liked to leave his artworks up to interpretations: “I like to give my paintings names that leave it so ambiguous; I mean ‘The Guardians’ is ambiguous enough for people to then create their own interpretation”. He intentionally left their races ambiguous and intended them to be comforting and guarding. Smith hoped to engage “a public” in Warner’s sense, and give the users of the surrounding space a work that would become familiar and comforting.

From an urban development stand point the project aimed to open up access between the western part of Braamfontein where there is a hub of creative activity and booming commerce, such as the “Neighbourhood Goods Market”, and the eastern side of Braamfontein that as yet has not benefitted from such rejuvenation. The assumption here was that urban development could be accelerated by art and creativity.

The artwork was initially meant for a different site, where it would have been at the entrance to the alleyway, enticing people into the space. Smith (2015) reported feeling that the artwork has lost something in its current position; he feels it is disconnected from the site and slightly overbearing. Unfortunately in my hours of observation and surveying, I noticed that the alley was still used very infrequently, and it took me many hours to collect the 40 surveys I was aiming for. Quite often I confronted people in the adjoining square which is very popular. The artwork, although large in scale, is rather hidden and there is a wall blocking it from the view of the very populated square (Image 5). In this case the space acts upon the artwork, and the artwork cannot transform the place into a creative space as intended. This change of position was apparently decided by the property owners.



Image 5 : View of “The Guardians” from the popular Lamunu hotel square

Participant’s Responses

Responses	Number of people out of 39 (two did not complete this section properly)	Percentage
● Participants that claimed they liked the work, or mentioned a distinctly positive response to it	31	79%
● Participants that discussed formal elements (colour, texture, size) of the work	15	38%
● Participants that recognised the artist’s intention (any mention of two ambiguous figures or people watching over the alley/space)	12	31%

● Participants that commented on the skill of the artist	12	31%
● Participants that claimed they did not understand the work	4	10%
● Participants that directly claimed that the work is useless	1	3%
● Participants that mentioned a sense of pride in relation to the work	0	0%
● Participants that commented on the work in relation to of its place/space	9	23%

Table 3: Survey responses to "The Guardians"

A significant proportion seemed to reflect the artist's intention, although given that his intention was to be ambiguous this is a likely situation. A far greater percentage of people discussed the formal elements of this work as opposed to "Eland", especially the colour. Comments include:

- "The artist really expresses a lot. The art brings joy to me, the colours are wonderful"[13].
- "I like the colour combination. It is different. It portrays different kinds of artwork"[14].
- "I like the artwork due to the way the colours all mix and blend together, even to the point where there seems to be a story to it"[15].

The artwork seemed to elicit a more emotional response from people with many comments along the line of:

- "I like it; it is simple and not very complicated to explain. The artwork symbolises the black struggle and the colours explain apartheid and how naked we are to the world"[16].

[13] Survey participant no.2 (2015)
[14] Survey participant no.12 (2015)
[15] Survey participant no.13 (2015)
[16] Survey participant no.4(2015)

- "Art for me is a feeling of expression different kinda *(sic)* emotions can be expressed through art. I do admire and like it"[17].
- "An expression of ones emotions. Well thought"[18].

Perhaps the portrayal of human figures evokes a more emotional response than that of animals. This reflects the art instinct, where Dutton (2009) found that human figures are among the most popular images in artworks. Dutton (2009:13-15) recounts a survey conducted around the world that asked participants about their favourite kind of art. He goes on to describe how there were strikingly similar response for around the globe and the most popular artworks contain blue landscapes and images of people.

This artwork did not instil a sense of pride in the users of the space. They responded to the colourful and decorative aspect of the artwork as opposed to expressing a sense of civic pride. Some did mention place, in particular the artwork's improvement of the place, but it a less popular response than the colour and emotive effect of the work. This work being hidden did not induce people to see it as part of the city.

Engagement Scale

Given the responses above and the results of my observation I give this artwork an engagement scale reading of 4.8 out of 10. Although produced in a more open commissioning process, and appealing to people with its colourful and figurative elements, the positioning of the work in an unused space hindered the public's physical engagement with the artwork. The breakdown below shows the scale achieved against the specific criteria:

Criteria	Score out of 10	Reasoning
• Did the production process involve the public/community/users of the space in any way?	4	This artwork's production process was somewhat influenced by a public vote. The artwork is part of a project that had public engagement in mind.

[17] Survey participant no.8 (2015)
[18] Interviewee no.60 (2015)

● To what extent did the artists intend to engage the public?	7	The artist had the immediate users of the space in mind and aimed to create an artwork that made the alleyway more open and accessible.
● How did the artists and producers view the public of the artworks?	5	The public of this space was viewed as being predominantly students.
● How did the public physically engage with the artwork?	4	The space was not used except for two photo shoots so there was little public engagement with the work.
● Was the position of the artwork accessible to the public?	2	The artwork is positioned in an uninviting alley and it is hidden from view from the street by a wall.
● How did the participants respond to the artworks?	6	The majority of participants responded positively to the artwork. However the scale of the artwork in such a confined space can make it seem ominous.
● How did the participants claim to engage with the artwork?	6	The artworks resonated with the participant's art instinct but many regretted its location. The artwork did serve as a backdrop for two photo shoots.
Engagement scale score: 4.8		

Table 4: "The Guardians" engagement scale

Seasons of Change

Intentions of Funders and Producers

Oswald (2015) described the inspiration behind the work as follows:

> I guess we wanted to try something, kind of a counter-reading of the alleys. So the alleys are super urban in a way like a forgotten space, especially in Johannesburg. Kind of like a hyper urban in the sense of urban decay. So we wanted to do something completely counter to that. So the idea was to do something natural, so the seasons idea.

This echoes Van Den Berg's inspiration in creating "Eland", reflecting the same desire to return a sense of nature to such an urban place. Oswald (2015) reflected how the city is changing, and these sorts of commissions (the alleyway upgrade project) were signs of this change, which inspired them to engage with the alleyway space and do a counter-reading of the hyper urban nature of the alleyway. The artwork attempts to transform the space and have people engage with the city on a different level to the expected urban setting, but lack of exposure hinders this outcomes. It also calls into question the value of the project because public funds are a critical instrument of public policy.

The artwork now is surrounded by graffiti that seems to absorb it but works with it as well. Oswald (2015) said that they wanted the artwork to age in a certain kind of way, and that he is glad for the graffiti interaction, so that his artwork can be "this very strange thing in the city". The reference to the surrounding alleyway, graffiti and street culture, as well as the collaborative process of this artwork relate to type B public art. Far from being autonomous, the artist intended for the work to be absorbed by the city and merge with urban networks.

"Seasons of Change" is quite far down the alley in which it is found, one has to enter the alley and go some way down it to see the artwork. It is at the back of a Jazz Bar "The Orbit" and has a parking lot off of it so it is often blocked by cars and deliveries. The alleyway smells quite badly of urine and does not look very inviting; with litter and graffiti all over the place (Image 6). No-one walked down the alley at all while I was there observing the site and I had to entice people off the street to have a look at the artwork for my survey. On the whole people were reluctant to come down the alley to view the artwork, one person even commented: "What are you doing luring me down a dark alley?" However I was surprised that once down the alleyway people tended to linger for a while and write extensively. Below is a breakdown of their responses.

Participant's Responses

Responses	Number of people out of 40	Percentage
● Participants that claimed they liked the work, or mentioned a distinctly positive response to it	28	70%
● Participants that discussed formal elements (colour, texture, size) of the work	11	28%
● Participants that recognised the artist's intention (any mention of nature, landscapes or seasons)	17	43%
● Participants that commented on the skill of the artist	10	25%
● Participants that claimed they did not understand the work	6	155
● Participants that directly claimed that the work is useless	0	0%
● Participants that mentioned a sense of pride in relation to the work	0	0%
● Participants that commented on the work in relation to of its place/space	13	33%

Table 5: Survey responses to "Seasons of Change"

Again, a large majority declared that they liked the artwork, and many participants mentioned the work being complicated and interesting. Over 25% of participants used the words "interesting", "complicated" and "complex" to describe the work. Considering there were no prompts to this response I find this very telling, especially when compared to "The

Guardians" which is more figurative, and elicited a more emotive response from the participants. The more abstract nature of the work made people associate it with complex and interesting processes of analysis. This artwork had the highest percentage of people claiming they did not understand it, and the lowest percentage of people recognising the artist's intentions. Six people commented on the need for brighter colours and incomplete look of the work. However many people still claimed to enjoy the artwork even without understanding it, and fair percentage directly understood the artist's intentions. Here are some examples:

- "It's cool - complicated, not easy to understand. But the people who draw them know what they are doing because it is very beautiful"[19].
- "This artwork is too complicated but it requires more time and concentration in looking at it so whether you can see what it actually portrays"[20].
- "I think the work is rather complicated but very nice. The greenish part that looks like grass but not"[21].

This artwork had the highest number of people calling for more information, with six people claiming that they would appreciate some information to help them interpret and understand the work. This undoubtedly relates to the prevalence of remarks on the complicated, complex nature of the work. Dutton (2009:13) explains abstraction is the least popular form of art according to his research into the art instinct, so people cannot engage with the work as easily or naturally (2009:13).

The responses to this work saw many mentions of the location, although many were negative, claiming that the artwork was hidden and that the alleyway smelled bad. Here are some examples:

- "Doesn't catch my eye fast. Colour scheme and textures feel a bit drab in the walkways, partially because there is no sun reaching it. Otherwise, I like the idea of having art in spaces like this. Would be great to include a bio of the artist"[22].
- "I have different feelings 1) is how awesome it makes the area look. 2) I ask myself who does them 3) Is the district handling them, can we have more from them?"[23]

Although more abstract, this work still appeals to the majority of the users of the space, and people felt it improved the alley and called for more information about the artwork. People

[19] Survey participant no. 18 (2015)
[20] Survey participant no. 19 (2015)
[21] Survey participant no.20 (2015)
[22] Survey participant no. 34(2015)
[23] Survey participant no.35 (2015)

seem to really like colour, and preferred the brighter colours of the "The Guardians" over the muted colours of "Seasons of Change". People really noticed the unwelcoming state of the alleyway and felt the work should not be hidden as it was. Given the location, it did not instil a sense of civic pride in any of the participants.

Engagement Scale

I give "Seasons of Change" an engagement score of 4.4. The abstract nature of the work and the unwelcoming nature of the alley in which it is found all hinder the publics' engagement with the work, despite its type B elements in the commissioning process and realtionship to the space. The breakdown below shows the scale achieved against the specific criteria:

Criteria	Score out of 10	Reasoning
● Did the production process involve the public/community/users of the space in any way?	4	This artwork's production process was somewhat influenced by a public vote. The artwork is part of a project that had public engagement in mind.
● To what extent did the artists intend to engage the public?	7	The artist had the immediate users of the space in mind and aimed to create an artwork that made the alleyway more open and accessible.
● How did the artists and producers view the public of the artworks?	6	The artist acknowledged that there are various publics that engage with the artwork.
● How did the public physically engage with the artwork?	1	No one used the alleyway because it was uninviting and smelled terribly of urine.
● Was the position of the artwork accessible to the public?	1	The artwork was down an uninviting alley and could not be seen from the road.

• How did the participants respond to the artworks?	6	The majority of the participants responded positively to the artwork once it was pointed out to them. The abstract nature of the work made the participant think deeply and many referred to the work as "interesting".
• How did the participants claim to engage with the artwork?	6	Participants claimed to appreciate the artwork and the skill involved by many people asked for more information accompanying the work.
Engagement scale score: 4.4		

Table 6: "Seasons of Change" engagement scale

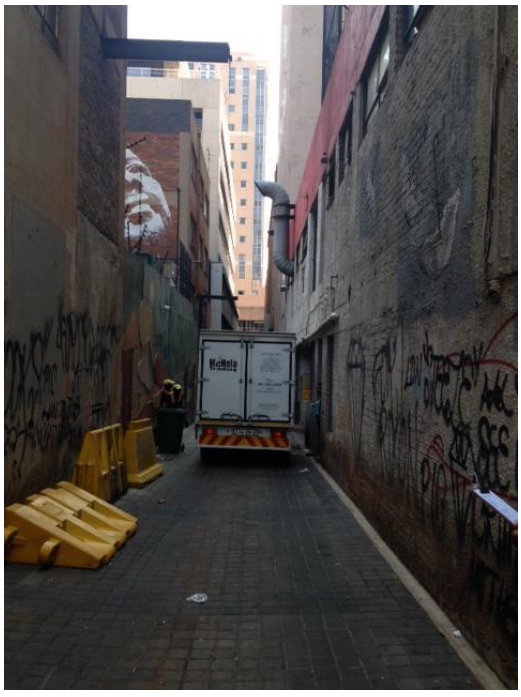


Image 6: "Seasons of Change" in an alley blocked by trucks and littered.

Mandela mural

Intentions of Funders and Producers

This artwork was commissioned in a closed process, with private funding from a corporate sponsor, despit being done in a street art style that suggests subversion and rejection of the mainstream. The closed production process does not seem to influence public engagement; its prominent position, reference to street culture and popular subject matter elicited many positive responses. This artwork calls into question the complicated nature of private ownership of public space and what this means for place-making, civic pride and gentrification.

Participant's Responses

Responses	Number of people out of 40	Percentage
● Participants that claimed they liked the work, or mentioned a distinctly positive response to it	37	92%
● Participants that discussed formal elements (colour, texture, size) of the work	14	35%
● Participants that recognised the artist's intention (any mention of liberation, the struggle, history, equality)	13	33%
● Participants that commented on the skill of the artists	2	5%
● Participants that claimed they did not understand the work	6	15%

● Participants that directly claimed that the work is useless	1	2.5%
● Participants that mentioned a sense of pride in relation to the work	21	53%
● Participants that commented on the work in relation to of its place/space	4	10%

Table 7: Survey responses to the Mandela mural

This was by far the most popular work, apart from representing Mandela who is very popular, it is also very colourful, bright and placed in a prominent position. It seems to give the public a sense of pride and optimism. Comments include:

- "I think it is very powerful and we should have more like it. It colours the street and gives character"[24].
- "Fantastic, eye catching. I'm visiting Joburg for the week and this is certainly an image I will upload on my social media platforms to showcase South Africa"[25].
- "I think this piece is amazing due to the fact that it is the father of our beautiful country. Also because of its location, it is in a really prime spot to target and inspire young South African youth"[26].

The artist's intention in representing Mandela as an icon of freedom and equality really comes through, however many people were confused by the reference to the "Purple Rain Protest", with almost no-one picking up on it. In this regard some information accompanying the mural could be very beneficial, especially given the commemorative aspect of the artwork.

The artwork succeeds in transforming the place where it is found into an inspirational space. The popularity of the work is evident and it is accessible and easy to associate with, despite the puzzling slogan. In this case the private funder and corporate aspect of the work was hidden from the public by the inclusion of such a beloved figure, Mandela. The private funder was able to create a sense of civic pride despite privatising public space.

[24] Survey participant no. 147 (2015)
[25] Survey participant no. 138 (2015)
[26] Survey participant no. 84 (2015)

Engagement Scale

As a result of these findings I give this artwork an engagement scale rating of 5.8. The artwork's positioning, size and attractive colour make it very popular and make it a defining feature of the area for both locals and tourists. It gives people a sense of pride and place. Its only downfall is that it needs more information to be commemorative of the "Purple Rain Protest" since most participants did not recognise that reference.

Criteria	Score out of 10	Reasoning
● Did the production process involve the public/community/users of the space in any way?	0	It was a closed corporate (private) commission. As a private commission this artwork did not have to abide by public policy, it just had to follow regulatory laws.
● To what extent did the artists intend to engage the public?	6	The artist represented a well-known popular figure, but the image was meant as a one-way dialogue between artist and viewer.
● How did the artists and producers view the public of the artworks?	6	They embraced the mixed nature of the space, Mandela appeals to a very wide and varied public.
● How did the public physically engage with the artwork?	4	The artwork is too high up for the public to engage with physically but it is a very popular photo opportunity.
● Was the position of the artwork accessible to the public?	9	It is in a very prominent position on the popular Juta Street.
● How did the participants respond to the artwork?	8	The participants responded very positively to it. Mandela is a very popular figure and the participants also

		appreciated the use of bright vibrant colours.
● How did the participants claim to engage with the artwork?	7	Participants claimed to take photos with it and enjoy the positive association with Mandela.
Engagement scale score: 5.7		

Table 8: Mandela mural engagement scale

Additional research results

Survey

As discussed the survey revealed more information than I am able to discuss in this report, because it allowed me to cross-reference biographical information such as age and profession with information on how the participant use the space and experience art. The quantitative aspect of the survey allowed for very detailed analysis of issues that do not fall into the focus of my research, however I would like to briefly discuss the following outcomes of my research:

- The age of the participants, because the brief of the alleyway was to give the alleyways youthful, vibrant appeal.
- Where the participant usually experiences visual art, because place, space and the public are all terms that go hand in hand with the location where one experience art.
- How often people use the space, because I noticed that most people were experiencing art primarily on the street so I decided to explore the regularity with which they use the space to further investigate the relationship between the users of the space and engagement with art.

Age: "Eland" had the most participants in the 18-25 age group (67.5%), being right across the road from Wits, and the Mandela mural had the fewest number of people in this age group (50%), having more of a mixed crowd.

"Seasons of Change" had the highest number of participant in the 36+ age group, being furthest from the University and the trendy Juta Street, and "The Guardians" had the lowest number of participant in this age group, being surrounded by student housing.

It is interesting to note that age did not seem to be a factor on whether participants liked the work and engaged with it or not, where all the four artworks came with a 4% difference of participants claiming they liked the work. Looking at the participants who filled out the occupation questions in the questionnaire, only 36% were students, compared with 48% that stated that they were professionals. Although the alleyway upgrade project was aimed at the student population, having more artworks around Braamfontein appealed to all ages and occupations. Again we see an example of a projected public, where the target audience is assumed to be students, but in fact more professionals inhabit the space.

Visual Art Experience: I found it interesting that a vast majority of people claimed that the streets are the primary places they experience visual art, with a substantial 48% of the public experiencing art on the streets compared with only 15% and 16% at galleries and museums respectively. It also highlights the importance of public art policy in a country where race and income have combined to exclude people from art in museums and galleries.

The Space: A large majority of people claim to use the space daily (36%) and weekly (24%), making 60% of the surveyed sample frequent users of the space. Of those, 81% claimed to think the artwork improves the space around it.

These findings have important implications for policy and funding as I discuss in more detail in the next chapter. If the streets are the primary visual art platform for the public, and the majority of this public uses the space daily or weekly, then more planning and funding should go into producing art for these space. This data is charted in Appendix B in keeping with the quantitative aspect of this research. The data helps to visualise these findings and shows the dramatic difference in people experiencing art on the street as opposed to anywhere else. The importance of public art and the potential it has to engage the public in various ways cannot be overlooked.

Monitoring and Evolution

Another point that came out of my interviews with the artists, which I explore in the next section in more detail, is the commissioning process and the follow-up process, of monitoring and evaluation. In terms of public engagement, there is not a significant difference between the responses to the artworks that had an open or closed commissioning process. The deciding factors seemed to be position and formal elements like content, colour and style. However the commissioning process should still be reviewed because it has strong implications for artist development as discussed by Moiloa and Johnson. Moiloa (2015) argues against the generally exclusionary nature of public art commissions, especially prestigious large scale ones. Johnson (2015) claims the greatest success of the alleyway project was the inclusive nature and opportunity it provided for artists that were at early points in their careers. National and regional public policy, as seen

in the White Paper (1996:8-10) and Johannesburg Policy Document (2006:2), focus on artist development so this issue is central to the country's art and cultural development.

Selfies and Social Media

One unexpected element of engagement that came up frequently was the artworks as photographs or backdrops for selfies, as discussed in the section on engagement. Both "Seasons of Change" and "The Guardians" were used as background for commercial photo-shoots. "The Guardians" was very popular with amateur photographers as I observed. Many people also took selfies with the "Braamfontein" sign that is made out of recycled bottle tops (Image 7). Although not one of the examples I researched, I happened to notice its popularity with selfies while observing "The Guardians", because the two artworks are in the same square. In a way the popularity of the Braamfontein sign for selfies makes it as much of a gateway project as the "Eland" although much smaller in scale and prestige. The potential for artworks to be shared and engaged with electronically on social media platforms is another innovative element of public art that could be capitalised in public art development strategies.

In the next chapter I explore these outcomes with reference to the policy and JDA Strategy Documents and the different funding models I am exploring.



Image 7: Braamfontein sign. Lamunu Hotel square

Chapter 5 –Implications for Policy and Funding

The research I conducted offers some key insights into the implications for policy and best practice in assessing the success of public art projects. The documents that I review in this section are the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (White Paper), the City of Johannesburg Policy Document (2006), the JDA Strategy Document (2012)and the Mzansi Golden Economy (MGE) (2015). In comparing these documents to the outcomes of the research I have conducted I assess the degree to which the provisions of public art policy are being achieved by these public art projects, and where the successes and shortfalls lie.

Policy

I begin this section by looking at national policy for the arts,cultural and heritage sector and then assessing the reginal documents. The White Paper (1996), the official policy for the arts, culture and heritage sector , recognizes that involvement in the arts, heritage and culture is a basic human right and not a luxury, and it positions arts, culture and heritage as fundamental to healing and reconciliation. It draws attention to the importance of education and infrastructure development for the support, creation and dissemination of arts and culture (1996:8-10). Although it does not address public art specifically, it is focused on redress and access, levelling the inequalities of the past and creating an inclusive arts policy for reconciliation and reconstruction (1996:15). The White Paper is currently under review and is now in its thrid draft form, however as things stand it outlines the national perspective on arts and development.

The MGE was released as a national strategy plan (2012) aimed at following up from the policy set out in the White Paper in practical terms. It outlines the art and cultural sectors as a potential growth area for economic development as it states:

> The Department of Arts and Culture has embarked on a strategy to reposition the arts, culture and heritage sector as key players in government's programme of action for social cohesion, creation of sustainable jobs and ensuring social and economic development (2012:1).

Unlike the White Paper,which makes reference to public art, the MGE mentions public art specifically, as one of the ten work streams that comprise the MGE programme and special funding is offered to support this sector. The MGE sees public art as a way to stimulate demand for the arts and job creation (2015:6).

The City of Johannesburg Policy Document, a regional document outlining arts and culture objectives for Gauteng, should align with national policy, and as such redistribution and redress should be the focus of the reginal policy. However, the White Paper was written in

1996, and is therefore somewhat outdated. The more recent City of Johannesburg Policy Document seems to be influenced by growing interest in the economic and development potential of the arts sector, echoing the MGE, as seen in the opening statement (2006:2):

> A vibrant public art programme offers a range of benefits and opportunities for enhancing the urban environment, increasing the use and enjoyment of public space, and building social cohesion (2006:2).

It then outlines the benefits of public art in its ability to generate a "vision of the city" and to aid in the development of creative spaces, to create opportunities for artists, attract tourists and generate confidence in investors (2006:2). The regional City of Johannesburg Policy Document goes on to emphasize the importance of diversity and creating a mixed portfolio of new and established artists and a variety of artworks. This speaks to the commissioning process and issues of inclusivity and exclusivity.

Commissioning of artworks is such a priority in the City of Johannesburg Policy Document that it deals extensively with the selection and commissioning of the art projects. It proposes a Public Art Action Plan (PAAP) that will identify potential public art projects that have an impact on the communities they serve, are equitable between neighbourhoods, have strong community and private support, and so on (2006:3). The development of a Public Art Planning Committee (PAPC) or steering committee is outlined in the policy (2006:4), to assist with developing public art projects that abide by the above criteria. It is unclear if such a body exists.

The JDA Strategy Document, being a practical application of the policies outlined in the City of Johannesburg Policy Document, advocates the importance of public art for various reasons, primarily in its role in improving public environments, evoking community ownership of space and creating destination places. There is a focus on developing community space and ownership and much advocacy for type B public art (2012:2), with community engagement as one of its principles of practice (2012:9). The JDA Strategy Document highlights the history and context of the public art program in Johannesburg, focusing on the quantity of public artworks that have been produced to date (2012:3-4). It then speaks to practical matters such as implementation frameworks, commissioning and curation processes and maintenance protocols.

Having outlined the key policies above, I now discuss the successes and shortfalls in the implementation as revealed by my comparative research. The White Paper and the City of Johannesburg Policy Document addresses the need for a mixed portfolio and the creation of opportunities for artists. However the focus on the economic and developmental aspects of public art is evident in the phrases: "develop creative spaces"; "confidence in investors" and "enhance urban environment". This focus is so apparent it is even stated outright in the introduction to the document: "Further, public art acts as a catalyst for development and

economic growth through raising confidence, attracting visitors and stimulating investment" (2006:2). This highlights the difficulty in prioritising type B public art that is focused on community engagement while satifying the desire for type A public art that is seen as more condusive to urban development through stimulating investment and atracting visitors through its high profile artists and monumental nature.

Public art projects and urban property development go hand-in-hand in Braamfontein, with both South Point and Play Braamfontein, the two leading property developers in the area, focusing intensively on art and creativity as defining elements in their development businesses. Play Braamfontein's website describes the company as follows: "Play Braamfontein is a design driven property development agency that is turning Braamfontein into a world-class creative hub in the heart of Joburg" and Talotta (2015) describes South Point as an eco-system that encompasses art, design, work, play and accommodation. In the relationship between these private developers and the public art policy of the city the focus on public art for urban redevelopment, as opposed to artist development, is unmistakable. As such, well established artists such as Van Den Berg and Fairey are popular choices, but these artworks were create in a closed and therefore exclusive process. However as discussed above, although these type A artworks seem contradictory to policy that has community engagment as a central tenant, there are some aspects in which they support policy.

The mission of the City of Johannesburg Policy Document is given as follows: "To celebrate Johannesburg's unique character and identity and enhance the urban environment through a vibrant, diverse city-wide programme of public art" (2006:2). And the objectives are given as:

> 1. To enhance the public urban environment and profile the image of the city through an on-going and dynamic programme of public art.
>
> 2. To increase public awareness and enjoyment of the visual arts.
>
> 3. To stimulate the creation of new works and the growth of arts-related businesses within the city.

The public artworks in Braamfontein were therefore commissioned with the aim to achieve these objectives. I can conclude that the public art projects I explore in this report achieved the mandates of this policy in that they managed to increase the enjoyment of visual art and enhance the urban environment. This is clear because 81% of the total participants claimed they liked the works and 60% claimed that it improved the space around them. The participants gave various responses around the ideas of civic pride and place-making, reflecting a positive vision of the city. Contrary to Gooding (1998) and Deutsche's (1996) theories that the public could feel excluded from spaces by certain works, as discussed in

Chapter 3, the actual public surveyed all responded very positively to the inclusion of these artworks in their places and spaces, regardless of the production process or type of art.

On the down side, I feel that the projects did not increase awareness and create art related businesses as per objective 3 of the City of Johannesburg Policy Document because there was no follow-up once the projects were completed. Smith (2015), Oswald (2015) and Van Den Berg (2015) all stated that once the projects were completed they had no further engagement or involvement with the projects or the JDA. The potential for public art tours is enormous, and highlighted in the MGE (2015:6). Yet no such tours, or artist walkabouts, have been arranged. The tour I lead as part of the adjusted survey was very popular, and as mentioned, the participants enjoyed being exposed to the artworks and being made aware of their inclusion in the city space. The City of Johannesburg Policy Document's focus on the economic development potential of public art is not being realised here.

Many participants complained about the lack of information accompanying the works, and although the public participants surveyed still liked the works, the lack of information is a missed opportunity to realise the City of Johannesburg Policy Document's objective no. 2: "To Increase awareness and enjoyment of the visual art" (2006:2). As Van Den Berg (2015) suggested, some information on the artwork can be an opening for engagement. It gives people a foundation from which to form their own views, or at least appreciate being able to recognize the artist's intent. Type A public art can escape its autonomous shackles by giving people an opening with which to engage. It can create greater awareness as point 3 suggests. In fact, according to Zolberg (1994:60-61), it is the responsibility of the producers of these works to ensure accessibility and engagement with the works through programming and education, discussed further below. This emphasis on education is also highlighted in the White Paper, making it a national objective.

One of the main objectives of public policy is around increased access and revitalisation of spaces. The White Paper focuses on access and redress, the City of Johannesburg Policy Document speaks about "increasing the use and enjoyment of public space" (2006:2) and Mouton (2015) discussed access and enlivening the space extensively. Although the artworks did improve the space around them, the alleyway upgrade artworks did not succeed in attracting people to the dead spaces of the alleyways and thereby revitalise the space. Security is still a concern because the alleyways are underutilized. Smith (2015), Oswald (2015), Mouton (2015), Johnson (2015) and Talotta (2015) all described how the aim of the artworks was to open up the alleyways to commerce and activity but this next step has not taken place yet and the newly refurbished alleyways are already looking derelict. Moreover, as discussed by Johnson (2015), some property owners close the gates at the end of their alleyways and restrict entry, upsetting the access and flow of the alleyway network. The property owners seem to be given undue influence over the project which speaks to the negative side of the privatisation of public space. Johnson went on to describe how one

artwork of the project has already been painted over and another has had to be taken down for safety reasons. The extent of the safety issues was not fully understood and addressed. It is clearly going to take more than lights and cameras to make people feel secure in these places. I elaborate on this below in my discussion on cultural mapping.

Smith (2015) mentioned the need to do a phase two of the project that brings the alleyways together by concentrating the project area and increasing the amount of art in the alleyways and creating an art walk, or art map of some kind. Smith (2015) regrets the lack of follow-up, as he asserted: "I mean I think what happens… is that projects are made, they are executed, everyone feels great and then it's like 'Ok, it's done'. Just leave people up to their own devices, there is no follow-through". Monitoring and evalution once the project was completed is lacking and this affects the success of the project, and planning for future projects. There is a missed learned opportunity for projects in the future.

Mouton (2015) asserted that they were planning to extend the project into Newtown when asked about the JDA's future plans for the alleyway upgrade project. She did not address the fact that the project was not successful in attracting people to the alleyways of Braamfontein. I take this to be an example of a failure of monitoring and evaluation. The current alleyway upgrade project has not been successful in revitalizing the alleyways and creating access. Talotta (2015) revealed that he was motivated to get involved in the project by a similar alleyway upgrade project in Melbourne, Australia which had succeeded in revitalising the dead spaces, however as Miles and Miles and Paddison describe above, one cannot simple cut and paste a project from one city to the next without a clear understanding of that cities individual contexts and realities. Therefore instead of just repeating the same project in a different area, the JDA should focus on addressing the issues of follow-through, exposure, safety and access raised against the current project.

Lack of maintenance is an issue that feeds into the above concerns. Maintenance is a key factor in the City of Johannesburg Policy Document and various participants of the survey conveyed feelings of disappointment at the lack of maintenance of both "Eland" and the alleyway artworks. Significant sums of money go into these projects, and the potential of these projects can only be realized with proper maintenance and development of the space. The success of the projects and sense of pride they instill is heavily linked to the maintainece of the artworks.

The project's commissioning process needs to be highlighted and addressed here, as it speaks to the successes and failure of the policies around public art. As discussed above the City of Johannesburg Policy Document addresses the commissioning process in great detail and it speaks to the White Paper's focus on access and redress. The way artworks are commissioned is very influential on the way artworks are produced, as well as the artists that are involved in the projects. Moiloa (2015) spoke about this intensively, where she

disapproved of the tendering process necessary to commission works: “Those tender documents mean that no matter what you do you are going to have transformation challenges. You are going to struggle to get young artists doing more work”. Adams (2014), project manager at Vansa, agreed when he explained that the process that policy puts together for the commissioning of a public artwork pre-determines the kinds of work that comes out of it and it is very detrimental to stimulating innovative and relevant work. I raise this point a little later in debating the role of government in these projects.

The alleyway upgrade project was somewhat successful in including young artists and helping them grow and develop in their field. Johnson (2015) affirmed that for her the success of the whole project came down to the young artists who were given the opportunity to present work for such a public space. Unfortunately, however, due to weaknesses in the follow-up process, these works are not getting the publicity they deserve.

TheJDA Strategy Document seems to be aimed at developing type B public art to achieve community engagement, as discussed above. In the example of Braamfontein there has not been a permanent public art project that could be said to fully exemplify type B public art. The projects in Braamfontein seem to be centred on urban renewal and property development, not engagement. Even the alleyway artworks, which seemed to have the public as a central stakeholder in the project, failed to truly engage the public. The property owners seemed to have more influence over the project than the public users.

The very term “community” was never used in relation to Braamfontein by either artists or producers, and as discussed above the mixed nature of the Braamfontein public seemed to negate the need for community engagement on behalf of the producers of the works. Moiloa (2015) described how a truly engaged process, such as type B public art, is very difficult to implement while working with an organisation like the JDA that have timelines, budgets and specific requirements:

> I think one of the biggest difficulties with the JDA is that the JDA wants to have a budget; they want you to propose on a budget, they want you to say exactly what is going to happen at the end of the budget. If you go with a consultation process and you are really honest about consultation processes you can never know what the end product is going to be.

Oswald (2015) discussed his experience working with type B public art; he worked on another artwork as part of the alleyway upgrade project that involved working with sign writers in the city at the site of an NGO that worked with immigrants to the city. The NGO then moved away from the site which made things very “confusing”. He went on to tell me that the experience was good because it tested how much community participation you can really have in these types of projects. He described how with type B public art you are always “walking a fine line between failure [and success]” (Oswald 2015), and therefore it is

not conducive to a commissioning body that has deadlines and targets to be met, such as a JDA.

This highlights a contradiction that arises out of the relationship between public policy and the arts. It was generally accepted by all the producers and stakeholders that a public art policy is very important to provide a framework cultural producers working in public art, and that Johannesburg was ahead of other cities in South Africa for having one. However, this same policy is very restricting to the types of artwork that can be produced, particularly hindering type B public art that does not fit into specific budgets, timelines and outputs. Where does this contradiction leave the role of government in public artwork and public culture?

To unpack this contradiction I recommend that the government and policy need to focus on the creation of the PAAC, as mandated in the City of Johannesburg Policy Document. This committee should work to address funding issues and ensure that the 1% capital budget funding public art receives is well spent. It can do this by thoroughly mapping and understanding the sector, to develop a better understanding of the public's needs. David Lee and Abigail Gilmore (2012:6) advocate the importance of cultural mapping in their research around cultural mapping in the UK. They claim cultural mapping should have a culturally sensitive approach that sees the public as "actors not objects" in public art projects. They quote Evans in suggesting a three-stage approach starting with cultural mapping, then assessing needs and finally planning (2012:6). Had the JDA assessed the public's needs more deeply, they may have found that security was a greater concern than they anticipated, and merely adding artworks to the spaces is not enough to revitalize them.

The government needs to work on creating an environment that is less restrictive and more conducive to the development of different types of public art, especially type B public art. The JDA Strategy Document does consider these issues; however is seems to have failed to implement them:

> Public art is about the collaboration and integration of ideas often between artists, architects, landscape architects, urban designers, and the public. Artistic processes such as research and design should be allocated sufficient time in order to increase the chances of a successful outcome (2012:10).

The policies and strategies are in place to achieve the aim of developing a rich public art portfolio for Braamfontein and Johannesburg in general, and the public is very engaged with the works they are exposed to. The outcomes of this research have revealed a few weaknesses in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and the need to create an environment more conducive to type B public art, and make type A more engaging through increased information around the work. What is more, considering that 48% of participants experience visual art primarily on the streets and of these, 61% are regular users of the

space, the government should prioritize the PAPC and PAAP. Public art is the primary form of visual art engagement for most people and the public is welcoming of public artworks in their places and spaces.

I also recommend embracing new media as a tool for engagement, as users of the space are already using the artworks as backdrops for selfies and content for new media. Simply introducing a hashtag that could be used to share these images or a digital arts map is an effective and feasible way to over come the challages of exposing the projects the city has produced and capitalising on public relation oppertunities.

Funding

In terms of funding, special attention needs to be paid to which projects get supported and which don't. Zolberg (1994:60-61) concludes that public art institutions have a responsibility towards the public, given the tax break and public funding they enjoy. I agree with this argument, considering government funded public art comes out of public funds it carries the responsibility to engage with this public more effectively. Moiloa (2015) echoed this when she asserted: "I think when it comes to spending public money, in the case of the JDA for example, it becomes increasingly important to ensure the artwork serves a bigger purpose and has a greater connection (type B public art)". This is echoed by Van Den Berg (2015), where he regretted that without proper implementation and planning, public art projects stand the risk of being a waste of money. The alleyway upgrade project runs the risk of falling into this category; it has failed to revitalized the area, and the "Eland" loses its majesty and monumental status with its unkempt look. This situation can be improved with some adjusted programming, maintenance and development around these works.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the position and content of the work seemed to have more impact on the public's engagement than the production and commissioning of the works. If anything, the closed process of producing "Eland" and the Mandela mural seemed to lead to a smoother production process with less confusion, and direct buy-in from all stakeholders. The involvement of so many different parties in the public/private partnership of the alleyway upgrade impaired the outcomes of the project, with access to certain alleyways being blocked, and no shared unified vision for the outcome of the project. Additionally, the private sector only provided spaces for the artworks, not direct funding, yet they had what seems to be undue influence on the project, and their private developments became the priority of the project, as discussed by Smith (2015), Oswald (2015) and Johnson (2015). In terms of maintenance of the alleyways, and opening up the alleyway to commerce, the private sector has yet to display their buy-in by fulfilling these conditions of the partnership. This private/public relationship has the potential to support the city's public art projects beyond its limited funding but clear communication and buy-in is essential.

I think the Mandela Mural is a good example of the potential for the private sector to promote and support the arts without pushing their own marketing agendas onto the public space. As discussed, the private sector can fill the funding gap left by government's ever tightening purse, and this example shows how the private sector can achieve this in an engaging manner. I recommend such projects be careful reviewed for their value and the delicate balance between private ownership and public space be considered for its positive and negative impacts.

Public policy in Johannesburg is well positioned with sound policy, the 1% capital budget rule and the increase of private/public partnerships, but as discussed above, these all need to be done with clear communication, a shared vision, sensitivity to ownership of space and monitoring and evaluation, in order to be truly effective.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

The aim of this research report was to discover how different forms of public art engage the public in different ways and the implications this has for public policy. I have found that, in the context of Braamfontein, the type of public art (A or B), is secondary to the position and content of the work when it comes to public engagement. I found that these differences are marginal, with only 1.3 points difference on the engagement scale between the most and least engaging artworks I explored. The resounding conclusion is that the public enjoys all forms of public art and, on the whole, feels it improves the spaces around them. Given the opportunity to engage with the work, the public does so enthusiastically. I found that 20 years after Lacy's call for new genre public art, the dichotomous position of autonomous or engaging is no longer as apparent, and public artworks tend to fall somewhere in between.

Judith Baca (1995:138), artist and activist, explains:

> Focusing on the object devoid of the creative process used to make it has bankrupted Eurocentric modernist and postmodernist traditions. Art processes, just as art objects, may be culturally specific, and with no single aesthetic, a diverse society will generate very different forms of public art.

This quote from Baca confirms the response from the public. In Johannesburg, the diverse society we live in has space for all forms of public art and neither type should be prioritised over the other.

Type A public art, although thought to be less inclusive and audience-centred, can instil a sense of civic pride, and inclusion in an art world that was previously seen as exclusive and elitist. Type B public artworks are valuable for their audience-centeredness, but sit awkwardly in implementation frameworks that call for budgets and timelines.

Looking at the intention of the funders and originators of the artwork, "Eland" was successful in acting as a gateway to the city, and the Mandela mural worked to honour Mandela and his memory, although failed to commemorate the "Purple Rain Protest" for lack of contextual information. The two alleyway artworks failed to draw the public into the space of the alleyway, due to lack of maintenance and follow through with the project. However, the artworks were successful in improving the space for the few users that they did attract. Safety is evidently a higher priority for people than engaging with artworks, and the JDA needs to address this issue to make the most of the alleyway upgrade project.

I can also conclude that there were many small victories in the alleyway upgrade project even when the primary intention of the producers has not yet been fulfilled. Many young artists were given the opportunity to work on a grand scale, often for the first time. The

artists benefited from the workshop process and the artworks made popular backdrops for photo opportunities. The project offered a glimpse of what a public art project could achieve with more focus on implementation and follow-through.

I have found that the public art policies and strategies that are in place are very beneficial, contemporary and potentially effective, yet proper monitoring and evolution is necessary to ensure the implementation and follow-through of public art projects reflects this advanced policy.

The public is often "projected", in Warner's sense, for these public art projects and proper research is necessary to engage the actual public as opposed to the projected public. Cultural mapping and further research is essential for implemented projects to be successful.

It is important for the government to set up the PAPC and PAAP to ensure a fair, accessible and equitable commissioning process that opens up public art projects to artists at all stages of their careers. This is in keeping with both the White Paper and the City of Johannesburg Policy Document, making it a national priority, not simply a local issue.

My survey found that the streets are the primary location where the public experiences art, and as such public art policy and strategy should focus on public art projects in open public areas. The public that experiences art on the street are frequent users of the space and are an attentive audience. Public art projects in open public space can reach the "hard to reach audience" that plagues policy makers. Public art offers the perfect vehicle for democratisation of culture, levelling out hierarchies and elitist art practices, given that effective project implementation is achieved.

The Braamfontein public artworks, and the effect they have had on increasing the vibrancy and identity of the precinct, reveal the potential public artwork has for social cohesion, place-making and development. The key to public engagement with public art is exposure, and through some improved programming and planning, greater exposure can and should be realised. When it comes to view on urbanity that is inclusive of multiple varying communities and societies, Johannesburg has the policy to support these outcomes, there just needs to be more focus on a clear strategy for implementation, and more effective follow-through and monitoring and evaluation, to create even more exciting and effective projects in the future.

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Appendix A

Please complete this survey- It should take about 5 minutes to complete

Age: ……..

Gender:……

Highest qualification:……

Occupation:……

Suburb: ……

1) Where do you usually experience visual art? (Circle appropriate one)

Galleries/the streets/festivals/museums/other

Other, please specify……..

2) How often do you experience visual art? (Circle appropriate one)

Daily/weekly/monthly/hardly ever

3) What do you think of this artwork? How do you interpret it? (Please explain briefly)

……

……..

……

……

……

……

……

……

4) Does the artwork improve the space around it? (Circle appropriate one)

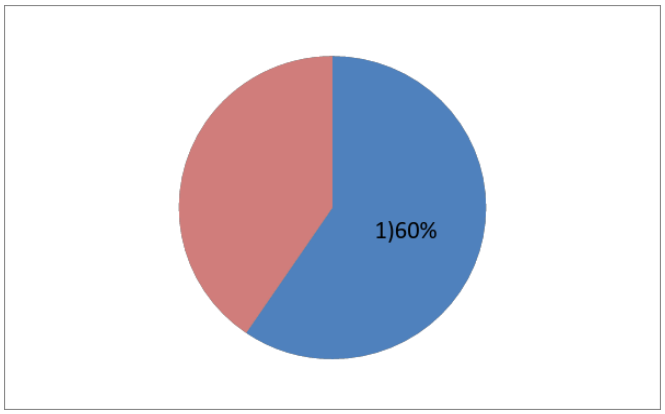
Yes/no/I didn't even notice it

5) How often do you use this space? (Circle appropriate one)

Daily/weekly/monthly/hardly ever

Appendix B

Age



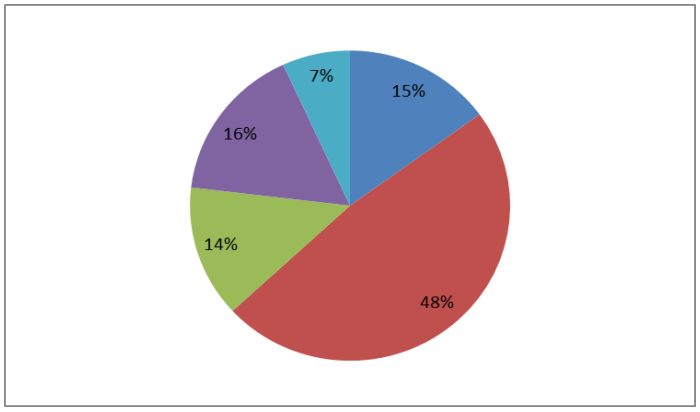
Of the 158 participants who correctly filled out their ages:

1) 94 were ages 18-25- 60%

2) 35 were ages 26-35-22%

3) 29 were ages 36 and older-18%

Where do you experience visual art?



1) Galleries at 15%

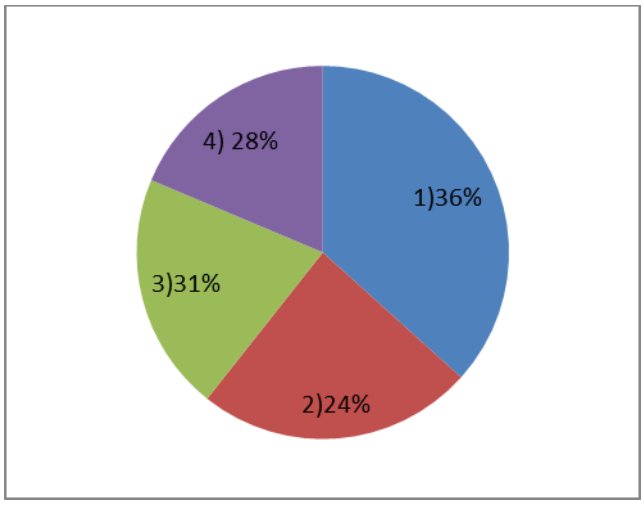
2) Street at 48%

3) Festivals at 14%

4) Museums at 16%

5) Other (Home/internet) at 7%

How often do you use the space?



Of those 150 got to the last part of the questionnaire which asked how often they use the space and if they fill the artwork improves the space, answered as follows:

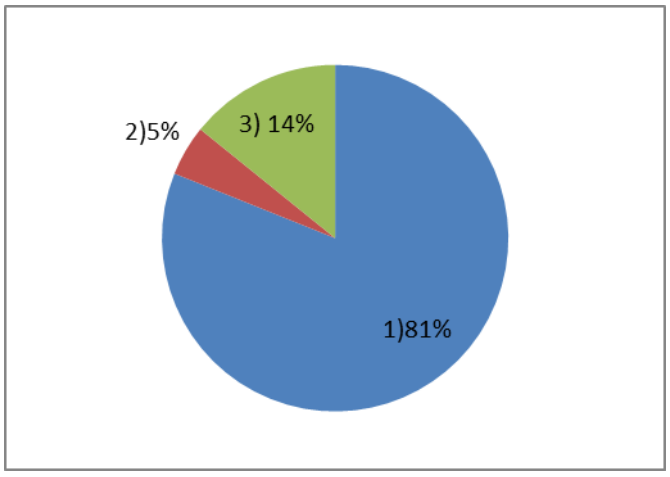
1) 55 participants use the space daily-36%

2) 36 use it weekly-24%

3) 31 use it monthly -21%

4) 28 use it annually-19%

Do you feel it improves the space around you?



1) 121 feel it improved the space around it-81%

2) 7 feel that the artworks didn't -5%

3) 22 feel indifferent -14%