

ENTANGLEMENTS OF MEDIA AND SPACE:

An Exploratory Case Study Of Two Public Arts Projects In
Johannesburg And Cape Town.

Storm Jade Brown

Thesis presented for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Supervisor: Dr. Ronald Irwin

In the Centre for Film and Media Studies

Faculty of Humanities

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

June 2024

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Overview

An artwork placed in public space solicits questions such as; “Whom does this space belong to?” “Who does and does not have the right to be there?” “Should the public pay for this art?” “Who gets to decide that this art is placed here and by whom?” “Is this even art?” “If so, then what type of art should be placed in public?” “What does it mean to be public?” “Who is the public that occupies this space?” “What happens when pictures of this art are placed online?” “Does this mean the public who is concerned with the work changes?”

The semantic fluidity around the term ‘public art’ is not a new phenomenon, particularly in South Africa. Opper (2010:45) notes that common misconceptions about public art usually occurs as “public art, [has become] a singularity often used to describe a massive field of art production, [and is therefore] a problematic and misunderstood term”. The vaguely understood nature of the practice, particularly in South Africa, means that it has become a complicated and broad field. Opper (2010:45) goes on to explain this:

in its broadness, [public art] comprises a range of work that infiltrates and inhabits urban, peri-urban and rural sites (and the various landscapes in between), mostly outside of the commercial or institutional spaces of galleries or museums. By virtue of its almost endless scope and contexts, it is pluralistic and multi-layered in the range of readings it enables and asks of its diverse public(s).

In this way, conversations about the creation, necessity and validity of public art become proxies for larger conversations about public space, and the public(s) that occupy those spaces.

The above questions showcase how any visual and visible artistic practice, (which are referred to hereafter as a visual communicative practice¹ to side-step some of the semantic ambiguity discussed above) that is placed in public space can become “embroiled by contradictions within local communities, so that the work itself becomes a site of contestation over what constitutes something as public” Kwon (2002:99). Furthermore, through their

¹ The exact differentiation between graffiti, public art, street art, muralism more closely resembles a disciplinary and practice warzone than anything else. A highly visible signifying framework is something that both street art and public art share. Although street art evades a precise definition (Blackshaw, 2008) for the purposes of this study it is helpful to think of it as a subcategory of graffiti that has a greater emphasis on a socio-political context and more of a visual presence (Brown, 2015:5). Therefore, visual communicative practices can be understood as “all visual practices in the public visual realm, with the ability to communicate through adding to or negotiating existing discourse (Brown, 2014).

visibility, visual communicative practices placed in public space include some aspects of embodied occupation and performativity (Murphy & O'Driscoll, 2015:332). This means that whilst these visual (and visible) practices operate in locations that have an attached discourse, they can also engage with the visual discourse of the urban spaces that they occupy and 'perform' a new perspective of that space through their visibility. In other words, when art is placed in public space, it can attack, reinforce, or negotiate the materiality of a space and become a proxy for broader debates on public space and power. This is perhaps nowhere more true than in South African public space, as it has become a semiotic marketplace for various culture clashes (Dubin, 2012:235). Cresswell (2009:1) succinctly explains this condition when he notes that an "attack on material structures can also be an attack on place - on meaning".

This research therefore considers the layered sites of meaning that visual communicative practices create and negotiate by asking: *"What can be learned by adopting a spatially-sensitive and digitally-inclusive approach to studying the interconnected relationship between media, space and visual communicative practices?"*

Since a localised (South African) and digitally inclusive approach to answering the research question has not been widely explored, this research adopts an exploratory case study approach. The use of the case study approach has the advantage of "allowing new ideas and hypotheses to emerge from careful and detailed observation" (Lindegger, 2006:461). It also presents a localised phenomenon at a smaller scale so that rich and ideographic information can be obtained. The data that is collected and then analysed through this process can provide a valuable contribution to a growing body of academic work by presenting a starting point for new Social Sciences theories and "promot[ing] a critical reflection on existing theories" (Lindegger, 2006:461).

Two specific case studies (namely the Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi project and BAZ-ART's International Public Arts Festival) are considered over a three-year period (2017-2019). Each of these case study projects were established (formally and informally) to assist local governments in South Africa to deliver large-scale visual communicative practices in public space. They do this by creating processes that directly respond to the changing governments, policies and objectives laid out by the relevant cities in their approach to creating public

visual communicative practices. These organisations work alongside the city government to enable large scale community visual arts projects in a legal way.

The selection of two case studies in different cities is deliberate, as projects that are limited to one example or one artist become about the artist instead of the process involved in creating the discourse (Crovara, 2013). In this way, this study shifts its focus to the discourse surrounding the creation and reception process of each case study. This highlights both the content of the discourse surrounding publicly visible visual communicative practices as well as the interconnected process through which this discourse is created in physical and digital spaces. It adopts what Chilsa, Major and Khudu-Peterson (2017:331) call an integrated approach:

In this approach the decolonisation intent is explicit. Researchers draw from the relational, ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions to build and sustain relations and connections between knowledge systems, between academic and communities, and between people and ecological systems.

Thesis structure

An integrated approach means that the first part of this thesis is necessarily theoretically dense in order to illustrate how existing theory and disciplinary focuses have shaped the discourse around visibility and art in South African public spaces. The discourse surrounding public space requires a critical engagement around competing spatial (Miles, 2007), methodological (Clements, 2008) and memorialisation discourses (Moreeng & Twala, 2014; Miller & Schmahmann, 2017). These discourse themes are further explored in the Chapter Two and Three. However, a notable gap is that the online space, and its influence on physical space, has not been considered in this context in South Africa. This thesis presents a noteworthy addition to the field as it considers the physical and online spaces that create, negotiate and sustain these discourses.

A spatially-sensitive Media Studies can add to or provide more context to existing discourse themes surrounding visual communicative practices in South African public space. By including the online space (specifically the Social Networking Sites Facebook, Twitter² and Instagram as well as online blogs and articles) as a data collection point, it considers what important additional discourse is created through the intersecting layers of meaning ascribed to the work at the sites of creation and reception. It also examines the ways in which the

² Now X, since 2023 (Hurst, 2023). Please note that this could affect referencing if the Twitter URL has changed.

public sphere³ and audience reach of the visual communicative practices is extended through online spaces - which often act as an extension of the physical public space (McQuire, 2017; Parkinson, 2012). This is noteworthy in a South African context where public spaces are increasingly becoming exclusionary and privatised (Landman, 2018:8).

1.1.1 The study of discourse

In South Africa the online space can present a new space for public participation and discourse creation, and in return can shape the physical space and surrounding community. This research considers both what the discourse surrounding each case study is, and how it is created. The focus on various sites of reception as well as the discourse around these sites roots this research in the field of Media Studies scholarship. According to Kellner and Durham (2001:3) Media Studies as a discipline seeks to “unlock the domain of meaning, value, politics and ideology in familiar forms of cultural artefacts and practices.” Furthermore, it also studies the technologically developed communication industries that transmit information and entertainment across time and space to create this meaning (O’Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2016:4).

Furthermore, Media Studies allows for an active participation in democratic deliberation and has “become the primary focus and force for today’s public sphere” (Butsch, 2007:3). Barnett (2004) sees media as an enabler of political spaces where a ‘mediated public culture’ can engage. This space is not just bridged by the media object, it becomes its own spatial entity. Barnett describes this instance when he notes that “new spaces of sociality are being opened up by media-in-use [this can be noticed if one] pays attention to the simultaneous production of new material infrastructures which underlie media developments” (as quoted by Couldry and McCarthy, 2004:9).

A key methodological approach of Media Studies is a discourse analysis. Discourse provides the site for the collective construction of meaning that is sustained at a macro and micro level

³ Spatial layouts such as cities have transformed the public sphere to the point where “in contrast to what Habermas observed in early periods of modernity, the public sphere is no longer a place of rational participation from which the social order is determined” (Canclini, 1995:489). This is largely due to the way in which the mass commodification of urban space where “the market re-orders the public world as a stage for consumption and dramatization [*sic*] of the signs of status” (Canclini, 1995:490). The re-ordering of this public has resulted in a new way of understanding what is meant by ‘the public’ that comprises an understanding of the public sphere. Warren (2002:51) explains this “a public, in practice, appears as the public. It is easy to be misled by this appearance. Even in the blurred usage of the public sphere, a public is never just a congeries of people, never just the sum of persons who happen to exist.”

(Smith & Bell, 2008:78). If collective meaning is studied through discourse, then the process through which discourse is produced should also be examined. According to Hall (1980:162) “discourse is produced through its own unique set of social relations, material practices and media apparatuses.”

Within society, social relations, material practices, and media apparatuses are all sustained through culture. Although the study of power, culture and meaning has advanced since Hall first wrote about discourse in 1980, it is fitting to start off a study of meaning with Hall’s definition as he was not only a notable pioneer in the field of Cultural Studies, but also created a space for young black intellectuals to contribute, particularly in South Africa. Sean Jacobs (2015) notes that before Hall, this space had not existed. Hall’s contribution to the study of meaning and of culture is so significant that

...it’s taken for granted now that culture matters, that popular culture is a site of politics, that politics saturates everyday life, and that these things can and should be studied in a serious manner. But despite their claims, it was not Sociology, or History, or Economics, or even Anthropology that created this space. It was Cultural Studies (Ben Carrington as quoted by Sean Jacobs, 2015).

One of the most significant contributions to the study of meaning was made by the sociologist, political activist, and cultural theorist Stuart Hall. Hall (1980:162) argued that meaning is created when “a structure is produced and sustained through the articulation of linked but distinctive moments - production, circulation, distribution/ consumption, reproduction.” Discourse provides the societal and contextual container for meaning.

In other words, meaning is ordered in the same way as any form of communication or language which is to say that it occurs “through the operation of codes within a syntagmatic chain of discourse” (Hall, 1980:162). Therefore, to study meaning, these ‘linked but distinctive’ moments are examined to see how ‘meaning carriers’ or sign vehicles are organised and sustained within a particular context. In the context of this research, the meaning carrier (the public visual communicative practices) within each case study is examined at various meaning-making sites to see how it contributes or detracts from lived experiences of public space. However, it should be noted that this meaning-carrier also has its own unique discourse. This is explored below.

Within the ‘large cultural laboratory’ of the street (Burnham as quoted by Waclawek, 2011:7), culture is created, preserved, negotiated and destroyed through discourse, some of which is visual. The public visibility of shared environments can often present the illusion of democracy. Therefore, the visual nature and visibility of visual communicative practices mean that they are able to make the once invisible social structures and active processes visible and available to the discerning onlooker. These practices now showcase themselves in the form of social tensions that play out over legality, authority and status. As Ulmer (2017:491) notes:

As tensions between public and private spaces play out in the streets, street artists claim visible space through multiple forms of art, including signage and other forms of post-graffiti. Municipal authorities seek to stop them. These battles over space occur because the street “is public in its orientation and in its creation, in its access and in its passage, yet private in its strictures” (Newman & Shields, 2013: 52).

Public visibility is key to the creation of shared environments. It can take place at a rational and irrational level. Visual communicative practices in the commercial sphere operate within ‘rational’ conceptions of space (Schacter, 2008:48). This means that it becomes a passive participant in terms of shaping, reinforcing, or questioning the surrounding environment. It does not fight against the preferred meaning of an environment, instead it contributes to that meaning. As an example, a piece of art placed within a shopping mall will not likely (at least actively) question the basis of consumerism, since the centre management mediates and thus controls that space. An example of an irrational conception of space is an object that actively shapes, reinforces, or challenges the surrounding environment. For example, an unsanctioned visual communicative practice such as graffiti:

... intrudes on these ‘aesthetics of authority;’ the very sight of the images thus turns the whole issue on its head. Like Taussig’s unveiling of public secrets, graffiti can thus create a brief stirring inside us, letting us become aware of this normally hidden social regulation. It can be seen to act as a medium continuously attempting to bring these public secrets into exposure; what is created out of these ‘defacements’ are the visible signs of the cracks in the structures that act to conceal these secrets (Schacter, 2008:48).

The communicative potential of graffiti is perhaps one of the key reasons that it leads to many ‘culture clashes’ as authorities are repeatedly frustrated by its ability to “communicate with itself in plain sight of a mass audience that could not or would not hope to decipher it” (Schiller & Schiller, 2008:84). Whilst street art does not always use the same internal

languages, it challenges the legitimacy of public space by creating highly visual and visible works that expose often suppressed questions about regimes of visibility and public space, the constitutive locations and spaces of art, the role of communities of practice and cultural institutions, competing arguments about the nature of art and its relation to a public, and the generative logic of appropriation and remix culture (just to name a few) (Schacter, 2008:50). In the same way that graffiti actively contests hidden social regulations governing a space, visual communicative practices are also always active in their engagement with space. This can be seen in the diagram below where the flow of media images and texts from the form of graffiti towards public art and even street art, all engage in the domain of public space. The relationship between street art, graffiti and public art can be noted in the diagram below.

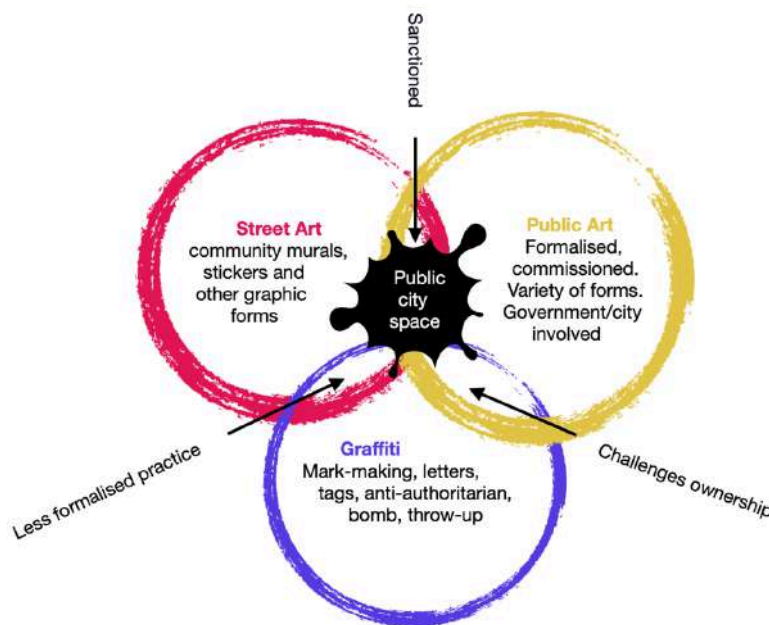


*Figure 1: Differences and areas of overlap between street art, graffiti and public art.
(Image by the author, 2020).*

The important area of overlap between all three practices is the public visual space that they occupy, and the fact that they are all able to communicate (enforce or contest) within this public space

Graffiti as a social movement in South Africa

In a South African context, graffiti has historically been used as a form of spatial protest and a visible mark of representation to say “I was here”. According to Mann (2017)

In the 1980s “... graffiti came in the form of protest art (a form it repeatedly takes) calling for the downfall of the apartheid regime through thick, roller-painted letters on inner city walls. From there, it moved into more of a mainstream artistic movement, taking its lead from the hip-hop scenes in New York and further abroad. The execution was unrefined at first, mostly carried out with Ducospray and Sprayon cans as artists made the most of small and ineffective nozzles that clogged themselves up constantly. The style was mostly influenced by two small, but valuable imports: graffiti books like *Subway Art* and *Spraycan Art* by American documentarians like Henry Chalfant and Martha Cooper.

Under apartheid sanctions the South African graffiti scene remained isolated from the global context for its first 20 years, where a single copy of *Spraycan Art* (1987) circulated amongst some of the pioneers of the scene such as Falko, Mak1one and Rasty (Waddacor 2014:8). Initially, the practice was an escape from gangsterism, and was not associated with illegal activities until some artists started to create graffiti ‘throwups⁴’ on the trains that commuted between the Cape Flats and Southern Suburbs of Cape Town (Waddacor 2014:8). This was the first instance of the artform spreading and represented a key moment in the politics of visibility and resistance. During the 1990s, the graffiti scene was heavily influenced by the emerging hip-hop scene and started to spread to other city areas such as Johannesburg where different artists joined in and the form started to change again (Waddacor 2014:10). However, the biggest development of the South African graffiti scene occurred only in the late 1990s and early 2000s with the growth of image sharing platforms such as Flickr and MediaSpace where online images from graffiti crews all over the world became accessible to South African graffiti artists (Waddacor 2014:10). The more pictorial forms of graffiti that international artists were creating started to appear in Cape Town and Johannesburg, and a uniquely South African style of graffiti generated its own following. International crews visited Cape Town and graffiti started to progress into what is now known as street art (Waddacor 2014:12). However, regardless of the form the practice took, or how online image sharing changed the form, it remained a spatially sensitive practice, despite its largely unsanctioned nature.

⁴ A specific form of graffiti where large letters are painted quickly in an artistic way. Most often created on trains, bridges or highlight visible places where the risk of the graffiti artist getting caught is high. For more on the different graffiti art forms, please consult Chapter 3.

Graffiti has been chosen to emphasise a specific point, that visibility is power. The same politics play out in both street art and public art, however these practices are often considered more aesthetically pleasing, and are therefore funded and sanctioned by local authorities to a greater extent. Power and visibility are necessary concepts to be studied, particularly in South Africa, where racially-based oppression often takes place spatially, rendering many people 'invisible'. Thus the study is not about the art itself for aesthetic merit, and the research object (visual communicative practices) becomes a proxy for broader spatial and social issues within South Africa. This is perhaps nowhere more clear than in each city's relevant approach to public visual communicative practices. Today, the graffiti scene in South Africa is thriving particularly in Johannesburg. Penfold (2017: 150) explains what this scene looks like in various parts of the country:

While Cape Town and Durban have by-laws making all acts of graffiti a criminal offence, Johannesburg has a more nuanced policy. Here, though strictly illegal, graffiti is also admitted as a "welcome addition to urban walls". There is a Public Art Policy that is "not against tasteful public art", while the City of Johannesburg has even commissioned pieces in Pieter Roos Park and Newtown (City 2012). Therefore, graffiti becomes a way of embodying these complex forces, simultaneously disturbing and energising, visible and invisible, which make up contemporary South Africa and are most intense in Johannesburg. By paying attention to its form and significance, graffiti offers itself as a creative work allowing a new way of understanding and mapping the city; one led from below.

City-specific approaches to public visual communicative practices

Johannesburg and Cape Town are two of South Africa's six Metropolitan "Category A"⁵ municipalities (*The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* 2009: sec 155.1 p 83) that have gained notoriety as creative capitals in their own rights, however, historically their approaches to public creative practices have varied.

Of interest is the different policies, organisations and processes that have resulted in this creative response. According to Olckers (2013), Cape Town emerged as the birthplace of South African graffiti during the 1960's mostly in the Cape Flats (Mitchells Plain area) as an escape from gangsterism, and only migrated to Johannesburg in the early 1990's. As this new form of expression emerged, so did the government's response to it. The governmental response is noteworthy since the City of Cape Town and broader Cape Town Municipality Metropolitan has not historically been governed by the same municipal government that has

⁵ According to The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (2009:83), section 155.1 - *The Establishment of Municipalities*, the Category A Municipality "has exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in its area".

governed the Johannesburg Municipality Metropolitan (which was run by the African National Congress between 1995 and 2016).

The different municipal governments have resulted in different approaches to public and visible works such as graffiti and street art (Penfold, 2016), with Cape Town's Democratic Alliance local government even going as far as to pass a *Graffiti By-Law* in 2012, making the act of graffiti an illegal and punishable crime. The ANC did not dedicate as much human resources or attention to street art and graffiti and as a result the city attracted more artists and developed a thriving graffiti and street art culture, as can be witnessed in the Maboneng, Newtown and Braamfontein development districts amongst many others.

Olckers (as quoted by Seeliger, 2014) comments on this varied approach between the cities when he notes that:

[in Cape Town] "...the local government's current approach to graffiti demonises the subculture. If legalised, graffiti would likely turn into a common hobby and become a lot more widely accepted. [Therefore] Joburg has a growing graffiti scene and Cape Town is stagnant. It would be great to spend some time in a city where graffiti is not painted grey moments after it arrives.

Johannesburg also has a dedicated Development Agency (The Johannesburg Development Agency, or JDA) created in 2002 as part of the city's ongoing sustainability, development, and infrastructure agenda (JDA, 2021) that is aligned with various local and national strategic objectives. The Johannesburg Development Agency tenders for public arts projects that include some of the street art and graffiti festivals and projects, whereas Cape Town does not have the same governmental liaison and therefore much of the street art and graffiti that is found in and around the city is due to the work of individuals, collectives, or non-government organisations. This was particularly true for much of the street art, public art and other visual communicative practices that appeared in and around Cape Town during 2014 and 2015 as a result of the city being awarded World Design Capital (World Design Capital, 2014).

In 2016 the Democratic Alliance won majority seats in the local municipal elections for Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Thereafter, then mayor of Johannesburg Herman Mashaba decided to introduce bylaws to inhibit the production of graffiti to make Johannesburg more "investor friendly" (Sosibo, 2016)⁶. However, at the time of writing this

⁶ Since 2016, The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality has been through many political transformations and alliances and it is no longer a Democratic Alliance-governed province. It operates off of a mixed-member proportional

thesis, these by-laws look very different to those of Cape Town and only specifically prohibit graffiti on government buildings. Parker and Khanyile (2022:160) explain that

In Johannesburg, graffiti occupies a legal grey area: several by-laws prohibit graffiti in relation to municipal property or structures related to public roads. However, the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) has a city-wide public art programme that includes graffiti (JDA, 2010). At the same time, Section 16 of the City of Johannesburg's 2007 Public Art Policy enacts an Anti-Graffiti Rapid Response Unit, which has been known to issue harsh punishments for the defacement of public property (City of Johannesburg, 2007). The City's conflicting and ambiguous policies towards graffiti and its management is apparent in the visual landscape of Johannesburg: full of graffiti and street art.

Spatial discourse in South Africa

When visual communicative practices are produced within a space, it is important to consider the surrounding spatial context and discourse in which they are received. Due consideration is needed, as when art is "displayed in public as opposed to hermetically sealed white cube gallery spaces, [it] can become the central focus for a range of competing discourses related to that domain" (Clements, 2008:19). This has relevance in South Africa since "no significant work of art has been produced in South Africa that has not at the same time confronted the obdurate edifice of the politics of the country's divided memory" (Enwezor, 2004:42). This is a fact that becomes even more pertinent when an artwork is produced in South African public space.

An important piece of discourse related to the domain of South African public space is that of segregation. Bickford-Smith (1995:67) speaks to the harsh segregationist policies that shaped much of the South African landscape and paved the way for apartheid:

as we all now accept, racism and forms of segregation existed before the discovery of diamonds and gold: in the slave-owning Western Cape, on the Eastern Cape frontier and in the constitutions and social practices of the Afrikaner Republics. New discourses about race and forms of segregation accompanied the Mineral Revolution. The point is that many parts of South Africa, including Cape Town, practised forms of segregation in the nineteenth century and generated racism. They can all, correctly, be offered as providing precedents for aspects of apartheid. A misguided exercise lies in presenting or pursuing its single or most important nineteenth-century origin.

representation of local government. However, no further significant by-laws or policies have emerged that impact graffiti, street art and public art in this space.

What can be seen from the above statement by Bickford-Smith is that the legacy of segregation is not just that of apartheid. Segregationist policies have been built into South African spaces since their creation, thus the emergence of ideological and cultural tensions in these spaces is to be expected. It is perhaps nowhere clearer than in the construct of public space, which in theory is constructed to be an inclusive, accessible, and democratic space (Carr, 1992). In practice, research suggests that the construction and negotiation of public space in South Africa is much more complex and nuanced (Landman, 2018:8) due to various groups enacting socio-economic, historical, and cultural claims over representation and space.

Landman (2018:8) notes that the use and control of public space transforms according to the public that occupies it. For instance, theorists such as Smith (2018), and Lemanski (2007) point out that urban development and regeneration strategies fracture South African public space by creating exclusionary capitalist spaces of consumption. When this happens, public spaces tend to occur in increasingly controlled environments whereas public life moves towards more privatised spaces (Landman, 2018:6). However, this is not the complete picture since Landman (2018:7) also notes that recent developments such as Freedom Park or The Union Buildings in Pretoria have started to create less privatised and more accessible public spaces. Either way, an engagement with public space in a South African context is an engagement with a discourse around access, privatisation, segregation and commercial interest.

South African visibility and power

Often, public visibility can be equated to ideological power within a ‘rational’ and ‘legitimate’ construction of space. This is perhaps nowhere more relevant than in a South African context, as Schmahmann, Freschi and van Robbroeck (2020) explain how visual culture in highly visible and public space has been historically used in South Africa to convey particular ideologies:

visual culture was one important mechanism for rationalising and normalising apartheid and the Afrikaner nationalist ideology that supported it. It was a domain that was multifaceted and wide-ranging. It extended from imagery accessed in private homes via print culture and television to what might be encountered in public via monuments, sculptures, and art exhibitions.

What the above example shows is that through their wide-ranging visibility, visual practices convey a particular ideology that engages a variety of publics. These publics could be found in a physical space, for instance in the geographical context of a monument or sculpture, or in a mediated space, for instance imagery distributed through print culture or television.

Mediated online practices

When graffiti and street art move from the street to the online space, they adopt an ephemeral nature. Ross et al (2017:7) note that the changing practice requires a renegotiated scholarship that “...morphs and changes due to technological advances, [therefore] new methodologies need to be invented and used to understand the changing dynamics of graffiti /street art”. Equally, they note that the digital spread of these practices through the online space brings about “issues of translation, transference, and co-option [and therefore] need critical examination through local and global study... and how these phenomena interact with global and local markets, capital, and politics (Ross et al., 2017:38). The online spaces that host these ephemeral works include but are not limited to Instagram, Twitter and Facebook, as well as the online news media. Studying visual communicative practices in the online space requires a more innovative interdisciplinary approach, such as that exhibited by Manovich (2013), MacDowell and de Souza (2018) and Honig and MacDowell (2016). The audience and reception focussed angle that these authors take illustrates an approach towards audience that has not been possible in a South African context before now. Equally, the article *Spatio-temporal mapping of street art using Instagram* (2017) suggests that there is a direct relationship between what happens in the online space and what happens in physical space. It does this by conducting a 5-year study of Instagram posts in a particular region to understand the reciprocal relationship of street art in a physical location to its growing popularity on Instagram, and how that translates back into the physical space.

1.1.2 Research object

Since the discourse around the word ‘art’ adds some semantic weight to this research, the term visual communicative practices is used. This is a deliberate choice, as the way that art practices are created, function and are perceived by the general public depends largely on what they are called. For instance, there are very different semantic connotations with the word ‘graffiti’ versus the word ‘public art’. These semantic connotations inform how cities, governments, potential funders and the general public approach these practices. To prevent

this research presenting a siloed or one-sided view on what these practices are and how they operate, the term visual communicative practices is used to describe the research object up until the discussion chapters. This allows the discussion surrounding these practices to focus on their public visibility instead of their aesthetic merit, which is necessary in a South African context (Nutall & Mbembe, 2008). Thereafter, the discussion chapters reference specific connotations of the words public art, street art or graffiti. Since their visible nature has already been explored, this then leaves space for a discussion around their semantic connotations, public perception and aesthetic merit relevant to each case study. Exploring these connotations and perceptions is a key to understanding how they operate and are used in each city.

1.1.3 Case Studies Overview

Although each case study is expanded on below, it is important to note that they were chosen since they involve many different stakeholders in the creation process. The final works appear both in physical public spaces and online spaces, which is important because it aligns with the central research question of this study that asks what can be learned when these spaces are explored in parallel. Furthermore, the use of community-based projects is intentional to ensure that a singular narrative or perspective is not championed. This is because projects that are initiated, conceptualised, and delivered through arts organisations provide a more inclusive set of visual communicative practices to be studied.

There are key differences in each project in the initiation of the project, the impact of government policy, how it is funded, supported by government (or not), involvement of the community, use of online social media channels and engagement with the historical legacy of the physical spaces that the works occupy. These differences are explored to showcase the often overlooked connection of media and space in the creation of discourse.

#ArtMyJosi

The first case study in this research is the *#ArtMyJosi* project (Figure 2), a three-year long project which was tendered by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and conceptualised and delivered by The Trinity Sessions.



Figure 2: #ArtMyJozi website and logo, (ArtMyJozi, 2021).

The Trinity Sessions is a creative consultancy founded by two South African artists, Stephen Hobbs and Marcus Neutsetter in 2001 (TrinitySessions, 2021). The Trinity Sessions describes themselves as “concerned with the logics of art-making in complex, social situations; where the dynamics of context, site, available resources, and creative solutions converge to create unique artistic challenges and opportunities”.

In 2017, the Johannesburg Development Agency awarded a three-year tender to The Trinity Sessions for a large-scale public arts development project. The project formed part of the Rea Vaya Bus Rapid Transit System implemented along the Louis Botha / Empire Perth transit corridors, which includes public realm upgrades in the neighbourhoods of Noordgesig, Brixton, Turffontein and Orange Grove. This route can be seen in Figure 2 below:

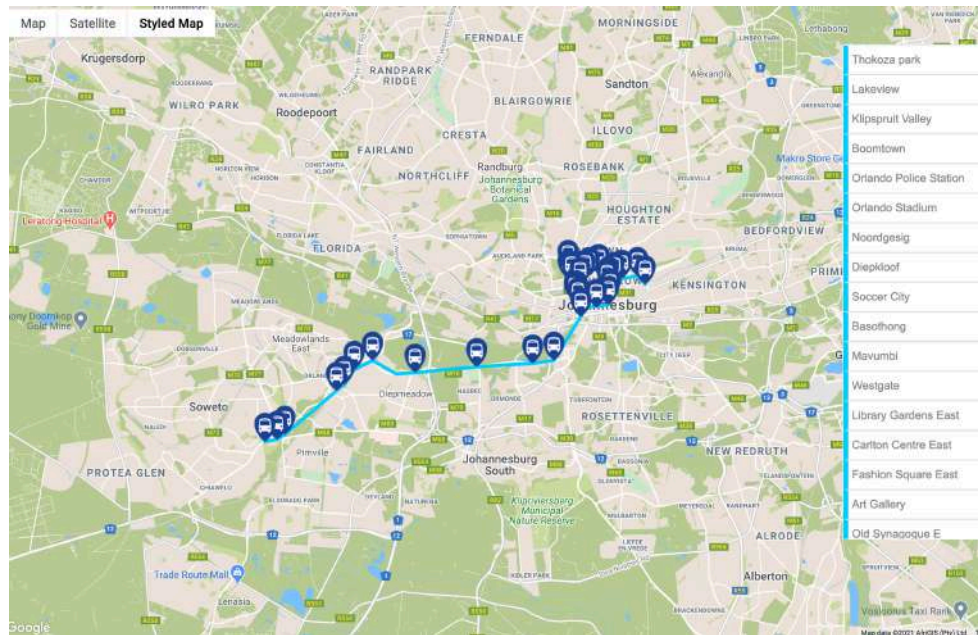


Figure 3: Map of the Rea Vaya Bus Route along Louis Botha Avenue in Johannesburg (Rea Vaya, 2021).

BAZ-ART

The second case study looks at three annual iterations of local NGO BAZ-ART's International Public Arts Festival in Cape Town (Figure 4). BAZ-ART was founded by Alexandré Tilmans and Melissa Cucci in 2016 and describes itself as an NPO (Not-For-Profit) Organisation that partners with individuals, corporates, organisations, and other stakeholders to “transform spaces through urban art” (BAZ-ART 2021). Their organisation is formed on three pillars, namely “Urban Art, Education and Community.”

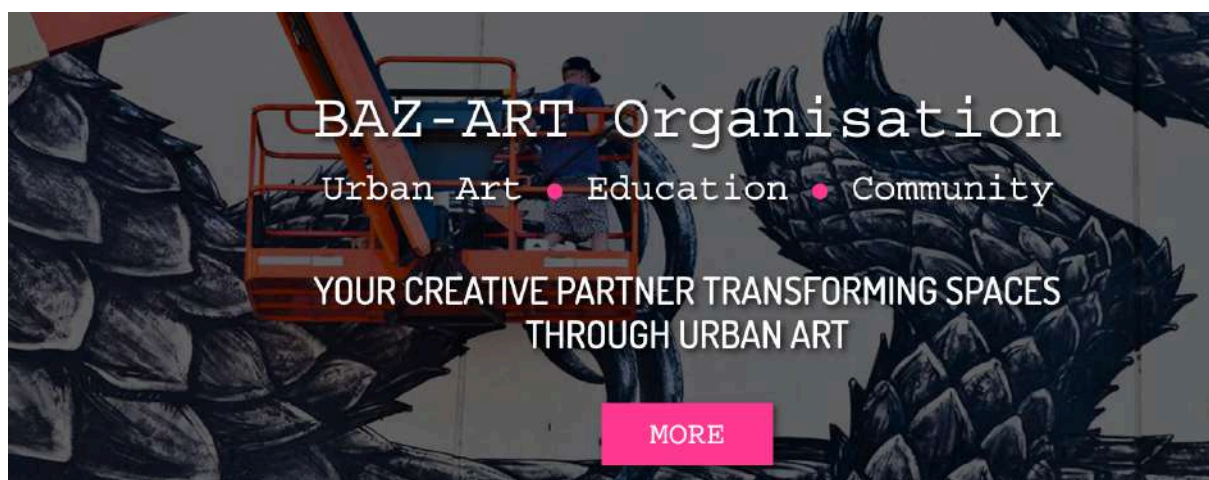


Figure 4: BAZ-ART website and logo, (BAZ ART 2021).

They are perhaps most well-known for their IPAF (International Public Arts Festival) that has run annually in Salt River (Figure 5) since 2017 and brings together local and international artists as well as community stakeholders for this three-day event (BAZ-ART, 2021).

BAZ-ART is not affiliated with the City of Cape Town and acts more as an intermediary between local government and the artists to help them with the paperwork and administrative “red-tape” involved with legally painting walls in and around Cape Town (Tilmans, personal communication, 2019, October 30).

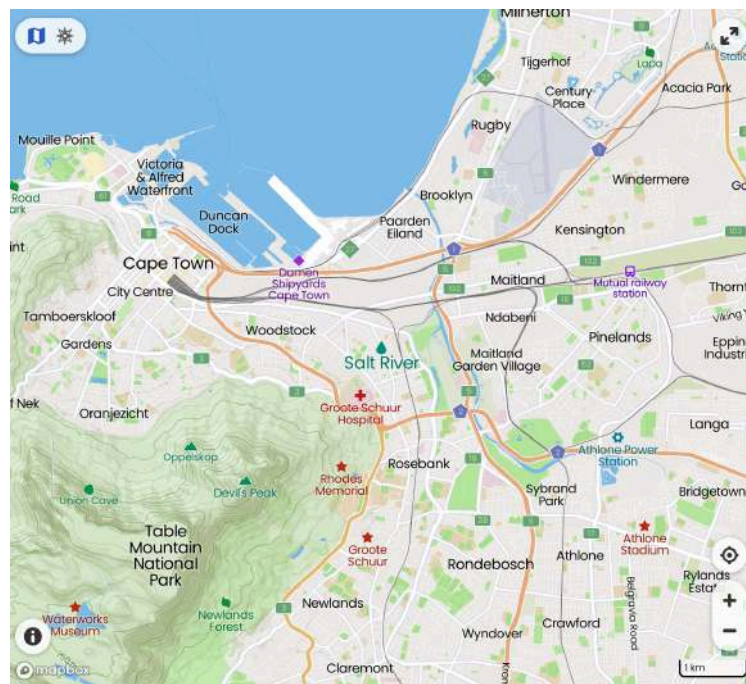


Figure 5: Map of the Cape Town Central Business District, Highlighting Salt River, (Mapcarta, 2021).

1.2 Research Methodology

This research looks at multiple sites of meaning-making that have not been combined in this way, up until now. It considers the initial site of creation such as the authorities and communities that shape the works, the way in which the works are delivered, when this happens, and the unique interplay of online space with physical space. This is made possible by using a research object that naturally sparks public discourse – the visual communicative practice - that is placed in a public domain (either physical or online). Visual communicative practices such as street art, public art or even graffiti, present a unique intersection of media and space. Their visual nature also allows for multiple (polysemic) meanings. These

meanings are assigned by a variety of stakeholders (the passing public, artists, organisations, government authorities, media organisations) and this meaning can change over time.

1.2.1 Case study approach

The research object is studied through a case study approach. The case study approach is used to generate rich and varied data that produces two different instances (BAZ-ART's IPAF in Cape Town and Trinity Session's #ArtMyJozi in Johannesburg) of the research object (visual communicative practices in South African public space) and allows for a thorough examination of how discourse around each practice is created, changed, sustained or negated through various sites of meaning making, including online and physical spaces. These sites of meaning-making therefore become important data collection sites. Rule, Davey and Balfour (2011:302) note the importance of this approach:

There is no generally accepted definition of case study, but scholars point to its characteristic focus on a particular instance (Bogden and Biklen 1982; Simons 1996), its location in and interaction with a specific setting (Yin 2009), its depth of investigation and richness of data (Stake 1995; Willis 2007), and its use of multiple sources of data, methods of data collection and analysis (Simons 2009). Data might take qualitative or quantitative forms, or comprise a combination of both, but case studies traditionally tend towards the qualitative (Creswell 2007). The strengths of case study include its ability to generate a rich and 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) of a phenomenon; its manageability: researching one site or case is achievable in a limited period with limited resources; its versatility: it can be applied to a wide range of phenomena; and its flexibility: it can use a variety of methods appropriate to context. One of its perceived weaknesses concerns the issue of generalizability – some critics of case study have questioned its usefulness in addressing general social issues. One response to this view is that case studies do not aspire to make sweeping claims about social issues and to criticize case study on these grounds is to misunderstand its purpose and value.

Each case study presents a three-year project that creates art in public space. The case studies that are examined for this study are two three-year long (2017-2019) community-based public arts projects in Johannesburg (#ArtMyJozi) and Cape Town (International Public Arts Festival). Due to the limited scope of this study, only data directly related to #ArtMyJozi and IPAF for the years 2017,2018,2019⁷ is examined.

⁷ The advent of the COVID-19 Pandemic and worldwide lockdowns between the years 2019 and 2022 saw both BAZ-ART and The Trinity Sessions producing a huge amount of content online, and in doing so, engaging vast audiences. Although this additional content falls outside of the scope of this study, it is an important fact to note - as this proves the central argument of this thesis that when physical spaces become exclusionary (or inaccessible as in the case of the COVID Pandemic lockdown restrictions) then new public spaces appear online. If engagement does not move back into the physical space, then the online space can become the new public zone. This argument is further elaborated on in the conclusion of this thesis.

1.2.2 Data collection

Data is collected from various sites including interviews, walking ethnographies, policy and by-law analysis and social media sites such as Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. This presents an integrated approach where “relatedness is therefore at the core and permeates all research activities” (Chilsa, Major & Khudu-Petersen, 2017: 328).

Furthermore, the discipline of Media Studies allows this research to adopt an interdisciplinary approach to data collection and analysis. This is because the discipline of Media Studies presents an interdisciplinary Social Sciences field that “adopts suitable concepts and theoretical ideas [and still] requires a close engagement with human experience [without privileging] any particular perspective on the nature of experience” (McQuail, 2007:xvi). To this end, a Media Studies perspective allows the object of inquiry, specifically South African visual communicative practices to be studied in a more expansive and inclusionary manner.

From there, data is then cumulatively analysed through an iterative process whereby the different sites of meaning-making are organised in terms of when and how they influence the creation process of each case study.

1.2.3 Media-based theoretical frameworks

The idea of looking at when a site of meaning-making influences discourse, and how important that influence is towards the cumulative discourse is informed by Stuart Hall’s (1973) *Active Audience Reception Theory*. This theory considers how discourse is created through sites of production and reception. Hall (1973) explains the process as:

In a determinate moment, the structure employs a code and yields a 'message': at another determinate moment, the 'message', via its decodings, issues into a structure, we are now fully aware that this re-entry into the structures of audience reception and 'use' cannot be understood in simple behavioural terms. 'Effects, uses, 'gratifications' are themselves framed by structures of understanding, as well as social and economic structures which shape its 'realisation' at the reception end of the chain, and which permit the meanings signified in language to be transposed into conduct or consciousness.

As noted by Fenton (2007:21) “the struggle over meaning takes place between the process of production and the act of reception – both of which are determined by their place in a wider

social, political, economic and cultural context”. Meaning making is an active process that starts from the moment of creation and continues indefinitely. However, it also implies that meaning is not fixed, and that meaning will largely depend on the context in which a media object occurs. To this end, the initial data collection of this research looked at sites of production and later moved towards sites of reception. However, this data collection process was not linear. Instead, it became levelled and iterative.

To make sense of the interconnected levels of meaning making, and how they operated between the media object (visual communicative practices) and space (physical and/or online public space) this research was inspired by Couldry and McCarthy’s concept of (2004) MediaSpace. MediaSpace presents a spatialised approach to the study of media objects. MediaSpace recognises that “a despatialised analysis of spatial images can only go so far” (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:5). This is largely since this research understands space as a construct that is produced (in the Lefebvrian sense) and is something that is “simultaneously symbolic, material and representational” (Allon, 2004:257). Therefore, the interconnectedness between the ways that space is produced by, outside of and alongside the media forms that are found in them, cannot be underestimated. In this sense, Media, Culture and Space are no longer isolated constructs, but instead become an intertwined network of rapidly morphing symbiotic relationships

By incorporating that spatialised approach to the study of media objects, their influence on each other and the subsequent creation and dissemination of discourse is better understood. MediaSpace explains the relationship between media objects and material configurations. This is because MediaSpace is a concept that simultaneously tells a story of “place, (real or imagined) other spaces, media, and social spaces” (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:1). It therefore allows for due consideration of the “overall spatial and social configuration that results from a particular medium” (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:6). As a starting framework, Couldry and McCarthy’s MediaSpace (2004) allows this study to go beyond a spatial, temporal, and geographical boundary and creates room for electronic media such as the Internet and the World Wide Web as MediaSpace places physical space and mediated space together on various levels. This process is illustrated by the diagram below, where the interplay of the physical work and space (construction), its mediation (performance) and the reaction to it (reception) are considered.

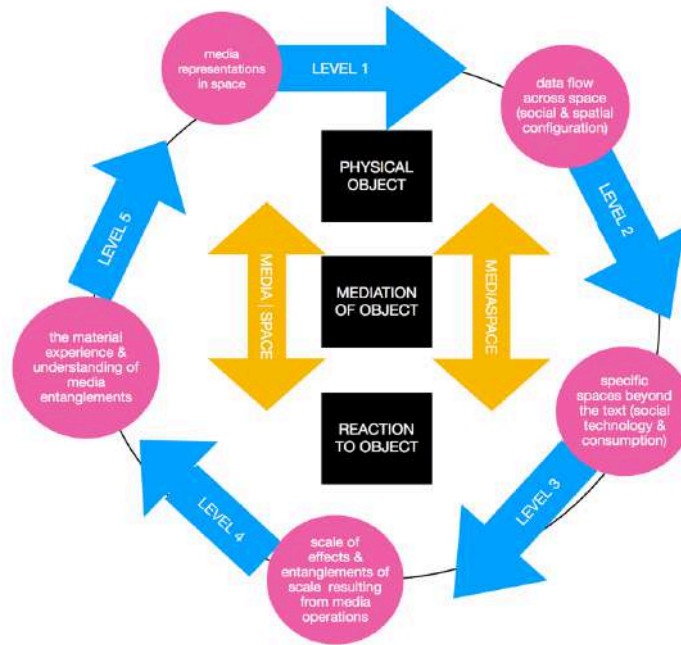


Figure 6: Flow circle diagram illustrating each interlinked level of Couldry & McCarthy's (2004) *MediaSpace* (Image by author, 2021).

The interaction between media objects and material configurations (of space) takes place on five different levels. These are explained in the table below:

Level	Name	Description
One	Studying media representations.	This includes studying places where media images are produced, distributed, and received.
Two	The study of how media images, texts, and data flow across space and, in so doing, reconfigure social space.	The overall spatial and social configuration that results from a medium.
Three	The study of specific spaces at either the end of the media process, the space of consumption and the space of production.	Extending beyond the text to understand media as a social process, technology, and content.
Four	The study of scale effects, or complex entanglements of scale, which result from the operation of media in space.	Concerned with the actual entanglements of scale engendered by mediated forms of social coordination.
Five	Studying how media-caused entanglements of scale are variously experienced and understood in specific places.	Consider what media does to space and the materiality of media objects.

Table 1: Explanation of the five levels of studying the interaction between media and space (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:5-8)

Research approach

Therefore, this research makes use of both Hall's (1973) Active Audience Reception Theory and Couldry and McCarthy's (2004) MediaSpace to specify data collection and analysis points within each case study. This approach is detailed in the figure below.

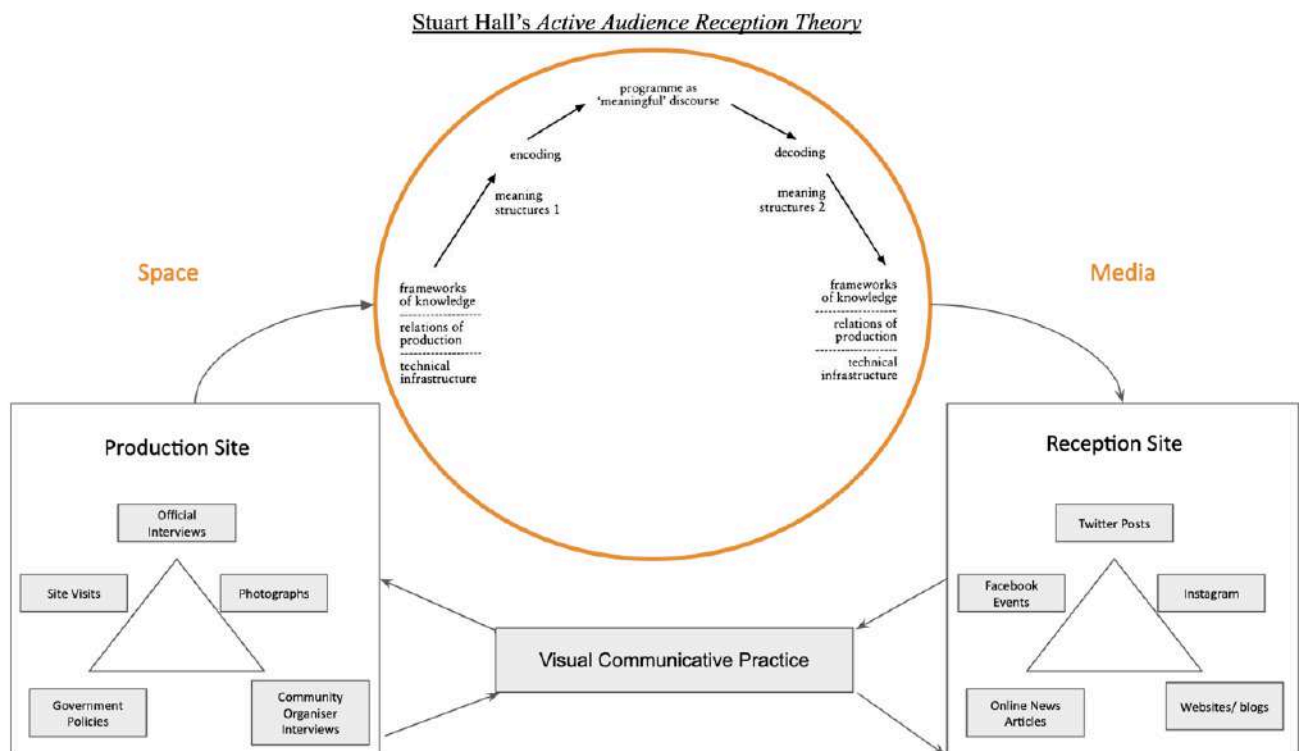


Figure 7: The Active Audience Reception Theory working in conjunction with MediaSpace in a visual communicative practice.

The direction of subsequent content analysis and discourse analysis is then determined by the initial data and themes that are present in the first few sites of meaning-making. Therefore although each case study employs a similar methodology, they highlight very different aspects of the interconnected relationship of media and space when dealing with public visual communicative practices in a South African context. This methodology uses a data-rich approach and thorough analysis to answer the question: *“What can be learned by adopting a spatially-sensitive and digitally-inclusive approach to studying the interconnected relationship between media, space and visual communicative practices?”*

1.3 Research Background

In Hall's (1982) definition of meaning that is referenced above in the discussion on discourse, meaning is not a stagnant concept, but rather it is created through a complex interplay of social relations. These social relations take place in physical space and that meaning that is created through them is often transferred to that space. For instance, in South Africa, many people experience District Six in Cape Town as an eerie or empty space as the forced removals that took place there in 1966⁸ have forever marked the landscape. Even if someone was not aware of the exact historical facts, the experience of encountering a desolate patch of land in-and-amongst the overdeveloped and bustling Cape Town Central Business District is unsettling. This example is one way of illustrating that space is not a neutral construct. Space is continuously created through an interplay of complex social relations that take place in a specific physical and geographical context. It becomes impregnated with meaning simply by the way that it is constructed. Ulmer (2017:492) refers to space as a 'mediated cultural construct' and Lefebvre's notion of the production of space means that "urban space is not neutral." This lack of neutrality implies, at the very least, that there is always a translation of culture into space (McLuhan, 1967:57) and that this space creates an environment "for making claims, of figuring particular narratives of legitimacy that enable individual and collective groups of residents to access resources and opportunities (Simone, 2014:27).

The study of space is the study of the construction of meaning. When this space is public, many meanings can occur simultaneously. These meanings can contradict, negate, or even complement each other and can be created through a process of participation. In theory, many meanings can co-exist when all stakeholders participate democratically in the meaning creation process. However, in practice, meaning creation and destruction in public sites is usually governed by the strongest mediating force. Livingstone and Markham (2007: xiii) explain how democratic participation in meaning creation is almost always mediated:

whilst the exact level and nature of such [democratic] participation is disputed, certain working assumptions underlie democratic practice and theory... [this explores] citizens underlying orientation to the sites where the public business of democracy goes on. Such sites are in contemporary societies, always, in part mediated sites.

This shows that the 'citizen' with the strongest orientation or claim to a space always mediates that space. This is perhaps nowhere more true than in the historical development of

⁸ See Abrahams (2021), *District Six Museum*.

South African city space, particularly in Johannesburg and Cape Town. It is crucial to understand this historical spatial context as it is still something that both cities grapple with today, albeit in different ways. Therefore, one of the first layers of discourse that is applied to these practices is that of the surrounding spatial discourse. At a broader level, the city-wide geographical context provides some insight into the social and material relations that have shaped the city space and still influence spatial experiences of Johannesburg and Cape Town today.

Therefore, a key starting point for later analysis is understanding the spatial discourse already present in each case study before any artwork is created. To present a suitably nuanced yet complex historical account of both Johannesburg and Cape Town, key sources were consulted to provide a more comprehensive picture of the two cities. Key to this approach is understanding the way in which segregationist policies did not originate in either Cape Town or Johannesburg through apartheid but have instead been built into the fabric of these cities from their inception. When the exclusionary seams of the cities are made visible for all to see, the mechanisms that make these fabrics visible are often targeted.

1.3.1 Johannesburg context

Johannesburg's growth and development was driven by the discovery of gold in 1886, which was earmarked when President Paul Kruger signed a proclamation in the Transvaal Government Gazette (Figure 8). Kruger stated that gold digging would commence that month in various parts of the Witwatersrand (white waters ridge) situated in the southern part of the South African Republic, also known as the Transvaal (*Johannesburg: one hundred years*, 1986:ix).



Figure 8: Proclamation from the Transvaal Government Gazette, (Johannesburg: One hundred years, 1986:viii).

According to Johannesburg: One hundred years (1986:viii), this page from the Government Gazette is considered to be the ‘birth certificate of Johannesburg’, as the city was initially built on the public digging site of Randjeslaagte. However, Johannesburg did not start off as a city in the way that it is known today. Initially a ‘stand town’ run by the Transvaal municipality on a 99-year lease, Johannesburg brought in great revenue. After some time, this caused administrative problems, as Johannesburg was not functioning in a typical manner, with a town hall and a mayor to make executive decisions. Johannesburg was predominantly governed and shaped by mining conglomerates and the banking industry (1986:20).

Today, Johannesburg still carries some of this legacy. It can be experienced as a city where the spatial scars of apartheid are profoundly and self-consciously displayed for all to see, and yet it also presents itself as a city bustling with opportunity where city builders have been trying to create a world-class African city with economic opportunity for all (Murray, 2011:i). Geographically, a present-day layout of Johannesburg has developed above and beyond public digging sites, and now stretches from Midrand in the North to Cyrildene in the East, Roodepoort in the West and Lenasia and Orange Farm in the South. These areas are shown in the map in Figure 9.

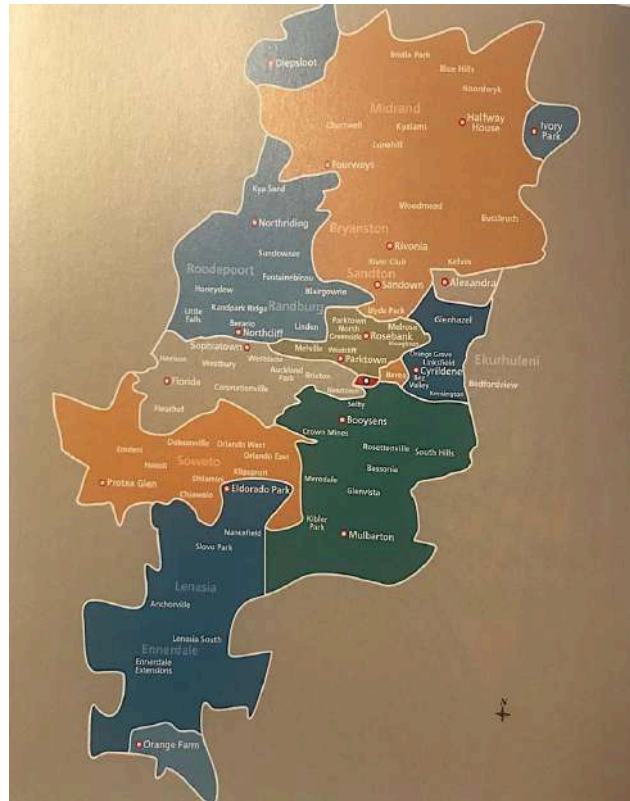


Figure 9: Map of Greater Johannesburg, (Brodie, 2014:iv).

1.3.2 Cape Town context

The Cape was founded in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company, when they set up a small settlement as a shipping go-between for trade in Europe and Asia. Besteman⁹ (2008:4) notes that the spatial complexities of race and class in the Cape began with the slave trade around this time when Dutch settlers started to capture and enslave the indigenous populations in the Cape, known as the indigenous Khoisan or Bushmen. According to Besteman (2008:4) they also imported a large number of slaves from Africa, Madagascar and India to work on the shipping industry infrastructure and local agriculture. This continued until the British took over the Cape in 1795 and then abolished slave trade in 1807.

Even after slave trade was abolished, The Cape was plagued by segregationist ideas and practices, that started off with the Sanitation Syndrome¹⁰ and then later gave way to apartheid

⁹ As a starting point to this section, this research considers the work of Catherine Besteman from her book *Transforming Cape Town*. Although many of her views have since been problematised or developed on, some of the historical context that she provides serves as a basis for discussing the historical spatial development of the Cape. A key argument against her work is that she does not approach the subject matter from the perspective of a South African academic. In order to counter this imbalance, her ideas are put in conversation with the perspectives of two key South African urban and historical academics namely, Bickford-Smith and Maylam.

¹⁰ Swanson (1938:387) describes how 'sanitation syndrome' can be traced as a major strand in the creation of urban apartheid. As disease and epidemiology became a wide- spread societal metaphor during the late nineteenth and early

ideologies. During the apartheid years, many people of colour were relocated to ‘second ring’ areas away from the white neighbourhoods, but not as far away as the black ones. These areas were usually just across a railway line, or river or highway, and included areas such as Salt River, Woodstock, Rondebosch East, and Lansdowne and then further away developments such as Bonteheuwel, Athlone, Grassy Park, Retreat, Lavender Hill, Manenberg, Heideveld and Mitchell’s Plain (Besteman, 2008:46). These areas are shown in relation to each other in Figure 10.

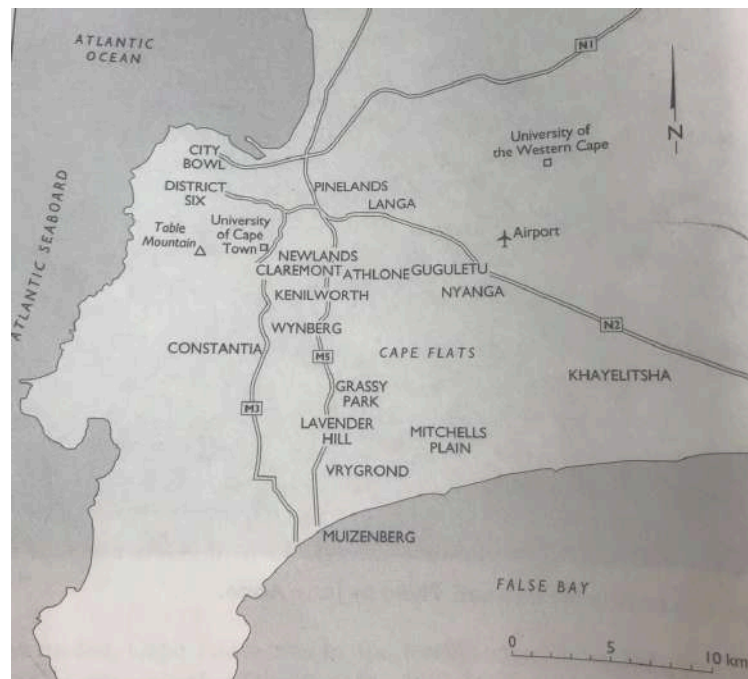


Figure 10: Simplified Map of Cape Town, (Besteman, 2008:46).

After the unbanning of the African National Congress in 1990, sanctions were lifted and Cape Town tried to brand itself as ‘world-class city’ to compete with the likes of other global metropolises such as Hong Kong, London, Paris and New York, whilst simultaneously attempting to redress the inequalities of the past (Wilkinson, 2000:201). This has not remarkably changed the spatial layout of the city, as it is still mostly experienced in the same way today as it was in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Besteman (2008:48) quotes Turok (2008) when she observes the slow rate of change and how Cape Town remains one of the least spatially altered places in the country. Perhaps the only notable difference is that

twentieth centuries, other historical changes taking place in South Africa as elsewhere were leading to the evolution of segregationist ideology. In this context the accident of epidemic plague became a dramatic and compelling opportunity for those who were promoting segregationist solutions to social problems. This is detailed in the next section

people of colour can now purchase into predominantly white suburban areas, only if they have the financial prospectus to do so, as these areas (such as large parts of the Southern Suburbs) are largely overpriced (Besteman, 2008:48). At another level, there are some places such as universities, schools and places of work within the Central Business District that become integrated spaces during the day, only to return to segregationist patterns as soon as night falls and everyone returns to their homes (Besteman, 2008:48).

Many people living in poor and underdeveloped areas in and around Cape Town have not had any significant material improvement in their living conditions since the demise of apartheid. Some scholars, such as Besteman (2008) and Wilkinson (2000) contribute this to neoliberal policies that aim to for global competitiveness and yet still want to eradicate poverty, whilst others such as Maylam (1995) and Bickford-Smith (1995) encourage academics and policy makers to focus less on Cape Town as a global city and instead find appropriate mechanisms and narratives through which history can be adequately addressed and attempts at rectification can be made. A key space where many of these aspirations and tensions are highlighted is public urban space.

1.3.3 Causes for spatial segregation in South Africa

Maylam (1995:24) notes that it is difficult to pin apartheid or spatial segregation to just one cause. Instead, he suggests that perhaps a greater emphasis should be placed on the “dozen possible motives or reasons. Most explanations tend to fall into one or other of two categories - either stressing social and psychological factors or leaning towards a materialist position.”

Social and psychological factors of segregation

The first example, social and psychological factors, is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than through the mass-induced racial hysteria caused by sanitation syndrome. This term was first coined by Swanson (1938:387) and built on the imagery of infectious and epidemic disease starting with the Bubonic plague, first brought to the port town of the Cape Colony by seamen. In other words, filth and disease was automatically associated with ‘the Other’ where Maylam (1995:24) notes the increase of “moral panic and racial hysteria, as whites increasingly came to associate the black urban presence with squalor, disease and crime”. This is not to say that the alleged-health related racial outcry did not occur in other parts of South Africa, as Maylam (1995) and Bickford-Smith (1995) note similar tendencies in places

such as Port Elizabeth, Durban and Johannesburg. The hysteria that the sanitation syndrome provoked resulted in the formation of 'racial relocation towns' such as New Brighton and Klipspruit (Maylam, 1995:24). However, an important and defining feature in relation to the trajectory of this research was the way in which it severely altered the landscape. For example Maylam (1995:24) notes that the link between urban segregation and exclusively white health is always framed as an epidemic where there is a

... causal link between epidemics and urban removals. The spread of Bubonic plague around South Africa from 1901 to 1904 was always followed by white ratepayer demands for greater racial segregation. The plague first hit Cape Town in 1901. Its popular name, the 'black death', was to have unfortunate connotations in South Africa, as the plague came to be associated more with the black urban presence than with the rats that carried it. Within a few weeks of the outbreak some six to seven thousand Africans were removed from central Cape Town to temporary accommodation at Ndabeni.

This was just the beginning of the sanitation syndrome's widespread effect on spatial and racial segregation of Cape Town, as there were more health epidemics after the Bubonic plague and former slaves as well as African people were relocated further and further away into slums and makeshift townships. Maylam (1995:25) notes that the 1914 Tuberculosis Commission [then] condemned locations and slums as a health menace. The 1918 Influenza Commission adopted a similar stance".

Capitalist segregational policies

The second example of segregationist policies that played out in the Cape Colony can be seen in the capitalist interest in dominance over areas that provided rich natural resources and job security. Maylam (195:72) notes this turn took place around the time of the Mineral Revolution (1807) where "Cape Town's dominant class were forced to come to terms with economic and demographic change on a hitherto unprecedented scale". Maylam (1995:73) further notes that maintaining social order in a time of rapid change with regards to urbanisation, immigration and industrialisation presented a unique challenge. The answer came in the form of dominance of white over black through racial segregation in private and state-owned institutions and facilities (Maylam, 1995:73). Segregation was seen as "concomitant on economic development, where exclusionary segregation was newly deemed necessary. It was also a response to a growing black bourgeoisie that challenged the equation between higher status and lightness of pigmentation" (Maylam, 1995:73). To expand on this point, Maylam (1995:50) echoes earlier statements of Bickford-Smith (1995:25) when he

notes that “segregation in nineteenth-century Cape Town was more exclusive than divisive - aimed not so much at keeping races apart but more at excluding people of colour from the ranks of the dominant class”. These politics solidified with the development of the ‘Clean Party’ consisting of businessmen and merchants who formed a discourse that exacerbated the negative stereotypes of black Capetonians and introduced a new type of urban reform with the sole aim to “control and reshape municipal government to cope with challenges posed by economic and demographic expansion” (Maylam, 1995:73).

Both independently and interdependently, these two justification systems for the widespread racial and spatial segregation paved the way for apartheid acts to be formally and lawfully introduced. The radical and emotive reasoning of these acts laid important and necessary groundwork for the introduction of the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act and the 1950 Group Areas Act (Maylam 1995:27). Under these acts, draconian limits on African immigration and mobilisation were enacted by relocating African residents of colour to formalised townships such as Langa, Nyanga, Gugulethu and later Khayelitsha (Besteman, 2008:48). This was enforced through the simple act of not building any housing for black South Africans between 1960’s and 1970’s (Besteman, 2008:48). On the other hand, the City of Cape Town made a point of purging suburbia of African and coloured citizens (Besteman, 2008:48). Besteman (2008:49) further explains this ideology:

The careful apartheid planning that created elegant, well-serviced, comfortable white neighbourhoods (with more houses available than families to live in them) simultaneously ensured massive housing shortages and overcrowding in the underserviced areas designated for black people and the proliferation of unserviced (and illegal) squatter settlements throughout the city.

Maylam (1995:75) notes that “[a]lthough the city's bourgeoisie was predominantly white, there were whites and coloureds working alongside one another in many skilled and unskilled occupations. Importantly, these included ranges of artisanal and domestic jobs”. This spoke to what Bickford-Smith (1995) and Maylam (1995) refer to as the city’s somewhat ‘liberal tradition’ where segregationist politics were not perceived to be as bad and dehumanising in Cape Town as they were in other parts of the country such as Johannesburg. Therefore, although coloured employment was preferred to black employment (Besteman 2008:45), the apartheid government did not necessarily make the housing situation easy for coloured Cape

Townians either. Many people of colour were relocated to ‘second ring’ areas away from the white neighbourhoods, but not as far away as the black ones (Besteman, 2008:45).

Of course, no conversation of the spatial segregation legacy of the Cape would be complete without mentioning District Six, the “sixth district in Cape Town inner city area, that had housed people from the working and artisanal classes” (McEachern, 1998:501). McEachern (1998:501) describes the space: “the District extended from the harbour up into the lower reaches of the Devil’s Peak and from the commercial centre of the city to the edge of the suburbs”. It was one of Cape Town’s biggest and most vibrant multicultural, heterogeneous and multiracial urban neighbourhoods (Besteman, 2008:46) and most argue that is why it is no longer standing today. McEachern (1998:502) notes that it was precisely because of the cultural, racial and class integration that took place in District Six, that it became a case in point for Nationalist Party legislation, where many of the scars still linger today. She describes this moment as:

Although the Group Areas Act was legislated in 1950, District Six itself was not proclaimed white until 1966. Over the next 15 years the District was physically destroyed, bulldozed street by street, to make way for white residents. All in all, between 55,000 and 65,000 people were moved from District Six, usually relocated in the townships out on the Cape Flats, often separated from closest kin and friends. In many ways District Six and this history of forced removal has come to overshadow the many, many other areas of forced removal from the urban area of Cape Town, such as Mowbray and Claremont. It has become the symbol of the dislocation and harm caused by the Group Areas Act. In part this must be because Zonnebloem (as the apartheid authorities renamed the area) or District Six today was never effectively redeveloped. (McEachern, 1998:502)

1.4 Need for Research

Whilst the singular discourse themes that relate to the research object are significant, this research takes a slightly different approach and considers the ways in which many levels of simultaneous discourses can be created when a variety of different data collection points are included. It positions the work as a total-effect collection and interplay of various discourse sites and meaning-making levels, instead of something that either wins public approval or not. This research also highlights why a more levelled approach is so important to understanding discourses in a public space as complex as South Africa. By breaking up all of the various ‘inputs’ into the visual communicative practices, artistic processes, government laws and public responses, a more comprehensive picture is formed. It reveals more about

how visual communicative practices operate in South public space, and how they affect that space. An inclusive approach presents a systematic way of understanding public engagement with public visual communicative works, that go beyond singular artists or commercial reappropriation of public space. It considers the systemic complexity that creates these conditions in the first place and the resultant mediation and public responses to these works. It also acknowledges that the advent of top-down mass media means that publics excluded or silenced in one space will find other spaces to appear. It also allows public arts research to consider audience responses, which has not been a part of the existing research trajectory in South Africa.

1.4.1 Is there existing South African discourse around visual communicative practices?

Competing spatial, methodological and memorialisation discourses in South African space present a research object where multiple interpretations have historically been weighed against each other and explained through a singular perspective. For example, Minty's 2006 work explored some important post-apartheid spatial considerations that should be noted when creating artworks in Cape Town public space. Equally, Marschall's 2010 work focussed on understanding art in public space as larger cultural artefacts that are "interpretation[s] of larger discourses on race, cultural diversity, and nation-building". The mention of these studies illustrates the ways in which the prevailing discourse around visual communicative practices has largely focussed on the materiality of the objects, physical spaces or even the profile and history of the artists who created the work.

There have been a few contemporary examples where an artist's failure to acknowledge the 'public' element of the public space that they have created their visual communicative practices in has resulted in what Dubin (2012:235) would call 'culture wars' where these works are met with resistance, public outcry and controversy. This was seen in the public outcry that surrounded Michael Elion's *Perceiving Freedom* (2014) Christopher Swift's *SunStar* (2014) or even Clive Van Der Berg's *Eland* (2007). Some of the main criticisms launched against these works were their historical insensitivity or blatant misappropriation, the use of public funding and space for commercial gain, and the exclusion of the public in their creation. For further context, these examples and their controversies are explored below.

1.4.2 Public outrage in other public spaces

Of interest to this study is the fact that many of these criticisms were launched in mediated and mostly¹¹ online spaces, such as online news articles, Tweets¹², Facebook groups and local blogs, instead of within the physical location and space that these artworks occupied. As an example, members of the public were confused and angry about the unveiling of South African artist Christopher Swift's *SunStar*, a giant (24 metre) light-up star sculpture constructed out of repurposed fencing from Robben Island (SAPeople News, 2014). A highly visible work was initially envisioned as part of the World Design Capital projects but ended up being solely commissioned by the hotel and resort group Sun International, who claim that the work "embodies South Africa's history and future in an interactive display of rebirth, reconciliation and hope" (Sun International, 2020). The star was initially placed on top of Signal Hill in Cape Town but has since been taken down and relocated to Sun International's Sun City. As an example of how the public aired their frustration with the work, a Twitter user, Gary Spott, discussed Swift's *SunStar* on Twitter:

'Corporate art' is not art.. it's Marketing [sic]. Much like commercials aren't movies. End of the day someone always walked [sic] with a big check [sic] to give the go ahead. i [sic] don't recall the public having much to do with this. Proof that public space is actually space for rent to the highest bidder. Public art will not happen without sponsorship (IOL, 2014).

Equally, comments levelled against Michael Elion's *Perceiving Freedom*¹³, a large cement sculpture of RayBan Wayfarers placed on Sea Point Promenade in Cape Town, raised some important concerns. The sculpture was sponsored by Ray Ban and explained as acknowledgement of Nelson Mandela's time on Robben Island, since the sculpture looks out from the Sea Point promenade towards Robben Island. Jethro (2014) notes how the general public as well as the South African arts community was outraged by Elion's "gross misappropriation" of public funding, public space and insensitivity to the fact that Nelson Mandela had actually been denied sunglasses during his incarceration at Robben Island, and as a result his eyesight had been irreparably damaged after years of working on the limestone quarry (Jethro, 2014; Sosibo, 2014; O'Toole, 2014). Of interest to this study is

¹¹ This excludes the Tokolos Stencil Collective's 2014 re-appropriation of Michael Elion's *Perceiving Freedom*.

¹² In 2023 Twitter was renamed to 'X'. Since this dataset is drawn from the years 2017-2019, the name 'Twitter' is used throughout this research as that is what it was called at that time.

¹³ Although it should be noted here that the debate surrounding this particular piece of public art was more complex than *SunStar* for reasons including its placement, permissions, the Art54 board, insensitivity to the legacy of Nelson Mandela and his time on Robben Island and copyright issues (to name a few). See Brown (2014).

the way that much of this debate took place on social media (Facebook and Twitter) and an Avaaz petition was even created for the removal of the work. These debates were then taken out of the online space and back into the physical, geographical one when The Tokolos Stencil Collective vandalised Elion's sculpture. In written statement to The Daily Maverick (2014), Art54 board member and local independent curator, Farzanah Badsha pointed out that although *Perceiving Freedom* (2014) did raise some relevant questions in the selection process, the root of the blame for the controversy surrounding the artwork lay with Michael Elion, as the artwork he eventually unveiled had nothing to do with his initial accepted project brief.

Furthermore, as the example of Elion's *Perceiving Freedom* (2014) and Swift's *SunStar* (2014) demonstrate, when a piece of art is placed in public space through exclusionary processes, a public sphere emerges in other public spaces that are seen to be more accessible and democratic, such as Twitter or Facebook. This study engages with both the physical and the mediated processes through which new and/or alternative public spheres are created by considering two unique and comparative case studies in Johannesburg and Cape Town. By closely examining the procedures, policies, stakeholders and processes through which public art is created and received in these cities, it considers whether an online public sphere creates a more inclusionary or exclusionary public space for the public to engage in debates over ownership, cultural identity and the commodification of public space. What the above examples indicate, is that there are other public spaces that include but are not limited to the physical one where a visual communicative practice is created. When this observation is applied to a South African context, it highlights the fact that a work itself cannot be studied in isolation due to some of the limitations that have been noted in an art historical or visual studies pursuit (Milton, 2006; Kuspit, 2004; Mirzoeff, 2009). Equally, many of the criticisms waged against the works above were leveraged against the artists themselves. In the three examples cited above, Michael Elion, Christopher Swift and Clive van der Berg are all Caucasian middle-aged men. Many of the voices who speak out against these artists and their works did so in an online mediated space, and much of the discourse highlighted above focussed on race, gender, the issue of rights to representation in public space, and the processes that allowed these works to be created.

1.4.3 The Contribution That This Study Makes

The discussion above showcases the ways in which the public space around visual communicative practices in South African public space has moved and/or extended. The extension includes the space of social media and online news articles. Although an extension of space has been considered in international studies, the same cannot be said for a South African instance. This study addresses some of that imbalance, since all three visual communicative practices (graffiti, street art and public art) operate in public space and (sometimes in paradoxical ways) “necessarily explore the very meaning of public space” (Wacławek, 2011:65).

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the study

Since this study only considers two case studies over a shorter period, the results cannot be generalised to all visual communicative practices in South African public space. It should also be noted that the physical locations of these works do impact their meaning and the interpretations assigned to them. Therefore, whilst the methodology could perhaps be tested on other physical spaces (locally, nationally, or even internationally) the results and perhaps even the spheres of engagement would look vastly different. The social media and online news articles used in this study form part of a representative sample and do not speak for all samples where discourse around these works occur.

1.6 Overview of chapters

Chapter One introduces this research. It frames the main research question against the study’s approach, objectives, background and context. It also expanded on the need for this study, particularly in a South African context. This chapter showcases how visual communicative practices create many public spaces, some of which are online. With this in mind, it proposes Media Studies as the best-suited disciplinary lens through which to conduct this study. It discussed important theoretical considerations in the main areas of this research, notably; visual communicative, public space, a South African context and the online digital public sphere.

Chapter Two is the Literature Review. The Literature Review examines key pieces of literature that relate to the key words for this study. It presents a theoretical and conceptual

background for this research. Each key word and focus area is discussed thematically within the review. The Literature Review introduces key readings across the different subject fields; Media Studies, media, space, MediaSpace, Spaces in the city, the public sphere, and notions of democracy in collapsing space, analysis of the public arts in South Africa, visual culture, and virtual spaces, and lastly methodologies used. Within this chapter, ideas around visibility, the operation of defiant art movements, the importance and changing context of the public sphere and social media are examined. This conceptual backbone is necessary to this research since it situates key questions relating to the progression of street art firmly within the field of Media Studies. Furthermore, this chapter showcases the link between visibility, representation and invisible tensions present within the city.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology used to collect the data and analyse it for this study. It discusses why a qualitative, interpretivist paradigm is best suited to this field of work as well as how the various conceptual models referenced in the literature review have informed the methodological approach used. The aim of this research is essentially to present a new method for engaging with the totality of meaning-making sites around visual communicative practices in South African public space. This has not been done before, and therefore requires a conceptually sound foundation to justify why this approach should be taken. This chapter provides both this conceptual background and discusses the practical way in which data is collected, analysed and then cross-referenced to form these two exploratory case studies.

Chapter Four presents the analysis and sampling approaches as well as the findings from each case study. These findings are presented per a data collection site within each case study. This is all presented together to help provide important context to the findings, as the data collection and analysis is an iterative process. The data from interviews, policy documents, site visits, online news articles, press releases and social media sites is discussed in this chapter. These data collections are presented sequentially in order to understand how the discourse is created around each meaning-making site. The significance of the collective findings for each case study are then discussed in the subsequent discussion chapters.

Chapter Five is the first discussion chapter. It discusses the findings for the first case study, BAZ-ART's International Public Arts Festival from its inception in 2017 until 2019. By categorising each discussion point around a different input and meaning-making site, this

chapter shows how discourse develops across sites, and how different spaces can be more or less exclusionary for publics depending on the processes through which they are created. By considering the key focus and discourse of each site, this chapter demonstrates how decisions made at a policy or By-Law level can influence the experience of a physical space. These decisions also manifest as key criticisms launched against the festival space. Lastly, it showcases how an understanding of the unique interplay between media and space creates a more comprehensive understanding of the total effects of a work in public space. It also establishes the relationship between physical space and media space in a Cape Town context.

Chapter Six is the second discussion chapter. A second discussion chapter is created as the study is not a comparative one, but rather seeks to demonstrate two different instances of a localised phenomenon. This chapter discusses the findings for the second case study, The Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi project that took place in and around Johannesburg. Similar to the first discussion chapter, it also makes use of different meaning-making sites to thematically categorise findings and explain how discourse is carried through the different sites. It also establishes the relationship between physical space and media space in a Johannesburg context, and considers what discourse presents in an online space and what that says about the overall creation process of these works.

Chapter Seven is the conclusion chapter. It highlights key findings from each case study and discusses scope for potential future research as well important limitations of MediaSpace as a conceptual tool. This chapter showcases the importance of a more total-effects approach to studying media objects and how South African public space is understood through the visual and visible practices that occupy it.

1.7 Summary

This chapter started off by highlighting key questions that visual communicative practices in South African public space raise and how these practices become proxies for broader discourse themes related to public space, visibility and power in South Africa. It then explained how the definition of public art is problematic and why the term ‘visual communicative practices’ is used to side-step convoluted semantic and aesthetic arguments and instead focus on key discourse themes. These discourse themes are then explored as they shape the structure of this research. The rest of this chapter lays a foundation of the

subsequent ones by discussing the research methodology and the case studies used, as well as the research background and context. After this, it highlights the need for a localised spatially-sensitive Media Studies approach to study visual communicative practices in South African public space, as each case study includes both digital (online) and spatial perspectives that influence the creation of key discourse themes. This research shows how these discourse themes are produced and received through a layered MediaSpace approach. This approach provides rich new insights into the research object and contributes to the ever-advancing field of Media Studies. This research is detailed in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER TWO- LITERATURE REVIEW

Earlier on in this research, it was noted that the “politics of media images and economies are not [understood as] separate from the politics of space. [By] tracking the mobility of media forms in social space [we are] lead to numerous political realities” (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:2). A Critical Cultural Studies approach to Media Studies notes that meaning is always in “a state of flux depending on historical and cultural context” (McQuail, 2007:xvi). A Critical Cultural approach to media objects therefore allows for both the production of physical space, as well as the complex interplay of the visual object as a disseminator of cultural meaning and significance to be studied. Therefore, this Chapter provides a theoretical background on both visual communicative practices as media forms, and the physical public space that these forms occupy. It details how power relationships create social space, which is then either echoed or negated through visual communicative practices and the way in which they are mediated by the public around them.

The intentional approach outlined above is conducted in South African public space. South African public space provides a semiotically rich ‘marketplace’ for research, as it is continuously shaped by complex social, historical, and economic forces and changes depending on the location in which it is encountered, and the ‘public’ that encounters and controls it. There is no static or all-encompassing construct of public space, particularly in South Africa. Many of the historical spatial tensions raised by Dubin (2012), Simone (2014), Reddy (2016) and Diouf and Fredericks (2014) in the previous Chapter, are still experienced today. These tensions have been widely theorised where, public space is constructed to be an inclusive, accessible, and democratic space (Carr, 1992). However, in practice, research suggests that the construction and negotiation of public space in South Africa is much more complex and nuanced (Landman, 2018:8) due to various groups enacting socio-economic, historical, and cultural claims over representation and space. Landman (2018:8) notes that the use and control of public space transforms according to the public that occupies it. This creates a link between public urban space and the politics of power, identity, and social control (Kilian, 1993). Therefore any visual communicative practice that is created in this public space becomes a proxy for much more complex debates about meaning, power and identity in South African public space. The same rationale is true for public art too, where

intentionally or not, controversial issues are magnified through the visibility and visual nature of ‘art’ in public places. Sharp, Pollock and Paddison (2005:1001) note that cultural clashes around any highly visual and visible practice can happen “precisely because of its visibility and hence its ‘inescapability’, although reactions to it can vary from the highly vocal and oppositional to the unaffected”.

The discussion around visual communicative practices highlights how agents of sight are shaped by cultural perspectives, and how visual discourse is debated through the visual object by looking at various visual communicative practices such as street art, public art, and graffiti. The social condition through which these cultural perspectives and discourses are created is largely informed by how African cities and public spaces are understood and experienced today. This Chapter unpacks some of these key debates by first exploring the contextual background for the theory of public space, as it is central to this research. After that, the way in which public space is enacted by the public sphere is discussed. Since public visual communicative practices operate in space, their discourse and theory is also explored to understand what these practices add to or take away from the concept of public space. After that the spatial context for Cape Town and Johannesburg is explored before a clear link is established between physical spaces and media ones, with the concept of MediaSpace. The interrelated nature of all of these terms is shown in the diagram below.

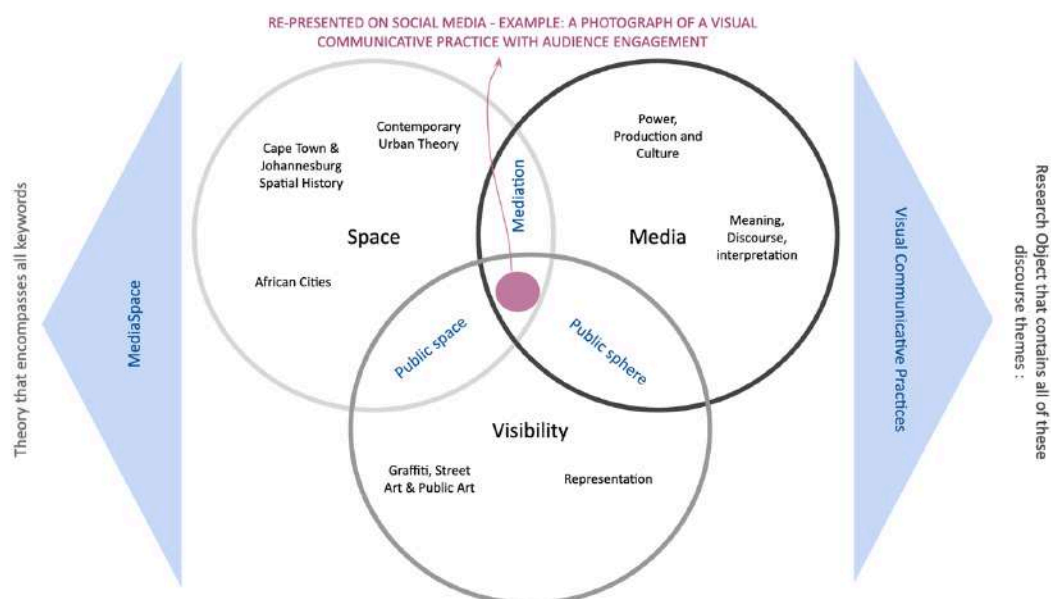


Figure 11: Key literature and discourse themes and how they relate to the research object.

The Literature Review is therefore organised according to key research themes that relate to the research question. It brings together important concepts related to meaning, discourse, space, visibility, and public visual communicative practices to foreground the approach chosen for this research. It explores key ideas in the production of physical space and the cultural meaning of the visual research object, particularly in the historically convoluted context of South African public space.

2.1 Background and context

The theoretical foregrounding that this literature review provides is important for a study in discourse, as there is “no degree zero in language” (Hall, 1980:170). Therefore, the historical discourse of South African space and key critiques of public space from the Global South need to be discussed alongside theories relating to visual communicative practices so that a base-level of meaning-making practices is duly considered.

A necessary place to start would be to consider the link between public space and meaning, which is noted by Ulmer (2017:492), when they suggest that “urban space is not neutral”, whilst McLuhan (1967:57) aptly notes that there is always some translation of meaning or culture into space. Perhaps the best description of the power relations at play in a city space comes from the work of Rosalind Deutsche (1988), who first noticed the ways in which spatial politics were made invisible in New York City. Deutsche’s (1988:6) observations still ring true over 40 years later, as they highlight the interconnected relationship of space, meaning, power and social function:

Spatial forms serve the needs of particular societies. Seen through the lens of function, however, spatial order appears instead to be controlled by natural, mechanical, or organic laws. It is recognized as social only in the sense that it meets the purportedly unified needs of aggregated individuals. Severed from its social production, space is thus fetishized as a physical entity and undergoes, through inversion, a transformation. Represented as an independent object, it appears to exercise control over the very people who produce and use it. The impression of objectivity is real to the extent that the city is alienated from the social life of its inhabitants. The functionalization of the city, which presents space as politically neutral, merely utilitarian, is, then, filled with politics. For the notion that the city speaks for itself conceals the identity of those who speak through the city.

Deutsche’s (1988) work highlights the importance of starting off any study of public space in urban cities by looking at the link between public urban space and the politics of power,

identity, and social control. Later theorists such as Kilian (1993) have also noted the ways in which all of the above terms are linked.

The link between public space and power then raises the question of how public space, composed of multiple publics, should or could be appropriately analysed. Madanipour (2010:240) notes that private investment cannot realistically be left out of the process, but that no singular group should be given complete control and authority. Instead, processes that create and work in public spaces should aim to be inclusive, transparent and equitable (Madanipour, 2010:247). However, these ideals are often easier to theorise than they are to execute, since public space - whether understood as a site of contact or representation (Kilian, 1993:115) - becomes a site of conflict due to its visible nature. For instance, theorists such as Smith (2018), and Lemanski (2007) point out that urban development and regeneration strategies fracture South African public space by creating exclusionary capitalist spaces of consumption. When this happens, public spaces tend to occur in increasingly controlled environments whereas public life moves towards more privatised spaces (Landman, 2018:6). Although a few exceptions of less privatised public spaces such as Freedom Park or The Union Buildings in Pretoria are noted by Landman (2018:7), this does not largely change the fact that an engagement with public space in a South African context is an engagement with a discourse around access, privatisation, segregation, and commercial interest.

Since this research is conducted from a MediaSpace perspective, the influence of the chosen disciplinary perspective is first explored. This sets an important theoretical foundation for how space is understood within the context of this research.

2.2 Towards a Critical Cultural Media Studies

Historically, there have been two main approaches to Media Studies. These are detailed below in so far as they relate to the research approach as well as the understanding of public space and power.

2.2.1 Political Economy

There are two streams of thought when it comes to how power, ideologies and social control work, and the concept of public space has been developed according to both. Firstly, the

Political Economy approach to Media Studies that was developed out of Marxist themes that are salient in the work of the early pioneers of the Frankfurt School, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, who in 1972 wrote about the industrialisation of mass media into a culture industry in *The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception*. Their writing illustrates a wide scale disillusionment with the mechanisation and replication of culture, and illustrates a political economy approach:

The striking unity of microcosm and macrocosm presents men with a model of their culture: the false identity of the general and the particular. Under monopoly all mass culture is identical, and the lines of its artificial framework begin to show through. The people at the top are no longer so interested in concealing monopoly: as its violence becomes more open, so its power grows (Adorno & Horkheimer 1972:71).

This quote highlights “how the media are determined by a combination of economic, social, and political factors, particularly ownership and control over the media” (O’Shaughnessy, Stadler & Casey, 2016:22). Furthermore, it presents a (far-from-simplistic) top-down model for meaning making, where the media is owned or controlled by a single or handful of powerful entities or monopolies. These entities control the messaging and the audience, or as O’Shaughnessy and Stadler (2016:22) explain, “it is often used to show that mass media products embody capitalist ideologies that are then consumed by the mass audience”. Fenton (2007:8) elaborates on this point:

put crudely, political media views the media as promoting the dominant ideology of the ruling classes: in spite of their liberating potential, the media of modern mass communication have contributed to new levels of social stratification - communication classes which in turn engender new forms of domination. The mass media are an obstacle to liberation and overwhelm all other forms of non-mass media.

As a consequence of the top-down approach, mass-media is considered to be an obstacle to worker liberation when it is controlled by a single cultural entity and therefore prioritises the spread of one set of cultural ideals over all others. Kellner and Durham (2001:219) further point out that most scholars of this approach are either from the United States of America (Innis, Bagdikian, Smythe and Schiller) or the United Kingdom (Garnham, Golding and Murdock). Therefore, these cultural ideals are often Western ones, which leads to a form of Western cultural imperialism and media homogenisation (O’Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2016:23). Theorists such as Herman and Chomsky (1988) as well as Schiller (1991) stress that this can be problematic in an increasingly globalised world as material and ideological monolithic media production can assume totalitarian control. Here, the corporate political

machine dominates, re-appropriates, marginalises or obliterates all other discourse (Fenton, 2007:15).

Many authors differentiate between the initial political economy approach first developed in the 1960's, and the later critical political economy where "different ways of financing and organising cultural production have traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations in the public domain and for audiences who access them" (Golding & Murdock, 1991:15). This line of thought is more contemporary than the original Marxist perspective and combined the political economy of the media, cultural textual analysis, and audience reception studies to consider the current economic climate as well as the control and ownership over media (Fenton, 2007: 9-12). It goes further than the initial assumption that those with economic advantage would affect access to cultural products and the ability to function in the public sphere and pays more attention to investigating the agency of the audience as well as their activity within broader social and economic structures. In other words, "in a critical political economy, audience responses to texts are related to their overall location in the economic system" (Fenton, 2007:14). Cultural differences and meaning are taken into consideration, but alternative readings of a preferred meaning can only be challenged or lessened by political means. The critical political economy approach to media "challenges the idea that culture and the economy are separate discrete spheres operating frequently in a relationship of antagonism. Instead, it prefers to stress the blurring or fusing of these boundaries - the mutual constitution of economy and culture" (Fenton, 2007: 15).

Durham and Kellner (2001:222) summarise this moment:

Political economy, then, involves a complex interaction between the economy, state, social movements, and popular participation in social and cultural processes. It encompasses analysis of production and consumption of media, goods, and services which incorporate individuals in a modern consumer and media society. Yet political economies are historically specific, with differences between countries such as the United States and Britain in terms of ownership patterns of the media and such things as television consumer practices. Important differences also exist between the Western and non-Western countries in terms of how they appropriate the products of Western transnational media industries and create their own local cultural forms and meanings. Finally, globalisation and new technologies are so dramatically altering the world economy that constant up-dating and rethinking of the political economy of communication is now more important than ever.

These ideas are most prevalent in the works of Jurgen Habermas' 1989 conceptions of the public sphere (bedrock source), and account for initial studies of public space, such as those

by Lefebvre (1991), who studied space as something that was produced and consumed in a Marxist sense.

2.2.2 Cultural Studies

The political economy approach is contrasted by a cultural studies approach to media, the second line of thought out of which contemporary Media Studies was born. Kellner and Durham (2001:111) explain this field as a reactionary one to the political economy, where:

...overly empiricist and conformist approaches to the study of communication and culture, more critical approaches emerged. Within the traditions of critical media and cultural criticism, there are many models of social approaches to culture and what has become known as cultural studies.

A social-contextualising approach is a cross disciplinary one that “embraces social theory, cultural analysis and critique in an academic project that draws on the humanities, sociology, social policy, social psychology, politics, anthropology, women’s studies and social geography” (Fenton, 2007:16). This approach was first developed out of the now banned Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies which fixed its sights on the socio-historical critique of cultural forms and hegemonic rule (Kellner, 1989:28).

The cultural studies approach “situates cultural and media artefacts within the social relations of production and reception. It analyses media and culture as part of society and relates text to context so that it can properly analyse, interpret, or criticize meaning and effect” (Kellner & Durham, 2001:111). The cultural and geographical situatedness of the object of study is crucial, as illustrated by the academic and theoretical focus of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Since the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies was based in Britain, its academic focus was based on the struggles in contemporary British polity, such as the 1960’s class struggles, the conservative populism of Thatcher’s government between 1979-1994 and the later feminism and anti-racism. Fenton (2007:16) describes the significance of the relationship between cultural studies and its object of focus:

Their studies of ideology, domination and resistance, and the politics of culture, directed cultural studies towards analysing cultural artefacts, practices, and institutions within existing networks of power and showing how culture both provided tools and forces of domination and resources for resistance and struggle. This was an important political direction that shifted emphasis from the effects of media texts to audience uses of cultural artifacts

[sic]. This led to a direct focus on audiences and reception, areas that had been neglected in most previous text-based approaches to media.

Today, the field of culture studies continues this work as theorists such as Marshall McLuhan, Laura Mulvey, Homi Bhabha, Edward Said, bell hooks and Larry Gross shift emphasis away from the effects of media texts to the audience uses and reception of cultural artefacts (Fenton, 2007:16; Durham & Kellner, 2001:111). Criticisms against this line of thought have considered it to be ahistorical, particularistic or idealist at the best of times, whilst at the worst - “relativism gone mad - as an interpretative free-for-all in which the audience possess and unlimited potential to read any meaning from any given text” (Fenton, 2007:17).

However, unlike the political economy approach that views the ruling class ideology as dominant, save for mass communication’s social stratification, the cultural studies approach creates citizens of the media who use mediated information with a sense of social and political agency (Fenton, 2007:8). This research aligns with a cultural studies approach as it allows for many perspectives to be studied instead of just one, and provides space for where opposing or different dialogues can open up. The next section discusses how space can be imbued with meaning, and what this means for studies of space in the public domain.

2.3 Space

A foundation for understanding the concept of space is introduced by Bourdieu (1996:11) who describes space as a “set of distinct and coexisting positions which are exterior to one another and which are defined in relation to one another through relations of proximity, vicinity, or distance, as well as through order relations.” In this definition, the proximate, objective and universal experience of space is highlighted. The purely theoretical experience of the geographical term ‘space’ is a void-like construct where people within that space should behave as rational actors (Cresswell, 2009:2-3).

However, any lived experience of space reveals that the theoretical account is at odds with its messy and contradictory nature. Space cannot exist in the public domain and mean exactly the same thing to everyone who encounters that space. It is clear from the discussion above that space also carries meaning and is subjective. These two differing experiences of space are best explained by Bourdieu’s (1996:12) distinction between physical space and social

space. Bourdieu notes that “social space is an invisible set of relationships which tends to retranslate itself, in a more or less direct manner, into physical space in the form of a definite distributional arrangement of agents and properties” (Bourdieu, 1996:12).

2.3.1 Space and meaning

The interpretivist lens of Human Geography that emerged in the 1970's (Cresswell, 2009:3) encouraged a more subjective use of the term ‘place’ over the term ‘space’, in order to account for the multitude of human experiences of a single location. Since then, many theorists have struggled to conceptualise the term space without some reference to their relation to or experience of it. Harvey (2006:125-126) explains how human practices affect how space is conceptualised:

...there are no philosophical answers to philosophical questions that arise over the nature of space - the answers lie in human practice. The question ‘what is space?’ is therefore replaced by the question ‘how is it that different human practices create and make use of different conceptualizations [*sic*] of space?’

This interpretivist lens towards space can be further elaborated on by Jaworski and Thurlow (2008:1) when they use the term ‘semiotic landscapes’ in their book of the same title, to describe the “interplay between language, visual discourse, and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture, especially the textual mediation or discursive construction of place and the use of space as a semiotic resource in its own right”. Therefore this research does not use space as a term, since this incorrectly implies that no interpretation, mediation or construction happens. Instead, it uses the term ‘place’ as it describes a “meaningful site that combines location, locale and a sense of place” (Cresswell, 2009:1). This definition supposes ‘location’ as geographic and absolute, (for instance a set of GPS coordinates), ‘locale’ as a “material setting for social relations” (Cresswell, 2009:1), and ‘sense of place’ refers to “the more nebulous meanings associated with a place: the feelings and emotions a place evokes.”

In this way, Bourdieu's (1996) physical space is represented through location, whereas social space becomes embroiled with place (meaning) and is represented through a combination of locale and sense of place. In Bourdieu's (1996) distinction, it is also important to note the interconnectedness of physical space and social space. So whilst physical space and social space can be separated into two distinct elements for the purposes of definition, to

acknowledge the situatedness of place is to acknowledge the interplay of social space and physical space, and to understand the various social agents and factors that create a sense of place.

2.3.2 Meaning negation and the creation of non-places

The opposite of a space without place, (without meaning and located context) or physical space disconnected from social space, would be almost impossible as space is always experienced through a human perspective or point of view. Since space consists of physical and social space, it cannot exist without meaning. However, in this instance, meaning is not derived from the familiar. It becomes 'out of place' and thus has no linguistic, contextual or visual anchor through which interpretation can take place. Instead of space being without meaning, it becomes a space without a localised context. The opposite of a place impregnated with locale and a sense of place, would be what Augé (1995:76) defines as the supermodern experience of non-place:

If place can be defined as relational, historical, and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place. The hypothesis advanced here is that supermodernity produces non-places, meaning spaces which are not themselves anthropological places and which, unlike Baudelairean modernity, do not integrate with the earlier places: instead, these are listed, classified, promoted to the status 'places of memory' and are assigned to a circumscribed specific position.

When non-spaces appear in places ascribed with meaning, they are unable to integrate. Instead, they create a disconnected experience for the people within that space. In his writing, Augé uses the examples of airports or shopping centres to describe what a non-space is. For example, a non-space has the potential to proliferate space with images and experiences of spaces outside of the geographical space that they occupy. Non-place divorces the location, locale and sense of place from meaning. Instead, meaning can only be achieved through mediation:

non-places mediate a whole mass of relations, with the self- and with others, which are only indirectly connected with their purposes. Anthropological places create the organically social, so non-places create solitary contractuality... The link between individuals and their surroundings in the space of non-place is established through the mediation of words or even texts (Augé, 1995:94).

Furthermore, Augé (1995:103) notes that "the space of non-place creates neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude, and similitude. There is no room there for history unless

it has been transformed into an element of spectacle, usually in allusive texts.” A non-place would be a space that had no site or culture specificity and therefore could not be accessed by a broader public sphere. It would only appeal and be accessible (physically or socially) to a small segment of the public.

Therefore, any study of space would need to consider how meaning is added to (or negotiated in) space - by looking at the interplay between social spaces and physical spaces. This approach highlights the forces that work together to create meaning within a social space, and how this meaning is then translated into physical space. Sociologist Scott Lash (2002) discusses two possible translations of meaning into space, namely 'spaces of places' (where cultural ideas and meaning are geographically disseminated) and 'spaces of flows' (where cultural ideas and meaning are disseminated by media technologies). These are explored below, as both are pertinent to the research object, visual communicative practices.

2.3.3 Space of places

Central to this research is the idea that public space breaks up into two different manifestations. Sociologist Scott Lash (2002) discusses these manifestations, the first being a “space of places [that] recognised traditional sociological concerns with proximate social relationships, taking place within specific localities” (Burrows & Beer, 2013:63).

Therefore, an important point to note about visual communicative practices as media environments, is that regardless of the way in which they are mediated, their mediation is always an active process. McLuhan (1967:68) importantly notes that media environments “are not passive wrappings, but are, rather, active processes which are invisible”. These structures are invisible in nature because McLuhan (1967:68) points out that “the ground rules, pervasive structure, and overall patterns of environments elude easy perception”. The anti-authoritarian stance that visual communicative practices (such as street art or graffiti) take can be best understood as what McLuhan (1967:68) describes as the antithesis to environments, or ‘anti-environments’ which are “...countersituations made by artists, provide means of direct attention, and enable us to see and understand more clearly. The interplay between the old and new environments creates many problems and confusions”.

2.3.4 Spaces of flows

Geographical dissemination is not the only way that cultural ideas and meaning can be made. McLuhan (1967:52) notes that “the instantaneous world of electrical informational media involves all of us, all at once. No detachment or frame is possible”. The statement rings particularly true on the dawn of what UNESCO (2016) has aptly called the Fourth Industrial Revolution, or The Age of Information, as it is better known. The Age of Information requires new ways of engaging with and understanding media forms since the media object has expanded physical boundaries (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:25). This is where Lash’s (2002) second term, “spaces of flows” come into the debate. Spaces of flows considers the “new possibilities afforded by the widespread introduction of networked digitised devices of various kinds” (Burrows & Beer, 2013:63).

The second cultural space becomes important because of the ephemeral nature of the research object. Here, the term ephemerality is used in a sense best described by Murphy and O’Driscoll (2015:333) who state that “the meaning of any ephemeral intervention is not simply to create a spectacle for others but also to transform participants politically through the complex workings of affect”. Their ephemeral nature means that these works can exemplify the flux and instability of the modern city in constant states of formation and destruction. When destroyed due to natural weathering, rival artists or city officials, these works disappear “from actual sight but perhaps not from active memory” (Schacter, 2008:46). Therefore, ephemerality is “often seen as neither intrinsically good nor bad, more as an undeniable factor; its recognition, possibly the comprehension that development and progression can often depend on decomposition and transformation” (Schacter, 2008:49). According to MacDowall and Honig (2016) “there are a number of conditions that encourage the documentation and sharing of street art in social media platforms: its broad popularity, its ephemerality within the public domain and its ocular-centrism”. The documentation of street art and graffiti by enthusiasts, photographers and authorities (albeit for different reasons) has led to the publication of these works in online spaces such as websites and social media. JAKe (2012:8) notes that “the growth of the internet went hand in hand with the growth of street art”. Thus, the cultural space of flows has created a second public space where once ephemeral works have now become immortal. A potential downside of this approach is that “at the very moment when we can access large amounts of data about the physical location of street art works chosen by audiences, the physical location is becoming less significant in

meaning” (MacDowall & Honig, 2016). To regain some spatialised understanding, it’s important to understand how the visual and the spatial are linked through their common visibility, which is afforded partially through their public positioning,

Understanding the process of public visibility is crucial, particularly in spaces that exist in the public domain - where they are subjected to a variety of experiences and interpretations by a wide array of social actors. This is particularly pertinent in the South African context where Landman (2004:16) notes that the South African legacy of segregation has manifested in the development of separate spaces for different populations or race groups. Spatial segregation has historically resulted in the exclusion of large sections of the population from economic, social and environmental benefits. In order to better understand how public spaces can operate on a locus of inclusion and exclusion, the concept of public space is now explored further.

2.4 Public Space

The theoretical concept of public space is often described as an inclusive, accessible, and democratic space (Carr, 1992) that provides a visible site for public life to emerge (Kilian, 1993:115). It is both a geographic construct and a social one (Kilian, 1993:33). However, Massey (2005:152) notes that “the tendency to romanticise public space as an emptiness which enables free and equal speech does not take on board the need to theorise space and place as the product of social relations which are most likely conflicting and unequal”. Massey's (2005) observations highlight that lived public space is different to theoretical ideals of what a democratic public space could be. Any discussion of public space is never simply a discussion about the geographical space. It is a broader conversation about the public who occupy that space, and perhaps even more importantly, a discussion about the public who do not.

The split between theoretical ideals and lived experiences of public space is something that spatial theorists have been grappling with for the past 50 years. Ted Kilian (1993:xx) describes the two main strands of literature that explain this. The first considers public space as a site of impersonal contact (a space where people will come into contact with many other different people) and the second understands public space as a site of representation (a space where a public collectively finds meaning and identity) (Kilian, 1993:xx).

The focus on impersonal contact and representation creates a public versus private binary. This binary has been discussed by key theorists such as Jane Jacobs (1961), Richard Sennett (1977) and Don Mitchell (1992), who have bemoaned the loss of public life to increased privatisation (Kilian, 1993:115). Many of the ideas put forward by Jacobs, Sennett and Mitchell create a public/private binary where public life is lost due to commercial and security developments, thus resulting in increased privatisation. However, Kilian (1993:115) argues that the binary of public life versus private life is no longer a helpful category to use when understanding the way in which the concept of public space works. The result of many postmodern urbanist interventions, such as gated communities, is a growing decline of meaningful public space and an increased desire to control one's space. Whereas it once combined production, consumption and social interaction, public space has now become compartmentalised and transformed (Ellin, 1997:167).

However, public space only understood as a site of impersonal contact (Jacobs; Sennett & Gehl) or a site of representation (Lefebvre; Mitchell) can be limiting, as "it reif[ies] the object of analysis whilst failing to define it clearly (Kilian, 1993:115). Kilian (1993:115) therefore suggests that "spaces cannot be inherently categorised as 'public' or 'private'" and that the concepts of privacy and publicity should neither be eliminated, collapsed, or situated on opposite ends of a spectrum. Instead, a focus should be placed on explaining how publicity and privacy operate within material spaces and how they are "expressions of power relationships in space" and thus operate in every space (Kilian, 1993:116).

This is particularly true in a South African context, for instance, theorists such as Smith (2018), and Lemanski (2007) point out that urban development and regeneration strategies fracture South African public space by creating exclusionary capitalist spaces of consumption. When this exclusion happens, public spaces tend to occur in increasingly controlled environments whereas public life moves towards more privatised spaces (Landman, 2018:6). However, exclusion is not necessarily true for all public spaces, as Landman (2018:7) also notes that recent developments such as Freedom Park or The Union Buildings in Pretoria have started to create less privatised and more accessible public spaces.

2.4.1 Public Space in a Cultural Studies Context

Within a cultural studies context, public space in cities cannot be conceived of as a static or monolithic construct, only representing one history, one heritage or one set of ideals. If space can be re-presented based purely on the fact that the production of space means that “urban space is not neutral” (Ulmer, 2017:492), then this implies that there is some translation of meaning or culture into space (McLuhan, 1967:57). This space then serves as a construct “for making claims, of figuring particular narratives of legitimacy that enable individual and collective groups of residents to access resources and opportunities (Simone, 2014:27).

Instead, it is a fluid and dynamic entity, that responds to “individuals, social groups and organisations that constantly make and withdraw claims over space, thereby implicitly or explicitly contesting the claims of others, instigating a process of inclusion and exclusion, creating spaces with overlapping meanings” (Madanipour, 2010:237).

Perhaps Deutsche (1988:6) explained this relationship between meaning-making and the city best, when she stated that “for the notion that the city speaks for itself conceals the identity of those who speak through the city”. The city is not neutral territory and cannot speak for itself. Instead, the city and its public spaces are controlled by those with the most power.

Madanipour (2010:24) explains the complexity of power, inclusivity and control in the creation of public spaces:

The power resides with the designer who shapes the place, the developer who initiates and coordinates the production of space, the investor who brings forward financial resources, the public-sector agencies that promote and regulate the transformation of the place, the homeowner who wishes to be in control of the neighbourhood, the male domination that prevents women from entering public arenas, the higher-income groups that demand exclusive places, the majority populations who keep minorities and subculture out - and so on. Those who do not control resources and have no voice in political representation, those who remain silent in the process of spatial transformation, or those who are physically weak can be at the receiving end and potentially lose out in a contest over the use and control of space. This is an interdependent process, with no one party in full control, although the degree of power and influence of agencies varies according to their economic and political capital, or their relations with the others around them.

Thus, as Madanipour’s (2010) ideas show, public space is multifaceted and in a state of constant flux. It is not occupied by a singular public, but rather controlled by those with the most power, resources, and access. Therefore public space in cities cannot only represent a

singular history, heritage or set of ideals as “individuals, social groups and organizations [*sic*] constantly make and withdraw claims over space, thereby implicitly or explicitly contesting the claims of others, instigating a process of inclusion and exclusion, creating spaces with overlapping meanings” (Madanipour, 2010:237).

However the processes of inclusion and exclusion are negotiated, it becomes clear that the control of public space takes place through the negotiation of power. Massey (2005:152) describes the negotiation process as one where all of the social actors involved are required to work out “who really is going to have the right to be there”. The heterogeneous regulation of public space can occur in a variety of ways such as; explicit rules, competitive regulation, or public controls (Massey, 2005:152). In modern public space, conceptions of ‘public’ have been increasingly understood as ‘widely visible’ instead of ‘freely accessible to all’. This development has run parallel to changing notions of the public sphere that controls this space, particularly in the Global South.

2.4.2 Public Sphere

The claims that are made over public space and the voices that speak through the city are a manifestation of different public spheres. Although Habermas’ 1989 term ‘the public sphere’ is still used, it is important to note that it is not understood in the same way as Habermas understood the public sphere to be a singular and state-authored authority that disseminated its messaging through the media of the public sphere (newspapers, magazines, radio and television) (Habermas, 1989:102). Furthermore, he noted that its structural disintegration was only possible from within (Habermas, 1989:107). However, since then, the idea of a single public sphere has been widely contested, mostly through the advent of the city or megapolis, but more specifically through non-Eurocentric perspectives. As Ronning (1997:4) notes that “it may seem far-fetched to bring up [Habermas’] theories, which have their background in the historical analysis of early modern Europe, in a discussion on the role of culture and communication in late twentieth-century Africa” (as quoted by Tomaselli, 2009:15).

Spatial layouts such as cities have transformed the public sphere to the point where “in contrast to what Habermas observed in early periods of modernity, the public sphere is no longer a place of rational participation from which the social order is determined” (Canclini, 1995:489). This is largely due to the way in which the mass commodification of urban space

where “the market re-orders the public world as a stage for consumption and dramatisation of the signs of status” (Canclini, 1995:490). Canclini (1995:489) further notes this postmodern condition where “the urbanization [*sic*] predominant in contemporary spaces is intertwined with serialization [*sic*] and anonymity in production, with restructurings of immaterial communication (from mass media to the telematic) that modify the connections between the private and the public”. These modified connections and the advent of mass media mean that there is no longer a singular public sphere. Brady (2004:332) notes that “the theory of the public sphere is hopelessly unrealistic in so far as it continues to rely on a conception of public politics as the rational exchange of opinions despite daily proof of the messy conflict-laden nature of contemporary political practice”.

2.4.3 The contemporary public sphere

Whilst Habermas’ (1989) and Arendt’s (1958) work introducing the concept of the public sphere has since been critiqued, it does highlight the importance of the public sphere as a vital component of democracy. In the same way that Habermas’ (1989) conception of the public sphere that is produced (Lefebvre, 1991) in public space is not one singular entity or comprised of a singular public (Warren, 2002), the South African public sphere(s) exists in a series of multiplicities and absences. Ndlovu and Mbenga describe this moment of multiple African public spheres that extend into the online space:

[t]he traditional ideal of a Harbemasian singular overarching public sphere is inconsistent with a historically diverse society like SA. However, a multiplicity of parallel, complementary, diverse, contending, sometimes acrimonious public spheres is ideal for SA... the public sphere characteristic of an African polity, reflective of an African-type public spheres decades before it, and typical of modern and post-apartheid African-type micro public spheres in rural SA (with some variations)... The historical African public spheres have extended to online (Ndlovu & Mbenga, 2013:174).

These ideas are also situated in debate by counterparts from the Global South, namely Nestor Canclini (*Hybrid Cultures, Oblique Powers*, 1995), Keyan Tomasselli (*Repositioning African media studies: thoughts and provocations*, 2009). They observe that “these public sphere(s) stand in stark contrast to what Habermas observed in early periods of modernity, [as] the public sphere is no longer a place of rational participation from which the social order is determined” (Canclini 1995:489). Instead, these ‘publics’ organise themselves “independently of state institutions, law, formal frameworks of citizenship, or pre-existing

institutions...” (Warren, 2002:51). A nuanced understanding of localised manifestations of the public sphere is important, as Tomaselli (2009:14) notes that:

Habermas’ notion of the public sphere underpins the work of many Northern colleagues (Andersen 1996; Keane 1996; Calhoun 1996). This emphasis has not found much support in African media studies, as academics tend to be in alliance with the Marxian ‘new class’ aligned to new post-liberation governments, which have an unhealthy relationship with the emergent bourgeoisies. It’s the new classes that need educating on the necessity of dialogical spaces. The bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Europe itself once represented oppositional ideas, cut off as it was from business and commerce (Bennett 1982). In Africa, typically, yesterday’s resistance fighters become tomorrow’s repressive elites. These groupings then tend to betray the democratic principles for which they claimed to have fought, by curtailing or controlling the nature of the public sphere, as did their autocratic predecessors whom they deposed.

2.4.4 Being in and out of place

The re-ordering of publics has resulted in a new way of understanding what is meant by ‘the public’ that make up this public sphere. Warren (2002:51) explains that “a public, in practice, appears as *the* public. It is easy to be misled by this appearance. Even in the blurred usage of the public sphere, a public is never just a congress of people, never just the sum of persons who happen to exist”. The public that Warren (2002) refers to is not necessarily the whole public but rather the most powerful actors. These are the actors that create processes of inclusion and exclusion in space through negating or supporting meaning creation within that space. Cresswell (2009:5) notes that through the process of “the mapping of particular meanings, practices and identities onto a place ...[it] leads to the construction of normative places where it is possible to be ‘in-place’ or ‘out of place’”. Both experiences of being ‘in’ and ‘out’ of place rely on a particular meaning or set of meanings being ascribed to a space, and then that space either enforcing or negating that meaning. Thurlow

2.4.5 Digital Publics

Being in and out of place can take on new meanings in the digital era, as the widespread and mainstream use of bottom-up social media technologies means that the public spheres that engage in debates about meaning no longer solely take place in the physical domain. Instead, this debate is largely played out between physical space and mediated space. This results in a collapse of temporal-spatial boundaries and extends the public space and context (Virilio,

2010) and creates what Massey (2005:81) refers to as a “less bounded, aspatial space of flows, a consequence of globalisation”. The space becomes aspatial since “electronic media increasingly saturate our everyday spaces with images of other places and other (imagined or real) orders of space” (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:1).

A global and aspatial effect is primarily witnessed in the “integration of technology and social interactions” that occurs on social media (Shimp & Andrews, 2014:378) where “web-based and mobile technology [are] used to turn communication into interactive dialogue... [that can also create] consumer-generated media” (Shimp & Andrews, 2014:378). According to Lewisohn (2008:145) “the rise of woostercollective.com, and the many other street art and graffiti sites, is an indication of clear public interest in this area”. The inclusion of street art and graffiti on the Internet and in social media has insured “a global audience for a global art form” (Lewisohn, 2008:153). Many theorists argue that this documentation has both transformed the nature of street art and commodified it into the realm of popular culture (Schiller & Schiller, 2010; Schacter, 2008; MacDowell, 2008; MacDowall & Honig, 2016). Berger (1972:23) describes how this ‘bogus religiosity’ associated with commercial value, came to dominate postmodern perceptions of art:

The bogus religiosity which now surrounds original works of art, and which is ultimately dependent upon their market value, has become the substitute for what paintings lost when the camera made them reproducible. It’s function is nostalgic. It is the final empty claim for the continuing values of an oligarchic, undemocratic culture, if the image is no longer unique and exclusive, the art object, the thing, must be made mysteriously so.

If visual communicative practices are understood as media objects, then the fact that these works are imbued with personal energy, vivid stories, and ‘a sense of place’ that reflects a new and unique zeitgeist that is not just made for an attentive public, but the public at large (Fekner as quoted by Schacter, 2012:7).

In social media’s aspatial space of flows, the focus shifts from aesthetics, encoding or artistic cannons and instead highlights the role of the audience, user-generated media, and reception. This creates a new ‘cultural public sphere’ that makes use of “the whole range of media and popular culture [in order to] articulate the politics of the public and personal, as a contested terrain through affective (aesthetic and emotional) modes of communication” (McGuigan, 2005:427).

2.5 Why ‘visual’ and not art?

The movement away from aesthetics and towards visibility allows the discussion around visual communicative practices to now include some recognition of their ‘visual polysemy’ as well as the highly visible nature of public space. Since the term ‘polysemic’ implies many different meanings or interpretations, the goal of the research then becomes to understand what these different interpretations could be, and the various lenses through which they can be studied.

This approach creates a space for other disciplines such as sociology to add their contribution and move the conversation in a different direction. For example, the sociological approach of Schacter (2008) notes that street artists and graffiti artists use the visibility of their works to contest the true meaning of public space, thus rendering their work political, either consciously or unconsciously (Schacter, 2008:50). Schacter’s Sociological approach, rooted in the earlier Sociological approach of Henry Chalfant, Martha Cooper and James Prigoff in the 1970s, adds a refreshing perspective to the conversation. Chalfant and Cooper were amongst the first to write about graffiti and street art (in their context of The Bronx in New York) as a cultural form. The later addition of *Spraycan art*, which Chalfant co-authored with James Prigoff, focused on spraycan (known as ‘spray paint’ in South Africa) art forms found in and around New York. Worldwide, and particularly in South Africa, these books played a pivotal and influential role in developing the graffiti and subsequent street art movements. In other words, the developing theory and visual distribution of these works to a global audience changed the practice of them worldwide.

To elaborate, Chalfant and Cooper’s 1970’s work was pioneering in that it was the first of its kind. Cooper and Chalfant studied graffiti outside of ideas around vandalism, gangs, decay and derelict and instead considered it as an emerging urban art form where artists sought to reclaim spaces of the city as their own. They noted how graffiti uses publicly visible spaces to create a somewhat exclusive “visual language that, while performed in the cityscape, is reserved for and fuels the subculture” (Schiller & Schiller, 2008:84).

Schacter’s observations on visibility and the cultural significance of street art were first noted in his widely cited 2008 article (*An Ethnography of Iconoclash: An Investigation into the Production, Consumption and Destruction of Street-art in London*) and later expanded on in

his 2014 book, *Ornament and Order: Graffiti, Street Art and the Parergon*. Schacter's (2008) use of the word 'iconoclash' looks at the clash over meaning that occurs in street art and plays out in the relationship to the city between the graffiti artists and the London graffiti removal workers. This highlights the contestation over visible space that is happening with these 'ephemeral' forms. Schacter's use of the word 'ephemeral' places emphasis on the form of the practice itself. It considers the parallel yet contradictory forms that street art takes. One instance would be the lived and fragile form that is subject to defacement, environmental factors and competing artists. The other instance would be the photographed, online, and immortal life of the representation that is both inside and outside of a specific time and space. In 2014 Schacter built his body of research and moved towards the umbrella naming term of 'Independent Public Art', by studying these practices as either manifestations of order or ornamentation. Schacter presents these practices as ways to reface or reimagine the city space instead of purely destructive acts.

Whilst international artists (such as Banksy) and academics (such as Lewisohn, 2009; Schacter, 2008; Seno, 2015; or Schiller & Schiller, 2015) have helped to define the field of street art and graffiti studies that are referred to today, their findings and methodologies can only be used as a starting point in a South African context since this research is primarily concerned with what a localised, levelled understanding can unveil about these practices operating in South African lived and visual spaces.

From a South African perspective, The Cape Town movement is chronicled and captured in the book, *Painting Cape Town* by Matthew Olckers (2013). Olckers meticulously documents years of work in and around Cape Town, whilst speaking to the artists and reflecting on his own experience of graffiti. This book is complemented by the book *Graffiti South Africa* by Cale Waddacor published a year later in 2014. Waddacor interviews artists and chronicles the progression of the graffiti movement from Cape Town to Durban and Johannesburg. Waddacor also takes the time to explain the situatedness of each artist and the work they produce. It also shows the beginnings of the South African street art scene where there is a movement away from text-based pieces to more image or aesthetically oriented ones. Other notable studies include Tom Penfold's (2017) work that looks at street art and graffiti in Johannesburg as a city-mapping tool and describes the spatial and governmental conditions through which this occurred.

By 'visual' this research implies the practice of looking, of being seen and of representation. It is also a continuation of earlier discussions around methodological practices that should "address questions of cultural meaning and power" (Rose, 2001:3). In other words, to be seen is to be powerful. This perspective offers valuable insight into the processes and politics of representation. The movement away from the physical space towards a new twenty-first century vision, is described by Mirzoeff (2009:xx):

Urban space is changing its form and the concept of art is rapidly transforming into a new state of being, located in a new space. Artists are playing an active role in both creating and responding to this new public zone... they are seeking a public dialogue and an interactive audience. What is being sought is a critique of urban space and life reinforcing the concept that art fundamentally is a social phenomenon that takes place in society. They are creating a twenty-first century version of the concept of a polis. This is the on-going challenge for art, artists and the public domain as we move into this new century.

2.5.1 Towards visibility

It is in a visual realm, (the post-postmodern spectrum of representation, commodification of reproduction, and the politics of localised context,) that street art, graffiti, public art and other visual communicative practices emerge. They present a type of visual culture that emerges as a space "between capital's picturing of the world and that which cannot be commodified or disciplined" (Mirzoeff, 2009:66). This type of visibility does not provide answers to "the problems of medium-based visual disciplines" but rather problematizes "the conceptual scheme of modernity and the representation that underlies it" (Mirzoeff, 2006:67).

2.5.2 Visual communicative practices

The term 'visual communicative practices' presents an umbrella term that discusses a wide variety of outdoor artistic practices that have a shared characteristic in their communicative potential and visibility. It is used to side-step convoluted semantic discussions, and instead allows the discussion to move towards the value and use of these practices. However, it does become important to discuss distinct practices within this broader umbrella term when considering how the discourse around specific terms has shaped their practices. A key example is the difference between street art, public art, and graffiti. A good starting point to this debate is with the foundation that although street art and graffiti are not the same thing,

many theorists agree that street art is the pictorial, mediated and contextually responsive sub-development of the graffiti genre (Wacławek, 2011; Ulmer, 2016; Schacter, 2008; Riggall, 2010; JAKE, 2012). This sub-category of graffiti has a greater emphasis on a socio-political context and more of a visual presence (Brown, 2015:5). However, what it is called (for example post-graffiti, neo-graffiti, graffiti-art) as well as the form it takes, seems to vary across different contexts. To see how these differences and similarities play out, here are some of the key differentiators in these three visual communicative practices. The terms are first explored in more detail before the different theoretical approaches are discussed.

2.5.3 Graffiti

Schiller and Schiller (2008:50) describe graffiti as a practice that takes its name “from the Latin term denoting a crude drawing or inscription scratched into a hard surface, graffiti is the oldest form of unsanctioned public art form from which all aesthetic or radical statements made upon the geography of public space have evolved.” Wacławek (2011:13) explains that the practice of writing graffiti is both authoritative and anonymous, where authority is assumed over space by authors who only use pseudonyms or nicknames and are therefore able to anonymously communicate with each other in public space. Schiller and Schiller (2008:84) describe this as graffiti’s unique ability to “communicate with itself in plain sight of a mass audience that could not or would not hope to decipher it.” This constructs a “visual language that, while performed in the cityscape, reserved for and fuels the subculture.” Graffiti most commonly takes the form of tags, throwies (throw-ups), bombs and pieces (Wacławek 2011, Waddacor 2013, Schiller & Schiller 2008). The differentiation between these pieces can be seen in the table below.

Name	Explanation
Tag	A quickly executed monochromatic rendering of a graffiti writer's name. Small. More concerned with notoriety than style or technique. Writers consider the spoken word and the visual flow of the letters.
Throwies	Larger versions of tags with more emphasis on design style, technique, and colour. Intended to appropriate more space.
Bomb	Large scale, quick letterforms, and tags. Usually appear on a train carriage and therefore take up a large amount of space. The writer also needs to complete the

	'bomb' quickly to avoid being caught by authorities and before the train starts moving again.
Pieces	Short for masterpieces. Greater emphasis on style and visual consideration through elements of art, design, and iconography. <i>Wildstyles</i> emerged as a subcategory to designate almost illegible pieces. These pieces take more time and are more aesthetic in form. These pieces were seen as the beginning of the street art movement.

Table 2: Graffiti forms. (Adapted from Waclawek, 2011:13 -19)

Of interest is the development of the Wildstyle piece into the street art form. The more pictorial form of Wildstyle was brought about by the cross-pollination of ideas captured by the digital camera (Schiller & Schiller, 2008:84). Waclawek (2011:123) further notes that whilst street art and graffiti are both said to write the street since they engage with public space, it should importantly be noted that they do this in a mostly illegal and unsanctioned way that “emphasize[s] the functionally private reality of public spaces”. This is done by creating street art in Auge’s *non-places*, which Waclawek (2011:114) describes as places that are liminal in use (such as rooftops, alleyways, car parks, tunnels, bridges, pavements and city-walls) and subvert traditional capitalist uses of space.

2.5.4 Public art

Clements (2008:19) notes that public art has historically not been taken seriously as an art form because it is often reduced to monumentalism. However, recent shifts away from the modernist tendency of artistic autonomy have highlighted public art as a practice that considers both context and audience. According to Clements (2008:19) the subsequent effect on public art practice has been to:

highlight site specificity which has accordingly been adopted by the modernist canon, but also to question the hierarchical and hegemonic nature of cultural exchange and the corresponding monologue from artist to audience in pursuit of a more dialogic understanding of artistic methodology.

Waclawek (2011:65) points out that public arts are usually commissioned pieces that are required to integrate with their surroundings and serve as a placemaking tool. Whilst some of these characteristics can be found in street art, it should be noted that important differences do exist. Waclawek (2011:65) notes that “illegality, motivation, medium and place of diffusion are the foremost aspects that differentiate street art from public art. While both

public and street art necessarily explore the very meaning of public space, the nature of that interaction is different”.

2.5.5 Street Art

When discussing street art, Waclawek (2011:9) states that “street art practices are guided by and guide a city’s visual aesthetic in that they both assimilate that environment and recreate it”. These practices are “respond[ing] to the environment of a city inasmuch as [they partake] in the creation of its visual culture” (Waclawek, 2011:65). The complex interplay of media, space, technology, culture and visibility is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in the practice of street art. Irvine (2012:1) explains that street art is:

a paradigm of hybridity in global visual culture, a post-postmodern genre being defined more by real-time practice than by any sense of unified theory, movement, or message. Many artists associated with the “urban art movement” don’t consider themselves “street” or “graffiti” artists, but as artists who consider the city their necessary working environment. It’s a form at once local and global, post-photographic, post-Internet, and post-medium, intentionally ephemeral but now documented almost obsessively with digital photography for the Web, constantly appropriating and remixing imagery, styles, and techniques from all possible sources.

However, street art is not the only form of unsanctioned visual culture that calls public space, mediation and regimes of visibility into question. It becomes difficult to differentiate between the practices since as Ulmer (2016:492) notes, “a *laissez faire* approach to art does not lend itself to easy classification systems”. Considering this, whilst many theorists accept that street art and graffiti are different practices, they do not always agree on the ways in which these practices differ. This is explored in the next section.

2.5.6 Theoretical and disciplinary approaches

A key point of contention in theory around street art and graffiti specifically, is that many theorists struggle to differentiate the exact point at which street art became a sub-development of the graffiti genre and instead adopted a more pictorial, mediated and contextually responsive approach (Waclawek, 2011; Ulmer, 2016; Schacter, 2008; Riggle, 2010; JAKe, 2012). This development could be attributed to the differing theoretical perspectives through which visual communicative practices have been explored. Equally,

these differing perspectives have determined the outcome of each piece of research and influenced the thinking of other theorists.

For instance, Riggle (2010) considers street art as more of a performative occupation of city space and speaks at length about the difficulties of tying street art to art and the field of aesthetics. He notes how many street artists choose to not identify as artists per se, as their work is decidedly placed outside of the formal art space. He also maps out the tangled and interconnected terrain that street art, graffiti, public art, outdoor advertising and other outdoor (sanctioned or unsanctioned) practices occupy.

However, Art Historian Anna Waclawek used a different approach towards the subject matter and has made use of categories to explore the complex relationship between visual culture, street art, graffiti, and the urban landscape from an Art Historical perspective. Waclawek (2011) provides various differentiating criteria as well as a discussion of possible overlapping areas when it comes to street art, graffiti, public art, and post-graffiti. She notes that public art is usually used as an aesthetic and place-making tool (Waclawek, 2011:65), whereas other visual communicative practices such as street art and graffiti are “respond[ing] to the environment of a city inasmuch as [they partake] in the creation of its visual culture” (Waclawek, 2011:65). Although her initial categorisations serve as a valuable starting point, they are problematised and expanded on with schools of thought outside Art History.

In a movement away from the classification systems of Art History, some theorists such as Lewisohn (2008), and McCormick, Schiller and Seno (2015), have included the written and visual contributions of graffiti and street artists. They present a globalised view of these practices and adopt more of a coffee-table book format in order to highlight the visual (and highly visible) nature of these practices and discuss what this visibility means in different contexts.

2.5.7 Emplaced practices

The process of spatial meaning transference to visual communicative practices is best described by Robinson (2013:121) who uses the term ‘emplaced art’ to describe art (visual communicative practices) that are placed within a space and derive part of their meaning (and

subsequent interpretation) from this space. He uses the example of rock art to expand on this point:

Chippindale and Nash (2004) have shown that images such as rock art are fixed in place and are full of meaning, but that meaning can be altered through changing circumstances. As such, art that is fixed in place is particularly amenable to strategies of legitimation and the maintenance of power related to those places where the art is located.

This example illustrates how any meaning given to a visual communicative practice is also tied to the space that it occupies and/or is created in (for instance a wall). Through this process the visual communicative practice becomes *emplaced* with any spatial connotations, ideologies, power relations or social structures that apply to that particular space that it occupies. An emplaced artwork therefore takes on subjective experiences of a space. However, it also takes this interpretation a step further, by enforcing or negating the existing spatial meaning that is attached to the location, locale, and sense of place (Cresswell, 2009:2-3). The visual communicative practice makes the once invisible power relations visible. Deutsche (1988:10) explains this relationship:

as a practice within the built environment, public art participates in the production of meanings, uses, and forms for the city. In this capacity, it can help secure consent to redevelopment and to the restructuring that make up the historical form of late capitalist urbanism. But like other institutions that mediate perceptions of the city's economic and political operations -architecture, urban planning, urban design- it can also question and resist those operations, revealing the suppressed contradictions within urban processes. Since these contradictions stamp the image of the city with a basic instability, public art can be, in Althusserian terms, a "site" as well as a "stake" of urban struggle.

In practice, this could look like a visual communicative practice that is placed in a publicly accessible and visible space presenting images of other places and foreign histories turned into spectacle. The process could easily turn a public place into a non-place and alienate any social agents who are in-place and could result in an end-product, (for instance, an outdoor gallery) that could be found anywhere in the world. There is no longer any site-specificity (or sensitivity) for the South African context. Organic meanings and social interactions are then dissociated from that place. To divorce a place from its original meanings, histories and lived experiences is deeply problematic, perhaps even more so in South Africa where the construction and negotiation of space is complex and nuanced (Landman, 2018:8). Works created in this way run the risk of perpetuating apartheid-level spatial and social exclusion or blatantly disregarding the historical situatedness of a space. Therefore, visual communicative

practices have the power to create non-places or to become part of a larger situated-in-place project, depending on the way in which they are created, and how they relate to the sense of place that a physical space contains. In the section below, a spatially-sensitised perspective is explored through the theory of placemaking.

2.6 Placemaking

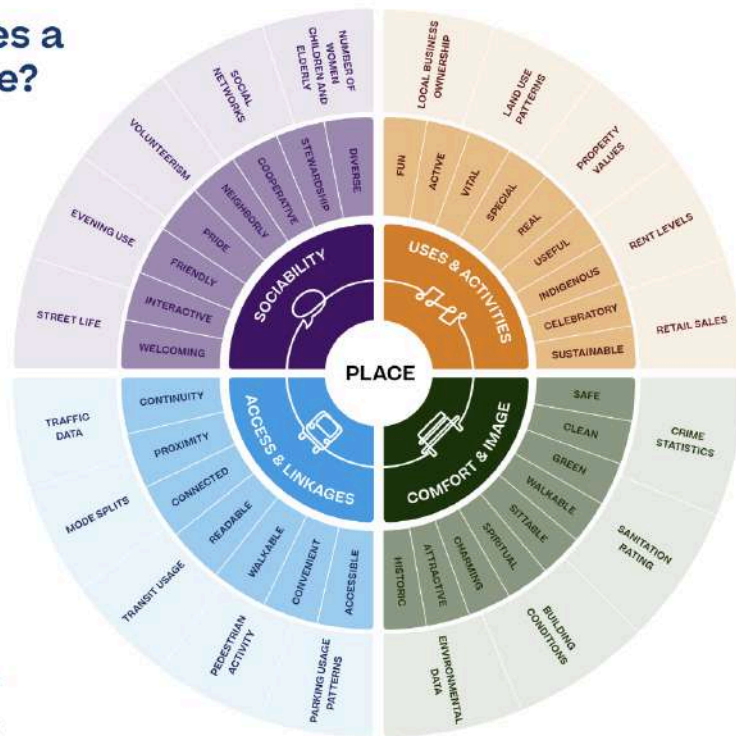
If a spatially-sensitive approach to creating visual communicative practices in South African public space is used, then some of the post-apartheid spatial and social complexities can begin to be addressed and more social actors can have their voices included in the process. This honours the spirit of ubuntu. According to Chilsa et al (2017:328) “ubuntu requires respect and recognition of all things living and non- living. Relatedness is therefore at the core and permeates all research activities.” An example of one such approach is the concept of placemaking. Placemaking as a term was first consistently used by the Project for Public Spaces, however the principle idea of placemaking originates from the work of Jane Jacobs and William H Whyte in the early 1960s, and considers what it would be like to design cities for people and not for the supermodern industrial condition (cars) (Project for Public Spaces, 2023). Placemaking is therefore both a theory and a practice:

As both an overarching idea and a hands-on approach for improving a neighborhood [*sic*], city, or region, placemaking inspires people to collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces as the heart of every community. Strengthening the connection between people and the places they share, placemaking refers to a collaborative process by which we can shape our public realm in order to maximize [*sic*] shared value. More than just promoting better urban design, placemaking facilitates creative patterns of use, paying particular attention to the physical, cultural, and social identities that define a place and support its ongoing evolution (Project for Public Spaces, 2023).

The focus of placemaking is to break down the narrow focus and institutional silos of city planners, designers and engineers, and instead focus on place in its entirety by inviting grassroots community contributors to weigh in on the process early on (Project for Public Spaces, 2023). The process should, by design, be a bottom-up one that can start to readjust some of the hegemonic power relationships that are usually present in public spaces around the world. To do this, the project first defines what it is that makes a good place (as seen in the figure below).

What Makes a Great Place?

Project
for Public
Spaces



The Place Diagram is one of the tools Project for Public Spaces has developed to help communities evaluate places. The inner ring represents a place's key attributes, the middle ring its intangible qualities, and the outer ring its measurable data.

Figure 12: “What makes a great place?” (Project for Public Spaces, 2023).

The project then goes on to clearly state the type of approach that should be used to create a “good place” in public space, by distinguishing what the process is and is not. These distinctions can be viewed in the table below.

Placemaking is	Placemaking is not
Community-driven	Top-down
Visionary	Reactionary
Function before form	Design-driven
Adaptable	A blanket solution or quick fix
Inclusive	Exclusionary
Focused on creating destinations	Car-centric
Context-specific	One-size-fits-all
Dynamic	Static
Trans-disciplinary	Discipline-driven
Transformative	One-dimensional

Flexible	Dependent on regulatory controls
Collaborative	A cost/benefit analysis
Sociable	Project-focused

Table adapted from: "What is Placemaking?" (Project for Public Spaces, 2023).

If carried out effectively, placemaking should reconfigure the power relations of the public sphere and create an in-place, inclusive and widely accessible experience of public space. This would then become a *public place*, which stands in stark contrast to the divisive and convoluted public space and the public sphere that was discussed earlier on in this chapter.

If visual communicative practices are proxies of debates about public space, then the relationship between visual communicative practices and placemaking should be further explored. This research initially looked to the literature to understand several key questions including; "what role, if any, do visual communicative practices play in public space?" "How can they create in and out of place experiences?" and "How should they relate to the physical space that they occupy?" These questions are discussed in the next section, which ties in the theoretical concepts of space, place, power and meaning to the role that visual communicative practices play in public space.

2.7 Spatial specificity

In their initial manifestation, visual communicative practices always occur first in physical space- in a particular location at a particular point in time. Therefore, one of the first layers of discourse that is applied to these practices is that of the surrounding spatial discourse. At a broader level, the city-wide geographical context provides some insight into the social and material relations that have shaped the city space and still influence spatial experiences of Johannesburg and Cape Town today. Therefore, a key starting point for later analysis is understanding the spatial discourse already present in each case study before any artwork is created. To present a suitably nuanced yet complex historical account of both Johannesburg and Cape Town, various sources were consulted to provide a more comprehensive picture of the two cities. Key to this approach is understanding the way in which segregationist policies did not originate in either Cape Town or Johannesburg through apartheid and have instead been built into the fabric of these cities from their inception. When the exclusionary seams of

the cities are made visible for all to see, the mechanisms that make these fabrics visible are often targeted. Therefore, each city is presented through different mediations.

2.7.1 Johannesburg

The book *Johannesburg: One hundred years* (1986) - a government centenary publication - marks the 'birth' of Johannesburg as the Randjeslaagte digging site and goes on to chronicle the development of the city in relation to mining conglomerates and banking development. This publication proves to be a valuable historical archive and positions the rise of Johannesburg as a product of the Gold Rush. However, a key criticism against this book is that it only considers a 'white-washed' perspective of the development of Johannesburg. There is also little to no mention of apartheid, as it would have been published before apartheid was formally abolished in 1990. As the editor of *The Joburg Book: a guide to the city's history, people and places*, Nechama Brodie (2014) points out, there is no single way to theorise about Johannesburg. Whatever perspective the historical narrative of Johannesburg is written from, it quickly becomes evident that there are many stories to tell. Brodie (2014:1) notes that *Johannesburg: one hundred years* is a 332-page book that was authored and edited by the Johannesburg City Council, yet only spoke to the development of the city as a by-product of the gold-rush. It did this by primarily celebrating white suburbia and yet only dedicated around three pages to discussing places that housed some of the biggest populations such as Soweto and Alexandra (two examples of large informal settlements) in and around the greater Johannesburg area (Brodie 2014:1).

In contrast, *The Joburg Book* which starts off its introduction to Johannesburg with a geological explanation of how gold first formed by the compacting of various sediments and minerals that were carried into the area by the Witwatersrand basin 3-billion years ago (Brodie, 2014: i). After that, each chapter deals with a different section of Johannesburg, starting with how the area first formed, looking at its apartheid legacy and then how it is experienced today. This book is rich with narratives, visual archive material and information about what is now considered the greater Johannesburg region. Brodie also carefully considers many different cultural and racial heritages and how certain areas developed according to the people who lived in them. Brodie looks at the impact of the slave trade, the mining hostels and large immigrant population in Johannesburg and how this has shaped the experience of the space, almost as much as it's cruel apartheid legacy. Brodie (2014:1) notes

that this effort was made to counteract the City Council of Johannesburg's centenary publication that sought to pay homage to Johannesburg's roots, history, and the way it had developed into the future (it was published in 1986).

If one considers the example of the Soweto (Southwestern Townships) omission, then it quickly becomes apparent why this writing of history and the history of how people shaped the space they occupied (or the social relations that ordered the space), is problematic and one-dimensional. Although the *Johannesburg: one hundred years* book mentions various challenges that Johannesburg faced such as the removal of gold particles from pyritic ore, the Jameson Raid, the Anglo-Boer War, the Great Strike of 1922 and the Second World War (1986: xi), it omits to mention the extreme racial segregation that equally shattered and shaped the landscape of the 'Golden City'. If anything, it introduces Soweto as the place where:

more than a million Blacks live... [where it is] as vibrant and flamboyant a twin city as any metropolis could ever hope to have, and where its people are bound to have a growing impact on the future economic and political development of not only Johannesburg but the whole country (1986: xi).

Not seeing the space of Soweto as a product of apartheid and instead simply recognizing it as a vibrant and flamboyant twin city undermines the way in which apartheid law created places such as Soweto as an effort to relocate people of colour away from the white suburbs of Johannesburg under apartheid law:

[a]fter 1948, the implementation of apartheid legislation saw Joburg's [sic] black residents almost entirely removed from the inner and central city, and it's 'white' suburbs and relocated the growing number of loosely formalised black areas- the largest group which would then come to be known as Soweto... [by the 1970's] Soweto's total population was estimated at ... about twice the white population of municipal Johannesburg (Brodie, 2014:253).

Geographically, a present-day layout of Johannesburg has developed above and beyond public digging sites, and now stretches from Midrand in the North to Cyrildene in the East, Roodepoort in the West and Lenasia and Orange Farm in the South. It should be noted that many of the areas mentioned above have developed from areas that foreign nationals who were brought to South Africa (often originally as slaves), were relocated to. For example, Lenasia is made up of a predominantly Indian population, whereas Cyrildene boasts a large

Chinese population and culture (Brodie, 2014: 234). ‘Old Johannesburg’ is understood to be the areas surrounding the Central Business District, such as Hillbrow, Braamfontein, Yeoville, Melville and even areas around Zoo Lake such as Greenside, Parktown and Forrest Hill (these were predominantly suburban areas). Areas such as Midrand, Bryanston and Sandton are seen as recent developments in response to the booming business district and the establishment of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and have only been around for the past 30 or so years (Brodie, 2014:245).

In analysing differing narratives, it is important to think about how historical perspectives should always be in conversation with future ideas. A good example of this panoramic (past, present, and future) view is articulated by Murray (2011: ii) as the “collective memories of the past and the dampened expectations of political possibilities in the present have mixed in unforeseeable ways to produce an ambiguous vision of the future...”. The experience of the inner-city Johannesburg landscape today is shaped by the heyday of apartheid that created the architecture of “high-modernist buildings alongside institutionalised racial segregation” (Murray, 2011: xii).

With these two seemingly contradictory scenarios existing alongside each other it becomes hard to imagine a way in which a cohesive narrative could be articulated. Brodie (2014:1) speaks to this point by stating that history is never just experienced in the past, but also lived and re-written in the present in a way that impacts our futures:

One of the remarkable things about putting together a history is the perspective it brings. On its own, putting together a book... doesn’t [sic] necessarily create a new vantage point. But when it is paired with spaces where history can be walked, experienced, seen, touched, and even tasted, it has the potential to change the way we see ourselves, our pasts, and our futures.

2.7.2 Cape Town

Similar patterns can be traced in discussions surrounding Cape Town. To understand the City of Cape Town’s development and its reliance on the Dutch East India Company’s trading routes, the article entitled *Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography* by Paul Maylam (1995) provides an accurate introduction into the spatial politics that have shaped South Africa. The insight that this article provides is important and relevant, even to a more contemporary perspective over twenty years on as it provides a

synthesis of past research and discusses potential similarities, oversights, and biases in these works. Reading Maylam's article alongside Vivian Bickford-Smith's seminal 1995 article, (*South African Urban History, Racial Segregation and the Unique Case of Cape Town?*) Is important as the articles are written alongside and therefore reference each other. Both articles appeared in *the Journal of Southern African Studies – Special issue: Urban Studies and Urban Change in Southern Africa*.

Bickford-Smith provides a comprehensive discussion of the historical factors that played out in the Cape over its 367-year history. Perhaps most importantly, he speaks extensively about the segregation and racial politics at play in the Cape during the time of slavery and the sanitation syndrome that apartheid merely formalised. Sadly, an alarming amount of literature before the early 1990's does not recognise the racial tension and segregation inherent in the Cape's social and spatial formation before apartheid. Bickford-Smith (1995:63) notes that "[m]any Capetonians today still believe that their city was a haven of ethnic harmony and integration before 1948. They believe that segregation was only then imposed on the city from outside, by the dictates of a National Party government in Pretoria". He further continues that some of these views were even academically published, for example in David Welsh's (1971) *Oxford History of South Africa* (Bickford-Smith, 1995:63). This is far-fetched from the significant and devastating reality that The Dutch East India Company and the slave trade had on the social and spatial segregation in the Cape.

This sentiment unfortunately also rings true in the work of American Anthropologist, Catherine Besteman, in her 2008 book *Transforming Cape Town*. As although Besteman does make some pertinent observations about how apartheid affected modern-day Cape Town, historically her observations are limited.

By reading Besteman along with Bickford-Smith and Maylam, a more comprehensive historical picture of Cape Town starts to form. Although these are by no means the only texts that discuss the historical scarring that shape present-day Cape Town, these three sources have presented the most insight into the situation in the context of this research as they explain the various forces that have historically affected and currently affect the spatial organisation of Cape Town.

2.8 Contemporary urban experiences

After the historical context has been discussed, the present-day experience in both Johannesburg and Cape Town must be explored. Both Johannesburg and Cape Town present unique manifestations of what it means to be a contemporary African City. A contemporary perspective of both Johannesburg and Cape Town includes their unique positionality as. Understanding how a broader global discourse impacts a localised understanding of these cities showcases the way in which levels of meaning are added to these spaces. City spaces are shaped by the people, policies, infrastructure, and economies that fill them. Cities are more than just an amalgamation of concrete structures and infrastructures. Instead, meaning is inscribed to cities through the meaning-making practices that occur within the city space. These practices are constantly changing and being negotiated over time.

In the essay, *Too many things to do: Social dimensions of city making in Africa* AbdouMalik Simone (2014) considers the social dimensions of a city, and places emphasis on the lived experience of the people who frequent and occupy city space. Simone (2014: 26) notes that “cities, are, thus, the bringing together of identities, social positions, and conventions that have been stabilised through different historical eras and social ascriptions and have remained fluid throughout them”. He looks at the ways in which the city is shaped by the people who occupy it, and inversely, the ways that people are shaped by the city. Simone (2014: 34) explains this concept when he states that “even when particular cities or districts within cities appear marginal in the ‘real happenings’ of the world, it is important to understand the ways in which the most seemingly peripheral areas are linked to substantial powers, both near and far”. The active and simultaneous fluid yet rigid nature of cities can better explain the globalised and interconnected influence felt by South African cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, who are both trying to be globally competitive and still rectify base-level socio-economic legacies. To understand what an African perspective in present-day city making looks like, it's important to consider how theory has changed and developed over time. This is most acutely understood in tensions around the word ‘global’.

2.8.1 Cities of the Global South

Theory about global cities has taken on two distinct research routes in the past 30 or so years. Michael Abrahamson's 2004 book, *Global Cities* offers some key insights into what a global city is and how it functions. Abrahamson (2004:3) notes that there is a line of theory that looks at Western, post-industrialist cities that represent larger countries or even nations. These cities are considered global due to their size, infrastructure, easy connection to other cities and most importantly economic or fiscal health (Abrahamson, 2004:3). Although economics, and the effects of growing (or dwindling) industrial environments have always been a key consideration in the wealth of a city, in the 1970's theory took a turn that prioritised the interconnectedness of wealth, power and politics. Abrahamson (2004:10) refers to this as the 'political-economy model'. This model understands that those possessing wealth (and mostly, simultaneously power) worked alongside politicians to determine where urban development, and conversely, urban decline, would take place.

The other line of theory looks at Global Cities based on the influence of postmodernism, new lifestyle values and cultural industries (Abrahamson, 2004: ix). In this line of thinking, global success in terms of culture is measured according to "the most avert aspects of any culture are most readily observed in people's language, technology, and artefacts" (Abrahamson 2004:15). Furthermore, postmodern changes "distort" cultural features of industrial societies, though they do so in different ways" (Abrahamson, 2004:12). This has created what one could call a 'global culture' which defines and globalizes "ideas and values, influencing the way people everywhere act, think, feel" (Abrahamson, 2004:15).

By expanding on Max Weber's (1922 *translated in 1973*) theory of rationalisation and Emile Durkheim's (1993) ideas around social organisation, with specific reference to differentiation and stratification, Abrahamson (2004:15) notes that ideas around rationality, logic and specialisation have expanded, changed and recommodified themselves due to the globalisation of cities. He describes this state as one where "boundaries of numerous symbols and social categories have simply collapsed. Previously differentiated entities have 'imploded' on each other and all types of distinctions become obscure" (Abrahamson 2004:14). Within this theory, one would look to the biggest examples of globalised cities such as London, Paris, Tokyo and New York as examples of political, economic and cultural production. However, this theory is lacking, specifically in its Northern, Western and Fordist understanding that privileges First World Cities. Abrahamson's ideas are used as a building block for later discussions that come up in Charlotte Lemanski's 2007 article, *Global cities in*

the South: Deepening social and spatial polarisation in Cape Town. In this article Lemanski builds on previous theory around Global Cities but also importantly differentiates between cities of the Global North and cities of the Global South. She then applies some of her key understandings to Cape Town (and to a much lesser extent, Johannesburg) as examples of cities of the Global South that simultaneously occupy both first and third world characteristics. Lemanski (2007:448) explains this line of thinking:

Global Cities are characterised by their dominance in world affairs, linked to population size and political, economic, social and cultural infrastructure. These Global Cities are also said to demonstrate increased social and spatial polarisation [and] aspirations for global competitiveness [that] are problematic for cities in the developing world, where poverty is widespread, and resources are limited. Third World' cities are traditionally perceived as places with a strong informal sector, weak economic growth, rapid population growth and crumbling infrastructure, quite different to the formal, regulated and sanitised spaces of cities in the North. In order to 'upgrade' these cities, to match the acclaimed Global City experience of places such as London and New York, poor cities have prioritised spending scarce resources on projects focused exclusively on promoting their city in the global economy, often at the expense of domestic needs. This homogenising endeavour, to achieve an externally- determined standard, fails to value the differences that diverse cities bring.

How, then, does one begin to theorise about places such as Johannesburg or Cape Town in this Eurocentric and discriminatory understanding of what it means to be a global city? Perhaps, firstly it is important to understand that globalisation goes further than economic and political power or the spread of cultural norms and perspectives. Secondly, it should be emphasised that a city can be globally influential and competitive and still be in the midst of addressing socio-economic redistribution. According to Lemanski, both Cape Town and Johannesburg are recognised as emerging Global Cities of the larger Global South as they are representations "of a new generation of African cities serving as financial, political, and infrastructural 'nuclei' for their region (albeit not the globe) (Lemanski 2007:450).

Lemanski (2007: 451) further points out that "South Africa's cities strongly demonstrate the dichotomy between the First World and Third World, where people and spaces from the two worlds are juxta positioned in close proximity, and many inner-city spaces have shifted back and forth between the two worlds over the past decade". This precarious space is made possible by the fact that "[t]he economic and social forces that emerged under apartheid did not suddenly expire with the advent of democracy. The legacy is embedded in the

conservative institutional and social practices that continue to have powerful effects, overriding many current policy aspirations”. For example, Lemanski (2007: 451) points out that “a characteristic of many South African cities is the dual approach of city leaders to simultaneously promote the city in the global economy while also implementing pro-poor spending policies”.

Although many cities (including South Africa’s) are promoting pro-poor strategies alongside the drive for global competitiveness, there are concerns that the polarising consequences of the latter inhibit the effectiveness of the former. This approach sees affluent areas being overdeveloped to match their global counterparts whilst under-resourced and impoverished areas are left in more dire circumstances than before, pushing them ever further back into Third World status. “This segregation takes two key forms: firstly, the categorisation and division of urban spaces according to investment and development; and secondly the separation of urbanites, according to income and class, into polarised socio-spatial sectors” (Lemanski, 2007:451).

Although urban regeneration should be the key to solving some of these material discrepancies between the affluent and impoverished inhabitants of the city, it does not always work this way. More often than not, in globalised or globalised First World aspirational cities, the goal is not to improve living conditions, but rather attract investment (Abrahamson, 2004; Lemanski, 2007). Lemanski (2007:451) further explains that:

the key agenda is to make the city marketable rather than to solve the city’s problems. By focusing attention on improving the image and financial powerhouse of the city in order to compete in the global economy, other aspects of the city are either neglected or their needs become superseded by the dominant global agenda. This is particularly the case in cities of the South where planning and investment patterns have historically segregated different groups and spaces.

If global forces are dictating a continued segregation of spatial practices, can anti-environment media forms such as visual communicative practices bring some of these invisible practices into the light and hopefully alter them? Or rather, are they actively contributing to an investment-centred, segregationist understanding of space and by implication the public sphere? This research would suggest yes, provided an Afro-optimistic view of these practices is taken.

2.8.2 African Urban Ideas

When applying a common language to African cities, it is important to correctly position African Urban ideas. Key to this is Edgar Pieterse's 2008 book, *City Futures: confronting the crisis of urban development*. Besides providing a uniquely African perspective, Pieterse situates African cities in a global context, without neglecting to discuss the unique and complex socio-political, infrastructural, or economic challenges that they face. In his work, Pieterse (2008) introduces the reader to some of the key considerations and complexities of the Global South which he views in an optimistic light. He also very quickly dispels the notion that African cities can be placed in a comparative or parallel situation to cities in the Global North, and instead discusses a unique way forward that takes emerging economies, informal trade, immigration, and diverse cultures into account. Pieterse also takes the time to engage with the theories of his contemporaries and highlight areas of similarity and difference.

Diouf and Fredericks (2014:2), as well as Pieterse (2008:1) explain that African urbanism can be best understood through two contradictory yet simultaneous points of analysis. To highlight the key difference between the two approaches, Diouf (1996) describes the differing way in which policy is presented by the two perspectives:

[t]he pessimists think in terms of policy analysis and of administrative intervention. Their primary preoccupation revolves around the following question: how to render the African city productive, governable, ordered, sanitized [sic], hospitable, and secure, all at once? The optimists, conversely, strive to describe the permanent re-creation of new, specifically African urban spaces, by unearthing the aesthetic and cultural expressions as well as the political architectural and economic practices of certain groups.

The first is the mode of analysis that considers an Africa in a crisis where organisations, living environments, infrastructures, recreation activities and the processes set up to facilitate or constrain city life are threatened. This Afro-pessimism focuses on a strange, struggling, and hostile environment that is not flexible or malleable and instead represents an on-going crisis situation. Reddy (2016:1) epitomises this when he describes South Africa as “a society driven by guilt, fear and anger... a society that is so clearly a product of injustice for so long,

the past cannot but be deeply etched upon everything.” He further goes on to describe South Africa’s democracy as one that is “troubled and psychotic” (Reddy, 2016:1).

Reddy’s (2016:2) Afro-pessimism situates South Africa in an almost schizophrenic state of action and inaction, where lived out spaces become everyday testimonies to the failure of a Rainbow Nation amidst wide-spread instability and violence. Reddy (2016:2) further states that:

[e]verywhere we see the unravelling of the dreams of post-Apartheid expectation, general disappointment and political malaise replacing the optimism and enthusiasm of 1994. There are many signs: high unemployment, high rates of crime, massive inequality, and millions living in desperate poverty. Collective demands from students, trade unions and communities highlight the state’s inability to deliver on campaign promises.

Although many of the above-mentioned statements are true, it becomes important to realise that this is a particular paradigm of perception that does not allow for a rhizomatic understanding of the South African experience and instead presents a permanent crisis-situation. This “troubled, psychotic and violent” (Reddy, 2016:1) South Africa does not encompass a space for fluidity, negotiation, and creativity. The second point of analysis can be understood as a much more Afro-optimistic as it views the city as a living, constantly evolving organism that is dynamic and constantly appropriated by its inhabitants. This city space is one that allows for both culture and creativity and presents new and innovative ways of thinking about the future of Africa.

This Afro-optimism paves the way for creativity and creative responses to and re-imaginings of the city. It allows for new meaning making practices to take place in a variety of ways. For instance, the compilation of essays entitled *The Arts of Citizenship in African Cities: Infrastructures and spaces of belonging* (2014) edited by Rosalind Fredericks and Mamadou Diouf on the localised context of African cities has been crucial in understanding the transformative potential of arts in the city space. The compilation looks at the creative ways in which citizenship can be claimed and enacted in African city spaces. Simone’s (2014) thought-provoking ideas around new urban policy in Africa and the importance of shared spaces with creative potential creates an interdisciplinary bridge between the creative (media) form that takes place in a city setting, ideas about visibility and representation and an acute understanding of urban theory and history.

2.9 Summary

The above literature explored themes pertinent to visual communicative practices such as aesthetics, visibility, communicative potential, and their relationship with authority. However, it does not necessarily discuss the reception of these different themes, particularly in a South African context. Noticeably, this is a gap in the literature. The existing literature only goes so far as to highlight or even problematise what can be gained from studying visual communicative practices through a variety of key discourse themes and disciplinary perspectives. It does not necessarily consider what can be gained from including multiple sites of discourse around these practices.

Understanding the ‘emplaced’ spatial dynamic of visual communicative practices is important - as it explains how the physical space that a visual communicative practice occupies adds to its overall meaning and interpretation. Therefore, any study of the discourse around visual communicative practices must understand the symbiotic relationship between public space, meaning and power, and explore the discourses related to each concept. This chapter has laid the foundations for later analysis by providing a detailed explanation of each of the interconnected terms. In doing so, it has considered the physical and social experience of a space and how that can be enforced with placemaking or negated through the creation of non-places.

The literature review provided the background and context to the themes that emerge in this research. It showcased how issues around naming have led to the use of the term visual communicative and what this means in a South African context. Building on that trajectory, it studies the spatial history of both Johannesburg and Cape Town by reading texts that present different perspectives on history alongside each other. This showcases how a more comprehensive, ‘living’ understanding of Johannesburg and Cape Town city space can be developed, and how this understanding was used as an entry point for further research. After that, the more contemporary post-apartheid concept of Johannesburg and Cape Town being ‘Global cities of the South’ was explored, in relation to what this means for an urban understanding and re-imagining of the space. This draws attention to the difference in theoretical public space versus lived public space, particularly in a South African context. It also developed on the multiple and complex public spheres that occupy this public space. It

considered what happens when public space is denatured and adopts exclusionary tactics, and how the online space then opens up an alternative *space of flows*.

The progression of ideas and theory in this Chapter argues why this study is a Media Studies endeavour as the visual communicative practices in South African public city space offer a research object where “emotional incompatibilities, social conflicts and questions of status collide in a more concentrated way than daily communication” (Smiers, 2003:1).

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this study was designed to answer the research question of: *“What can be learned by adopting a spatially-sensitive and digitally-inclusive approach to studying the interconnected relationship between media, space and visual communicative practices?”*

As the Literature Review in the previous chapter has detailed, there are already multiple discourse themes attached to visual communicative practices when they are placed within South African public space. These discourse themes include varied notions of space, public space, visibility, visual culture, online spaces, emplaced practices and placemaking, and lastly, what it means to be an African City of the Global South. These discourses are a result of the social relations and historical events that shape physical space. However, these separate discourses can converge when a visual communicative practice moves from physical space into online mediated spaces. This then brings various discourse themes together under the broader theme of visibility where space and media start to influence each other. But how are these discourses created, negotiated, sustained or even destroyed?

The aim of this research is therefore to uncover how these discourse themes are created, changed or negated when they move between physical and online space. As the gaps in the Literature Review suggests, a heightened understanding of the interplay between media and space and the simultaneous effects thereof have not been examined from a South African perspective. The dual nature of visual communicative practices existing in both public physical space and online space present a unique research object with many rich sites for data collection.

In order to engage with these meaning-making sites in a significant, yet contained manner, an exploratory case study approach is used. This approach allows me to “examine the data closely both at a surface and deep level in order to explain the phenomena in the data” (Zainal, 2007:3). This approach is collective as two case studies are explored namely, The Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi in Johannesburg, and BAZ ART’s IPAF in Cape Town. Since the visual communicative practices are emplaced practices, they are defined first by their location, as this is a key meaning-making site which influences every other meaning-making site of each case study. Each location has a different spatial history and layout, present-day

ruling government and legal framework that specifies the process for creating public visual communicative practices in that space. From there, the different organisations (The Trinity Sessions and BAZ-ART) work with local stakeholders including community members, local business, city officials, media partners, sponsors and artists to create their projects (#ArtMyJozi and IPAF). During the three year research period, the process, audience engagement and support for each project is studied from a variety of perspectives, in a systematic way. The data collection lasted for four years in total. This approach ensures that the deficiency of a single strategy is counterbalanced and decreased, thereby increasing the ability to interpret the findings (Thurmond, 2011:257).

The methodology used here is primarily qualitative in nature. It combines interviews, discourse and online content analysis and site visits with some walking ethnographies¹⁴. The initial selection of each of the data collection sites is inductive and each case study starts off at a policy level before moving on to qualitative interviews. After that, the themes are cross-referenced against representative samples of social media data for each case study. Understanding how different sites, mediums and creation processes can affect public interpretation and responses to these practices is crucial. This process can reveal key factors that can contribute to shared or contested meaning in the South African public domain.

Since this study is a study on meaning, meaning-making and meaning-dissemination, it is squarely rooted within the discipline of Media Studies. The sites of meaning that are examined through a Critical Discourse Analysis are production and reception sites, as detailed in Chapter 1. To unpack **what** meaning is created, I use a Critical Discourse Analysis. To determine **how** that meaning is made, I look at what happens when and where in the project creation process. In other words, I look at who and what contributes to each level of meaning making, and how the timing and sequence of that contribution influences the overall approach and discourse surrounding the project. To guide this part of the research and iterative analysis, I refer back to Couldry and McCarthy's (2004) MediaSpace and its five different levels of mapping the spatial manifestations of media objects.

By looking at visual communicative practices through a MediaSpace lens, their ability to both mediate space and be mediated by space is better understood. The importance of citing

¹⁴ This term was introduced by Vergunst and Ingold (2008) to describe a practice of walking through a space to experience the embodied and materiality of meaning. This innovative interdisciplinary approach is often used to 'get a feel for a space'.

unusual and experimental studies like the ones above is necessary for this research as it moves it away from any theoretical or methodological constraints and instead allows for an exploratory approach as outlined by the case study method. It also suggests that the visual should not just be studied through the spatial, and instead the effects of new media technologies and their mediating potential should be considered.

Therefore, this chapter presents a methodology to critically examine the different sites of meaning-making for each case study. It does this to understand what discourse is created at which site, and how that discourse changes (or not) from site to site. This then presents a more comprehensive picture of how meaning-making happens around each visual communicative practice, and importantly, what can be learned when physical locations are studied parallel to online social media ones. I detail how the methodology used for this research in the actions below.

3.1 Sampling & Initial Data Gathering

When I started off this project, I knew that starting with the spatial context was important. After creating a historical foregrounding as discussed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, I decided to look at the South African cities of Johannesburg and Cape Town. I could not speak for all South African cities as this would produce a data set that was too large for the purposes of this study. I knew that I was looking for a public arts project that was implemented on behalf of a city instead of an individual artist. Therefore instead of starting off this research by speaking to artists, I started off by going directly to the cities that I wanted¹⁵ to work in. This decision was informed by Blanchè's (2016:38) call to move away from the celebrity of the street artist and instead focus on community, collective projects and other contextual spaces that add to the meaning of visual communicative practices. This focus also includes the online space. In this approach, there is a shift from production (aesthetic-based focus or artistic intent) towards reception. The focus on reception emphasises the communicative potential of each work and how it has the potential to negotiate and transform understandings of the public sphere that operate in public space. Clements (2008:19) highlights these issues in his discussion of arts in public spaces: "[t]his emphasis upon community, social utility, responsibility and dialogue has challenged typical modernist tenets of artistic autonomy, with a corresponding shift from artistic intention to context and audience."

¹⁵ The motivation for my selection of cities is discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter.

I started off by defining my case studies in terms of geographical location and location governance of that space. To do this, I initiated contact with the local government in Cape Town and Johannesburg through email. I emailed the local provincial government offices to find out who oversaw street art and public art programmes for each location. I did not use the term graffiti as both cities look upon graffiti in a negative light (Penfold, 2017; *City of Cape Town Government Gazette - Graffiti by-law*, 2012).

From my initial research and email correspondence, I determined the following:

- The City of Cape Town does not have a specific organisation or department dedicated to creating visual communicative practices in the city space. There are several Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) and informal boards operating in this space, but there is no singular unified approach to the use of art in public space. The largest NGO operating in the Cape Town city space is BAZ-ART.
- The city of Ekurhuleni (Johannesburg), through the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), opens tenders for public arts programmes aimed at city upliftment and placemaking. At the time of questioning (2019) the current tender had been awarded to the Trinity Sessions.

This initial round of data collection revealed the two projects that were then to become the case studies for this research. The selection of case studies at this point was helpful, as it provided important parameters that guided the rest of this research. Firstly, it indicated that there were various stakeholders in the creation of public visual communicative projects in Johannesburg and Cape Town respectively. Secondly, I would then need to identify these stakeholders and interview them and gain more information about each project.

3.1.1 identifying key informants within each case study

To make the research “less about the art and the artists and more about the streets”, the primary focus of initial stages of data collection considered the people/collectives or organisations that curated public city space in Johannesburg and Cape Town. On this note, it is also worth reiterating here that the decision to leave out the voice of the artists is intentional since these specific projects have a community focus, and the ephemeral quality of the public work means that many artists believe that once a work has been made, its meaning and interpretation no longer belong to the artist. These sentiments are exemplified in

a statement by graffiti artist Dumaar Freemaninov in his forward to Ornament and Order by Rafael Schacter:

It's been a tough task for me to write this foreword. I get furious styles when I think about graffiti. I can politic on it but I'd rather just shut up and do it. Talking about graffiti in an intelligible manner is counter-intuitive to the unspoken religion of graffiti. I prefer grunts in a circle of fellow practitioners, no philosophical talk just performance and wonder. As an outsider to many other subcultures, I too enjoy reading theory on those subcultures and to ponder on the hidden-in-plainsight worlds all around me. Dick Hebdige's Subculture introduced me to a few subcultures I never thought about, mainly the Mods, Punks and Teddy Boys. And just as Punks and Mods would not want to read theory about their reality because they live it daily, I can't stand to read any ideas on my subculture. It feels wrong to me because I perform the rituals, I can't talk about the rituals. That would go against the ritual. The ritual is the truth of graffiti, and that truth shines bright when one performs the rituals correctly. It is not to be spoken of or asked questions about, it is solely to be performed (2014: xviii).

Therefore, I did not interview the artists that created the public art works in each study. Rather, I based my participant selection on the intention to include the public spheres surrounding the visual communicative practices. Namely, this is the government that controls the city space, the agency or organisation that plans and actions the project, and the community and space that surrounds the physical location of the work. This was the selection criteria for my interview participants to ensure that both official and community perspectives were included. Each selected participant was emailed, and confirmed their acceptance of an interview in writing. Before each interview, each participant signed a consent form.

Key informants in case study 1- Cape Town

It became clear that I would need to speak to the City of Cape Town Government, as well as BAZ-ART to understand how they interpreted and carried out the process for creating artworks in Cape Town public space.

The following people were identified to be interviewed, and provided consent to be identified:

- Alexandre Tilmans (Founder, BAZ-ART): Early 40's, Caucasian, Male
- Donne Kekana (Project Manager, BAZ-ART) - Late 20's, Coloured, Female
- Greg Wagner (Executive Mayoral Spokesperson for the City of Cape Town [2018-2021]): Early 30's, Caucasian, Male.

- Alderman Dan Plato, (Executive Mayor of the City of Cape Town [2018-2021]). This interview was conducted in a structured format and delivered via email.

Key informants in case study 2 - Johannesburg

I contacted the Johannesburg Development Agency who put me in contact with the Trinity Sessions.¹⁶ I was given the contact details of Ms Borton, the Project Manager from The Trinity Sessions to speak directly to the work that the JDA has done in the public arts sector. The JDA referred to the Trinity Session as their “public art curators” (Monyani, personal communication 2019, September 23). Here are the people that were identified to speak about case study two:

- Pauline Borton (Project Manager, Trinity Sessions): Early 30’s, Caucasian, Female
- Tammy Stewart (Assistant Project Manager Trinity Sessions): Early 20’s, Mixed-race, Female
- Lavinia Williams-Otto (Community Liaison and Activist): Middle aged, Coloured, Female

3.2 Interviews

Qualitative interviews are used as research tools that “contribute to a body of knowledge that is conceptual and theoretical and is based on the meanings that life experiences hold for the interviewees” (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006:314). As prescribed by DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006:316), I identified key informants and stakeholders based on their knowledge and/ or involvement in a particular setting. I then utilised an unstructured interview approach to establish key facts about each project. An unstructured interview approach is “more or less equivalent to guided conversations...most widely originating from the ethnographic tradition [of anthropologists] (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006:315). The unstructured technique allowed me to iterate my questions. The iterative approach to my technique which allowed for questions to emerge over time as I gathered more information about this setting.

3.2.1 Questioning methods

¹⁶ For details of this, please see Appendix A.

From there, I then developed a semi-structured questioning method for the interviews based on my research question (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006:315). My approach was informed by DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree's (2006:315) method for qualitative interviews where they are "usually scheduled in advance at a designated time and location outside of everyday events [and] generally organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewees". These questioning methods differed from interview to interview since this study is not a comparative one, but rather an exploratory one. I improvised my questioning technique depending on the way that the interview went. I would start off the face-to-face interviews with semi-structured questions, but then gradually develop the interviews into a more unstructured format so that there was space for new information to enter the discussion. The iterative interview approach was guided by the thinking of Theron and Malindi (2012:104) in their discussion of fieldwork best practice. It also aligns with Nieuwenhuis' (2016:108) observation that the researcher should be constantly open to new insights since data collection and analysis is ongoing.

Besides for the questioning technique and iterative approach of the interview method, the data collection primarily occurred through the recording of the interviews with the prior written and signed consent of the interviewees¹⁷. Interviews were then transcribed so that later coding and analysis could take place.

3.2.2 Interviews conducted

In order to collect more information about each project, as well to understand key perceptions, ideas and approaches, the following interviews took place:

Cape Town

All interviews took place between September and November 2019.

- **BAZ-ART:** Alexandre Tilmans & Donna Kekana spoke to me together . This unstructured interview lasted 90 minutes. The BAZ ART interviews were conducted in Salt River in Cape Town at Me'Kasi Coffee Shop.
- **City of Cape Town:**

¹⁷ Please see the Appendix B for all signed consent forms.

- Greg Wagner. Semi-structured interview lasting 60 minutes. The City of Cape Town Interviews were conducted at the Civic Centre Mayoral Offices in the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD).
- Alderman Dan Plato. The Mayoral Office requested that I send through my structured questions before coming to interview Mr Wagner. When I arrived to interview Mr Wagner, I was given a printed response to each question from the Executive Mayor of the City of Cape Town. This interview did not take place in a synchronous format.

Johannesburg

All interviews were conducted in person in November 2019, and were conducted at the original project sites, in Johannesburg. The interviews were conducted in an unstructured format.

For the interviews I spent a whole day (from 9am to 6pm) with the project manager (Pauline Borton) doing site visits and conducting unstructured interviews. Through this process I collected five interviews which I then transcribed and thematically coded in verbatim. I combined these interviews with The significance of each of the different interviews is that they include discussions on each of the sites that were visited. These interviews were combined with a walking ethnography and photography of all project sites for the #ArtMyJozi project. These included Patterson Park, Louis Botha 'S-Bend', Noordgesig, Rotunda and Brixton as well as the Tipper Road Studios just off Louis Botha. During the interviews, artworks, communities, or areas are directly referenced as they were visited. The photographs that I collected of the works and communities are included in the next chapter, where the significance of the visual communicative practices and art-making processes are discussed.

- Pauline Borton. 5 unstructured interviews, each lasting between 45 to 90 minutes each.
- Tammy Stewart. One unstructured interview at the Tipper Road Studios.
- Lavinia Williams-Otto. One unstructured interview at Noordgesig.

3.2.3 Interview Ethics

From an ethical standpoint, each interview participant knowingly agreed to take part in this research through verbal and written consent. None of the participants were offered any remuneration for their participation. All except one of the interviews were conducted face-to-face, with signed consent from each participant. All participants agreed to being named in this research.

3.3 Triangulating the interview data

After collecting the initial interview data. I wanted to learn more about the different projects and to cross-reference some of the facts that came up in the interviews. So I performed a close reading of additional data pertaining to each project, including various policy and public art frameworks. These included:

- Johannesburg Public Art Management Policy (2016)
- JDA Website
- JDA Press Statements
- Trinity Session Website
- Trinity Sessions Press Statements
- Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJosi Project Report
- City of Cape Town Graffiti By-Law (2012)
- City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework
- City of Cape Town Press Releases
- BAZ ART Press Releases
- BAZ ART Website
- Google Arts & Culture: IPAF Page

Since this study is exploratory, the triangulation of data collection methods and types is important to avoid vague conclusions and to strengthen research conclusions (Nieuwenhuis, 2016:107). Here's how I approached the triangulation for each case study.

3.3.1 Case Study 1 - BAZ ART's IPAF (Cape Town)

I triangulated the interview data with written responses to structured questions over email, and City policies and By-Laws. Councillor Dan Plato (Previous Executive Mayor: City of

Cape Town) provided me with written responses to structured interview questions. The interview data was also analysed against the City policies for public art projects.

The process through which IPAF goes about organising the festival, sourcing artists and working with the City of Cape Town was the primary focus for the interviews. By researching this dynamic over a three-year period, it also provides insight into how the festival may have changed or adapted its ways of work to ensure that the process with the city is streamlined. There is more than one stakeholder in this process, so The City of Cape Town representatives were also interviewed. The interviews were conducted face-to-face and I then transcribed them verbatim. These transcriptions were then coded according to a content analysis method that uses the “systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories” (Nieuwenhuis, 2016:10). Here, the interview transcriptions were the ‘texts’ and the categories chosen were ‘topics’ or ‘themes’ that arose from the interviews.

I conducted the face-to-face interviews in a mostly semi-structured and then unstructured format because I wanted to see where the interviews went and what insights appeared. After conducting the interviews, I transcribed them and then analysed them¹⁸. I wanted to know what the main themes of each interview were, and then later, how these themes compared to each other. I then coded each paragraph or answer in the transcript. Coding is “the transitional process used between data collection and more extensive analysis” (Saldaña, 2009:4). My first round of coding used initial manifest (visible and obvious) themes and later, latent (requiring interpretation to uncover hidden meaning) themes (Nieuwenhuis, 2016:112). These interviews were analysed alongside the City of Cape Town Public Arts Management Framework. Here I conducted a close reading of the policy and considered the semantic tone and implied power structures of the wording used in this policy. This approach helped me to create a more established official picture of the people and processes shaping how public visual communicative practices are created in Cape Town.

3.3.2 Case Study 2 - Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi, Johannesburg

In addition to the unstructured and semi-structured interview content, I also included photographic evidence from each site visit as well as the structured and written email

¹⁸ The transcripts and coding for all interviews are available in Appendix C & D of this thesis.

responses from Susan Monyai (Acting Executive Manager: Marketing & Communications, Johannesburg Development Agency) and several JDA press releases. Central to all The Trinity Session's projects, but specifically #ArtMyJozi, is the concept of placemaking. It is introduced here to provide context to the themes that the interview findings present; however, it is further elaborated on in the next Chapter. Trinity Sessions uses the theory of placemaking as a process guide for their public art projects. They refer to their work as:

place-making [*sic*] through art initiatives... [that undergo] a four-stage creative journey along the corridors in Johannesburg. These consist of creative exchange workshops, design workshops, creative public events, production of artworks, and implementation of artworks in the public realm... The various ongoing #ArtMyJozi campaigns are geared towards collective community orientated artistic projects, employing collective participatory design processes that seek to enrich the energetic streets of Johannesburg, with a contemporary approach to place-making in the city and its neighbourhoods along the Corridors (Trinity Sessions, 2019).

The data collected from the interviews and the subsequent thematic analysis of the interview data reveals the extent to which the Trinity Sessions based their visual communicative ideation and creation processes on the placemaking approach.

The placemaking approach was first outlined in the Project for Public Spaces website¹⁹. Although the project started in the United States, it has now garnered global attention and is situated in academic urban theory from the 1950's and the 1960's. Here is how the site discusses its philosophy and approach to creating public spaces in urban areas:

Placemaking is not a new idea. Although Project for Public Spaces began consistently using the term "placemaking" in the mid-1990s to describe our approach, some of the thinking behind Placemaking gained traction in the 1960s, when our mentors like Jane Jacobs and William H Whyte introduced groundbreaking ideas about designing cities for people, not just cars and shopping centers [*sic*]. Their work focuses on the social and cultural importance of lively neighborhoods and inviting public spaces: Jacobs encouraged everyday citizens to take ownership of streets through the now-famous idea of "eyes on the street," while Holly Whyte outlined key elements for creating vibrant social life in public spaces. Applying the wisdom of these (and other) urban pioneers, since 1975 Project for Public Spaces has gradually developed a comprehensive Placemaking approach. Throughout our experience working with over 3,500 communities—in all 50 U.S. states and in over 50 countries—Project for Public Spaces continues to show by example how adopting a collaborative community process is the most effective approach for creating and revitalizing [*sic*] public spaces. For us, placemaking is both a process and a philosophy. It is centred around observing, listening to, and asking questions of the people who live, work, and

¹⁹ 'What is Placemaking?' (Project for Public Spaces, 2023).

play in a particular space in order to understand their needs and aspirations for that space and for their community as a whole (Project for Public Spaces, 2023).

3.4 Studying Reception Sites: Social Media Data

Once I had collected all the basic facts on each project, I started on the second part of my data collection. I wanted to get a sense of audience engagement with the works (the reception part of the study). This is where social media provided a fertile ground for data. I adopted a mixed-methods approach to understand the different meaning dimensions of each project. A combination of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies is frequently used in mass-media and communications research, such as the content analysis approach to online data (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006:113). By examining more than one data point or singular Social Networking Site, I examine what boyd (2011:39) refers to as the larger networked publics that gather in online communities around these works.

After an initial analysis of the key discourse themes from the production side for each case study, I compared this data with a few small and representative samples collected on various Social Networking Sites. These sites presented alternative public spaces for the dissemination of discourse related to each project. This was done in order to understand if any of these themes or conversation topics were validated (or negotiated) in the online space. The choice of the Social Network sites allows for the inclusion of the audiences responding to these works, as well as what their responses are. Without the inclusion of Social Networking sites, this bottom-up approach that includes an audience response would not be possible in the same way.

Since I was measuring if the online space could function as an alternative public space, I wanted to learn more about what the engagement in these spaces looked like and how much of it was happening there. I also wanted to better understand the relationship between what was happening in the online space and the physical location of each project.

3.4.1 General Social Media Methodology:

The inclusion of these mediums was based on the findings from the Ornico reports (2017, 2018,2019), which positioned these three Social Networking Sites amongst the most popular in South Africa. My non-probability purposive sampling technique intentionally started off

with Twitter since this platform is primarily used for conversation. Here, I used the search bar function to search for #IPAF Cape Town and #InternationalPublicArtFestival Cape Town and sampled the top 50 Tweets. I did the same for #ArtMyJozi. This technique is most often used in qualitative research paradigms and does not select samples of the population based on probability, but rather their link with meaning and relation to the research question (Morgan & Sklar 2012:74). The sampling technique used was informed by the qualitative research paradigm where small samples of meaningful data are collected to create in-depth descriptions (Morgan & Sklar 2012:75). In order to keep the sample size smaller, I limited my sample to only include posts between 2017-2019 as this was my sampling bracket.

I then looked for cross-platform posting between Facebook event pages and Instagram posts and included these in my larger sample. The small sample does not speak for the whole population, and it should be noted that exclusions could have occurred if the hashtags were not correctly used or spelt. Within my chosen sample, I analysed each Tweet, Facebook Event page and Instagram post for engagement (in terms of likes and retweets) and looked at the topic of general discussions taking place on each page and post, as well as who was posting that discussion. I only considered posts and profiles that had been made public to avoid any ethical issues.

Thereafter, the criteria for meaning was based on the following points, which emerge from the research question:

- The number of total posts
- Most liked posts
- Most commented-on posts
- Most retweeted posts
- Posts containing images
- Posts containing links

The criteria above were chosen so that I could start to understand what types of publics emerged in the online spaces and what, if any, engagement took place online. I probed key differences or similarities that each platform provided, and what type of meaning layers this added context created.

Online Ethics

For all the social media content gathering, I only used content that was publicly accessible. This means that whilst I needed an account to access all three platforms, I did not include any data in the study that had not already been put into the online public domain.

3.4.2 BAZ ART & IPAF Social Media Data

Social Networking Site 1: Twitter (Now X)

I used the search function to see what content had been produced on Twitter under the hashtags ‘#IPAF Cape Town’ and ‘#InternationalPublicArtFestival Cape Town’ and sampled the top 50 Tweets. My exclusionary criteria was tweets outside the date range of this study (2017-2019) and tweets that had been incorrectly assigned to the hashtags.

Social Networking Site 2: Facebook

Here I studied all public Facebook pages related to BAZ ARTs IPAF. This study looked at both the amount of engagement in terms of likes and comments, but also the discourse in the comments.

- Facebook Event Pages for 2017, 2018, 2019
- Facebook Page for BAZ ART
- Facebook Page for IPAF Cape Town
- Facebook Page for L7 Craft Beer SA

Social Networking Site 3: Instagram

Since Instagram primarily shares images, and many users have private accounts, a simple hashtag search was not effective here. Instead, I rather looked at the home page of BAZ ART to see which works were the most popular and how they resonated with the audience that had formed here in terms of engagement.

3.4.3 Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi Social Media Data

Social Networking Site 1: Twitter (Now X)

I used the search function to see what content had been produced on Twitter under the hashtags ‘#ArtMyJozi’ and ‘#Trinity Sessions’ and sampled the top 50 Tweets. My exclusionary criteria was tweets outside the date range of this study (2017-2019) and tweets

that had been incorrectly assigned to the hashtags. However, it is worth noting here that Trinity Sessions uses social media primarily as a digital archiving tool. Although this is discussed in detail in the next chapter, it did skew the date range as most of the posts were only generated after the project was completed either as a digital archive of the work, or a public response that happened as part of the Press Days that took place upon completion of the projects at each site.

Social Networking Site 2: Facebook

Here I studied all public Facebook pages related to Trinity Sessions and #ArtMyJosi. This study looked at both the amount of engagement in terms of likes and comments, but also the discourse in the comments.

- Facebook Page for Trinity Sessions
- Facebook Page for #ArtMyJosi
- Facebook Page for JDA

Social Networking Site 3: Instagram

Since Instagram primarily shares images, and many users have private accounts, a simple hashtag search was not effective here. Instead, I looked at the top posts generated by Trinity Sessions on their page as part of their digital archiving efforts. When I searched for the #ArtMyJosi tag on Instagram, over 500 posts appeared. I sampled the first half, which is 240 posts.

3.5 Data Analysis Tools

I conducted my data collection and analysis in an iterative manner to determine if there was any overlap or extension of physical space into the online space of the Social Networking sites. This method also provided a more comprehensive picture of all the different inputs into the public art encoding and decoding process that takes place in mediated public space. For the analysis, I combined the first batch of data - information that I had gathered through my qualitative interviews and site visits – with my second batch of data – content and links between different social media posts and online news articles. Through the analysis, I wanted to see if the process through which the works were formed influenced their reception on social media, and what discourse happened around each site. To analyse the discourse themes in the interviews, policy documents and user comments, I made use of a critical discourse

analysis (CDA). A critical discourse analysis allows for an approach where research material and discourse can be systematically analysed and in more detail from a discourse perspective (Fairclough et al, 2004:3). It also “allows for a critical analysis, awareness of pervasive language and uncovers dominating social power behind discourses” (Smith & Bell, 2007:82).

To make sense of how all the iterative pieces of data fitted together, I used the five levelled approach of MediaSpace. This unique approach presents a way to study media objects within their various spatial manifestations, by considering each site as a site of potential meaning making where discourse can be analysed. This process is illustrated by the diagram below, where the interplay of the physical work and space (construction), its mediation (performance) and the reaction to it (reception) are considered.

Level	Name	Description
One	Studying media representations.	This includes studying places where media images are produced, distributed, and received.
Two	The study of how media images, texts, and data flow across space and, in so doing, reconfigure social space.	The overall spatial and social configuration that results from a medium.
Three	The study of specific spaces at either the end of the media process, the space of consumption and the space of production.	Extending beyond the text to understand media as a social process, technology, and content.
Four	The study of scale effects, or complex entanglements of scale, which result from the operation of media in space.	Concerned with the actual entanglements of scale engendered by mediated forms of social coordination.
Five	Studying how media-caused entanglements of scale are variously experienced and understood in specific places.	Consider what media does to space and the materiality of media objects.

Table 1: Explanation of the five levels of studying the interaction between media and space (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:5-8).

I took each layer of MediaSpace and used it as a framework to discuss how the various meaning-making sites created discourse. I then looked at how discourse from one meaning-making site changed and influenced the next one. This means that by the end of each discussion, the cumulative effects of media and space in the creation of discourse can be studied for each visual communicative practice. This can be seen in the Discussion chapters

of this research. The findings from each case study are therefore able to showcase what is learned from adopting this spatially-sensitive Media Studies approach in a South African context, which is what the research question of this study asks. (*“What can be learned by adopting a spatially-sensitive and digitally-inclusive approach to studying the interconnected relationship between media, space and visual communicative practices?”*)

3.5 Research Paradigm & Approach

The meaning of visual communicative practices change depending on the context in which they are understood, and they rely on human experience for that interpretation. Therefore, they are best studied through an interpretivist paradigm, where human experience can only be understood through different viewpoints. It creates a scenario with multiple realities (Morgan & Sklar, 2012:73). This is particularly true for objects placed in public space since their meaning is not fixed and rather dependent on the interpretations of the public that encounters that space at a particular time. In other words, the results generated are not something that could occur in any place with any public. According to this paradigm, “individuals [are understood] as necessarily differentiated and thus research generated about this phenomenon cannot be generalist (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006:114) and is instead rooted to a South African context at this moment in time. The focus of this research is placed on understanding how that public is formed, and how they make sense of these works, in other words it examines “how people in everyday natural settings create meaning and interpret the events of their world” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006:114). However, a downfall of using an interpretivist paradigm is that research may become highly subjective. To counterbalance this, these subjectivities are addressed. This is in alignment with what Chilsa (2012, 2017) would call a relational ethical framework that “invites researchers to see ‘self’ as a reflection of the researched ‘Other’, to honour and respect the researched as one would wish for oneself, and to feel a belongingness to the researched community without feeling threatened or diminished”.

3.5.1 Balancing subjectivities

The choice of these two specific South African cities was not random. At a personal level - both Johannesburg and Cape Town hold great significance to me as I called both 'home' at different points in my life. My lived experience in them has made these cities 'places' for me.

They have become semiotic landscapes filled with meaning created by my subjective experience in these spaces. The sights, sounds, smells, and history are etched into my own embodied cognition of the world around me. In a way, this thesis is as much an acknowledgement of who I am, as how these cities are – living, breathing, fluid, fractured. I acknowledge this subjectivity upfront because it does add another layer of discourse, my own. Therefore, although both my data collection and analysis are conducted from my own perspective and subjectivities, I have taken steps to strengthen and triangulate my findings. I have triangulated this study by including a “combination of at least two or more theoretical perspectives, methodological approaches, data sources, investigators, or data analysis methods” as prescribed by Thurmond (2003:253).

I have also moved away from the celebrity of the artist and any aesthetic ideals. Instead, I have been informed by the agile and developing Social Sciences approaches to the study of street art, graffiti and public art. Over the past 30 years, the field of contemporary graffiti and street art research has developed into a substantial body of scholarly research. To elaborate on this point,

An increasing number of outlets now publish results derived from the study of graffiti and street art. These include well respected academic presses such as Chicago, MIT, Northeastern, Routledge, and Yale. Recent scholars have published articles in journals from a wide range of fields including art history, criminology/criminal justice, cultural studies, rhetoric, and political science. As a testimony to the broader acceptance of scholarship on graffiti and street art, there have occasionally been special issues of journals that have delved into the subject matter (Ross et al., 2017:3).

As previously discussed in Chapter Two, the evasive nature of street art presents a notable parallel to that of visual communicative practices since both function as media objects, capable of communication, yet hard to categorise since they “exist on a spectrum” (Brown, 2015:8). Today, De la Iglesia (2016:40) notes that “the dominant methods and approaches in Street Art Studies seem to stem from fields such as anthropology, sociology, cultural studies and ethnography, all of which tend to place people before objects, or, in our case, street artists before street art”. To create a more contextual knowledge, Blanchè’s (2016:38) suggests the following approach to street art research:

Some researchers show many visual examples of Street Art, and leave you alone with these – as if the pictures could speak for themselves. Well, in a sense, they do, but they speak to everyone differently. A lot of researchers have spoken with Street Artists, graffiti writers and new media practitioners,

but not with Street Art itself. Interviews are not always the solution. Most Street Artists who say that their art is great might be wrong – as indeed might be the case if they say the opposite. “Anything-goes” might be fruitful for Street Art but not for Street Art research: some carefully defined working categories might be helpful. I plead for more Street Art research and less research about Street Artists, although one cannot be without the other.

3.5.2 Local phenomenon, international perspective

The combined input of Ross *et al* (2017), Clements (2008) and Blanchè (2016) explain the need for a study that describes a specific and localised phenomenon which this research answers. It does this by looking at two unique South African case studies. However, at the same time it calls for a more general approach towards these case studies. A generalised approach should start to describe the communicative participation in the global online cultural sphere. In other words, a local phenomenon studied with a variety of international disciplines and perspectives. This has not been considered from a South African perspective, since any discussion of the discourse surrounding public visual communicative practices has been focused on the works themselves, the spatial location, or the artist.

By way of example, key arguments in the South African space are focussed on issues around memorialisation and how policy creates a space for some voices to be heard (Coombes, 2004), or how some voices have been effectively silenced through the shortfalls of symbolic reparations first laid out by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Minty, 2006).

Although visual representation in South African public space through public arts can never truly be a collective representation of history and identity (Miller & Schmahmann, 2017), by incorporating the online public sphere and extending the reach of place-making practices, it does create a more inclusive approach.

3.6 Summary

This chapter detailed a methodology that uses an exploratory case study approach with various qualitative data collection points to examine the interlinked relationship between media and space in a South African context. Two different South African cities are explored, namely Cape Town and Johannesburg. For each study, I wanted to find a public arts program and conduct research that was not about the singular perspective of the artist, but rather the

broad spatial, social and economic discourse surrounding visual communicative practices placed in public space in South Africa. By collecting data at both the production and reception sites of two visual communicative practice projects (BAZ ARTs IPAF and Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi) I consider how discourse is generated and changed at different meaning-making sites within each case study. This approach addressed some of the gaps in the Literature Review. Since this specific approach has not been attempted in a South African context in this way, a qualitative approach is used to present a specific and localised way to study new phenomena. For each of the case studies, multiple data collection points have been included over a three-year period to strengthen the results during the interpretation stage. These include a close reading of policy documents, By-laws and frameworks as well as interviews with key stakeholders for each project.

This data is analysed and then triangulated with another round of social media data collection from Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. These are used as they present valuable sites to study audience engagement with the different projects, albeit in an online public space. The reception element is a new approach to visual communicative practices that has not taken place in a South African context before. It is explored by looking at the discourse created at each site and the public that creates that discourse.

Both rounds of data collection are then analysed. A critical discourse analysis is used to uncover key themes and perceptions surrounding each project. Couldry and McCarthy's (2004) MediaSpace framework is then used to sort out the findings and provides a unique way to analyse the interplay between media objects and spatial manifestations. Since the data collection and analysis processes for this study are iterative, the way in which data collection and analysis worked together is detailed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR - CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

This chapter details the iterative data collection and analysis process that each case study undergoes. It also discusses preliminary findings that then sparked further data collection and analysis.. The findings that are presented here align with the methodology discussed in the previous chapter. It starts off with the interview and policy details from each case study, before including the social media data that falls within the sample selection criteria (2017-2019). This approach showcases the layers of meaning that can be uncovered when visual communicative practices are studied from a spatially-sensitive Media Studies. The analysis and findings in each case study highlight the interlinked nature of media and space. They showcase the central premise of this research which is “*what can be learned by adopting a spatially-sensitive and digitally-inclusive approach to studying the interconnected relationship between media, space and visual communicative practices*”.

4.1 Cape Town: BAZ ARTs IPAF

I approached this case study by starting off with the Public Arts Policy, as it details what does (and does not) constitute public art, and the explicit process for creating temporary and permanent public art works in and around the City of Cape Town. Once I had understood the official process, I then started off my first batch (Batch 1) of data collection to understand how this creation process practically unfolded.

4.1.1 Policy Analysis

For the initial round of data collection, I conducted a close analysis of the *City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework* (2016). The key themes that were noted are below:

- Strategic alignment with creating a 'world class city'
- Permissions Process
- Funding Process
- Legality and the Graffiti By-Law
- Semantics of terms used
- Aesthetics

Findings

The overall sentiment of the Framework was geared towards keeping graffiti out of the city, and promoting sanctioned works that are considered aesthetically pleasing. This aligns with the goal of making Cape Town a world class tourist destination and ensuring that it is ripe for business investment through Creative Cities approach. Schacter (2015) describes this worrying internal phenomenon where

The creative city doctrine is one in which public space is privatised and monetised – used as a simple means to an end. As imagined by superstar urban theorists such as Richard Florida (2012), it is the role of city authorities to draw the emerging creative class to their sites. They must mark themselves out visually and recreationally, to entice the key demographic of well-educated professionals and “bohemians” (the coders, the designers, the “knowledge-based” professionals) who form the basis for a post-industrial economy.

These ideas and prevalent discourse themes are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

4.1.2 Interview Analysis & Sampling

The above themes were helpful in shaping the discussion topics for the interviews that were later conducted. The three interviews that I conducted took the following formats:

- Mr Alexandre Tilmans, Founder of BAZ-ART. This interview took place live and was recorded and then transcribed.
- Mr Greg Wagner, Mayoral Spokesperson for the City of Cape Town. This interview took place live and was recorded and then transcribed.
- Alderman Dan Plato, Executive Mayor of the City of Cape Town (2018-2021). This interview was conducted in a structured format and delivered via email.

For each interview, I used two rounds of coding. From a manifest perspective, I could see that the data around the initial themes was vague and needed further clarification. So, I then grouped the smaller sub-themes into larger themes based on which gave me topics of discourse. Discourse “is concerned with both the form of the text and its use in social context, its construction, distribution and reception” (Smith & Bell, 2008:78). Any analysis of this discourse would then reveal the latent meanings and social significance of the text (in this case, the perceptions, and attitudes of the interviewees as well the invisible processes that help create these visual communicative practices in public space). Here are the first and

second round of coding themes that appeared in the structured interview with Councillor Dan Plato, Interview 1.

Category round 1 (Detail)	Category round 2 (Theme)
Statement	Type of response
Own phrasing	
PAMF / Policy Reference	
Aesthetics	Beautiful artwork
Beautify neighbourhood	
Community improvement	Process
Application process	
Public Space	
Baz Art	
Tourism opportunity	Government Initiative
Strategy	
Artists mention	Artists

Table 4: Interview 1, Coding round 1 and 2, descriptors and thematic coding for interview with Councillor Dan Plato.

Here are the themes that appeared through two rounds of coding with the interview with mayoral spokesperson, Greg Wagner.

Category round 1 (categories)	Category round 2 (themes)
Local: Location	Space
International: Location	
Cape Town space	
Local specific named piece	Artwork
International specific named piece	
Aesthetic	
Bad graffiti	

Public art	
Defacement	
Local: background	
International background	
International example / artist	Artist
Rebellious artists	
Local artist	
Gangs	
Government engagement	Process
Digital engagement	
Regulation	
Public domain	
Permit	
Bylaws	
Commercial	
Official response	
Baz Art	
Reference to personal Instagram page	Personal / other
Personal story	
Background / establishing	

Table 5: Interview 2, Coding round 1 and 2, descriptors and thematic coding for interview with Mr Greg Wagner.

Lastly, here are the coding results for the third interview.

Category round 1 (Detail)	Category round 2 (Theme)
Festival Organisation	Process
Consistency	
Looking for partnerships	
Discussing the wrong way to engage with the process	
Cater to the whole of SA	
Pretoria street art process	
Doing many walls	
Paperwork	

Showing stakeholders are legally compliant	
Other initiatives involved in public space	
Baz Art Mural creation Process	
Process for artwork creation	
Permit	
Graffiti by-law	
Paperwork process	
Baz Art formed to assist	
Resident inclusion	Community
Community involvement	
Inclusion	
Involving all stakeholders	
Resident inclusion	
Working with the community	
Including the community	
Relationship	
After School programme for kids	
Support	
Children	
Residents response	
Community involvement	
Signing for walls/community involvement	
Benefits	
Public friendly work	
People left behind after international events Soccer World Cup	
Permission	
Collaboration	Collaboration
Consistency	
Locals to benefit from the process too	
Marketing for Salt River	
How Baz art facilitates the community and artist collaboration	
Working with the community	

Successful artist from the IPAF	
Partners / not investors	
Relationship between community and artists	
Community criteria	
Do public good with art	
Including the community	
Exhibitions	Artists
Art recognised	
Creativity	
Professional artist pairing	
Career development	
Equality of artists	
Artist selection process	
International artist	
Artist selection diversity	
Artists levelling up	
Artist ability	
Artist participation	
Baz Art “selling artists to the potential sponsors”	
Knowing artists as people to match them correctly	
Discouraging for artists	
Faith 47	
Freddy Sam	
Tyler Murphy	
Public art funding mechanism	Funding
Can’t buy on Social Media	
NGO	
Opens up conversation with residents	Conversation
Relationship between community and artists	
Working with the City of Cape Town	
Create conversation	
Communications are through traditional media	
JHB By-law	Governance
By-laws and legislation	
City permissions	

Crime	
Freedom to paint	
Johannesburg and Pretoria by-laws	
Government unsure of how to engage	
Control and responsibility as paradoxical	
Gentrification worries	Gentrification
Concern	
Community cohesion through the mural creation process	
Gentrification	
Media forms	Media
Noise	
Lots of work to create a social media post	
Does not always go viral	
Communications are through traditional media	
Social media as support/awareness	
Viral	
Mural lives on through Social Media	
Visibility	
Work for free during festival	
Creates work for the rest of the year	
Children	Opportunity
Career Development	
Transition phase	
Adults	
Community job creation	
Creating opportunities for local artists	
Residency examples with other countries	
Public perception of graffiti	Public/ democratic
Belong to the public	
Purpose of works	

Table 6: Interview 3, Coding round 1 and 2, descriptors and thematic coding for interview with Mr Alexandre Tilmans.

From these interviews, I could already see key themes emerging that helped to direct my research approach. The City of Cape Town interviews predominantly focussed on the same sentiments as the Public Art Policy Framework, and viewed public and street art in a positive sentiment provided that it was aesthetically pleasing and had been granted permission.

The third round of coding was used to understand the salience of the different themes within each interview, as well as how the interviewee approached the salient themes (where relevant). Please note that the first interview could not be coded for tone, as the answers were provided as a written response.

Category round 2 (Theme)	Frequency of mentions	Notes
Artwork	4	Definitions
Process	10	PAMF
Government Initiative	2	Strategy, Tourism
Artists	2	Community projects

Table 7: Interview 1, Coding round 3, salience coding

Category round 2	Frequency of mentions	Average Tone	Note
Space	18	Positive	International Location = 9
Artwork	21	Negative	Aesthetics = Positive Bad Graffiti/ Defacement = Negative
Artist	28	Positive	International = 10 Local = 8 Rebellious Artists = 4
Process	45	Positive / Neutral	Baz Art = 4
Personal / Other	20	Positive	Personal Instagram= 8

Table 8: Interview 2, Coding round 3, salience and tone.

Category round 2	Frequency of mentions	Average Tone	Note
Process	32	Neutral/ Clarifying	Most negative tones here.
Community	19	Positive	Inclusion
Collaboration	13	Positive	Partnership
Artists	23	Positive/Neutral	Work with
Funding	10	Positive/ Clarifying	Partnership/ NGO Unpaid artists
Conversation	6	Positive	With stakeholders
Governance	10	Neutral/ Negative	Responsibility vs Control
Gentrification	7	Clarifying / Positive	Answering question
Media	11	Positive/ Neutral	Social Media versus traditional media
Opportunity	5	Positive	Career development
Public/ democratic	5	Positive / Neutral	Public inclusion

Table 9: Interview 3, Coding round 3 - Thematic coding of the interview with Baz Art.

From the interview stage and subsequent coding rounds thereafter, I determined that there were a few pertinent themes across the creation and permission processes. These themes are compared below:

Interview 3	Interview 2	Interview 1
Process	Space	Artwork
Community	Artwork	Process
Collaboration	Artist	Government Initiative
Artists	Process	Artists
Funding	Personal / Other	
Conversation		
Governance		
Gentrification		
Media		
Opportunity		

Public/ democratic		

Table 10: Interview theme comparison, Cape Town Stakeholders

Interview findings

Of note to this research is that themes of ‘process’ and ‘artists’ are mentioned in all three, whereas both Interview 1 and Interview 2 mention the theme of the ‘artwork’. Interview 3 has the most broad variety of themes, even after 2 rounds of coding, whereas Interview 1 has the least. Although the word ‘process’ is mentioned several times, this process refers to the permission process and not the process for which public space should be engaged with. These discourse themes and their implications for how public space should be dealt with when it comes to the creation of visual communicative practices is discussed at length in the next chapter. It is worth noting that the limited direction in terms of process and the lack of funding prevalent at this layer of discourse creation directly influences the next level.

4.1.3 Twitter Sampling and Analysis

Once I had worked through the interview content, coding and policy analysis, I wanted to see how the public had responded to the International Public Arts Festival and what the online discourse surrounding it was. I started with Twitter as my central focus, as the nature of the platform allows for real-time updates and is centred around conversation. Murthy (2018:1) describes it as a “microblogging site” and Bosch (2017:2) notes that in a South African context, it creates a space for the active participation in socio-political issues, despite the digital divide and lack of access to internet data.

I sampled two collections of Tweets, namely my first sample included the top 50 Tweets from 1 January 2017 until 31 December 2019 under the search term “International Public Arts Festival Cape Town”. My second sample used the same date search filter but looked for the term “IPAF Cape Town” to include any additional postings that may have been lost in the first sample because they only used the abbreviated term (IPAF) instead of the longer one (International Public Arts Festival). Since the term “International Public Arts Festival” is part of a broader international organisation, I included the words “Cape Town” in both searches to help streamline and localise my search results. After sampling the top 50 tweets that fell within my research timelines (2017-2019), I considered if any cross-platform posting had

taken place, specifically to Instagram and Facebook. This approach was used as the focus of the research question considers the discourse around these sites, which makes Twitter the natural place to start. I conducted a similar content analysis on each of the sample Twitter posts to determine key themes that were emerging in this reception space. The initial analysis coded for the following aspects:

- Date of Tweet
- If it contains an image
- If yes, then what is the content of that image
- Which user type posted the Tweet?
- What is the content of the tweet?
- Are there any links present?
- If so, what do they link to?
- How well engaged with are the Tweets in terms of:
 - Likes
 - Comments
 - Retweets

Twitter: Sample 1 (International Public Art Festival Cape Town)

After an analysis of my initial search, I found many of the Tweets contained images (78%) and links. Articles were the most linked content (36%) followed by links to Facebook posts or events (22%). Instagram was not widely cross-referenced. The most widely engaged with Tweets were from Twitter accounts that already had a large following, such as DA Premier Alan Winde, The Belgian Ambassador, The Art Times, and BAZ-ART itself²⁰. Once I understood what type of Tweets were generated around the International Public Art Festival, I wanted to learn more about what topics or themes the Tweets from my sample were engaging with. The first and second round of this coding activity occurred in the same pattern as the interview data from batch one. The results are as follows:

Theme of Tweet (Category 1)	Collective Theme (Category 2)
Awareness	Generating Awareness
2020 Festival awareness	
Event + Tour Awareness	
Artist Awareness	

²⁰ These results can be viewed in Appendix D of this thesis.

Event Awareness	
Sponsor awareness	
IPAF Awareness	
Artist and artwork feature	Artist Participation
Call for Artists	
Call for Journals	
Announcement of 2020 theme	Theme responses
Cape Town's response to crisis	
Creative Climate Cities	
Cape Town as Creative Climate Cities	
Covid 19 difficulties (support sector)	
Congratulations	Promotion
Safe way to see art	
Thread - value of public art	Public art
Public art connecting spaces	
Province as vibrant community of artists	Cape Town
Artist choosing Cape Town Space	

Table 11: Thematic Tweet code comparisons for Sample 1

Twitter Sample 2 (IPAF Cape Town)

When I typed IPAF Cape Town into Twitter with the same parameters I was not able to generate a top 50 tweets. Instead, only 39 tweets were available. I coded these tweets in the same way that I had with sample 1 and noticed the following:

- Most of the tweets did not contain images (61%), but many of them linked to Instagram posts (23%) where the original digital images were posted.
- There was less commercial and sponsor-based promotion, as most of the users who made use of the IPAF Cape Town hashtag were either the artists themselves, affiliate street art organisations or members of the public.
- The highest engagement on a single tweet was from a member of the public who retweeted two other tweets and then asked her friends to join her at the festival.
- There was also a smaller variety of themes and overall engagement with this data subset. This could be explained by the fact that many posts contained links to Facebook or Instagram posts, which could suggest that the engagement occurred on the original posts.

Here is the thematic coding of this data sample of tweets.

Theme of Tweet (Category 1)	Collective Theme (Category 2)
Awareness	Generating Awareness
Awareness of festival	
Artist awareness	
Artist & festival awareness	
Workshop awareness	
Mural awareness by artist	
Festival theme awareness	
Mural awareness	
VR Tour Awareness	
Artist	Artist
Sponsor	Publicity
Open Call for Artists	
Congratulations	
Artwork	Artwork
Street art	

Table 11: Thematic Tweet code comparisons for Sample 2

Twitter Findings

What immediately became apparent through the analysis of the initial Twitter samples for IPAF and International Public Arts Festival Cape Town is that this was not the space where most of the engagement took place. It appears to predominantly be used for promotional, awareness and publicity reasons. There is also very little original content on Twitter where the tweet is the primary post. Instead, many of the posts link to original Facebook or Instagram posts. Therefore, the next step in my data analysis was to consider the Facebook event pages for the 2017,2018 and 2019 IPAF festivals hosted by BAZ-ART.

4.1.4 Facebook Sampling and Analysis

To see what discourse was being created on Facebook. I examined the three event pages for each year of my sample. The data source was selected since it is publicly available, and a

large amount of online discourse happens on these event pages. These pages present a rare opportunity to study an accumulation of discourse related to an event, since individual posts are difficult to trace to private users. The event pages are shown below.

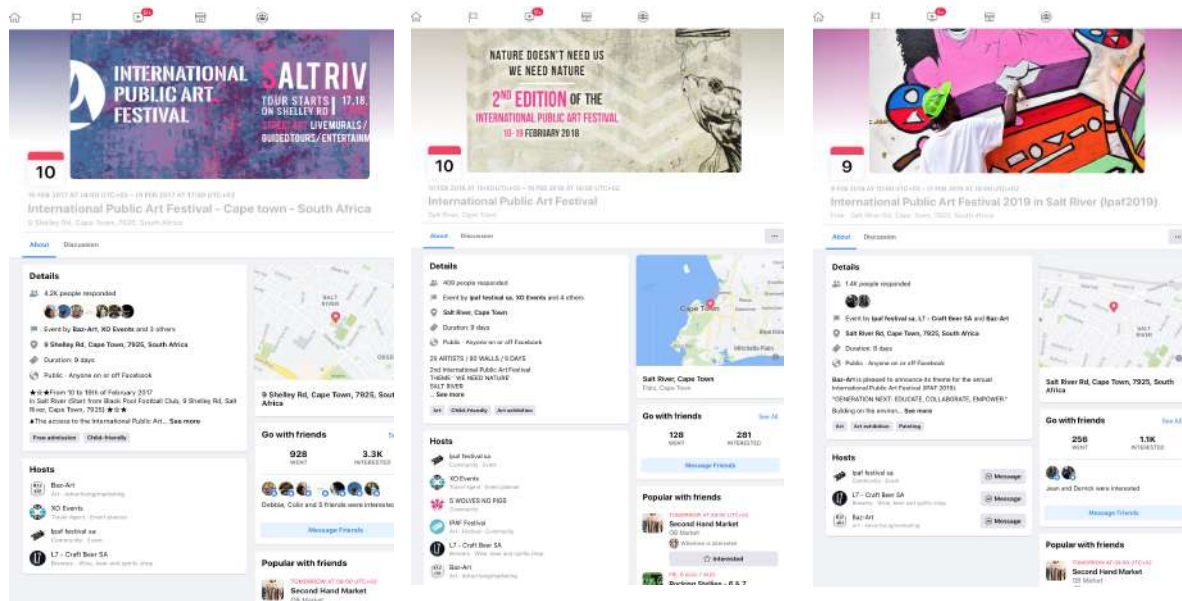


Figure 13: (From left to right) Facebook event pages for the IPAF SA Festival, 2017, 2018, 2019, (Facebook, 2021).

Each iteration of the festival took place in mid-February and had a different theme. 2017's festival was the launch of a self-titled festival. 2018's theme was "Nature doesn't need us. We need nature". This theme was a direct response to the 2018 water crisis and drought that occurred in Cape Town in 2018. 2019's theme was "GENERATION NEXT: EDUCATE, COLLABORATE, EMPOWER". For each iteration, both local and international street artists were invited to paint walls that responded to the theme for that year. The festivals involved talks, mural paintings, media events, guided street art walks through Salt River and street parties that took place at the end of the festival. The event posters for each year can be seen below.



Figure 14: (From left to right) IPAF Festival posters the IPAF SA Festival, 2017, 2018, 2019, (Facebook, 2021).

Facebook Findings

Typically, BAZ-ART would create the event pages when the festival theme was publicly announced and then post relevant information on the event ‘walls’ in the lead up to the events. It included community workshops, calls for artists, events within the festival and promotional material that included their sponsors. They would also post images and videos from the duration of the festival to these pages and ‘after-event’ memories that thanked sponsors. The event pages for each year housed each of the days within the festival when there were public events happening, typically the final weekend of the festival. People who were interested in the events could then respond ‘yes’ or ‘interested’ to any or all the relevant events. There were several important themes of discourse that emerged on the Facebook event pages. Besides for the BAZ-ART and Ipaf festival sa posts, people used the page as a place to tag other people, to share live streamed videos or to share content related to the festival. On the 2017 event page, there was a note that invited people to join in the conversation about their thoughts on the link between street art and gentrification after criticism had been waged against the event. The original discussion post has 41 comments, 5 shares and 2 likes. These comments are document in Appendix D and relate to a blog post by fersyndicate²¹. After Several local artists and members of the public started to ask the festival organisers questions, they were asked to attend the event to discuss these questions in person. The discussion around this matter is further elaborated on in the next Chapter.

²¹See: *The Gentrification of Graffiti* (Fersyndicate, 2017)

In 2018 most posts were by BAZ-ART, Ipaf festival sa, and the personal Facebook pages of Alexandre Tilmans and Melissa Cucci. Members of the public were predominantly tagging friends and asking about how the guided street art tours worked. The 2019 iteration also featured the same distribution of discussions but there was no further mention of the gentrification debate. This could be because the discussion stopped, was moderated or because it was happening elsewhere. One of my suspicions was that some of the conversation had moved to another space or platform, so I checked Instagram.

4.1.5 Instagram Sampling and Analysis

To clarify this suspicion, I did a hashtag search on Instagram of the publicly available posts that had been tagged with the #IPAFcapetown²². The difficulty with this as a reliable data collection method is that not all of the posts dealing with this would have been tagged under the hashtag (#ipafcapetown) or made publicly visible, so the data generated here cannot speak to larger conclusions about the issue. Furthermore, Instagram does not have the same filtering search capabilities as Twitter or Facebook, so the dataset yielded many irrelevant posts that did not fall within my sample criteria.

Once all the above data had been collected and analysed, I compared the different data sets to see what they suggested about the amount and nature of engagement around the festival. It showed me how the creation and reception processes were linked and that different platforms created a space for different types of engagement. These findings and thematic nuances are discussed further in the next Chapter.

Instagram Findings

Although it was difficult to gather a truly representative dataset, what this dataset did reveal is that most of the tagged and public posts were posted by festival artists, ipaf_festival_sa, photographers or members of the public who attended the events. Very few of the posts contained comments but many of them were widely liked. One of the most liked posts was by a French artist, Raphael Federici in 2017. This post was reposted a few times and the original had 467 likes. The subject matter of most of the posts contained either artworks and/or the artists.

²² To see this full data set please consult Appendix C

4.2 Johannesburg: Trinity Session's #ArtMyJozi

My approach towards the second case study followed a similar pattern to the first case study. However from the start of the research project, I immediately became aware of key nuances that influenced what data sets I included in this study. The data collection points for Case Study 2 looked different to Case Study 1 since the level at which the Provincial Government was involved in the creation process and the financial support of public artworks was very different. To be clear, The Johannesburg Development Agency opened public artwork projects to a tendering process, and also worked with interested government stakeholders, heritage consultants and affiliated organisations such as the Trinity Sessions, in redeveloping the Public Arts Policy. These policy redevelopment conversations took place in 2016 and were a result of the initial project discussions for #ArtMyJozi (Borton, personal communication, 2019, November 17). In this case, the process guided the policy, and not the other way around, as with Case Study 1. The policy documentation is therefore discussed at length in the next chapter as it forms part of the Critical Discourse Analysis findings.

4.2.1 Initial Data Collection

The City of Johannesburg manages the procurement, creation, maintenance and removal of public art work with the *City of Johannesburg Public Art Policy* which was first implemented in 2006 (Khan, 2020). The purpose of this Public Art policy is to:

promote good management of public art in Johannesburg, to encourage new forms of creative expression, to create opportunities for artists, and to provide for the ongoing maintenance of public art. The policy offers the rationale for the City of Johannesburg's Art in Public Places Programme, and identifies roleplayers, responsibilities, and procedures to be employed in launching and implementing this programme. (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy*, 2006:2).

Through a close analysis of this, similar themes emerged to case study one, yet they were discussed in a different manner.

- Funding Process
- Selection Process
- Maintenance of public artworks
- Artist support
- Heritage and Cultural Inclusion

4.2.2 Interview Sampling and Analysis

Instead of starting with the policy, I went directly to the City Officials, and then Trinity Sessions and then found the Policy. In a similar way to the first Case Study, initial inputs were analysed before the next round of data collection could occur.

The following people were interviewed in a semi-structured manner, and provided consent to be identified:

- Pauline Borton (Project Manager, Trinity Sessions): Early 30's, Caucasian, Female
- Tammy Stewart (Assistant Project Manager Trinity Sessions): Early 20's, Mixed-race, Female
- Lavinia Williams-Otto (Community Liaison and activist): Middle aged, Coloured, Female

I started off with the interviews because they reference various important concepts, documents and artefacts that are then followed up on in the next batch of data analysis pertaining to the case study. The route that the field trip took is shown in the email excerpt below:

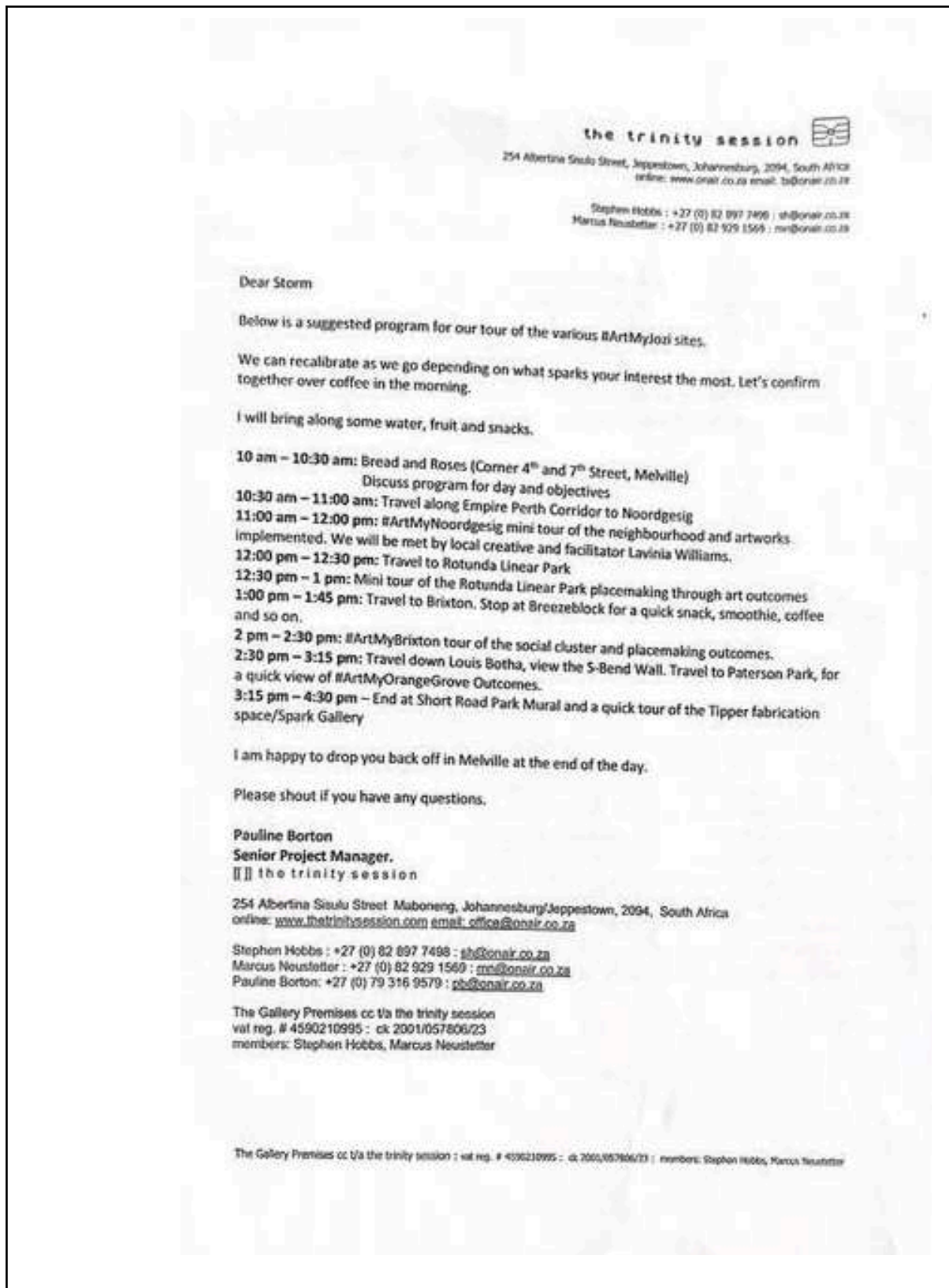
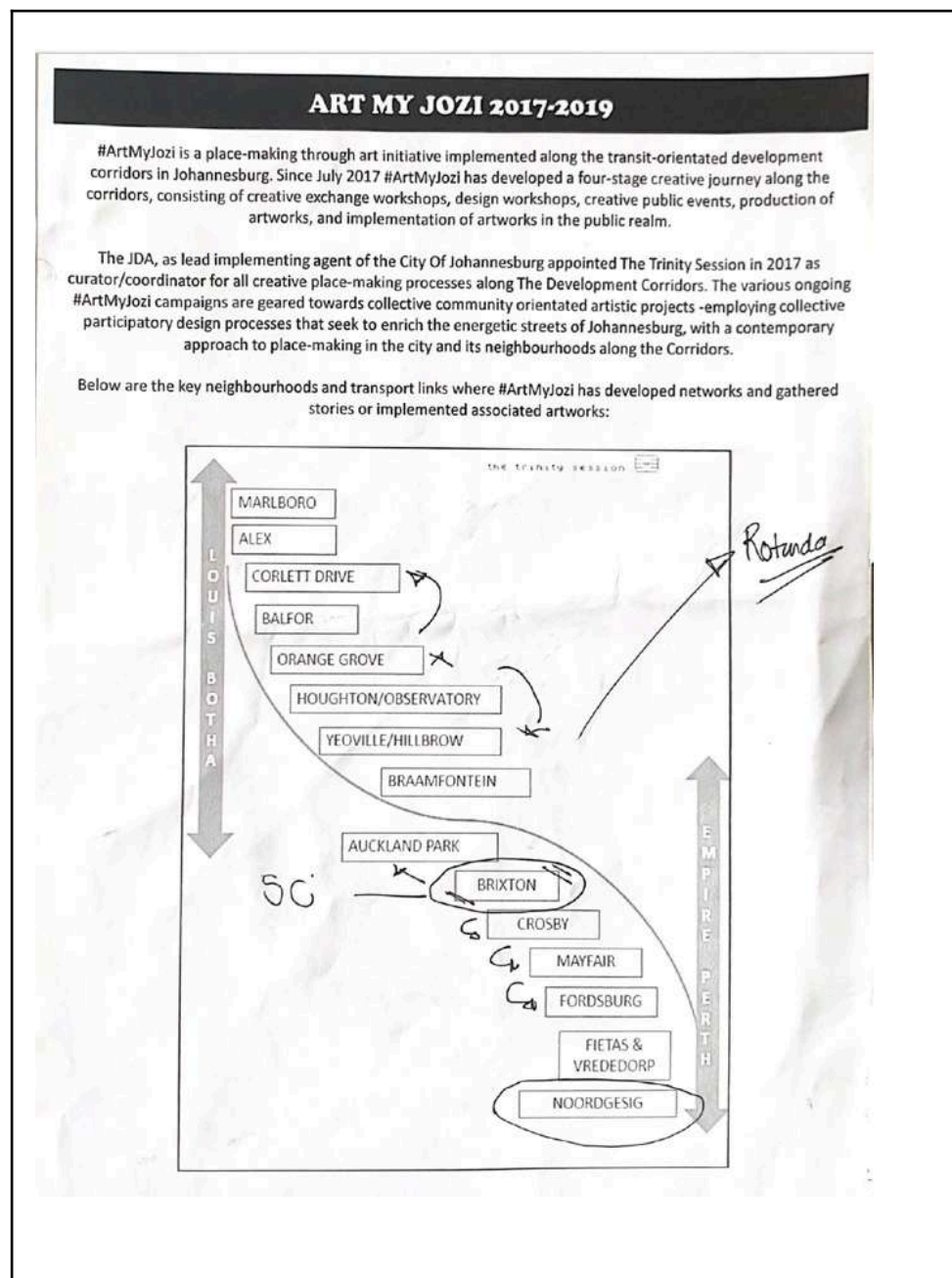


Figure 15: Itinerary for the #ArtMyJozi field visits (2019)

The map and development areas where the #ArtMyJozi projects are shown below. All of these sites are along the transit-orientated corridors for the Rea Vaya Bus Route upgrade

project that was discussed in Chapter One. These figures are included here because I travelled from site to site as we conducted field visits and collected interviews starting at Noordgesig and ending at the Tipper Road Fabrication Studios. The sites themselves are also directly referenced numerous times in the interviews.



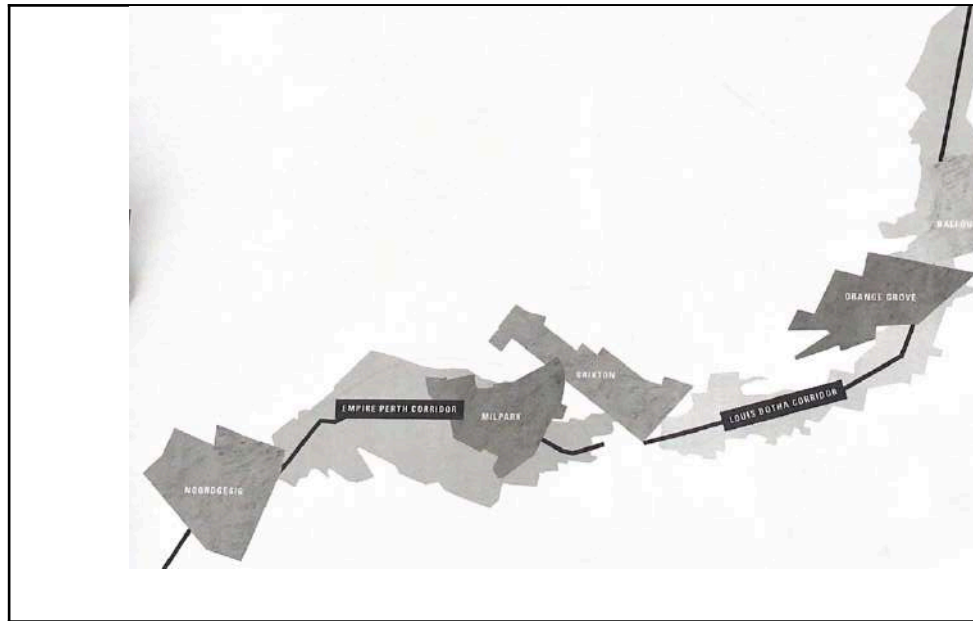


Figure 16 : #ArtMyJozi route shown in terms of areas (top) and against a map (bottom) (The Trinity Sessions, 2019).

The on-site interviews were carried out with the objective of understanding the creation process for the public art projects, which in turn meant the central tenants of the placemaking process. This included how the Public Arts Policy for Johannesburg shaped the initial engagement and understanding of what constitutes public art, how funding was acquired, how communities around spaces were engaged, who created the works and what influenced the works. Since the Trinity Sessions were largely guided by the placemaking approach, many of the placemaking themes such as community, process, storytelling, skills, and sustainability (all discussed above), were prevalent in the interviews. Through a thematic coding of interviews, the following key themes emerged across all 5 interviews:

- Project Context & Process
- Community Process
- Research Process
- Storytelling / background/ context
- Sustainability and upskilling

The various interview topics and subtopics are detailed here for each interview. The codes (code 2) that are shown below for each interview were obtained by grouping similar code 1 details into a larger umbrella category. The transcript details and coding process can be found in Appendix C.

Interview 1: Introductory interview

The introductory interview started the day off. It occurred in a café in Melville before any of the site visits and the aim was to provide context and background about Trinity Sessions and the #ArtMyJozi project. The interview covered the following themes:

- The Project Context
- The importance of Location
- The Trinity Session's Background
- Project Process
- Community Process
- Art as a polysemic tool to tell stories.

These themes were derived from the following topics.

Code 1	Code 2
● Project ● City ● Neighbourhoods needing upgrades ● Transit-oriented corridor ● Upgrade types	Project Context
● Map ● Townships and areas worked in. ● Map showing input and work ● Working with surrounding areas	Location
● Background / Context establishing ● Visual Arts background / degree ● Stephen Hobbs part of research ● Interview for PM position ● Council Chambers Project ● First year ● Lots of projects ● Steep learning	Trinity Sessions Background
● First year unsuccessful ● Go back a step ● Collect stories and narratives that are difficult to hear ● Travelling around Johannesburg Councils ● Purpose of project	Project Process
● Ask community to draw pictures ● Collecting information and stories from residents. ● Sharing a story ● Community ● Invite participation from community ● Neighbourhoods ● Process - sending out calls ● Process - working with community	Community Process
● Power of drawing a picture	Art as polysemic / stories

- Sad stories, tough realities
- Changed project focus

Table 14: Coding table for Interview 1: Introductory Interview.

Interview 2: About the Johannesburg Development Agency

The next interview took place in the car whilst we were on route to the first project site, Noordgesig.

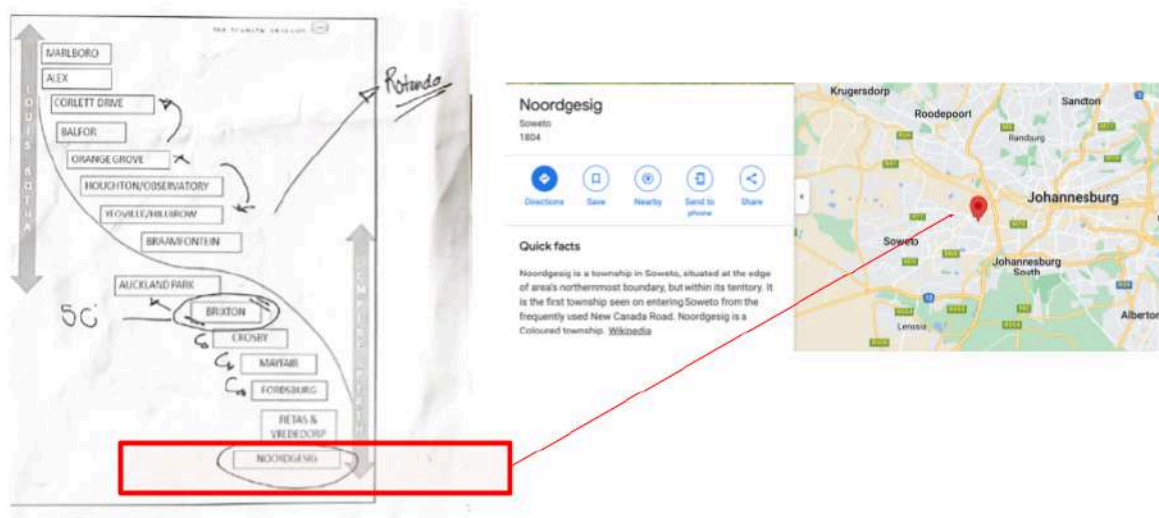


Figure 17: Infogram showing which stop the Noordgesig is (location for interview 2 and 3), as well as and where that is in relation to Johannesburg as shown on a Google Maps entry. (GoogleMaps 2022).

It is shown circled here in the diagram above, as the rectangle nearest to the bottom of the page. Please note that Noordgesig is also the location for Interview 3.

The focus of this interview was on understanding the link between the Johannesburg Development Agency, the Trinity Sessions and the #ArtMyJozi 's public arts project. The interview touched on the following themes:

- Public Art Policy
- Project Process
- Community Process
- Research Process

- Storytelling
- Public Space
- Artwork
- Placemaking
- Sustainability / Skills

These themes were derived from the following topics.

Code 1	Code 2
● Policy only discussed procurement processes ● Public Art Steering Committee ● Public art linked to regeneration or development area ● Accountability of looking after work ● JDA as client ● Develop new PIC ● Interested stakeholders ● Public art policy does not recognize community	Public Art Policy
● JDA and Trinity Sessions working history ● Delayed tender awarding ● Upgrade nodes have their own managers ● Placemaking - process over outcome ● Convinced managers to use parts of budget for people process work ● Time period late 2016-late 2019 ● Extended contract ● Process depends on where they come into the project. Ideal is right at the start ● Tender process necessitated through JDA procurement	Project Process
● Intentional focus on placemaking ● Community process ● Key stakeholders ● JDA has community liaison officer ● Conversations and activations ● Local heroes ● Community consensus	Community process
● Research process ● Working with history and heritage consultants ● Site walks ● Research needs ● Working with professional team	Research Process
● Storytelling and functionality ● Collecting information - pop up with sign ● Tell us a story ● Community gets involved ● Collect details in register ● Meet community members ● Ward councillors ● Murals in Noordgesig ● Types	Storytelling

• Specific murals mentioned • Explaining the location and significance of murals • Context stories • Bike bench inspired by bike boys	
• Working in public space • Representation	Public Space
• Social cohesion through work • Noordgesig context • Feeling invisible during apartheid • Making history visible • Creating a cultural identity • Artwork as functional • Use/ communication	Artwork
• Reveals community pain points • Placemaking	Placemaking
• Skills transference, education, • all skills are used • Creative Business Skills workshops for the community • Knowledge would find its way back into the community • Lavinia as an example of someone who has learnt skills and re-invested them in the community • Mama Glover story • Process of getting involved with the project and then Trinity Sessions • Flying house creative business skills course • Process • Upskilling • Sustainability	Sustainability/ Skills

Table 15: Coding table for Interview 2: About the JDA.

Interview 3: Noordgesig Community Member

This next interview took place in Noordgesig and involved a community member, Lavinia Williams-Otto, who had become involved in the #ArtMyJozi Project as a community member and then became one of the artists on the project. She worked with one of the local community heroes. Mama Glover, whose story features predominantly in many of the Noordgesig works. Lavinia first started working with the Trinity Sessions team when she stepped forwards to relay Mama Glover's Story (Borton, personal communication, 2019, November 17) From there, she helped with project administration and delivery before joining the Trinity Sessions Team and working on her own business plan (Williams-Otto, personal communication, 2019, November 17). This interview details how the #ArtMyJozi programme helped Lavinia and has enabled her to develop skills, build a business and tell her story. It highlights a personal example of the community involvement process. The interview touched on the following themes:

- Community Process
- Project Process
- Storytelling / Context / Background
- Sustainability / Upskilling
- Artistic Progression
- Digital Archives
- Research Process

These broader themes were derived from the following conversation topics that occurred during interview 4. These can be seen in the 'code 1' column below.

Code 1	Code 2
● Background & context - ● Workshop process in Noordgesig ● Artworks created ● Interview seen by community ● Children from the community learned about the history ● Temporary mural for residents ● Working with local suppliers ● Communities are largely aided by the church where the government can't step up ● Workshops held in church for the price of sponsored soup kitchen ● Work with communities continues in different way ● Maintaining community relationships ● Community networks ● Objection process to statue ● Residents did not want pavement to be dug up again ● Compromise: abstract mural	Community Process
● Community development as motivation for work ● Got help from Trinity Sessions ● Starting tour business ● Personal growth and development ● Blue plaques - heritage plaques ● Project length ● Trinity sessions does come back, even after the project ends ● Tour ● Multiple projects on at the same time	Project Process
● Context - Mama Glover ● Vegetable garden ● Provided food and shelter for the community ● Met Mama Glover in the Community ● Known by all ● Met the locals ● Captured stories ● Example - Uncle Greg ● Sharing legacy	Storytelling / Context / Background

• Community centre built by community • Artwork shows how it came to be • Long table story • Community heirloom • Used for all community events in every stage of life • History, generations living in Noordgesig • Murals interconnected • Invisible township • Why people return here • Architecture / context • Religion / context • History • Marker	
• What the workshop did for her • Low point in her life • Created confidence • Started off with artworks, moved on to site management and administration • Thankful to Trinity Sessions • Increased personal confidence • Trinity session working with Lavinia • Lavinia opening up her own wall painting business • Invaluable contribution • Trinity sessions helped out with glasses for Lavinia	Sustainability / Upskilling
• Artistic progression • SABC interview • Community enrichment through art / vs broken window theory	Artistic Progression
• Using #ArtMyJozi social media sites as digital archives • Complete digital archive is 8 TB	Digital Archives
• Consolidation process for checking history • Information from artist workshops • Against the broader community narrative	Research Process

Table 16: Coding table for Interview 3: Lavinia Williams-Otto

Interview 4: Rotunda Precinct (Linear Turffontein Corridor Park)

The next interview occurred at another project site, that spans the Southeast of Johannesburg. The setup was slightly different to Noordgesig, as the development work had already begun at this site before #ArtMyJozi got involved. The city was creating a linear park and brought on the #ArtMyJozi project to help beautify the space and involve the community in uplifting the space.

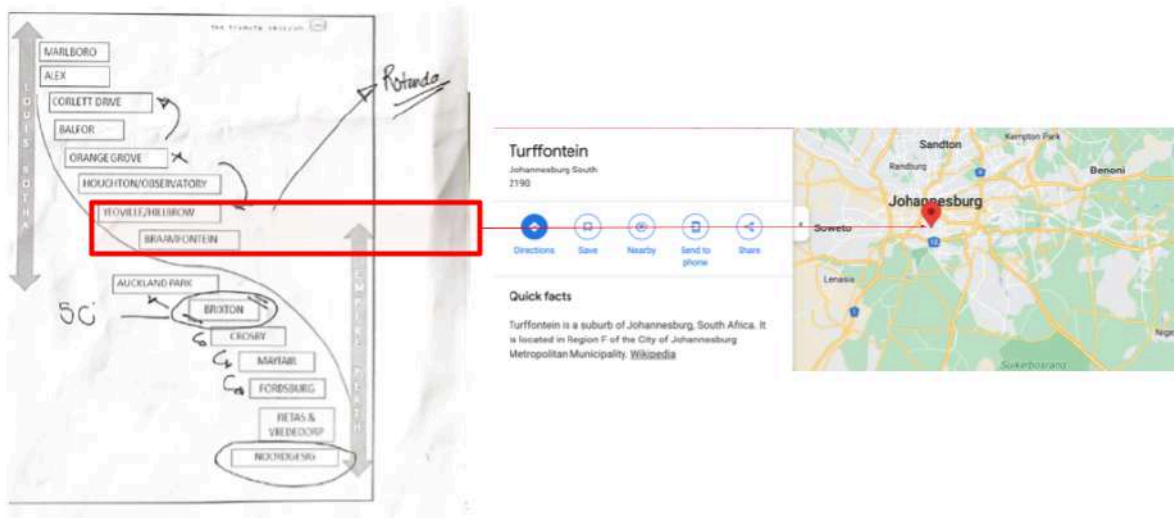


Figure 18: Infographic showing which stop the Turffontein is (location for interview 4), as well as and where that is in relation to Johannesburg as shown on a Google Maps entry. (GoogleMaps, 2022).

I spoke to the Project Manager about the process of working in the Turffontein community. We discussed how the process was slightly different to Noordgesig based on initial difficulties with community participation. However, the community has since made the space their own and collectively ensures its upkeep and safety, particularly for the school children that use the park as a pedestrian thoroughfare (Borton, personal communication, 2019, November 17). The broader themes that emerged in this interview were:

- Spatial Context
- Community Process
- Project Process
- Storytelling / Context / Background
- Design Process
- Trinity Sessions Context
- Public Arts Policy
- Digital Archive

These themes emerged from the following topics:

Code 1	Code 2
• Linear park • JDA Project involving transport • Road changed to suit park	Spatial Context
• Local creche involvement • Only 14 artists • Difficult to interact with this community • Children's contributions used as a legacy project • Community uptake and ownership of the project • Finding community hubs process • Southern suburbs club for Rosettenville • Meaningful interventions for the community • Skills development • Residents and artists spent most of their time in Rosettenville, • Change of scenery • Local business development • No objections from residents • Excitement • Local businesses supported them • Graffiti wall from past projects • Facilitate connecting community and the client	Community Process
• JDA project • Pedestrian thoroughfare • Safe space • Used a drone to map area • Specialised process and materials • Road paint used • Use considered • Materials • Suppliers who understand projects • Use graffiti-resistant paints • Funding • CC • Arts Projects • Other public arts programs • Work in other provinces in South Africa • Bus corridors • Commercial Commissions	Project Process
• History / context • Mining town • Location • Totem poles project • Artwork project picked up where other budgets ran out • Created by local artists to tell stories	Storytelling / Context / Background
• Design • Layers of meaning	Design Process
• Trinity Sessions Project manager • Trinity sessions employees • Involvement of founders	Trinity Sessions Context

• Commissions side • #ArtMyJozi • No other placemaking projects • Naming • Public art versus commissions • Sourcing local artists	
• Other public arts projects in JHB • Focussed on maintenance • Maintenance and heritage work • Needed by city	Public Arts Policy
• Social media as a form of preservation • Immortality from social media	Digital Archives

Table 17: Coding table for Interview 4: Rotunda Precinct

Interview 5: Brixton Recreation & Sports Centre

The last interview took place at the Brixton recreation and sports centre, which we visited whilst it was still a project site. Here the #ArtMyJozi team were involved right from the beginning and worked with the surrounding communities to ensure that this space could be a mixed-use sporting and recreational facility, particularly since the majority of the surrounding communities are Islamic and require gendered separation of change rooms and some of the facilities (Borton, personal communication, 2019, November 17).

The Brixton Recreation centre is situated in Brixton but also serves the communities indicated in the orange box in the graphic below:

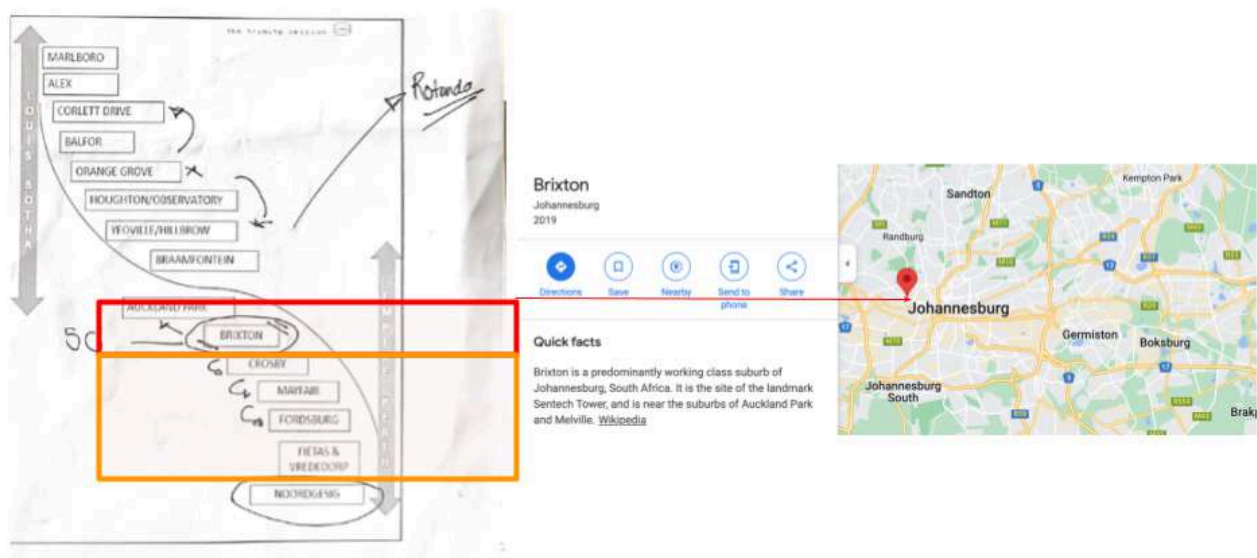


Figure 19: Infogram showing where the Brixton Recreation Centre is and the other communities it serves, and where Brixton is in relation to Johannesburg as shown on a Google Maps entry. (GoogleMaps, 2022).

This interview detailed the community process where the Trinity Sessions worked with a local NPO that helped immigrants from all over Africa. These community processes had to be much more nuanced and creative than the previous ones, as there was a language barrier between the Trinity Sessions team and the workshop participants. Therefore, non-verbal ways of storytelling were used in order to collect community stories and processes, which resulted in rich data that could then be translated into many different artworks (Borton, personal communication, 2019, November 17).

The broader key themes for this interview were:

- Project Process
- Storytelling/context/ background
- Community Process
- Artwork Process

These themes emerged from the following coded data:

Code 1	Code 2
● Project aims - Rea Vaya corridors	Project Process

● Break down boundaries ● Brixton context ● Location ● Other small towns involved ● Worked with community organisations ● Spice drawings from the workshop translated into artwork	
● Joined force with an NPO focussing on immigrants from Africa ● Language barriers ● Used art to communicate ● Food as a connecting force ● Broke bread together ● Spices as tangible conveyor of culture ● Weaving a carpet together ● Purpose of building ● Mural outside ● Layered ● Sports focus ● Destigmatize participation ● Islamic influences ● Inner city sports collaboration ● Strong female voices ● Painted in a texture like a sari ● Complex story ● Needs to be documented ● Focus on a figure in the mural ● Speaks about who can and can't do sport	Storytelling / Context / Background
● Objections to the mural ● Seen as exclusive ● Opened up a discussion ● Working with women	Community Process
● Somali words ● Abstract symbols ● Opens up debate ● Local supporter from Pre-school became involved in the mural	Artwork Process

Table 18: Coding table for Interview 5: Brixton Sports & Recreation Centre

Interview Findings

Overall, in each interview the following broader themes were present, which shows that they are key elements of all the different #ArtMyJozi projects, regardless of location or community participants.

	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5
Location	Coffee Shop, Melville	Car, en route to Noordgesig	Noordgesig	Turffontein	Brixton
Interview Topic	Introductory interview	About the JDA	Noordgesig Community member	Rotunda – Linear Park	Sports & Recreation centre
Code 2 themes present	The Project Context The importance of Location The Trinity Session's Background Project Process Community Process Art as a polysemic tool to tell stories.	Public Art Policy Project Process Community Process Research Process Storytelling Public Space Artwork Placemaking Sustainability / Skills	Community Process Project Process Storytelling / Context / Background Sustainability / Upskilling Artistic Progression Digital Archives Research Process	Spatial Context Community Process Project Process Storytelling / Context / Background Design Process Trinity Sessions Context Public Arts Policy Digital Archive	Project Process Storytelling/context/background Community Process Artwork Process

Table 19: Coding comparison table for all 5 interviews.

Key themes that were present in almost all the interviews was a discussion around the project process, a discussion of the process involved in engaging and working with the community and the process involved in collecting and understanding the stories and context behind the artworks. These main discourse themes are explored in the next chapter. However, I was also interested to see if the online discourse replicated these physical space findings or if they looked different, because of what had happened in the physical space.

4.2.3 Twitter Sampling and Analysis

Since the community engagement that occurs with the #ArtMyJozi Project is directly with the communities in which they are working over an extended amount of time (as prescribed by the Placemaking approach), the engagement on social media looks very different.

Firstly, some of the most relevant and significant Tweets were only posted in the year 2020 or 2021 once the projects were complete and various governmental agencies as well as the public were invited to do a tour of the works. This means that by the time the works were placed on social media, most of the surrounding physical communities had already been engaged and were either working on the project, had contributed to it, or were at the very least aware of it. This also falls in with #ArtMyJozi's approach of using social media as a "digital archiving tool" (Borton, personal communication, 2019, November 17). Many of the posts that fell into the original search criteria (2017-2019) were from local businesses, government, or community members. There were a limited number of media awareness posts (8%). Therefore I had to adjust my date range for these posts and broaden the scope of my sample to see what type of content was posted after the projects were completed.

4.2.4 Facebook Sampling and Analysis

In a similar fashion, almost all of the posts on the #ArtMyJozi Facebook pages are by the organisation itself, or cross-posting from the Trinity Sessions Facebook page. The organisation uses the longform posting format of Facebook to include important information and pictures about their different works over the years, as well as a space to announce related events such as Open Streets, Art Walks in Jozi, and other developments happening in the ArtMyJozi Project sites. An example of this is shown in the screenshot below, where the progress works of the orange Grove site are shared along with some explainer text. The content is cross-platform posted (and replicated) between the #ArtMyJozi Facebook and Instagram page. An example of this is shown below.

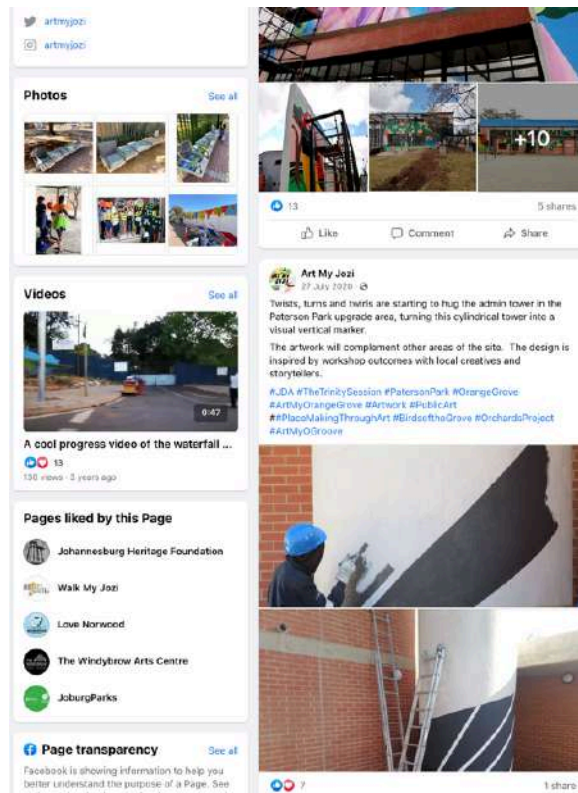


Figure 20: #ArtMyJozi Facebook Page (Facebook, 2022).

4.2.5 Instagram Sampling and Analysis

When I searched for the #ArtMyJozi tag on Instagram, over 500 posts appeared. I sampled the first half, which is 240 posts. Most of the content generated under this hashtag was created by #ArtMyJozi or the Trinity Sessions, or even Stephen Hobb's personal account and then tagged. There were a small number of artist and photographer photos, blogger posts (2Summers) as well as companies that had worked on the #ArtMyJozi projects. Some community groups such as *I Love Norwood* and *Brixton Beautiful* also featured.

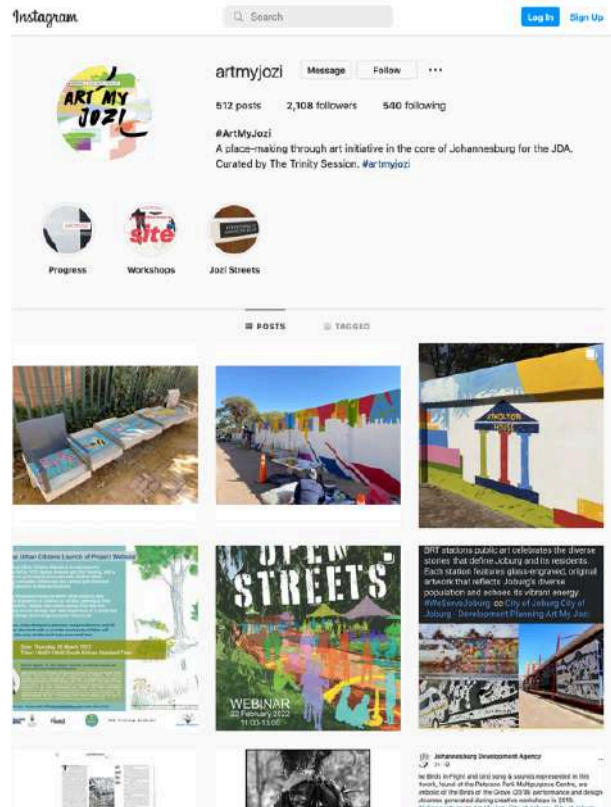


Figure 21: #ArtMyJozi Instagram Page (Instagram, 2022).

What this collection of data showed me is that the type of content and the audience that emerged in these spaces were predominantly community-focussed and spent time talking about the artwork creation process and the surrounding community. There was a great emphasis on heritage, community, location and the use of art as a storytelling tool to help beautify an area and provide s a functional purpose. Through this process, several community networks developed and key members of the community were upskilled through the process. This idea featured heavily across all data collection sites. Equally, most of the discourse around any announcements or awareness posts occurred in the physical location of the project during my sample range.

4.2.6 Overall Social Media Findings

As noted in the methodology chapter, the data range for this selection did not yield many results as the primary social media data was only produced after the projects were wrapped

up. The few instances where social media was used were for audition calls or resident calls. During the projects, the Johannesburg Development Agency sent out a few Press Releases in relation to the Rea Vaya BRT Project. After the Projects, ArtMyJozi had media days where they invited the press, members of the community and government officials to sites of the projects. Social media posts were generated from these events and are discussed further in the Discussion Chapter. The above findings point to Social Media being used as a Digital Archive across all three social networking sites, instead of a space for discourse generation. As it can be seen from the vast amount of data and findings in the interviews section above, the majority of the discourse happened in the physical location of the projects and therefore was not initially mediated in other online spaces. This finding is noteworthy. It showcases the dependency between physical and mediated spaces. More so, how the internet changes and broadens the public space that visual communicative practices operate in, since the “internet and related technologies have created a new public space for politically oriented conversation...” (Papacharisi, 2002:9). However, just because the internet creates a new public space, this does not mean that it “transcends to a public sphere [as this] is not up to the technology itself” (Papacharisi, 2002:9). Instead, the nature of the visual communicative practice and the process through which it has been created shapes the public sphere that then responds to that work.

4.3 A Key Discourse - Public Art

In the previous chapters, the key themes of media and space (physical and online) have been explored through the research object, visual communicative practices²³ that are created in South African public space. Now that the reason for and background of the research has been established, and the methodology explained, this research intentionally moves away from the term ‘visual communicative practices’. This has been added to the findings and analysis chapter because it signifies a key break in the research trajectory. It is now time to investigate the convoluted semantics of the word public art, particularly in a South African context. This is discussed here as both case studies intentionally use the term ‘public art’ and refer to themselves as public art projects. It is through this naming that a large amount of meaning

²³ Up until this point, this research has specifically used the term ‘visual communicative practices’ to refer to a broad range of visible practices that communicate a message. This term has been used to avoid unnecessarily excluding any visual practices from this research regardless of their status as art or their link to aesthetic ideals and cultural understandings. A term-specific approach can also be limiting in terms of disciplinary and methodology focus. However, for the purposes of these discussion chapters, the term ‘public art’ is intentionally used as some of the elements of discourse that are discussed are as a result of the use of the term public art, even though each project has a vastly different understanding and application of the term.

making, and discourse generation occurs. The vaguely understood nature of the practice, particularly in South Africa, means that it has become a complicated and broad field. Oppen (2010:45) goes on to explain this:

in its broadness, [public art] comprises a range of work that infiltrates and inhabits urban, peri-urban and rural sites (and the various landscapes in between), mostly outside of the commercial or institutional spaces of galleries or museums. By virtue of its almost endless scope and contexts, it is pluralistic and multi-layered in the range of readings it enables and asks of its diverse public(s).

In this way, conversations about the creation, necessity and validity of public art become proxies for larger conversations about public space, and the public(s) that occupy those spaces. In the Literature Review, it was noted that the use and control of public space transforms according to the public that occupies it (Landman, 2018:8). This occupying public then gains control over the narrative and boundaries of this public space, and largely lands up creating, negotiating or destroying that space for all other publics. Kilian (1993) explains this when he noted that public urban space is linked to the politics of power, identity, and social control. Therefore, studying the processes through which public art is created in public spaces reveals the mechanisms through which public space is controlled and negotiated.

4.4 Summary

This Chapter has detailed the data sampling and analysis present at each meaning-making site in the two different case studies. The data collection and process for this study has necessarily been iterative and therefore this Chapter discusses the sampling strategies alongside the analysis methods and then subsequent findings. These findings are discussed at length over the next two chapters, where the key discourse themes and processes involved in the creation of visual communicative practices shape the direction and development of each practice. Therefore although similar methods are used for each case study, the processes and results are not comparable. This is due to the symbiotic relationship of each meaning-making site to its previous and subsequent site, which has already been demonstrated in this chapter.

To elaborate, even though both public arts projects occur over a three-year period in South African public space, there are distinct differences. For instance, each project is set up and works with the City Government in its own way. This is a result of the different policies and by-laws that guide the conception, permissions, creation, and maintenance process for public art within each city. It should also be noted that the first case study, BAZ-ART's International

Public Arts Festival is an annual festival in Cape Town. Whereas the second case study, Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi, is a three-year public arts development project situated in the broader Johannesburg area around the transit-oriented corridors of the Rea-Vaya Bus upgrade route.

These key differences between the two projects already indicate that there is not a common shared meaning around the term ‘public art’ and how it should be created. The difference in meaning results in different types of projects and processes that play out in South African public space. It is for this reason that I have broken up the subsequent discussions into two chapters. One for each case study. These two discussion chapters are not created for comparison, but rather show the interconnected relationship between all sites of meaning-making, within different parameters. They show how every site of encoding alters the outcome and reception of the project in an interconnected way. Each case study presents a particular example of why the various sites around a public artwork and public space should be collectively studied, as they develop a more comprehensive picture of the contributing factors to discourse creation in South African public space.

CHAPTER FIVE –DISCUSSION I

The previous two chapters detailed the overall research methodology as well as the analysis methods and initial findings of this study. By analysing what types of audiences engage in the different spaces for discourse, as well as how much engagement takes place and what the surrounding discourse is, one can begin to establish how each of the public spaces around visual communicative practices function. Furthermore, by closely examining the discourse, several key moments of influence are highlighted in the creation process. For instance, the development process, government involvement, and community involvement are all highlighted as significant contributors to the surrounding discourse. These ‘sites’ for discourse are now explored in the subsequent discussion chapters where a levelled MediaSpace framework is applied to help interpret the findings.

The first discussion chapter presents the findings of the first case study, The International Public Art Festival presented by BAZ-ART in the City of Cape Town. The chapter specifically focuses on the selected sample years of 2017-2019. This Discussion I chapter presents the findings for case study one in a thematic and categorical way. The thematic categories that this chapter covers are:

- Policy & By-Laws
- Official Definitions (Semantics)
- Official Perspectives
- BAZ-ART
- Online Publics

By separating out each ‘meaning -making site’ that occurs within this timeframe and through the creation process, it determines where each element of discourse emerges from, and how that prevalent discourse theme carries through into the next meaning-making site, until it reaches a completely different online space. These broader themes are detailed below.

5.1 Meaning-Making Site One: Policy & By-Laws

The discussion starts off at a policy level since this is the guiding framework that outlines the process for the conception, creation, and maintenance of artworks in public space. Within both Johannesburg and Cape Town, the policies are created by regional governments and

involve the input of various stakeholders. Understanding how the policies are set up and what they mandate provides important context into how BAZ-ART sets up their public art projects and works with the city, and how the city regulations shape the space in which these projects are conceptualised and delivered. The data that is discussed at a policy level are:

1. The City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework (2016)
2. The City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law, publicised in the Western Cape Government Gazette in 2010.
3. City of Cape Town Government Official Interviews

5.1.1 City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework (2016)

The City of Cape Town Public Arts Management Framework is the policy which governs the development of public art in Cape Town. Before it was created, Stephen (2010:18) speculated that it would be “interesting to see what the city considers the ‘purpose’ of public art, because this will inevitably affect the forms and subject matter that make it into the public realm”.

The City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework (PAMF) was drafted in its current version (version 2) in 2016 by Albert Webster and Managed by Zayd Minty (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016). This framework outlines the City’s approach to the permission, acquisition, and maintenance of (temporary or permanent) public art works created in and around the greater Cape Town metropolitan. The desired outcomes for the document is stated as follows (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016:s4):

1. Clarifying the roles of key stakeholders related to public art.
2. Directing the City of Cape Town to support public art.
3. To create clear and simple permitting processes for artists and arts organisations.

Strategically, the document is aligned with two key ideas that are listed as priorities for the City of Cape Town. Firstly, it aligns with the Integrated Development Plan for a “well-run, caring and inclusive city” (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016:s4). Secondly it aligns with the policy on Arts, Culture and Creative Industries where it aims to create mechanisms to ensure governmental support and capacity for the Cape Town creative industry (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016:s4). These aims have been translated into the public art permissions process for all public artworks.

Intended Outcomes of the City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework

There are three outcome areas which the policy sets out to achieve, namely, clarifying roles relating to public art, directing city support for public art and lastly, a clear, simple permitting process (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016: s3). If these outcomes are referenced against the Measurement and Evaluation section (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016: s13), the only outcome area that is measured is the last one. To explain, *The City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework* details that measurement and evaluation for the policy will be determined by a quantitative measure relating to the number of permits processed, issued, and declined.

The two other evaluation criteria included in this list are the public perception, which is collected by media feedback and online surveys, and the variety of different public art genres present in the city (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016: s13.1). Thus, implying that if the overall permit count is high, there are good media reports and the public who are sent online media surveys have provided optimistic feedback about the range of public artworks in Cape Town, then the policy has succeeded. However, the gaps that were discussed earlier on in this section (process and funding) align with section 3.1 (clarifying roles relating to public art) and 3.2 (directing City support for public art) and are not specified in sufficient detail in this framework. Therefore, the *City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework* is not a “standard operating procedure”, but rather a permissions process document. This has shifted focus away from the creators creating the work and the process that they need to follow to create meaningful works in Cape Town public space, and instead placed the emphasis of the process and the *City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework* (2016), on the permissions process and legal status of a work. These two areas are explored further below.

5.1.2 City of Cape Town Public Art Permissions Process

The PAMF notes that it “details the standard operating procedures relating to public art matters within the jurisdiction of the City of Cape Town” (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016:s5). However, it does not detail the specifics of who can deliver public artworks or how these artworks should be conceptualised, how public spaces should be worked in, and the relevant communities engaged. Instead, it presents a very specific permissions process for how individual creators or organisations can obtain

permission from the City of Cape Town to create, commission or gift a public artwork to the city. These ‘artworks’ are divided into three distinct categories (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016:s4):

- Temporary works (accessible for a short period of time, up to 2 years)
- Performative works (a live performance such as busking)
- Permanent works (outside works that are accessible for a longer period that exceeds 5 years and include a maintenance plan).

For all public artworks (temporary and permanent), the permit process is long and requires the creator or organisation representing the creator(s) to present a variety of documents to the Department of Arts and Culture including the artist’s CV, support letters, artwork specifications, proposed funding, and maintenance plans of the artworks as well as other documents²⁴. The City of Cape Town does not fund or tender for these projects but it does require oversight and the necessary permissions to deem the work legal and compliant with the current *City of Cape Town: Public Art Management Framework*. It does not note what should happen after permission has been granted for an artwork other than the fact that it is the responsibility of the creator to maintain the work (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016: s8). The permissions process for different types of public artworks in the City of Cape Town are detailed below:

²⁴ The full list can be found in section 8.3 of the *City of Cape Town: Public Art Management Framework*, page 82.

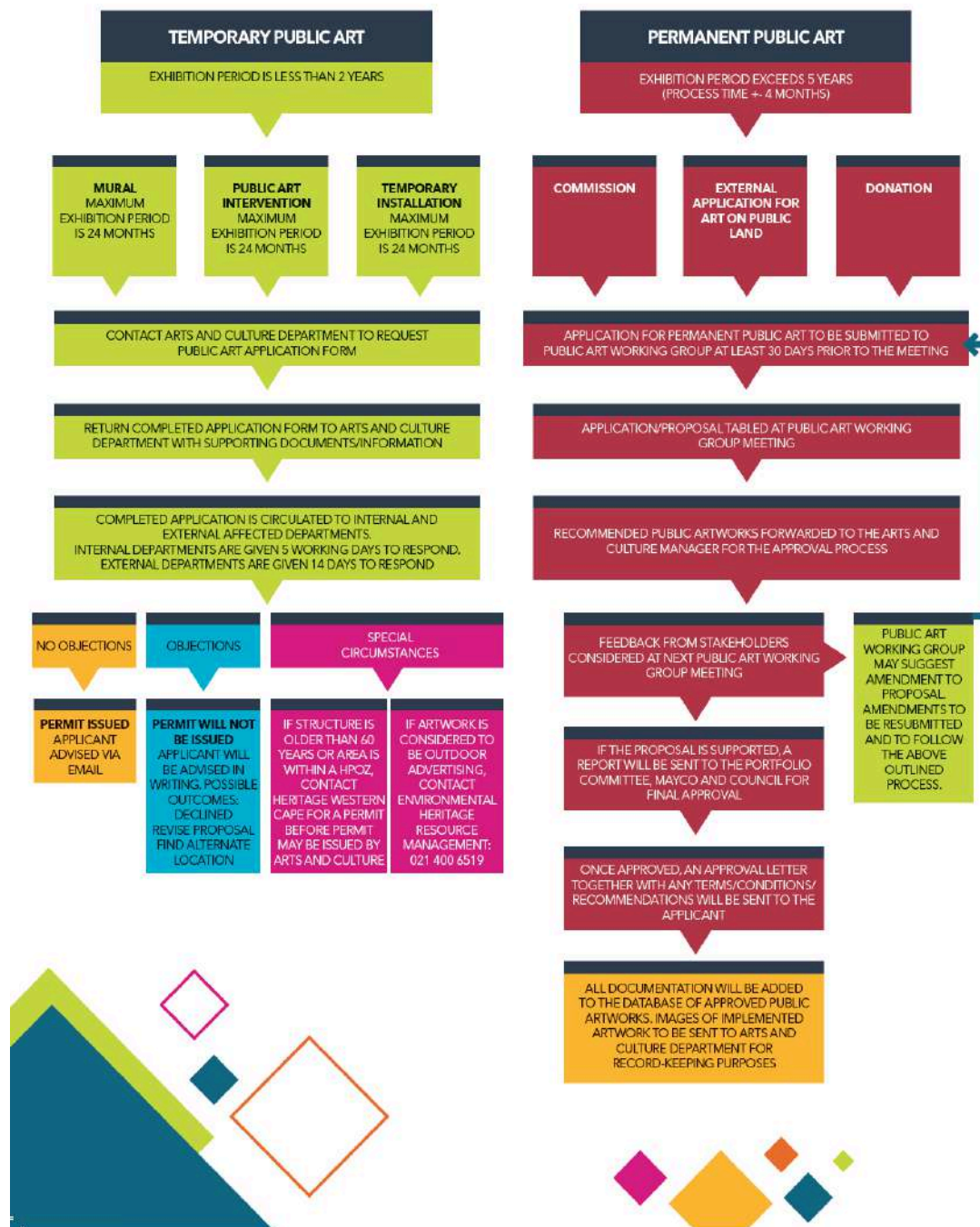


Figure 22: Public Art Application Process for Permanent and Temporary Works
(City of Cape Town, Public Art and Busking Guidelines, 2019)

This infographic illustrates the practical steps involved in the permissions process for both permanent and temporary works in the City of Cape Town. At the beginning of the process, it is the responsibility of the creator of the intended work to submit a completed public arts application form and supporting documentation. Only once the artwork has been approved (either by the internal and external departments or by the Public Art Working Group), can the

creator source funding and then create the work. If the work is not granted the necessary permissions or it does not follow the correct procedure, then it is considered illegal according to The City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework (2016:s2) this is enforced by the 2010 City of Cape Town Graffiti By-Law, which the next section explores in more detail.

5.1.3 The City of Cape Town Graffiti By-Law

Up until this point of the discussion, it has been detailed how graffiti is the antithesis of public art, and it is condoned as it is illegal. However, it does not detail why it is illegal. The answer to this can be found in Section 7 of the *City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework*. This section lists all the regulatory policies and By-Laws that have a direct bearing on the creation of public artworks in the Cape Town City space. These are shown below:

7. REGULATORY CONTEXT

The following policies and by-laws have direct bearing on the management of public art.

Policies

- City of Cape Town: Policy on Arts, Culture and Creative Industries, 2014
- City of Cape Town: Memorialisation Draft Policy, 2014

Legislation

- City of Cape Town: By-Law relating to Streets, Public Places and the Prevention of Noise Nuisance, 2007
- City of Cape Town, Events By-Law, 2009
- City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-law, 2010
- City of Cape Town: Informal Trading By-Law, 2013
- City of Cape Town: Management and Administration of the City of Cape Town's Immovable Property By-Law, 2003
- City of Cape Town: Outdoor Advertising and Signage By-law, 2001 as amended in 2013
- City of Cape Town: Traffic By law, 2011

Figure 23: City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework, Regulatory Context (City of Cape Town: Public Art Management Framework, 2016:s7).

One of the key pieces of legislation that relates to why the City of Cape Town considers graffiti to be problematic and why it has therefore been made illegal is the *City of Cape*

Town: Graffiti By-Law, publicised in the Western Cape Government Gazette in 2010. To clarify, the *City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework* (2016) and the *City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law* (2010) use the same definition for graffiti and are therefore referring to the same practice. The justification for making this practice (graffiti) illegal in Cape Town is detailed through the preamble, which states that:

WHEREAS the City has, in terms of section 156(1) read with Part B of Schedule 5 of the Constitution, the right to administer the control of public nuisances, billboards and the display of advertisements in public places; WHEREAS graffiti affects the quality of life of all residents and visitors, and constitutes a public nuisance which damages the image of the City known worldwide for its beauty and makes it a less desirable place to visit, live and work in; AND WHEREAS the City wishes to provide for the removal of graffiti on both public property and private property, the restoration of such property and the protection of public and private property from acts of graffiti vandalism (*City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law*, Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010:1093).

According to the City of Cape Town, graffiti is a public nuisance to public visible space, much like billboards and outdoor advertising, and that it “affects the quality of life of all residents and visitors...” (*City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law*, Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010:1093). How quality of life is affected through graffiti is not detailed specifically. However, the preamble does note that the aesthetic appeal of the City is compromised through graffiti, as it makes the City of Cape Town “a less desirable place to visit, live and work in” (*City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law*, Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010:1093).

To avoid non-compliance with the By-Law, artists are required to follow the permissions process laid out in section 9 of *The City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law* (Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010:1095). The process involves creating a sketch of the work, detailing the intended size, materials used, and “gathering the written consent of the owner of the property, surrounding property owners and any other interested and affected parties” (*City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law*, Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010:1095). This documentation must be combined with the public art permit form and submitted to the relevant authorities. If the specified process is not followed, then failure to comply with the By-Law will result in the following:

- 2) Any person convicted of an offence in terms of this By-law shall— (a) upon conviction for a first offence be liable to a fine of R15 000- or 3-months

imprisonment; (b) upon conviction for a second offence or subsequent offences, be liable to a fine of R30 000 or 6 months imprisonment, or to both such fine and such imprisonment. (3) In addition to a penalty contemplated in subsection (1), the convicted person may be liable— (a) to pay an amount equal to the cost or estimated cost of removal of the graffiti from the affected property, and where the cost of removal of the graffiti from the affected property has been borne by the City or by the owner of the property, to pay the amount so ordered to the City or to the owner, as the case may be; (b) to a further penalty deemed appropriate by the court in default of payment of the ordered amount to the City or to the owner of the property, as the case may be. (4) In the case of a continuing offence, the person convicted shall be liable to any additional penalty the court may deem appropriate. (5) A court convicting a person of an offence under this By-law may impose alternative sentencing as an appropriate penalty. (*City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law*, Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010:1095)

According to the by-Law, artists can avoid non-compliance with the law by ensuring that they follow the correct permissions process and are part of the City of Cape Town artists database of mural artists (*City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law*, Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010:1095). According to the City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law, Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette (676, 2010:1095), artists can eventually become self-permitting if:

- (i) the artist has obtained approval for at least five consecutive applications submitted by him or her in terms of section 9;
- (ii) the artist is a registered member of the Visual Arts Network of South Africa (VANSA); and
- (iii) the artist has no previous conviction for malicious damage to property or any offence relating to graffiti.

However, self-permitting artists do still need to obtain written permissions from the building owners. They are only required to carry their permit on them when creating works around the city.

5.1.4 A discourse centred around permissions

The City of Cape Town's Public Art Management Framework (2016) presents a permission process to be followed by creators for the creation of temporary and permanent public artworks in the City of Cape Town public space. It is discussed as a permission process as this is the primary measure of its success or failure as described by the Measurement and Evaluation Criteria (*City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework*, 2016:s7). The success of the City of Cape Town's Public Art Management Framework (2016) is quantified

by permit numbers for a variety of public art forms and through selective audience surveys. Although it is promising to see that the Framework includes recognition of media reports, it is not clear how these are measured and evaluated. Furthermore, the City of Cape Town's Public Art Management Framework (2016) does not detail much outside of the permissions process, and presents noticeable gaps around funding, the use of public space, and community engagement. With regards to funding, Hobbs (2010:18) explains that whilst the City of Johannesburg has a mandate for building projects over R10 000 000 to commission a percentage towards public art that rejuvenates the city, the City of Cape Town does not. Thus, if the government is to fund public art projects, it should do so entirely from its own budgets and departments. In the past, this has largely resulted in public art projects that add aesthetic value with some interaction, but that do not challenge public space. Hobbs (2010:18) further notes that

This is a problem, because while urban rejuvenation is a definite, positive spin-off from public art, promoting any partisan view of positive values should not be a prerequisite. Any future policy should allow both money and ample conceptual space for quality artworks. In the interim, private sponsorship.... Offers another avenue for taking art to the people.

This quote highlights that when funding is not made available and public space is only engaged with in terms of aesthetics, it means that the level of community engagement and the appropriation of public space is left to the discretion of the highest commercial bidder. In this context, site-specific community involvement strategies are not considered in the same way that they would be by the government. It also allows creators of works to not have to engage with communities beyond the permissions process.

5.1.5 Permissions are necessary to avoid graffiti

The 2010 City of Cape Town Graffiti By-Law is the legal mechanism that makes graffiti illegal in the City of Cape Town. The By-Law is justified through the preamble, which describes graffiti as a form of visual clutter that degrades the quality of life of people in the City of Cape Town and makes the city less of a tourist attraction (*City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law*, Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010:1093). The difficulty with this vague preamble is that it also implies that if the conditions for graffiti are: 1.) any work that is not aesthetically pleasing and 2.) any work that has not been permitted by the City. According to this line of thought, graffiti is not differentiated in form or intent from other

visual communicative practices occurring in Cape Town public space. Although this is not uncommon, as many international scholars have also noted graffiti and graffiti writings' lack of boundaries, it presents a problematic conundrum for policy makers and law enforcement as it becomes difficult to make laws and enforce behaviours about a fluid practice. To explain this fluidity, Brighenti (2010:316) notes the interstitial nature of graffiti:

Graffiti writing is a field whose definition is problematic for a number of reasons. To begin with, it is difficult to identify its boundaries. Writing interacts and often overlaps and interweaves with the fields of other practices. It cannot always be clearly separated from a number of other practices, including art and design (as aesthetic work), criminal law (as vandalism crime), politics (as a message of resistance and liberation), and market (as merchandisable product). Because no official and universally agreed-on definitions of all these boundaries exist, writing appears as an interstitial practice. An interstitial practice is precisely a practice about whose definition and boundaries different social actors hold inevitably different conceptions. It is interstitial because, when we look at it from the perspective of one of the different social fields just mentioned, writing seems to be located precisely in a residuum of one of those fields.

The interstitial nature of graffiti as a practice and the City of Cape Town's problematic definitions in terms of policy enforcement mean that any work created within the City of Cape Town that is not considered aesthetically pleasing and has not followed the City's permissions process can be considered illegal and an act of vandalism. The inverse is also true - if a work is approved, it no longer compromises quality of life or presents a public nuisance to the residents of the City of Cape Town. This work is sanctioned by the government, and now becomes an artform. Therefore, the role of the *City of Cape Town's Public Art Management Framework* (2016) is to ensure that permission processes are followed. When this process is correctly followed, then the City of Cape Town permits artworks to be created in its public spaces but is not directly involved in the process. This reveals the true motive of the Framework, in that it was created as a mechanism to enforce all visual communicative practices and performance practices occurring in Cape Town public space to adhere to the 2010 Graffiti By-Law and required permissions process. In fact, before 2011 when the first draft version of the City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework was created, Stephen (2010:18) noted that the Graffiti By-Law was presented in its place as a public arts policy.

5.1.6 Where does meaning-making site 1 leave us?

This strangely convoluted argument around the permissions process does not provide any real insights into why public art should exist in a city, nor does it explain how its antithesis (graffiti) diminishes quality of life beyond aesthetics. It reveals very little in terms of the creation process and accountabilities. However, it does emphasise how ‘artwork’ can come into existence without being deemed illegal. But what is meant by artwork? In order to answer this question, I re-examined the official definitions and naming practices of graffiti, street art, public art, and any other associated forms for the purpose of clarification. I wanted to know about the different forms that an artwork could take in the City of Cape Town in order to be deemed legal and to be encouraged towards the permissions process. A close analysis of the denotative and connotative implications of each of the terms can reveal how the discourse around different practices and forms are created. The next meaning-making site considers what the official definitions of these practices are. It also considers what the implications of the discourse generated by *City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law* (Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010) and the *City of Cape Town’s Public Art Management Framework* (2016) are. It explores how the definitions provided by the policy and By-Law differentiate between different practices. These differentiations can be examined to reveal what art forms the City of Cape Town considers to be ‘good’ and worthy of being created in public space, and what forms are not allowed or encouraged.

5.2 Meaning-Making Site Two: Official Definitions

The term ‘public artworks’ conveys a specific connotation for the City of Cape Town. Exploring the semantics of how the City of Cape Town defines different visual communicative practices within Cape Town public space reveals the broader attitude of the government towards public space and the practices that are and are not permitted to occur within it. *The City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework* (2016) exists to manage the permissions process around practises that it considers to be public art. As the Literature Review detailed, public art is a practice that considers both context and audience to “question the hierarchical and hegemonic nature of cultural exchange and the corresponding monologue from artist to audience in pursuit of a more dialogic understanding of artistic methodology” (Clements, 2008:19). In other words, public art should exist to question how public space is constructed by those in power, and how artists can use this visible platform to

speak to a public audience whose views have been considered. If this definition of public art is compared to that of the City of Cape Town, a very different understanding of public art starts to emerge. The City of Cape Town defines public art as:

“Public art” means artwork or design elements that are either temporarily or permanently located in a public space. Public art also seeks to create and inspire relationships and communication and can be a form of collective community expression that enhances the built or natural environment. It may take various forms, including but not limited to sculpture, paintings, murals, mosaics, land art, photography, digital technologies, performance pieces and busking (City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework, 2016:s1).

According to the definition above, the City does not consider the role of public art to “question those in power” or to “serve as a placemaking tool”, nor does it say anything about public involvement beyond the public being “inspired” by the artwork created in public space. It also does not indicate the commissioning or permissions process.

Where this definition becomes exceedingly more problematic is how the City of Cape Town differentiates public art from other outdoor visual communicative practices. These differentiations can be seen in the table below where it becomes apparent that a key factor between public art and other outdoor visual communicative practices is that public art is considered an “artform” and it is permitted (unlike graffiti which is not associated with the word artform in its definition). This same definition also notes that graffiti should be considered as such due to the fact that “it has not been authorised by the City” (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016: s1). The two tables below expand on this argument. The first table details how The City of Cape Town Public Arts Management Framework (2016: s1) defines the different practices:

Term	Definition
Graffiti	“Graffiti” means any one of or a combination of any inscription, word, sign, symbol, sketch, picture, drawing, mural, design, figure or letter, other than a figure indicating a street number or letters indicating a house or building name, that is applied to any natural surface or man-made surface on any property which is visible to a person from a public place and which has not been authorised by the City.
Mural art	“Mural art” means art applied directly to a wall, fence or structure, which has been approved by the city by way of a permit or art that has been applied to a designated wall.

Public art	“Public art” means artwork or design elements that are either temporarily or permanently located in a public space. Public art also seeks to create and inspire relationships and communication and can be a form of collective community expression that enhances the built or natural environment. It may take various forms, including but not limited to sculpture, paintings, murals, mosaics, land art, photography, digital technologies, performance pieces and busking.
Public Interventions	“Public interventions” mean temporary public artworks erected in public spaces. This may include, but is not limited to sculptures, exhibitions, land art, photographs, street furniture, street lighting, yarn bombing and interactive art installations.

*Table 20: City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework Definitions
(City of Cape Town: Public Art Management Framework 2016:s1).*

The second table breaks these definitions down further to understand key differentiating factors between practices that might otherwise seem similar. If each of the definitions are broken down further (as demonstrated in the table below) the form, permanence, and legality of each of the terms can be clearly distinguished. In other words, it becomes evident that the terms are latently differentiated according to these criteria. Of note is that the term ‘public art’ includes an objective or goal. In other words, it is created with purpose in mind which is to “create and inspire relationships and communication and can be a form of collective community expression that enhances the built or natural environment” (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016: s1). Although, it does not specify how this process happens. None of the other terms are given a purpose within the PAMF. These findings can be seen in the table below:

	Form	Permanence	Goal/ Objective	Legality
Graffiti	inscription, word, sign, symbol, sketch, picture, drawing, mural, design, figure, or letter			Not authorised by the city
Mural art	art applied directly to a wall, fence or structure	Permanent		Authorised by city through way of a permit
Public art	artwork or design elements that are either temporarily or permanently located in a public space take various forms, including but not limited to sculpture, paintings,	Permanent	Create and inspire relationships and communication .	Yes

	murals, mosaics, land art, photography, digital technologies, performance pieces and busking		Form of collective community expression that enhances the built or natural environment	
Public Interventions	public artworks erected in public spaces. This may include, but is not limited to sculptures, exhibitions, land art, photographs, street furniture, street lighting, yarn bombing and interactive art installations.	Temporary		Yes

Table 21: City of Cape Town Public Art Management Framework Definitions broken into categories, (City of Cape Town: Public Art Management Framework (2016:s1).

By breaking the definitions up, key defining criteria are made evident for each term. Public art is clearly defined by denoting its differences to the illegal practice of graffiti. Since graffiti is presented as the antithesis to all acceptable artforms in the City of Cape Town, a closer examination of this term and its surrounding discourse and reveal the implicit attitude of the City of Cape Town to how public space should be governed. This discourse largely pertains to how graffiti is created, and not what form it takes. These discourse themes are examined in more detail below.

5.2.1 Discourses created at this meaning-making site.

Discourse one: Graffiti is not different in form, just legality

All of the definitions in the City of Cape Town: Public Art Management Framework (2016:s1) use the terms “symbol, sketch, picture, drawing, mural, design” (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016: s1). However, these terms are also used in the definition of graffiti. This implies that according to the City of Cape Town, graffiti does not take a different form to mural art or public art for instance. However, even if the form is the same, it is not considered to be an artform as discussed above. Instead, the only way that graffiti is differentiated from the other practices through form is that it can take a writing or letterform practice, noted in the terms “inscription, word, sign, symbol” (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016:s1). These terms are not included in any other definitions.

Discourse two: Graffiti indicates unsanctioned ownership

However, the lettering inclusion presents a further complication as the definition of graffiti highlights that the act of denoting the name or street number of a residence or business is exempted from being considered graffiti - even if it is not permitted (*City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework*, 2016:s1). Typically, house numbers and business names are used to denote ownership of a space, in a publicly visible way. What is being said here is that graffiti has the ability to demarcate ownership of a space – particularly when occurring in a letter format. If a demarcation of space occurs that the City of Cape Town considers subversive or improper, it is labelled graffiti.

Discourse three: Graffiti is bad, everything else that is permitted is good

If these two elements of discourse are placed together, they present insight into the official view of the City of Cape Town on graffiti. According to this view, graffiti is any unsanctioned work that can sometimes contain lettering. It is not an artform and it contests ownership of public space. Every other public visual communicative practice is therefore considered an artform, provided the correct permissions processes have been followed. However, if this line of logic is followed, then the City of Cape Town's insistence that public art means permitted art, would nullify the statement that public art would be able to degrade an urban space as noted in *City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law* (Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010). Keeping this understanding in mind, I then wanted to see how these definitions were practically understood by the officials who make the rules about them.

5.3 Meaning-Making Site Three: Official Perspectives

For the next meaning-making site, I wanted to know how the officials responsible for representing the City of Cape Town understood street art, graffiti, and public art as visual communicative practices. I also wanted to understand how they thought that the creation process occurred between artists and the City, and what types of practices they engaged with in public space. A critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used here, as it can reference some of the themes from previous meaning-making sites, and further inform the broader discourse by including the latent attitudes and beliefs of those in power. These insights provide important context as to how the policies and practices surrounding street art, public art and graffiti are created, maintained, negotiated, and upheld. I conducted this CDA on two key interviews,

namely with Mayoral Spokesperson Mr Greg Wagner and Executive Mayor²⁵ of the City of Cape Town, Alderman Dan Plato. I have organised the responses detailed in this section around key discourse themes.

5.3.1 Street art versus public art

When I interviewed the Mayoral Spokesperson, Greg Wagner, he described himself as “a huge street art fan” (Wagner, personal communication 2019, November 8) who has travelled the world to snap pictures for his Instagram page. Throughout our hour-long interview, he referenced his personal Instagram page and interest in street art on multiple occasions²⁶. When I asked him how he differentiated street art from public art and graffiti, he provided this answer:

I think public art is a more... open, uh, more collaborative type of art or street art generally more individualistic. I mean these days there are a few murals that are done in collaboration but generally it's a very individualistic type of approach and they'll find a space that they want to open up with a mural. And graffiti, well some people classify that street art and graffiti as the same thing, but I think there might be a move with the growth of beautiful murals that street art has gone on to show. Graffiti is now considered different, it's less appealing and its less wanted. Whereas street art is something that does get received well (Wagner, personal communication 2019, November 8).

Although this is an individual answer, it adds another dimension to what distinguishes the three practices from each other. Mr Wagner's distinction of public art being a more collaborative practice than street art, shows that he is already aware that public art requires more than just a single artist's input. Although, he does not specify who this additional input should come from or what form it should take.

5.3.2 Street art versus graffiti

Mr Wagner did have strong and specific views about the aesthetic criterion of works that appear in public spaces: “I've been to some cities and there's just tagging everywhere, and it looks awful. On Heritage buildings. Just black squiggles and imagery that doesn't say anything doesn't communicate anything doesn't mean anything. I don't know if its gang tags or what it is” (Wagner, personal communication 2019, November 8). What becomes clear

²⁵ The interviews were conducted in 2019. At that time, Dan Plato was the Mayor of the City of Cape Town and Mr Greg Wagner was his Mayoral Spokesperson.

²⁶ See Appendix A

from this is that although the definition of public art is vague, Mr Wagner does not consider street art and graffiti to be similar. However, this viewpoint is somewhat contradicted in the quote below, when I asked Alderman Dan Plato how he differentiated between the different practices. He said that “graffiti is known to be word-based and street art image-based. In the City of Cape Town, both these terms are considered as ‘mural art’. In terms of obtaining permission for mural art, it needs to follow the City’s public art permitting process.”

The definition provided here does not reference aesthetics, but it does group street art and graffiti under the umbrella term of *mural art*. This definition is at odds with the definition provided in the City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework (2016:s1). The City of Cape Town Public Arts Management Framework considers mural art as “art applied directly to a wall, fence or structure, which has been approved by the city by way of a permit or art that has been applied to a designated wall.” However, it has already been discussed that graffiti is *not* permitted and therefore illegal, so it cannot fall under this category. Although it is credible that both practices could be mistakenly placed together as they are both applied to a wall – the way in which this happens (legally versus illegally) is a key defining factor of the permissions process as laid out in the City of Cape Town Public Art Framework (2016:s1).

5.3.3 Aesthetics versus permissions

Once again, both street art (and surprisingly public art) is drawn back to the permissions process. This process, alongside the aesthetics criteria are key to avoiding the intentional creation of graffiti. Graffiti can also be unintentionally created if the correct processes are not followed. To ensure that this does not happen, Mr Wagner suggested that creators in and around the City of Cape Town engage more with the government, regardless of whether they are creating street art or public art:

I think if the street artists themselves engage with government or City Representatives, they might be surprised how accepting the officials are of public art and street art and so on. But I think part of the nature of street art is a somewhat rebellious type of nature so there might not always be the desire or the willingness to engage with government because its kind of like – I can put art up where I want. And that can be met with some shortcomings – you know, you could have so many more opportunities. If the government was more involved, you know. Because there is legislation about defacing properties and so on, and it might clearly be a beautiful piece of art, but in terms of regulations and if it hasn’t been sanctioned as such then, ja – you

could be accused of spray painting or, you know, defacing. (Wagner, personal communication 2019, November 8)

This quote does make a clear statement about legality being the ultimate criteria, even over aesthetics. It also seems that both street art and public art can be legal. According to Mr Wagner, street artists are just less willing to engage with the government, which would infer that that is why their work is more “rebellious” and not always legal. If legality is the primary goal, why does the City of Cape Town still refer to street art at all? It seems that the answer has more to do with its international status than it does its form or legality.

5.3.4 Street art is international

When I asked Alderman Dan Plato what his views were on street art, he provided the following quote:

I think well placed and carefully considered street art is a fantastic way to not only beautify an environment but also to attract the attention from people who otherwise wouldn't have visited that community. This creates opportunities for small businesses to open up and for the community to take advantage of the interest being shown in their neighbourhood, especially from tourists who travel around the world to come and see street art. I also think street art provides a platform for talented artists to market their skills and open up new opportunities for themselves. And just to be clear, I'm talking here about the beautiful murals you see around Cape Town, not the ugly tagging that defaces buildings, this is why we need regulations in place to ensure that public art improves and doesn't degrade urban spaces (Plato, personal communication 2019, November 8).

Once again, the underlying and latent criteria for differentiation between street art and graffiti is revealed as aesthetics. However, it also brings to light another dimension around using the terms street art, public art and graffiti. Street art is associated with the added lure of attracting the attention of internationals who have a big interest in street art and who travel around the world to come and see street art. It's a way to market the city and attract people's attention" (Plato, personal communication 2019, November 8). This aligns with Lemanski (2007:451) earlier observation about how South African cities, particularly Cape Town, focus on making “the city marketable” rather than to solve the city's problems. By focusing attention on improving the image and financial powerhouse of the city in order to compete in the global economy, other aspects of the city are either neglected or their needs become superseded by the dominant global agenda”. Street art, according to the definition provided above, meets this criterion of an aesthetic practice in public space that boosts the image of Cape Town to international tourists, without requiring direct financial support from the City.

This global agenda is further iterated when I asked Mr Wagner about some of the street art in Cape Town and he noted the recent commissions by the Belgian Consulate and explained the process: “So there, you actually have government agencies – international government agencies- facilitating street art that represents their country, that is a piece of their country that are they giving to another one - it’s really great.” (Wagner, personal communication 2019, November 8). This statement suggests that South African public space is available for other countries to use to represent themselves, and that this approach is heralded by the government who see these practices as tourist attractions. Since it primarily attracts an international audience and is not made for the local public of that space, there is not the same expectation of “collaboration” or “community empowerment” placed on the practice of street art, as there would be for public art.

5.3.5 Theory versus practice

Previous chapters have discussed the form, function, and role of different types of visual communicative practices operating in public visible space. However, the way in which these practices appear to be understood, enforced, and carried out practically in the City of Cape Town public space seems to bear little resemblance to these ideas. From the above statements and the definitions provided, it becomes clear that the functional aspect of art created in the public domain is not understood beyond wide-ranging visibility and aesthetic appeal (physically and online) of high-profile murals.

The confusing way in which public art and all interrelated practices are thought about by the City Officials, and the lack of internal agreement about what public art is, and what it does, particularly in comparison to other artforms, creates a murky legal and procedural process. It also prioritises an artform (street art) that is not always aligned to the permissions process stipulated by the government. Instead, street art is chosen as it positions the city as an international tourist attraction with murals from all over the world surrounded by natural beauty, thus bolstering the image of the City of Cape Town. Street art’s sole purpose is not to beautify an environment or attract people – it is to question the nature of public space. In this capacity, street art is unable to fulfil a key function of public art, which is to “integrate with [its] surroundings and serve as a placemaking tool” (Wacławek, 2011:65). Wacławek (2011:65) explains that although street art and public art deal with the nature of public space,

the way in which that happens is not the same. She notes that “illegality, motivation, medium and place of diffusion are the foremost aspects that differentiate street art from public art. While both public and street art necessarily explore the very meaning of public space, the nature of that interaction is different” (Wacławek, 2011:65).

Public art is different from street art in that it has a more functional and collaborative role that is necessitated by it appearing in the public domain. Public art should be more than just permitted by the City, the City should be directly involved in its funding and creation process to ensure that works are created for the public good and tell stories that are relevant to the broader public that occupy that space. Although Alderman Plato did clarify that “artists are required to engage with the community, especially if it is a community project” (Plato, personal communication 2019, November 8), this was not specified or even mandated anywhere at a policy level. Here, public art is somewhat equated to street art, and again, the narrative of “permitted works become art, and non-permitted works are illegal and degrading to the City” is presented.

The only evidence that I was able to procure from the City of Cape Town was a call for submissions²⁷ to paint murals in Mitchells Plein. The call required artists to provide their own concept and materials but provided walls where owners had granted permission for the artists to paint. According to traditional definitions, this is not a public art project, as the artists are not supported by the City other than through the permissions process. This would suggest that The City of Cape Town is creating a street art permissions process instead of a public artworks programme. The implications of this are that they would not be responsible for the creation and implementation processes surrounding works in the City of Cape Town public domain beyond providing permission. This leaves the rest of the creation and delivery process up to the determination of a single creative to comply with the extensive permissions process, or for a third-party organisation to step in and facilitate the process between government and artists. This is the space from which BAZ-ART was created.

²⁷ See Appendix E

5.4 Meaning-Making Site Four: BAZ-ART

The direct implication of the *City of Cape Town: Graffiti By-Law* (Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 676, 2010) and the City of Cape Town: Public Arts Management Framework (2016) means that besides for the permitting role of the City of Cape Town, no other roles within the artworks creation process for public space are clearly detailed. It is not even clear what is and is not the responsibility of the artist or creator of the work besides for compiling detailed documentation and navigating the permissions process.

5.4.1 A middleman to navigate the permissions process

As artwork project planning and creation cannot happen until the initial step of the permissions process has been successfully completed, many artists and creators have not been able to create works in Cape Town City space. They have mostly been dissuaded by the large amounts of administration. According to BAZ-ART Co-Founder, Alexandre Tilmans (Personal communication 2019, October 30) the International Public Art Festival was founded to help artists navigate some of the government ‘red tape’ and assists the participating artists in compiling all the necessary documents to gain permission for their intended works:

my first thoughts - and it confirms why Baz Art exists- is that as a single artist on your own is very difficult to apply for such tenders. I mean we have, there's been four tenders last year issued by the City of Cape Town. We won two, we didn't participate in one and we lost one. The amount of paperwork you have to fill and the amount of compliance and regulation. It's not only like just a tax clearance certificate. It's that you have to show that all the stakeholders have paid their municipality bills (Tilmans, personal communication 2019, October 30).

He further notes how “discouraging” this process can be for individual artists and that “unless there is a platform that is going to help with this, then [artists] get left behind” (Tilmans, personal communication 2019, October 30). Tilmans also referred to how prohibitive the City of Cape Town Graffiti By-Law (2010) can be for artists wanting to create work in public spaces in Cape Town. He explained that it hindered artists as they had to get “authorization from the owner, the neighbours and the city [and get] those three to agree on what you're going to paint which kills a bit of the spontaneity and make things a bit difficult because you need signatures you need paperwork” (Tilmans, personal communication 2019, October 30).

It was out of this realisation that BAZ-ART was created, as a “middleman” of sorts, between the City of Cape Town and individual artists who wanted to create work. BAZ-ART describes its dual mission as:

Baz-Art was founded in November 2016 with the primary objectives of creating a platform for street artists to make a living from their art and regulating the industry. We aspired to become the most prominent street art platform in Africa by producing art in public spaces while meeting the marketing demands of our clients (BAZ-ART 2022).

This mission touches on two important points that were mentioned earlier. Firstly, the BAZ-ART mission places artists at the forefront and provides a space for them to effectively navigate the permissions process and, secondly, for these artists to advertise their services in public space, in order to make a living. Through this process, BAZ-ART is able to effectively sell public space as a commercial and advertising product through the creation of artworks. These artworks are created by street artists who would struggle to navigate the permissions process without the facilitation of BAZ-ART. In turn, BAZ-ART offers these artists exposure to potential commercial clients so that they may gain sponsorship and future commissions to make a living.

BAZ ART’s commercialised response to public space and their championing of local artists over communities is necessitated by the construction and enforcement of the City of Cape Town: Public Art Management Framework (2016) and the City of Cape Town Graffiti By-Law (2010). With so much emphasis placed on the permissions process, artists struggle to navigate creating works in public space without the assistance of BAZ-ART. However, since neither the Public Art Management Framework (2016) nor the Graffiti By-Law (2010) has specified the form of supported works should take (besides not being graffiti) or what should happen in creation process, or how public space should be engaged with, this has been left to the interpretation and discretion of BAZ-ART and its commercial sponsors.

5.4.2 A public art festival for street art

Earlier on, the lack of clear differentiation between different practices at a policy level, and the criminalisation of graffiti was referenced. The implications of the convoluted and sometimes contradictory definitions that the City of Cape Town provides, filter down to the projects that BAZ-ART runs. To elaborate, the mission of BAZ-ART specifically refers to street artists, yet the annual street art festival that they run in and around the City of Cape

Town is called the International Public Art Festival. When I asked Tilmans about this naming, he responded that:

So public art as it states, is public, and belongs to the public. So, it is difficult to just display something immediately and carry on with your life. So, in order for public to take ownership you need to include [them]. And I think it was one of your questions in the early beginning. And um, it's the reason why we call it International Public Art Festival and not Graffiti Festival. It's that - Yeah is that because of it was banned, well because street art or murals were banned and the perception of the public was bad because people were thinking - graffiti tagging, destroying. By taking the counter approach and calling it public art suddenly it needs to appeal to the public. So it's a public piece, needs to be appreciated by the public and by saying art you consider everyone as an artist, you don't make a distinction of, well with regards to the background of that person is that person is street artist? Is he a graphic designer? Is he a calligraphist? It doesn't actually matter. Is he a ceramicist that paints on the wall? He's an artist. And so by saying that first you get the city accept it and say oh if it's public art, it's cool (Tilman's, personal communication 2019, October 30).

Tilman's observation about public art belonging to the public aligns with what the theory referenced earlier on in this research. However, public inclusion does not happen through a naming practice. It takes more than creating a work in a public space to inspire public ownership and collaboration. Public inclusion requires intentional and pre-meditated efforts to include the public surrounding the area for the intended artwork at large. These efforts should be sustained throughout the creation process and long after the artist has finished the work. This reveals that the naming of the festival is motivated by semantic association and public/government perception. The changed naming does not perform the function of public art as it does not engage the rational (or irrational) conception of space that was mentioned earlier on this research. Instead, Tillmans' second point of intentionally not using the word "graffiti" or "street art" due to the banning of these practices reveals the true motivation for the naming of this festival – government approval and acceptance. Tillmans aptly describes this point by noting the difference in reception to these two different statements "can we come and do graffiti on your wall? Or can we come and do an artwork on your wall? It's a completely different word and perception" (Tilman's, personal communication, 2019, October 30).

However, it is also worth noting here that by adopting the name "International Public Art Festival" this annual festival becomes a Cape Town edition of an international collection of festivals that occur worldwide. Therefore, The International Public Art Festival (IPAF) is

named as such since it links to a larger organisation and community also known as The International Public Arts Festival, which is based in Montreal, Canada. The South African iteration to which this research refers is called *ipaf-sa*. This international link and association align with the City of Cape Town’s agenda of creating a “world-class tourist destination”. Therefore, although the renaming of a street art festival might initially seem ill-suited to public art, when this piece of discourse is examined alongside the discourse of the City of Cape Town, it makes sense that the connotation is anti-graffiti and pro-international tourist appeal. However, although the two iterations of the festival might carry similar names, their focus is different. This is perhaps nowhere clearer than on the Facebook pages for each iteration. The IPAF International page lists its page category as “art” whereas the Ipaf festival sa lists its page category as “Community”.

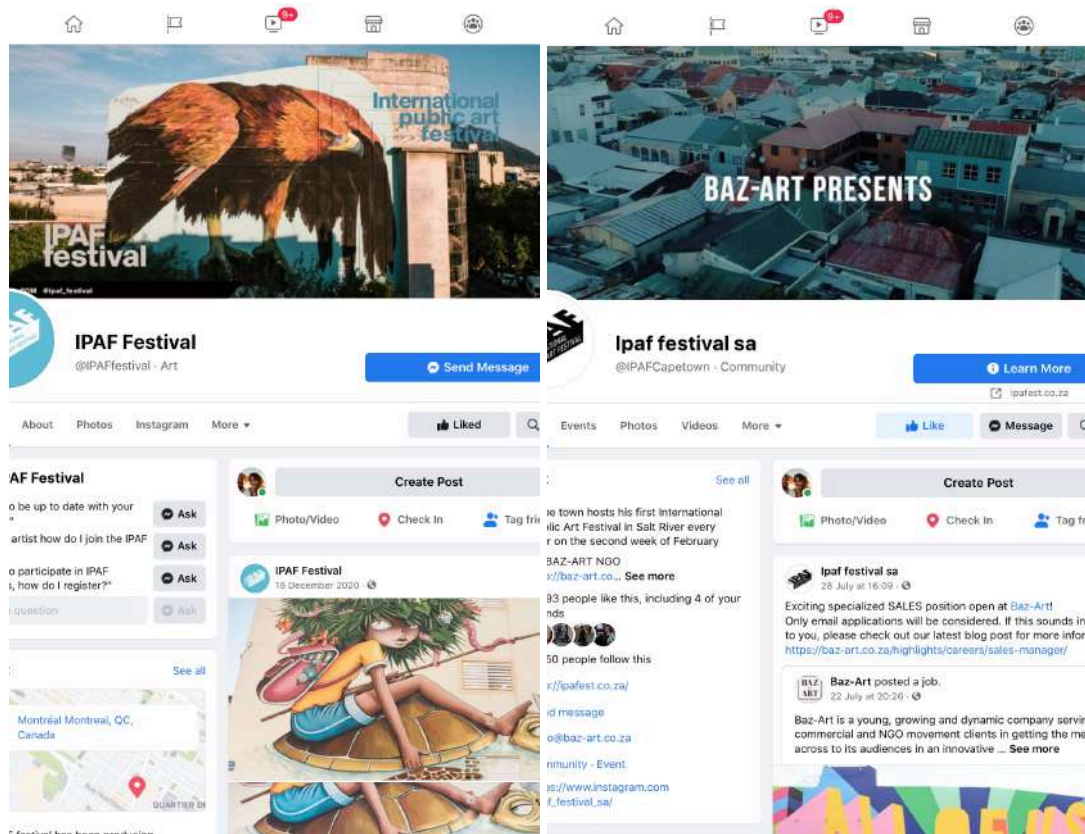


Figure 24: Facebook Screenshots from left to right, IPAF Festival (international page) and the Ipaf festival sa, (Facebook, 2020).

These two pages highlight the differing contexts of each iteration of the IPAF. By stating art is the focus of the first page, a community of people who are interested in art land up gravitating towards the page. However, by placing ‘community’ as the focus for the South African iteration and then noting that there is a sales position opening up (first post) for the

“company”, it sends a contradictory message. This message is not dissimilar to the naming and focus created by the festival as it creates a double bind for the festival in that they have commercial interests to fulfil, and yet they are operating in public space with a practice that they refer to as public art. Their page focuses on community but their overall aim is artist enablement and marketing content creation. The practical way in which this mission unfolds is discussed in the next section.

5.4.3 An artist focus

The mission and objectives of BAZ-ART are to create “a platform for street artists to make a living from their art and to regulate the industry. We aspired to become the most prominent street art platform in Africa by producing art in public spaces while meeting the marketing demands of our clients” (BAZ-ART 2022). If this statement is broken down, which BAZ-ARTs operations are made more apparent. Firstly, their primary focus is on elevating street artists, which they do through creating a public platform for them to showcase their work. They also seek to regulate the industry, but the specifics of this are not detailed. It is also not clear who they are regulating the industry for. Interview evidence would suggest that this could refer to their efforts to help artists navigate the City of Cape Town permissions process, but it is not clear how this equates to changed regulation. The second part of their mission is dedicated to continental prominence for the organisation and for street artists, with the promise of Return on Investment ((ROI) for their corporate clients. Tilmans explains how the festival achieves these aims when he discusses the set-up of the festival:

So by participating in the festival ...-we assess you so that during the year we can find you jobs and then you can make a living out of your art. And then as you push, you can grow and get more visibility of your own or we will help you get visibility. But the goal is that, everybody I mean Baz Art puts money in the festival, the artists work for free, we work for free during the festival so that you're part of the family and then we work together the rest of the year. So the festival is just 10 days in the year is just too big because its a big party but it allows us to find work [for] the rest of the year (Tilmans, personal communication, 2019: October 30).

In this set up, the festival is sponsored and advertised extensively in order to create corporate and media interest. Everyone including the artists is expected to work for free, with the shared understanding that this exposure will lead to further projects with BAZ-ART and their clients later on (Tilmans & De Sani, personal communication, 2019: October 30). BAZ-ART facilitates this exposure process through media relationships and a strong online presence

with the agenda of “the more noise we make the more opportunities we get for local artists to go and push bounds and learn elsewhere and come and do some great things here” (DeSani, personal communication, 2019, October 30). It therefore makes sense that most of the Twitter posts that were examined in the samples for this research, broadly fell under the category of 'awareness' and were retweeted links and news articles from local influencers and media outlets.

5.4.4 Commercial interests and community engagement

BAZ-ART was initially described as an NGO but seems to have removed that from their social media handles as they branched into more of a marketing and corporate space over the years. However, it should still be noted that they do list a PBO (Public Benefit Organisation) number on their website as well as a link for PayPal donations. This button is placed directly below a statement of their work which is described as “engagement and marketing content creation through urban art” (BAZ-ART 2022) This can be seen in the image below.

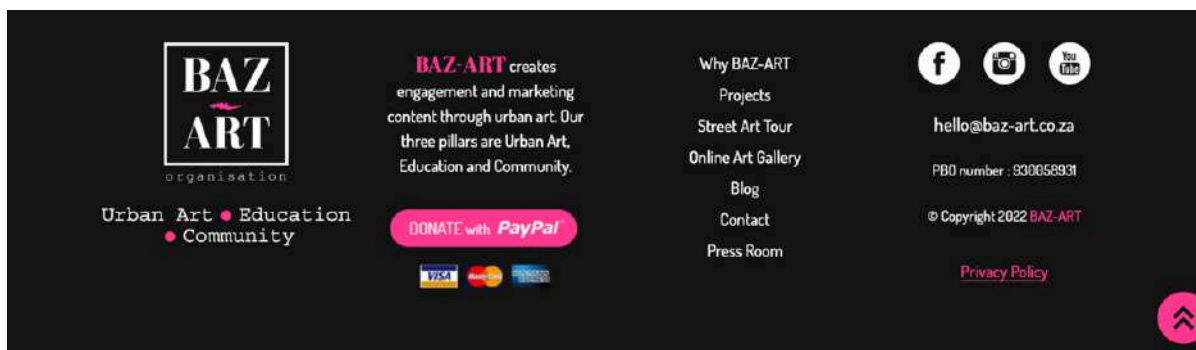


Figure 25: BAZ-ART website footer (BAZ-ART, 2022).

These two elements (a call for donations and then an explicit marketing-based mission) placed next to each other are contradictory and confusing in terms of the purpose of the organisation. Are they selling content or are they working for the public good? Is it possible to do both? Perhaps this question can be more appropriately answered through an understanding of how and why BAZ-ART was formed.

BAZ-ART is one of Tilmans’ many entrepreneurial ventures. Tilmans is also the owner of a Belgian Craft Beer Microbrewery called *L7 Craft Beer SA*, which originated from a Craft Beer Microbrewery based in Belgium. During our interview, Tilmans explained that he is a Belgian citizen who was initially brought to South Africa through the tourism industry that

emerged in 2010 because of the Soccer World Cup (Tilmans, personal communication, 2019, October 30). He has been living in Cape Town since then and has a background in Finance and Financial Consulting (Tilmans, personal communication, 2019, October 30). His public Facebook profile also notes that he is the Financial Director at XO Events (a corporate events company) and Travel by XO (a leisure tourism company operating out of Southern Africa). He is also the President at the Belgian Chamber in Cape Town. Of note to this research is that all Tilmans' businesses are listed as primary sponsors of the International Public Art Festival. An example of this is shown on the Facebook Event Page below where sponsors are listed as event 'Hosts'.

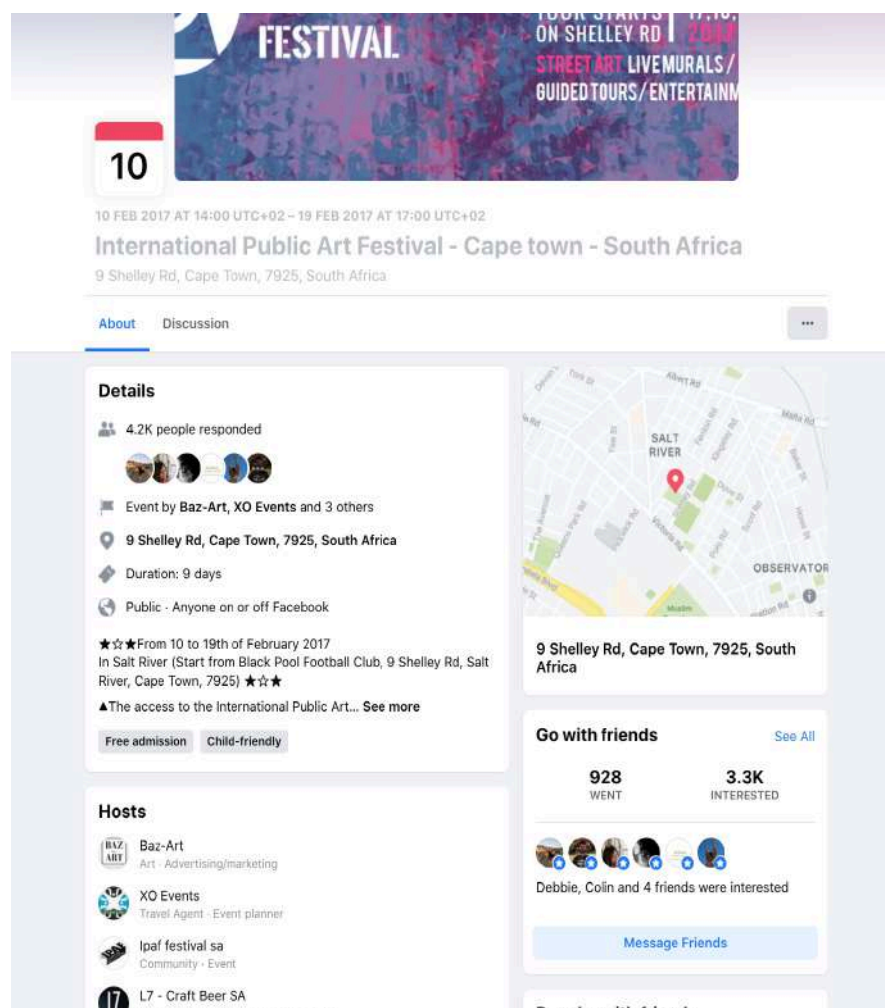


Figure 26: Facebook Event Page for the IPAF Cape Town Festival, 2017 (Facebook, 2022).

Tilmans' other businesses regularly engage in cross-platform positing of IPAF iterations and of the work that BAZ-ART does, as can be seen in the post example below. From a distance, this amplifies the reach of the festival and positions the sponsors as engaged and

community-driven brands. This cross posting ensures maximum visibility for all of Tilman's commercial interests.

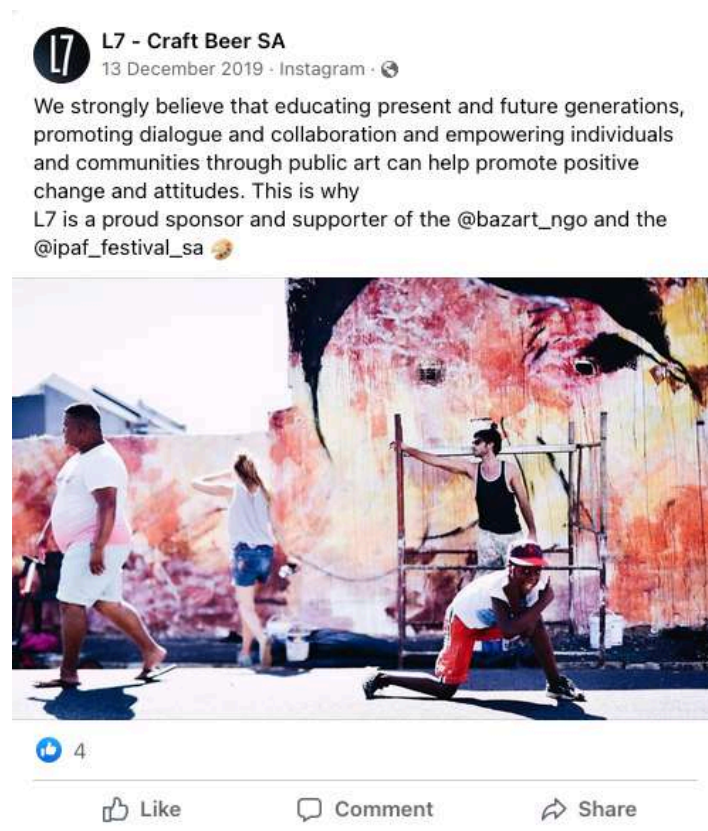


Figure 27: L7 Craft Beer SA Facebook post promoting BAZ-ART's mission and the IPAF. (Facebook, 2022).

5.4.5 Public space for profit

This meaning-making site has shown the way that the City of Cape Town Public Arts Management Framework (2016) and the City of Cape Town's Graffiti By-Law (2010) have emphasised the focus on the permissions process and naming practices of art created in Cape Town public space. However, since the creation process and funding mechanisms are not detailed, it opens up a space for an organisation to decide this. This has paved the way for BAZ-ART to form. It has also influenced BAZ-ART's approach to artists and public space. The increased emphasis on the permissions process and the semantics of naming practices has influenced the naming of the International Public Art Festival (IPAF). The term 'public art festival' is used to garner government approval, whereas the actual mural-based practice

creates aesthetically pleasing works that serve as an international tourist attraction. They also provide visual content that BAZ-ART sells to attract commercial sponsorship. The ‘public’ element in public art refers more to widespread physical and online visibility of the festival than it does the limited community engagement in the shape of childhood art classes. These are discussed in more detail below.

BAZ-ART’s Purpose

BAZ-ART was created to focus on two key areas not addressed through the framework, specifically artists and funding. The International Public Art Festival serves as a mechanism to address both areas through their artwork creation process. In terms of artists, since BAZ ART is a self-permitting organisation, it can enable artists to navigate the permissions process by guiding them through the paperwork and serving as a buffer for the approval of concept creation. BAZ ART also sponsors any logistics and materials required for the creation of the work (De Sani, personal communication, 2019, October 30). They do not financially remunerate the artists for their works but promise post-festival media exposure and client interest. Once the works are created, BAZ-ART uses the media exposure generated through the festival to attract subsequent sponsorship deals for the artists and further clients for the organisation. Media exposure is generated through the dual visibility of public space, large murals and the media event of an internationally recognised festival. BAZ-ART uses these visibility elements to realise its own objectives and mission, which are also closely tied to Tilmans’ personal business and cultural interests.

Public Benefit Organisation?

It is through this process that BAZ-ART can position itself as both a Public Benefit Organisation (PBO) that helps artists, and an urban art marketing content creator. This seemingly contradictory mix of services is realised in the following appeal to potential clients; “[o]ur carefully curated large-scale artworks give you attention-grabbing imagery. Our public positioning allows for an extensive audience viewing. By combining public art with digital marketing, we achieve public and private interaction” (BAZ-ART, 2022). This is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, the curation of public space is not something that an organisation should be responsible for. Secondly, their use of public space as a ‘widespread visibility’ tool amounts to outdoor advertising. Thirdly, public art should involve community engagement and collaboration. On their website, BAZ-ART does indicate that they are aware of this requirement and notes that they “use murals to visually represent the

beautiful complexities, thoughts, histories, and future hopes and dreams of the communities where we paint. By creating these artistic representations on public surfaces, Art can transform how shared public areas are perceived and experienced by its inhabitants as well as the wider public” (BAZ-ART, 2022). BAZ-ART argues that this community transformation simply happens through the medium of street art (which is interchangeable with public art in this statement). They note that:

by using street art as a tool to reflect and add to the distinct and unique characters of an area, public art works often encourage local and international tourism, adding to an economic impact of creating and sustaining jobs, such as tour guiding, and further support of local businesses as well as a societal impact inclusion, pride, cohesion and security (BAZ-ART, 2022).

The how of these events are not referenced. To ensure that I was not missing any key part of the process, I asked about any artist directives for working with the broader Salt-River community. Tilmans replied that artists should include local homeowners in their process so that “they are a part of it and can offer them a cup of tea, some shade when it’s hot, or things like a ladder” (Tilmans, personal communication, 2019, October 30). However, what this statement reflects is that the community is required to support the artists, not the other way around where artists support the community.

Although BAZ-ART (2022) notes that the benefit of their murals are that they are “reflective of the personality of a neighbourhood, [and they] further increase the local community’s sense of pride and belonging, adding to emotional awareness and sentiment”, it is not clear how this happens. Although the surrounding community is required to provide the necessary permissions for the walls, it is not clear if the proposed concepts necessarily tell the story of that community. The narratives of each piece of work are created to conform with the annual festival themes that BAZ ART chooses. Since BAZ ART is choosing the theme and selecting artist proposals that conform with that theme, it is unclear how “the beautiful complexities, thoughts, histories, and future hopes and dreams of the communities” are captured and then translated by the artists. Although the communities do not decide on the overarching theme or select the artworks, there is still a small level of community involvement where BAZ-ART does note that it works closely with a local children’s shelter in Woodstock where it provides art classes for the duration of the festival (Tilmans, personal communication, 2019, October 30). Tilmans also referenced the fact that some local community members gave walking tours of the murals during the festivals (personal communication, 2019, October 30). The website

links to a section where the walking tours can be purchased for R450, but it is not clear where this money goes or who the locals are that provide the walking tours. However, if this is carried out by community members, then it is a helpful way for the project to give back to the community.



Figure 28: Children learn about the IPAF festival pieces through the arts education programme. (BAZ ART, 2022).

Public space for sale

The success of BAZ-ART and its annual International Public Art Festival is largely based on its wide-spread occupation of the physical space of the City of Cape Town as well as its large online presence used to promote the event. BAZ-ART requires employees associated with the festival as well as the artists to work for free. The festival then creates marketing content in the City of Cape Town public space under the guise of beautification, widespread access to art as well as the promise of community upliftment that is vaguely defined. It attracts tourists and non-residents into this space as it serves as a widespread art attraction. Strategically, the IPAF also takes place at a time when many art tourists travel to Cape Town for the inaugural

Cape Town Art Fair²⁸ which sets this event up as an artistic event of the creative city of Cape Town. Two of the most popular pieces from BAZ ARTs work are positioned as creative responses to the city and have become synonymous with public art in Cape Town. They are shown below:



Figure 29: Two of the most popular IPAF pieces that are repeatedly used for marketing purposes. (BAZ ART, 2022)

Occupied public space

During the festival, the local community members of Salt River are displaced by the people that flock to the festival its spatial location, and then with the actual murals that adorn the city's walls in Salt River. Since the inception of the festival in 2017, over 150 murals have been created on walls in Cape Town (specifically the areas of Salt River and the City Centre²⁹). The Salt River murals are shown in the image below, which is a user generated GoogleMap that shows the location and details of all the murals painted in each iteration of the festival.

²⁸ The annual Cape Town Art Fair usually takes place in Cape Town in February each year. It is sponsored by Investec and describes itself as “the largest contemporary art fair in Africa, in one of the world’s most vibrant art cities” (Investec Cape Town Art Fair: 2022).

²⁹ Most of the works that are found in the City Centre were created in the 2022 iteration of the IPAF, which is outside of the scope of this research project. However, it is worth referring to when referencing the physical geography of the space.

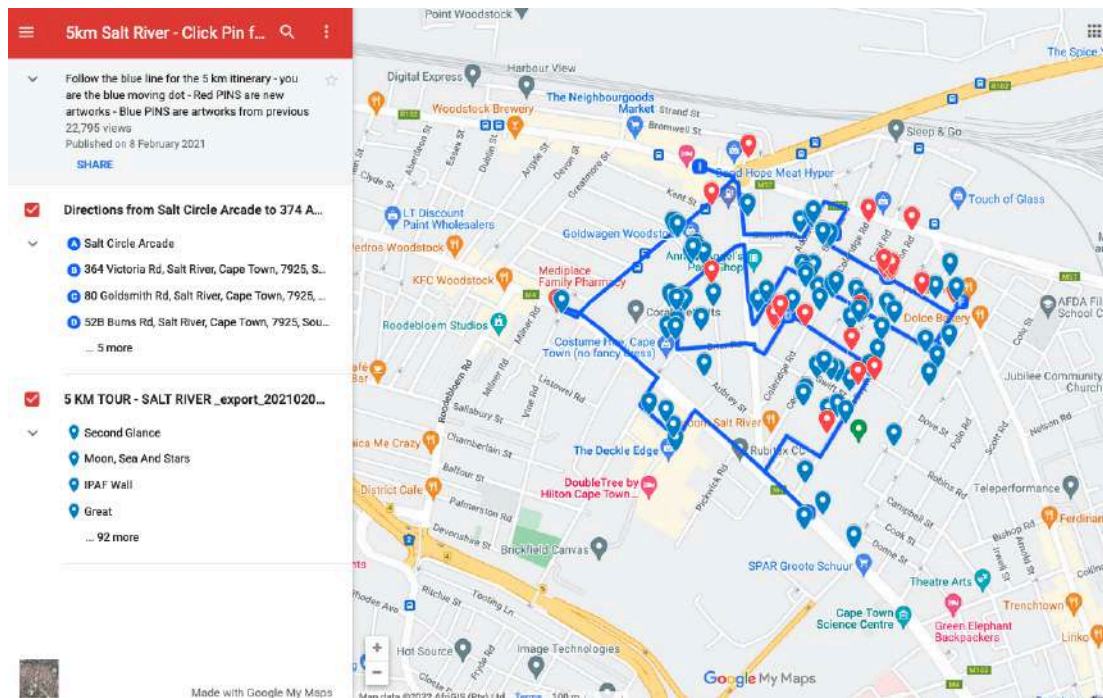


*Figure 30: User Created Google Map of the Salt River murals.
(BAZ ART, 2022).*

As the physical space has been so heavily occupied, this means that noticeable gaps in the process cannot be addressed or appropriately engaged within this space. This requires a new space for engagement. The next section considers how the online space was created, and how it interacts with the physical spaces.

5.5 Meaning-Making Site Five: Media & Space

BAZ art has a vast online presence. Besides their website (www.baz-art.co.za), they also have a Facebook organisation page (Baz Art), an Instagram page ([bazart_official](https://www.instagram.com/bazart_official/)) and a YouTube channel for their content creation. The IPAF also has its own website, Facebook Page, Twitter Profile and Instagram account. For each iteration of the festival, the IPAF also creates a Facebook Event page where users and interested event attendees can find out about the event, RSVP and post discussion topics on the page. These various platforms are used to generate content and cross-platform post newsworthy or relevant information about the festivals. Most of the posts that relate to the IPAF Cape Town that were analysed as part of my sample indicate that cross-platform posting and generating awareness were top priority in terms of the social media agenda for BAZ-ART and the IPAF.

5.5.1 Media experiences in space

BAZ-ART has also created user-generated GoogleMaps (as shown in the image example in the section above) so that people can easily locate all murals created through the festival on a self-guided street art tour. The pin drops on each mural also hyperlink back to the BAZ-ART website page with details about all the different artworks and the artists that created them. If people want to experience a more mediated version of these street art tours, they can also do that in one of two ways, namely through a VoiceMap audio guided tour or a 360 virtual street art tour. The VoiceMap tour involves downloading an app with a pre-recorded audio file that helps users to navigate the streets through audio prompts and explains the artworks that they are encountering. It requires users to be physically present in the physical space, but they do not need to be part of a tour, as the VoiceMap app mediates this for them. The VoiceMap audio tour can be purchased for R104.57 and downloaded to listen to offline as many times as required (VoiceMap 2022). The details of this can be seen in the figure below:

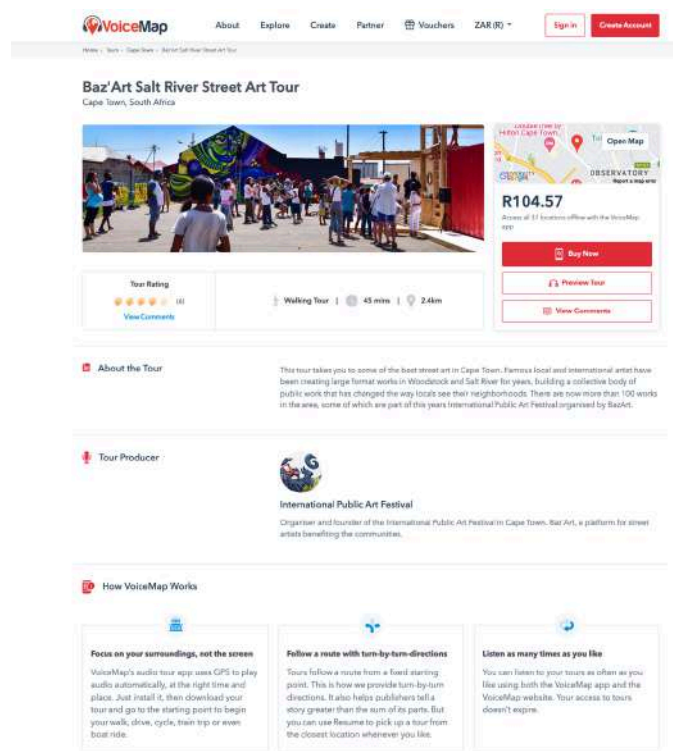


Figure 31: VoiceMap IPAF tour information.
(VoiceMaps, 2022).

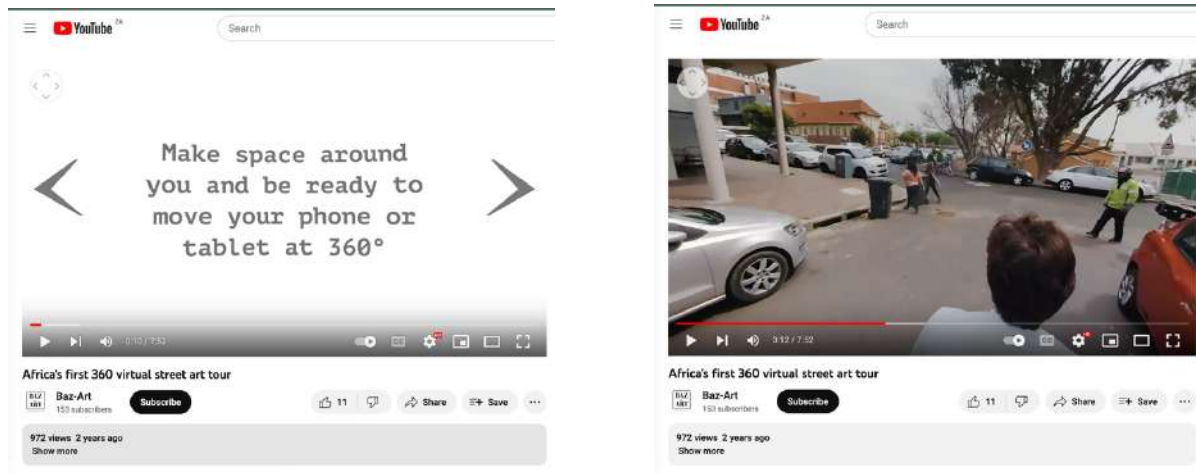


Figure 32: Africa's First virtual street art tour. (YouTube, 2022).

On the other hand, the 360 Virtual tour (Figure above) is an immersive YouTube video experience created by BAZ-ART where the user follows a cyclist as they venture through the artworks. The user then has the control to navigate where they would like to go within the video screen by clicking on a different area. The screen then loads for that area and the user can explore it in more detail for a period of time. Users can partake in this experience from anywhere in the world and are not required to be physically present. Another experience that can occur without physical presence is the user-led exploration of the IPAF festival through their Google Arts & Culture Page which links to festival videos and positions BAZ-ART as a street art platform. Google Arts and Culture acts as a worldwide arts and culture directory and encyclopaedia where users can either experience art online or use it as a directory to find local details of arts organisations and artists. This can be seen below.

5.5.2 A divorcing of time and space

The large-scale online presence of both BAZ-ART and the International Public Art Festival ensures high visibility, both in physical spaces and in online ones. Furthermore, media and space can come together in augmented experiences such as the GoogleMaps and VoiceMaps tours. Equally, the physical space becomes ephemeral when the works can be experienced outside of the context in which they are created in the BAZ-ART Gallery and the YouTube Virtual 360 street art tour. This opens up the works to an audience outside of the physical proximity of each of the murals. The same could also be said for the marketing content that

BAZ-ART creates of the artworks. When these works are created and then put on to a decontextualised online space, time is divorced from space and the lived context of the work becomes insignificant to its reception. This can be seen in many of the Twitter posts that are used to generate awareness about the festival, and often included images to reference specific works.



Figure 33: International Public Art Festival – South Africa. (Google Arts & Culture, 2022).

Some of the most popular works referenced online are the Brickfield Park Mural created by Belgian Artist ROA in 2018 (figure 34) and Rain by Ruben Carrasco (Mexican/Canadian artist) also in 2018. Both of these murals can be seen in the figures below.

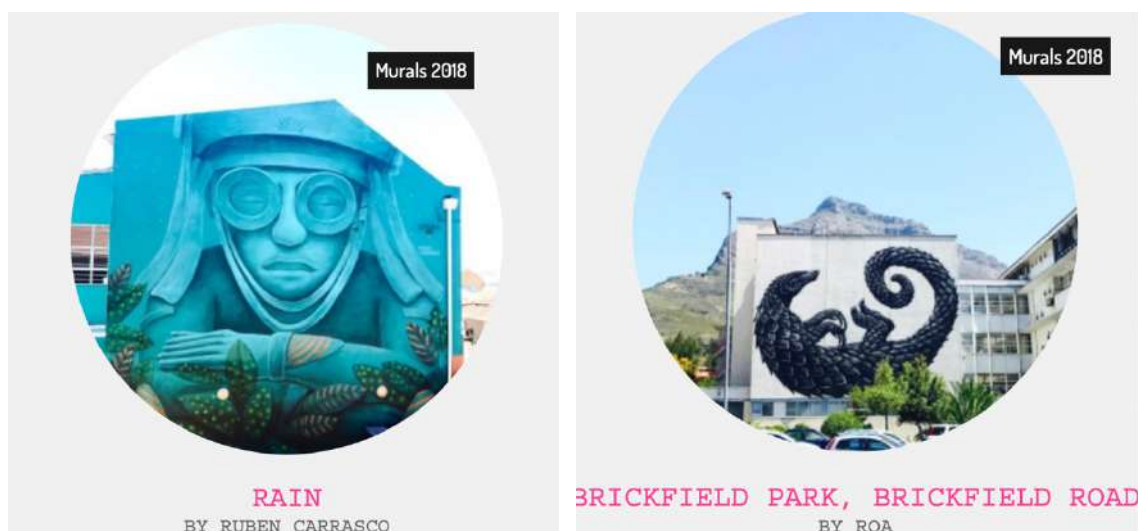


Figure 34: (From left to right) Ruben Carrasco, Rain (2018) and ROA Untitled (2018). International Public Art Festival – South Africa. (BAZ ART, 2022).

The 2018 theme of the festival was “Nature doesn’t need us, we need nature”, which coincided with the 2018 water drought in Cape Town³⁰. The theme also aligned with United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, and therefore the festival attracted more of an international presence. However, neither of these widely visible works are by local artists or telling local stories. The online representation of these works now become the inverse of public art, which is rooted in localised context and community. Instead, these works lose their context and in doing so, move closer towards what Clements (2008:19) calls “hermetically sealed white cube gallery spaces”. However, public space is not hermetically sealed. So, this work exists in public space and it has been re-presented in an online space where it is stripped of all meaning and context. However, that does not mean that it is devoid of meaning. Instead, the more visibility and attention the IPAF garners, the more scrutiny it is placed under for any perceived wrongdoings or shortcomings that occurred at a policy, organisational or spatial level (previous meaning-making sites). If any exclusionary practices have taken place at any of the other meaning-making sites, or if one discourse has been championed at the cost of another, then this online space could provide an equal ‘bottom up’ site for once marginalised voices to emerge and air their views. These are discussed below.

5.5.3 A festival for gentrification

Every year the BAZ-ART will release a media statement that announces the festival theme for that year, and this will subsequently be followed by a call for artists to apply. In order to apply to participate in the festival, each artist has to submit a portfolio and an intended concept for the work that they are going to deliver as part of that year’s theme. For international artists, they usually have to be invited to participate in the festival and then BAZ-ART will apply for additional funding to cover their travel and accommodation needs (De Sani & Tilmans, personal communication, 2019, October 30). In terms of the works that are created, BAZ-ART submits the artist's proposals to the residents who offer their walls for painting. The residents are given a deciding vote for the final concept that gets painted on their wall (DeSani, personal communication, 2019, October 30). In the first iteration of the festival (2017), many local artists were outraged at this and called the process “exploitation for commercial gain”. Furthermore, BAZ-ART issued a now-deleted statement about how the festival aimed to gentrify the space of Salt River. The contentious nature of the festival and

³⁰ In 2018, the City of Cape Town experienced a drought so severe, that they were a few days away from turning the taps off completely. (World Economic Forum, 2019).

the blog post up in a blog post by local street artist FersSyndicate. He details what happened here:

Fast forward to 2017, I received a message from a friend about an International Street Art Festival in my neighborhood [sic]. I was pretty shocked and excited. After 7 years of condemnation and now it's finally being celebrated. I quickly reached out to the organisers to ask if I could get involved. For two weeks, I waited for a reply and then decided to read up on their motivations. They clearly state *"Salt River's unique character has started to become known to outsiders as the neighbourhood has entered the early phases of gentrification"* and *"The movement is likely to help redefine Salt River as a dynamic neighbourhood with its own unique character rather than just a somewhat derelict neighbour to Observatory and Woodstock."* Two nights ago, the International Street Art Festival curators approved my request. I rejected their approval, because of their motivations. I didn't want to reveal my main motivation to them because it would just end up in a horrible argument. An argument where they seem to be doing good for the community. Please tell me, what is good about gentrification and how does it help people blossom into your utopian ideals? Salt River is the last community where gentrification has not been hit as hard as other affected areas within the CBD. But the cracks are showing and that seed planted 7 years ago has grown into the ugliest fucking monster posing as the very monster that previously threatened my neighborhood [sic] and the value of our properties (FersSyndicate, 2017).

This blog post was picked up by many different artists who circulated it as they saw the process as a "shameless commercialisation of public space and mass gentrification effort that was realised through the exploitation of local artists to further BAZ-ART's idealistic mission" (Facebook, 2022). These views were aired on the ipaf sa Facebook page, where IPAF opened up a discussion forum to address the gentrification concerns. The conversation was largely championed by local artist Nard_Star and community activists. Key snippets of this conversation can be seen in the screenshots below:

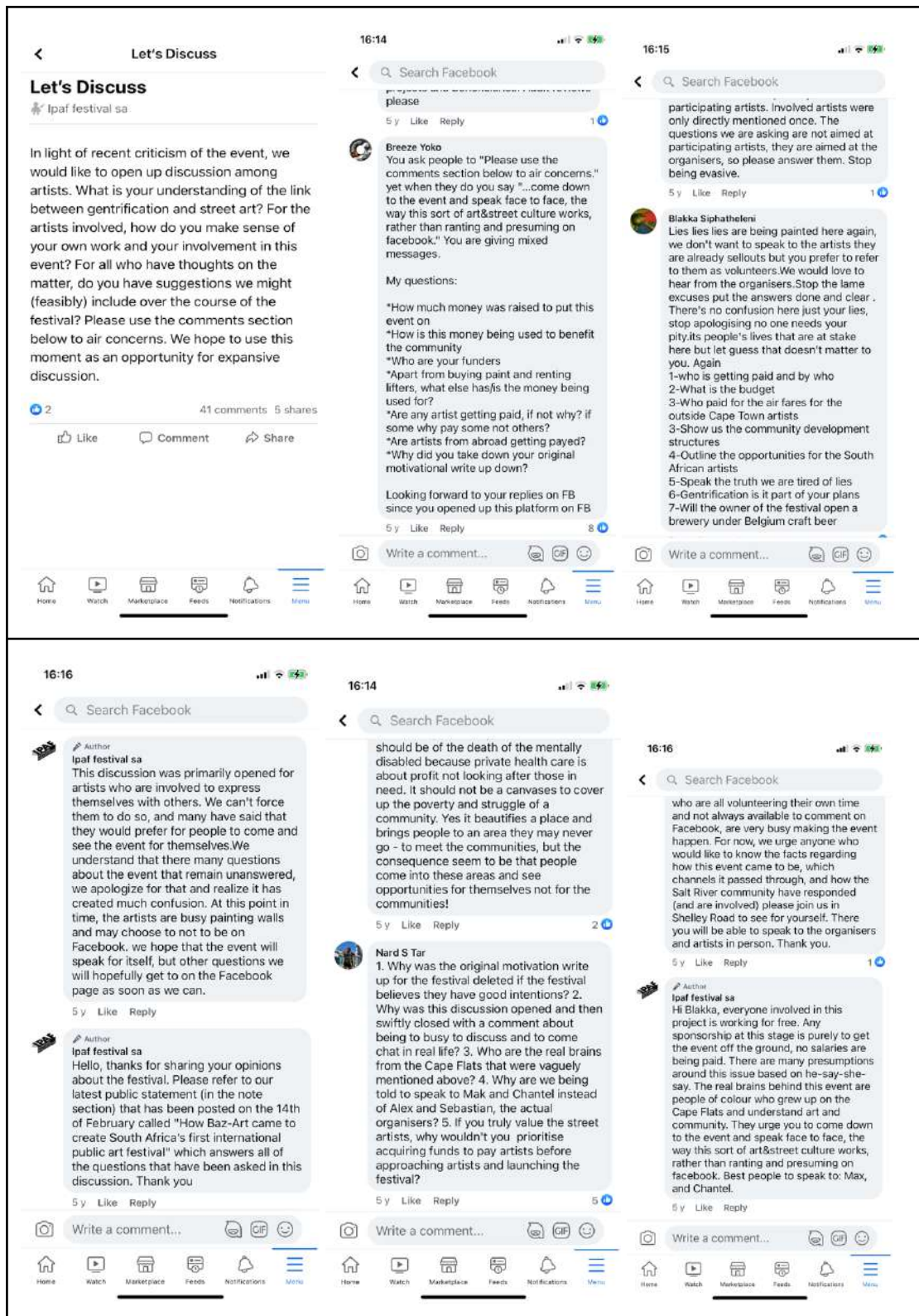


Figure 35: IPAF Discussion Forum conversation on Facebook. (Facebook, 2022).

Initially, IPAF opened up a discussion forum on Facebook, which they advertised through the 2017 Facebook Event Page. They used this platform to invite community members and

concerned members of the public/ artists to air their views and ask questions directly to the festival organisers. However later on, they claimed that they could no longer respond to the online debate as they were busy setting up the festival. They thereafter invited this online community to come join the live festival and “see for themselves” (Facebook, 2017). Many members were disgruntled by the fact that BAZ-ART had invited them to participate in this online space as a discussion forum where they could raise key concerns, and then negated the validity of that online space by refusing to respond to them online and instead inviting them back into physical space where the concerns were not addressed either. Khan (2020) notes that IPAF’s next move amounted to censorship when “the festival subsequently removed any traces of words like gentrification and censored comments made on Facebook. [As a result] Artists pulled out of the festival and made a public statement about the censorship and exploitation”.

Key concerns that were raised in this debate included the negation of the Woodstock and Salt River Community and the lack of real or sustainable community engagement. There also seemed to be a public disconnect, since the primary community that was engaged in this project was the community that ventured into the festival space in Salt River, and not the community that lives and works there.

5.5.4 Salt River Space

In a 2017 online news article entitled *No local artists involved in festival* Isaacs (2017) noted that local artists had so far refused to participate in the first edition of the International Public Art Festival as they felt that it would “contribute to the gentrification of the historic community, with no local artists involved and the area being portrayed as a derelict neighbourhood in need of help”. This portrayal of Salt River was deeply problematic for many local Cape Town artists who had grown up in and around the area. Salt River borders on the areas of Woodstock (Figure) and unlike District Six, was one of the few coloured and Cape Malay areas that were not subjected to the forced removals of the Group Areas Act.

Instead, much like Woodstock, it remained as an industrial and mixed inner-city location that housed working-class families and ethnic minorities during apartheid and into the early 1990’s (Garside, 1993:31). Although Salt River has not been exposed to the same level of

gentrification that Woodstock has, it has been identified for urban regeneration by the City of Cape Town. The context for this is explained by Ngwenya (2013):

Since the 1990's [*sic*] Salt River has undergone significant changes to its socio-economic, cultural and physical structures due to the withdrawal of both public and private investments from the area. These changes are interpreted by the City of Cape Town (CoCT) as an indication that Salt River is in decline and, consequently, in need of regeneration. [However] only the residential parts of Lower Salt River are in decline. The commercial portions of Salt River are regenerating. In adopting a minimal intervention stance in relation to the regeneration of Salt River, the CoCT has left the market to direct regeneration in the case area. (Ngwenya, 2013).



Figure 36: Representational Map of Cape Town showing Salt River, Woodstock and District Six Locations (Garside, 1993).

Whilst urban regeneration is not always a negative concept, as Ngwenya (2013) points out, problems can arise when it is passively managed as that can lead to gentrification. To be clear, gentrification refers to a change in class of a neighbourhood, created by changing social, economic, and infrastructural conditions. Matthews (2010:660) defines it as “a process of inner-city transition, where low property investment spurs a process of reinvestment and an accompanying shift in social demographics and built form”. It can be linked to urban renewal, but this is where appropriate urban governance is required. If urban renewal is governed intentionally and strategically, neighbourhoods can be uplifted whilst lower and

working class minorities still find a space to live with local businesses and service providers that are close by and that they can afford to support. Often these classes cannot afford to be homeowners. Urban renewal seeks to change this as

programs of renewal often seek to encourage homeownership, given its supposed effects on economic self-reliance, entrepreneurship, and community pride. Gentrification, on this account, is to be encouraged, because it will mean the replacement of a marginal anticomunity (nonproperty owning, transitory, and problematized [*sic*]) by an active, responsible, and improving population of homeowners (Blomley, 2004:89).

The following explanation of the intended goal and subsequent devastating effects of gentrification showcase why it is such a convoluted topic:

there is a poor evidence base for this policy of ‘positive gentrification’—for, as the gentrification literature tells us, despite the new middle classes’ desire for diversity and difference they tend to self-segregate and, far from being tolerant, gentrification is part of an aggressive, revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for the middle classes (Lees, 2008:2449).

Although Lees is not the only scholar to air these strong views, their explanation of the intended goal and subsequent devastating effects of gentrification showcase why it is such a convoluted topic. There is also a strong tendency of policymakers to avoid direct use of the word gentrification to deflect criticism and resistance (Lees, 2008:2452). Instead, “terms like urban renaissance, urban revitalisation, urban regeneration, and urban sustainability are used instead, avoiding the class constitution of the processes involved and neutralising the negative image that the process of gentrification brings with it” (Lees, 2008:2452). The effect of this is often devastating on communities since “the movement of middle-income groups into low-income areas creates overwhelmingly negative effects, the most significant of which is the displacement of low-income groups (Lees, 2008: 2450). Further negative consequences of gentrification also include social polarisation and social segregation.

5.5.5 Not gentrification?

When I asked Tilmans what he thought about gentrification, this is what he responded:

So if there is a process of gentrification it’s because traffic is too much and people want to live in town and that drives the price of the property in town higher, rather than that wall that’s painted with beautiful colours. How beautiful that wall is, doesn’t matter. I think there are different factors that includes gentrification way more than a painted wall (Tilmans, personal communication, 2019, October 30)

He did note that the issue had come up, but only in the first year, and that the consistency, collaboration, and engagement that the festival provided seemed to have ended that debate. Tilmans' comment about beautiful walls not being the singular cause of gentrification touches on a substantive issue in the broader literature around gentrification, which Matthews (2010:660) notes is "identifying the underlying causes of the process and the associated effects". Often, murals become what theorists refer to as the first wave of gentrification³¹. After this has happened, Matthews (2010:665) explains that "following the refashioning of space, artists are often driven out as those with greater purchasing power take possession of local cultural forms. This can result from rising rents as well as a shift in atmosphere". This shows that whilst the murals that the festival creates are not solely responsible for gentrification, they provide what is called the first wave of it. This is not uncommon for street art that is created with concepts, symbols and ideas that do not belong to the space that it originally physically occupies. Ley (1996) explains this phenomenon where artists "work as a 'colonizing arm' for the middle class, opening up new spaces of the inner city through the image and identity attached to their lifestyle and productions" (quoted by Matthews, 2010:665). For BAZ-ART's IPAF this is evidenced in their theme selection and artwork creation process, where community narratives, histories or symbols are not acknowledged. Instead, using his background in finance, tourism and craft beer production, Tilmans' BAZ ART turns Salt River into a tourist attraction, presenting First World images and themes to every public except the public that occupies the physical space.

5.5.6 Exclusionary practices – funding and artists

Although Tilmans (Personal communication, 2019, October 30) was quick to point out that all festival work occurs for free, he also noted that it must attract large sponsorship deals as it costs approximately R2 million to put on each year (Tilmans, personal communication, 2019, October 30). When I asked the festival organisers what type of funders they worked with, this was their response: "organisations, artists...that would want to do good in the public in terms of art. And we [BAZ-ART] work with them and their resources. At the end of the day, it's about linking different stakeholders and finding a common goal. Not so much investors" (DeSani, personal communication, 2019, October 30). So, to be clear, this statement directly

³¹ See earlier discussion by Shacter (2014,2015) which explains how the aesthetics of a creative city can drive gentrification processes. Shacter is not the only author to note this, but he does present one of the most concise arguments against spatially-divorced street and public art.

clarifies that it sees artists as funders of the IPAF, not the other way around. This statement is echoed by Khan's (2020) observations noting that:

Nevertheless, those artists on the ground almost never meet those in whose hands the tenders sit. Through the work of companies like BAZ-ART, the city becomes a canvas that prioritises international artists over local artists, using state funds to accomplish this hegemony. Whether in Woodstock or Maboneng, "there's always international artists coming in, which becomes a metaphor of South Africa and Joburg itself. Who controls the visual dominance of the walls and how there is no reflection of the people of the city on the walls? Because the walls are being done by people outside these communities and even within the local ones; most of the graffiti is done by white kids. And from the commercials, all the advertising is benefitting white companies. So visually there's nothing that celebrates or affirms your existence," says Breeze Yoko.

As mentioned previously, the artists are promised media exposure from the festival (in lieu of payment) and lucrative contracts after the festival, but news reports indicate that this has not always been the case:

Arts24 has made contact with artists who said that they were not approached by BAZ-ART after painting for free at the festival. They were also not happy about not being paid. Other artists have mentioned that, when they were offered work subsequently by BAZ-ART, the fee they were offered was roughly a third of what the company quoted clients. The artists have chosen not to have their identities revealed, for fear of reprisal by BAZ-ART and its affiliates (Khan, 2020).

It is not clear how this set up and process empowers artists or uplifts the surrounding community, as noted in BAZ-ART's mission (BAZ-ART, 2022). Although Tilmans claims that everyone works for free, it is worth noting that BAZ-ART employees work on the festival and are the primary organisers. Therefore, whilst they may not receive additional festival payments, they are still paid to do their jobs for BAZ-ART. The people who volunteer their time and resources are the artists and community members involved in the festival.

In terms of sponsors, it seems amiss that funders and sponsors of the festival would not want to know where their money is going or be concerned that artists are not being appropriately compensated for their time and skills. Furthermore, there should also be some trace of how the money used to sponsor the festival is being filtered back into the community. At the time of writing this thesis, I could not find any funding processes that have been made public or instances when full transparency is being practised in terms of financial reporting when it

comes to funding the IPAF. Instead, monetary investment is provided for physical and online visibility that the festival can offer.

One of the key contributors towards this project is The City of Cape Town, who sponsor a small part of the festival and provide permission for the different walls to be painted. According to Khan (2020), when asked how BAZ-ART “has been allowed to dominate so much real estate within the public art sphere”, the City of Cape Town’s response was this: “BAZ-ART is a recipient of grant-in-aid (GIA) funding, made available by the City to registered non-profit organisations who meet the criteria set out. BAZ-ART has dedicated itself to the development of local artists and public art, which aligns with the City’s strategy.”

If this money is given as a grant and not investment, then appropriate reporting measures should be followed. At the time of writing this research, the BAZ-ART website does not contain any reports detailing the measurement and evaluation associated with the festival or BAZ-ART, which is listed as NGO on the IPAF website and a Public Benefit Organisation (PBO) on their own website (IPAF 2022, BAZ-ART 2022). According to the Nonprofit Organisations Act: Model Narrative Report for Non-profit Organisations: Draft: (2000:s1.1), once an organisation is registered “each year it must send to the Director of the Department of Welfare’s Public Private Partnership Directorate a written report about [the] organisation’s activities, and a financial report”. A PBO has the added advantage of tax exemptions according to “Section 10 (1)(cN) of the Income Tax Act and Paragraph 5.3.2.3 of the Tax Exemption Guide for public benefit organisations [which] assume that all income derived by such organisations will be exempt from normal income tax provided that the income is not distributed (directly or indirectly) to its members” (Exceed 2022).

The Facebook forum discourse mostly discussed the idea that Tilmans was not a South African resident and was using public space as an advertising campaign for the Embassy of Belgium and his own personal business interests (Facebook, 2017). His co-founder Melissa Cucci also specialises in outdoor advertising activations (BAZ-ART, 2022). Facebook commenters also discussed Tilmans’ commercial interests, particularly his craft beer microbrewery L7, or Leopold ⁷³², that recently won a Business and Arts South Africa

³² This is particularly problematic as King Leopold was involved in extensive colonisation efforts in Africa. "On February 5, 1885, Belgian King Leopold II established the Congo Free State by brutally seizing the African landmass as his personal possession. Rather than control the Congo as a colony, as other European powers did

(BASA) Small Business award in 2019 for ‘Wilt Brewery trading as L7 Craft Beer and Baz-Art PBO for the International Public Art Festival’ (Khan, 2020). Many South African artists were horrified by the resemblance of the name of the beer to the prominent colonial figure, Belgian King Leopold II responsible for major atrocities that killed millions in the Congo. The beer company run by Tilmans is the main investor and co-founder of BAZ-ART and hence chief partner of IPAF” (Khan, 2020).

5.6 Summary

What can be seen in the examples above is the exact meeting of media and space that Couldry & McCarthy (2004) discussed. In other words, the social and spatial configurations that began in the first meaning-making site are carried through into the next ones. As these discourse themes are carried through, they evolve and intensify unless they are resolved. This is shown in the figure below:

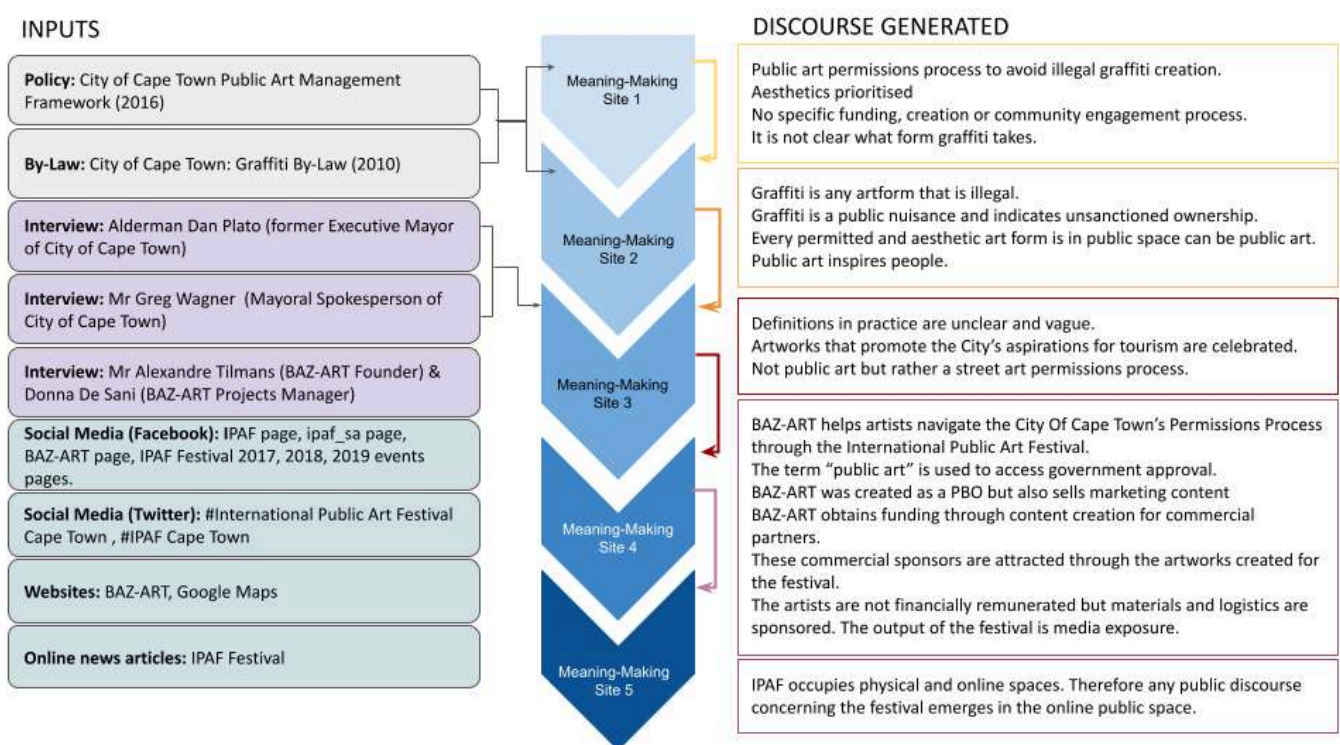


Figure 37: Inputs and discourses generated at each meaning-making site related to the International Public Arts Festival in Cape Town.

throughout Africa, Leopold privately owned the region." The use of his name, albeit for a beer and sponsorship, evokes troubling associations with colonisation and is not a considered approach to South African public space.

This infographic illustrates how the issues that were first ignored or left out at a policy level (artform differentiation, artist funding, engagement with the community surrounding the works and the creation process) have been left up to the commercial discretion of BAZ-ART.

Without clear and concise specifications in terms of how works should be created in Cape Town public space, or how the surrounding community should be engaged with, this opens up the process to the highest commercial bidder. The PBO/ Marketing events Company BAZ-ART has responded to the City of Cape Town's focus on naming and the permissions process to create a street art festival (that is called a public art festival in order to garner favour with the City of Cape Town). The 2017-2019 iterations of the festival occupied a space that the City of Cape Town has noted is in decline, but has not actively regenerated. Instead, BAZ-ART has used this opportunity to use aesthetic First World images and symbols to attract an international arts audience to that space. By occupying the surrounding physical space and the online one, the widespread visibility of the IPAF attracts attention of the broader public. The two communities that are left out of the initial process are the surrounding local communities and artists. Although these two communities provide their physical space and talents, they are not compensated or acknowledged in a way that they feel is appropriate to the scale of the festival. Instead, business interests and international associations present a First World experience in a space that is plagued by the social ills of a Third World country, ravaged by the after-effects of apartheid. The only space that this excluded public can emerge is in the online space, which is what has been illustrated through the IPAF discussion forum on Facebook, and the online news articles that have subsequently appeared. In the context of the discourse surrounding BAZ-ART's IPAF, the artists, community members and spatial concerns that have not been mentioned so far in the discourse, finally find a place to land in the online space. If this infographic is taken a step further and discussed in terms of the key focus of each meaning making site, this is how it would be explained:

Meaning-Making Site	Focus
Policy & By-Laws	Permissions Process.
Official Definitions (Semantics)	Graffiti is the antithesis of art. Street art and public art are similar forms.

Official Perspectives	There are vague applications of the different art forms created in this space, however - they should further the City's international agenda and beautify spaces in order to be legal and permitted.
BAZ-ART's IPAF	A PBO, BAZ-ART, emerges to help fulfil the above goals, through the annual International Public Art Festival, namely: • Creating "internationally appealing street art" • Generating funding through commercial investment • Media exposure • Guiding artists through the permissions process.
Online Publics	Public space is used as a visibility tool to further commercial and tourist agendas and therefore becomes exclusive. It also refers to the idea of gentrification. This extends to online spaces as well. A new public emerges online that encompasses community activists and artists who feel that they have been overlooked in the process.

Table 24: Summary of each focus area of discourse within each meaning-making site

Although BAZ-ART's IPAF has not faced the same amount of scrutiny in the years preceding their inaugural event, (they also have not opened up any subsequent online spaces) they have become the scapegoat for many of the criticisms that apply directly to the City of Cape Town. For instance, they have been accused of perpetuating "the spatial apartheid of where art happens" and creating monopolies of spatial power that amount to "exploitation and gatekeeping" (NardStar as quoted by Khan 2020).

The omissions in policy, procedure and lack of funding are the responsibility of the City of Cape Town. As they have not been adequately addressed at this level, they then intensify in subsequent meaning-making spaces.

This does not create a strong foundation for BAZ ART to work in Cape Town public space. However, BAZ ARTs superficial naming practices meant that they landed up ignoring the emplaced nature of the public art practices that they created. By ignoring the spatial dynamics of the areas that they worked in, they were not able to engage community and artist buy-in in the physical location of the works. This means that most key stakeholders were only able to engage with the projects when BAZ ARTt pushed them into the online space in order to generate more corporate sponsorship and awareness. In this way, what did (or did not) happen in the physical space has a direct impact on what happens in the online space.

This amplification of discourse through the different meaning-making sites can be explained by an interplay of media and space. BAZ-ART's high visibility and the opening up of new online spaces merges the discourse surrounding the physical space into the online space, and opens it up to excluded publics. The physical space was made exclusive through flawed creation and community inclusion processes. The spatial, social and historical context of the spaces in which the works emerge is not engaged with sufficiently, and this decision (both from the City of Cape Town and BAZ ART) leads to the creation of a non-place in public space.

What can be learned from this?

This case study shows that when key discourse themes are not dealt with at the right time, they can fester and transform into more pressing issues further along the line. The public or audience that is excluded in one space will look for other spaces (such as the online space) to express their displeasure. The media (representations of the works) and the politics of space (Salt River, community inclusion, working in public space, gentrification, permissions process) then meet in what is called MediaSpace. The levelled approach of MediaSpace can then be used to explain what discourse themes were enforced and negated at which levels, and the cumulative effect of these decisions. These results can be seen in the table below.

	Name	Description	IPAF Application
1	Studying media representations.	This includes studying places where media images are produced, distributed, and received.	Physical Location, City of Cape Town, Laws and Policies governing space and what can occur in that space.
2	The study of how media images, texts, and data flow across space and, in so doing, reconfigure social space.	The overall spatial and social configuration that results from a medium.	The festival is positioned as an art and tourist event in alignment with the City of Cape Town's Integrated Development Plan (IDP).
3	The study of specific spaces at either the end of the media process, the space of consumption and the space of production.	Extending beyond the text to understand media as a social process, technology, and content.	Understanding how all stakeholders of the space and of the festival respond to the festival, both online and in physical space.

4	The study of scale effects, or complex entanglements of scale, which result from the operation of media in space.	Concerned with the actual entanglements of scale engendered by mediated forms of social coordination.	Issues of gentrification, urban renewal, funding, commercial appropriation of public space crop up.
5	Studying how media-caused entanglements of scale are variously experienced and understood in specific places.	Consider what media does to space and the materiality of media objects.	The images of the works exist in a decontextualized space where any public can engage in what is an internationally recognised street art festival. However, equally, this decontextualized online space becomes the only accessible space in which concerned publics can emerge.

Table 1: Explanation of the five levels of studying the interaction between media and space (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004: 5-8).

When the MediaSpace of these works are comprehensively examined, one can see the simultaneous narrative of “place, (real or imagined) other spaces, media, and social spaces” (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:1). This theory is referenced, since if any of these meaning-making sites are studied in isolation, an incomplete and inconclusive picture could be formed. Instead, by understanding the unique interplay of media and space, and how entanglements of scale happen at each additional meaning-making site, due consideration of the “overall spatial and social configuration that results from a particular medium” (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:6) can be provided. This allows for the total-effect of the works created for the IPAF and called ‘public art’, to be duly studied. It also allows for a deeper understanding of where key issues with public art, and the use of public space in the City of Cape Town should be addressed.

In the next chapter, I explore the implications for using a MediaSpace approach on Case Study 2. This is done to showcase what can be uncovered when multiple sites of meaning-making are examined in an entirely different context with different meaning-making sites.

CHAPTER SIX - DISCUSSION II

This chapter discusses the findings of the second case study, The Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi. This discussion chapter adopts the same approach as the previous chapter, where it unpacks each case study according to the five different meaning levels, which originate from Couldry and McCarthy's (2004) MediaSpace. This approach can reveal not only the attitudes and perceptions towards public art in that particular context, but also the interlinked relationship between each level of meaning as that connotation carries through to the next level. Furthermore, it reveals attitudes and perceptions about what public space means and how it should/could function.

However, it should be noted that although this chapter applies the same five MediaSpace levels, the discussion points and the discourse generated differ greatly, as this case study is very different to the first one. In this way, these two discussion chapters are presented as two examples of the benefit of applying a MediaSpace framework to public art in South Africa, as it reveals not only the prevalent discourse themes, but also how those themes are created or changed.

MediaSpace allows one to explore the inter-related workings of various meaning-making points, particularly in fraught South African city landscapes. It also considers what public space around visual communicative practices mean in the advent of more widely accessible social media spaces. A MediaSpace approach highlights the need for the due consideration of how different art projects in South African public space can either extend or detract from the public space that they occupy through the way in which they are created and engaged with.

6.1 Meaning-Making Site One: (Representations)

As with the last chapter, a good place to understand a City's attitude towards and comprehension of Public Art is to look at their Public Art Policy in detail. Therefore in this first level of meaning-making, I explore how *The Johannesburg Public Arts Policy* (2016) sets the scene for public art development in Johannesburg, and the various stakeholders it encourages relationships with. I do this by conducting a critical discourse analysis on the contents of each section of the policy to see how it sets up the public art development process

and what aspects are emphasised over others. After that, I will discuss the Johannesburg Development Agency's call for public art on the Rea Vaya Bus Rapid Transit Route, how Trinity Session won the tender, and lastly their approach to creating art in public spaces. This discussion is used to start off the chapter as it sets the scene for how public art is represented and understood by the parties responsible for starting and enabling the public art development process in Johannesburg.

6.1.1 Johannesburg Public Art Policy - Process and Funding Specifications

The Public Art procurement and creation process is managed by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and funded through the 'Percent for Public Art' policy which stipulates that "up to one percent (1%) of the construction budget of all major city building projects (R 10 million or more) be devoted to public art. A maximum of 1% of major capital projects should be devoted to public art, and contributions below that level are acceptable" (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy*, 2006:7). These funds are placed into the 'Johannesburg Public Art Fund' alongside donations from private benefactors, developers and other sources (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy*, 2006:8). This fund finances the public artworks that are selected for the City of Johannesburg,

The Policy also stipulates the five main ways in which a public art projects are selected, namely open competitions, open/invitational competitions, invitational competition, direct selection and direct purchasing of an existing artwork (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy* 2006:4). Donations and gifts are also accepted by the City of Johannesburg (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy* 2006:s10). The policy uses section 6 to section 9 to explicitly detail the roles, responsibilities and process for public art selection and creation. Of note to this research is that the process outlined in the Johannesburg Public Art Policy requires the The Public Art Approvals Committee and/or the relevant selection panel to select the final artist and artworks that will be created in the City's public space. It is a requirement that "the panels should reflect the cultural, racial and gender diversity of the City" (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy* 2006:6).

No part of the Johannesburg Public Art Policy defines the different artforms that are accepted as public art. Graffiti is only mentioned at the end of the document, where it states that "special attention should be given to keeping major landmarks and declared heritage sites

clear of unwanted graffiti” (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy* 2006:10) and that a ‘Anti-Graffiti Rapid Response Unit’ would be deployed to remove graffiti and prevent it defacing city surfaces and areas.

Section 14 of the Public Arts Policy also notes that the City of Johannesburg is responsible for the maintenance of public artworks (not the artists, unlike City of Cape Town’s Public Art Management Framework). However, if extensive repairs or maintenance is conducted that differs from the artist’s original intention then the artist should be consulted (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy* 2006:s14).

Intended outcomes from the Johannesburg Public Art Development Policy

After a close reading of the Johannesburg Public Art Development Policy, it becomes clear that the focus of this policy is a process-oriented one. The policy specifies how the works are chosen (Section 6,7,8,9,10) and how they are funded (Section 11 and Section 12). The Policy is worded from the perspective of the City of Johannesburg, and how it can support artists to create artworks in public space. This means that any project occurring in Johannesburg public space starts from a position where it is supported through a comprehensive process (specified by the Public Art Action Plan) where clear roles and responsibilities have been detailed for the City, the artist, the Selection Panel and other stakeholders (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy*, 2006:s4). Furthermore, the City is responsible for both the funding and the maintenance of the artwork, so the selected artist does not have to acquire funding from other sources. This selection process also involves the Executive Mayor of Johannesburg as the final decision maker, and aims to be a culturally inclusive process that celebrates “Johannesburg’s unique culture, diverse communities and rich history. It offers shared symbols which build social cohesion, contribute to civic pride and help forge a positive identity for the city” (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy*, 2006:s1).

Although the different art forms that constitute public art are not mentioned, the Policy does note that it aims to “acquire artworks in a wide variety of styles and media” and encourage “new art forms as well as established and traditional forms of art” (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy*, 2006:2).

6.1.2 The Trinity Sessions and The Johannesburg Development Agency

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) is the urban development agency responsible for ensuring the effective implementation of projects aimed at developing and uplifting Johannesburg in alignment with the National Development Plan, The Gauteng 2055 vision, the CoJ's GDS 2040 and CoJ's SDF (JDA, 2023). In recent years, the JDA has shifted its focus and is now dedicated to creating “resilient, sustainable and liveable urban areas in identified transit nodes and corridors” (JDA, 2023).

The JDA first announced the Rea Vaya Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) project in 2014:

[a]ccording to the City's Growth and Development Strategy (Joburg 2040), Johannesburg's transport system is central to its economy and its people. After years of underinvestment in public transport infrastructure during the apartheid period – where separate systems were created for black and white commuters – the domain of transport is finally poised for a new future in the city. With the introduction of the country's first BRT system (the Rea Vaya BRT) ... transport holds tremendous potential for integrating a divided city (JDA, 2014).

As the different corridors were developed, the JDA wanted to create public art in these spaces in order to harness the ‘range of benefits and opportunities’ that public art projects provide.

According to the Johannesburg Public Art Policy, these are as follows:

enhancing the urban environment, increasing the use and enjoyment of public space, and building social cohesion. Public Art provides a means of celebrating Johannesburg's unique culture, diverse communities and rich history. It offers shared symbols which build social cohesion, contribute to civic pride and help forge a positive identity for the city (*Johannesburg Public Art Policy*, 2006:s1)

The JDA therefore put out a call for tenders on the different parts of the transit-oriented corridor of the Rea-Vaya Route in 2015. At this point, The Trinity Sessions had already been working with the City of Johannesburg on a variety of public art projects and were therefore positioned as the top contender (Borton, personal communication, 2019, November 17).

Khan (2020) notes that there was not much competition for this tender, and as a result, Trinity Sessions won the tender. However, the tender was delayed and came through in late 2016 (Borton, personal communication, 2019, November 17) as a result, project work only began in 2017.

Key to the Trinity Sessions continued work with the City of Johannesburg and the Johannesburg Development Agency is the concept of placemaking (first referenced in

Chapter Two - Literature Review, and then again Chapter Four - Findings). Placemaking as a theory and a practice is central to all of #ArtMyJozi's public art creations. This is because the focus of placemaking is to break down the "narrow focus and institutional silos of city planners, designers and engineers, and instead focus on place in its entirety by inviting grassroots community contributors to weigh in on the process early on" (Project for Public Spaces, 2023). In this way, Trinity Sessions makes use of placemaking as both a guiding ethos, and a practical approach on how to create artworks in public spaces whilst fully engaging and including the surrounding community stakeholders in the process. This approach adopts a more "bottom-up" position to the creation of public space, where community engagement precedes policy and official processes.

In order to explain how this process unfolded for the #ArtMyJozi project, it should be noted that the team at Trinity Sessions started off each project process with a community engagement process. This is discussed in the next level of meaning,

6.2 Meaning-Making Site Two: Community Flow of Information

As Borton (personal communication 2019, November 17) explains, before the Trinity Sessions started working in an area, they would engage the surrounding community. As a starting point, these community engagement processes would entail setting up a table on the side of the road with a sign that reads "tell us a story about *YOUR* neighbourhood" (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). Any interested community members are then invited to come write down their story, or draw a picture of it, or to verbally tell the story and allow the Trinity Sessions team to capture it (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). Through this process, the project team captures the stories of the community and they also get a sense of who the key community leaders or influencers were as they recorded the names and contact information of the community members that participate in this grass-roots activation.

6.2.1 Pre-project community discussions

From there, the team makes a point of getting in touch with local community members and key influencers or stakeholders and announces a town hall to discuss the project. The town

hall is made public and all 'interested and involved' community members are invited to attend the session. The #ArtMyJozi team relies on word of mouth, printed flyers, local newspaper advertisements and printed posters that are stuck up around community centres to spread the word (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). During the townhall event, community members are informed about the project, its aims and intended outcomes and invited to comment. Community participation and contribution is also encouraged. This can take the form of stories, active participation in the creation of the artwork concepts, helping to create the works or get involved in the process or even offer up suggestions for spaces for the works to appear. The extent to which the community wants to get involved in the process is entirely at their discretion.

The point of this process is to provide local stakeholders with a space to understand what the project is about before it begins, and to allow them to share any ideas, views or concerns that they may have. It also creates a space for those who are looking to get involved, to learn new skills or for small businesses in the area to offer up their current skill set, products and/or services (Borton 2019). This step is essential to the placemaking project as it ensures community buy-in, but also gives people a chance to understand what is happening before it happens, and an opportunity to get involved if they would like to. Importantly, it also makes the project team aware of any potential concerns, threats or objections to the project, and provides a platform for the community to feel heard. As Borton (personal communication 2019, November 17) pointed out, the risk of starting a project without going through this process is that communities feel excluded from the process and are more likely to not support the project. If a funded project begins in a community space and the community does not feel supported, heard, seen or represented - this poses a big threat to the project and may hinder the project process and/or the final results. This would in turn make the project difficult to measure and evaluate, or for repeat funding to be awarded. It would also increase the risk of community sabotage (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17).

6.2.2 Community participants versus celebrity artists

Once the community voice has been explored, surrounding small businesses engaged with, and local objections considered, the project process can begin. During the community engagement - the Trinity Sessions team invites any interested and available community

members to participate in the project and offers them a small stipend as compensation for their time and contribution (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17).

Of interest to this research is that there are no ‘artists’ or ‘celebrity artists’ involved in this project. The founders of The Trinity Sessions, Marcus Neutsetter and Stephen Hobbs, are both practising artists with Master of Fine Arts Degrees, but they do not create works for these projects. Rather, through the Project Manager (Ms. Pauline Borton) and Project Assistants, they create a framework or process through which the community members can use art to express themselves and tell their own stories about the space that they live in. Typically, Trinity Session staff members tend to come from a Fine Art or Cultural Policy education background, except for the fabrication and carpentry staff, who have a necessary practical skill set (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17).

By ensuring that this is a community-centred project, the community is reflected back to itself, instead of representing the narrative or visual identity of someone who has no affiliation with the community. The focus of this process is not on the aesthetics of the final product, but rather on the process of inclusion and representation. During this time, Trinity Sessions will engage local suppliers for things like paint, paint brushes, cement, or any other art supplies needed. They will also upskill any willing community members in creative expression techniques so that they can participate in the creation of the final public art piece (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). Before any final pieces are constructed, the project team ensures that a visual concept is first created. They will use the stories and narratives collected through the community engagements and activations and workshop these ideas with the community to then create an artwork concept (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). This artwork concept can take the form of a sketch or a mindmap, or even a collection of concept drawings that are physically stuck on to the wall space that they will be created in. This is important as it provides a sense of scale of the artwork. The process also gives the new community artists a space to practise their skills and gain confidence in their newfound abilities (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). The outcomes of this ‘bottom-up-process’ are discussed in the next meaning-making level.

6.3 Meaning-Making Site Three: (Sites of Production & Consumption)

The main sites for the #ArtMyJozi project were: Noordgesig, Louis Botha Avenue, Rotunda Precinct and the Brixton Sport and Recreation Centre. This section discusses the location, the community members and the process-orientated works that were created at each site.

6.3.1 Noordgesig

Noordgesig was the primary community hub for the project, and one of the first sites that the project kicked off in. The #ArtMyJozi project operated out of the centre of the community, where they were involved in the restoration of a community centre and for creating a safe passage for children to walk home from school. Many other works were created during the project, and they can be seen in the map below.

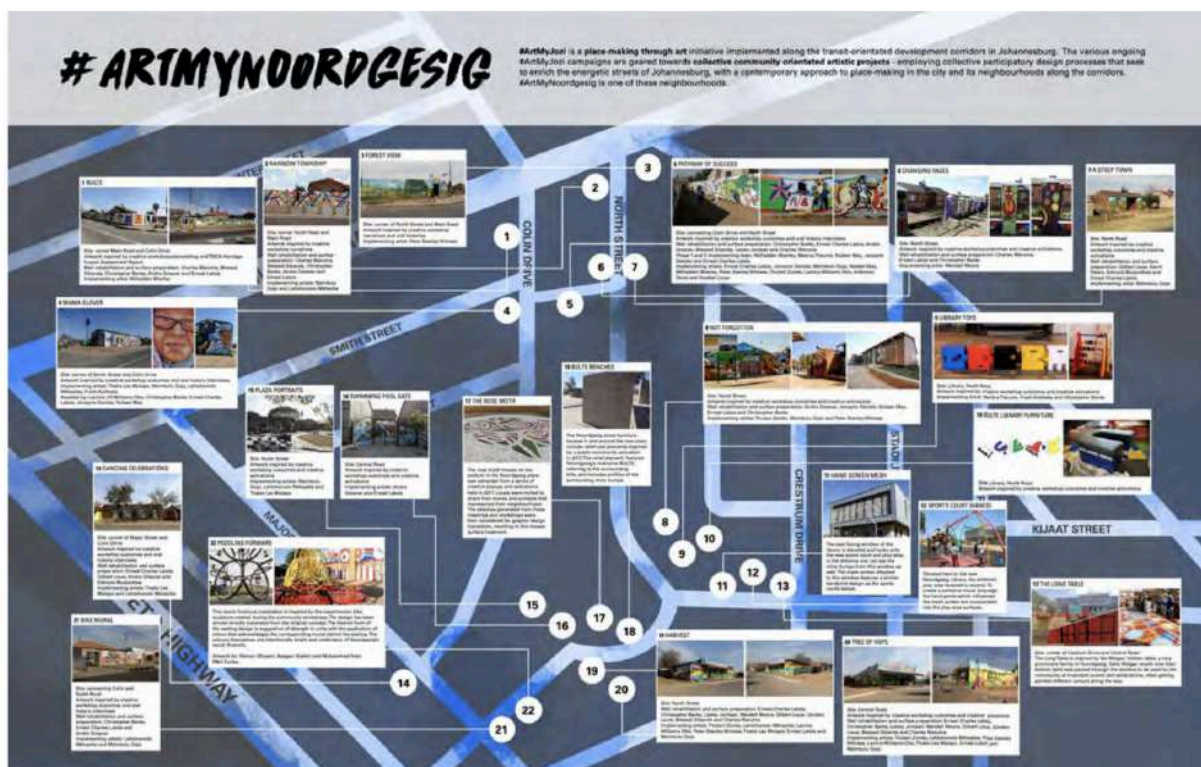


Figure 38: Map of Noordgesig artworks that formed part of the #ArtMyJozi Noordgesig Project, (#ArtMyJozi,2020).

The works that were created were the result of many community activations and engagement events. The photographs of these events are displayed in the collage below.



Figure 39: Collage of photographs from community engagement events, 2017-2018, (#ArtMyJozi ,2020).

The photograph below comes from my research field visit and shows some of the murals painted on the walls of the community centre next to a JDA sign that earmarks this location as space for “another World Class Development”. School children can also be seen walking past.



Figure 40: Photograph of Noordgesig Community Centre (2019)

When I conducted a field visit to this location in 2019, I got a chance to interact with the community members and meet Lavinia Williams-Otto, the person that initially brought the story of her late mentor, Mama Glover to the Trinity Sessions Team. According to Williams-Otto (personal communication 2019, November 17), Mama Glover was a community hero and much admired member of the community. She used to grow vegetables in her garden to feed people in the community that needed extra support, she was also a pillar of the community and mentored many people. One of the Mama Glover murals can be seen in the photograph below. This mural is painted on the outside of a church as religion, specifically Christianity, was a big part of Mama Glover's life. According to the #ArtMyJozi Project Report (2020),

Sister Betty Glover, or Mama Glover as her people knew her, was an iconic leader of the Noordgesig community. Not only was she a woman of immense spiritual and material generosity, but she was also a selfless leader with a relentless passion to serve and uplift others without expecting anything in return. Mama Glover was best known for opening her home in 1962 to start one of the first feeding schemes in Soweto during apartheid. This feeding scheme is still in operation and feeds around 300 people per day from Noordgesig and the surrounding areas such as Orlando, Diepkloof, Pimville, Nancefield, Freedom Park, and Lenasia. In addition to being a compassionate caregiver, Sister Glover was also a skilled farmer and gardener. She ran her feeding scheme using vegetables she grew herself in her garden and bought

the rest of the ingredients using her own pension money when sponsorships and donations often dried up.

Mama Glover is commemorated through this mural, to remind the community of what she stood for and represented. She is displayed holding her green bible in this mural, as she took it everywhere she went (#ArtMyJozi , 2020).



Figure 41: Photograph of Noordgesig Church with Mama Glover Mural, (2019).

After the community hall events and further community engagements, many more community stories and narratives were uncovered. This included a visual historical narrative of the community of Noordgesig and how it had been overlooked against the backdrop of Soweto. Another example is the new fence that was built for the public pool with attached metal cutouts that made the space look more inviting and also helped to visually indicate what was behind the fence for people who are illiterate. This approach ensured that the pool was utilised. Another example is a functional sculpture of a community table known as the ‘Long Table’. The long table was a table that was “passed through the windows of community houses for years” (Williams-Otto personal communication 2019, November 17)). Whenever someone had a big event like a christening, wedding or a funeral - the long table

would make an appearance. In this way, the long table was often at the centre of many of the community gatherings. The functional sculpture can be seen in the photograph below. I use the term ‘functional’, because this cement replica is also practically used as a long table and a space for community members to rest and to gather.



Figure 42: Photograph of the long table and surrounding community benches, (2019).

All of the murals, installations, functional sculptures and works are created in public spaces. They use community stories and motifs, and are for the community. They are designed in such a way that they encourage community engagement and participation in these spaces. In all processes, the community was involved or at the very least consulted in the design of the works. Borton (personal communication 2019, November 17) only recounts one instance when the community would not sanction a work. In this instance, the community members rejected the motif of a wall as they felt that there had already been enough mention of Mama Glover, and they had had road works for the previous three months. They did not want to be disturbed further and rejected the design and application (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17).

6.3.2 Louis Botha Avenue

Physically, Louis Botha Avenue runs through the centre of Johannesburg and is one of the longest parts of the Rea-Vaya transit-oriented corridor. It extends from Linbro Park to Fordsberg. The map below indicates some of the length of this road (marked in red).

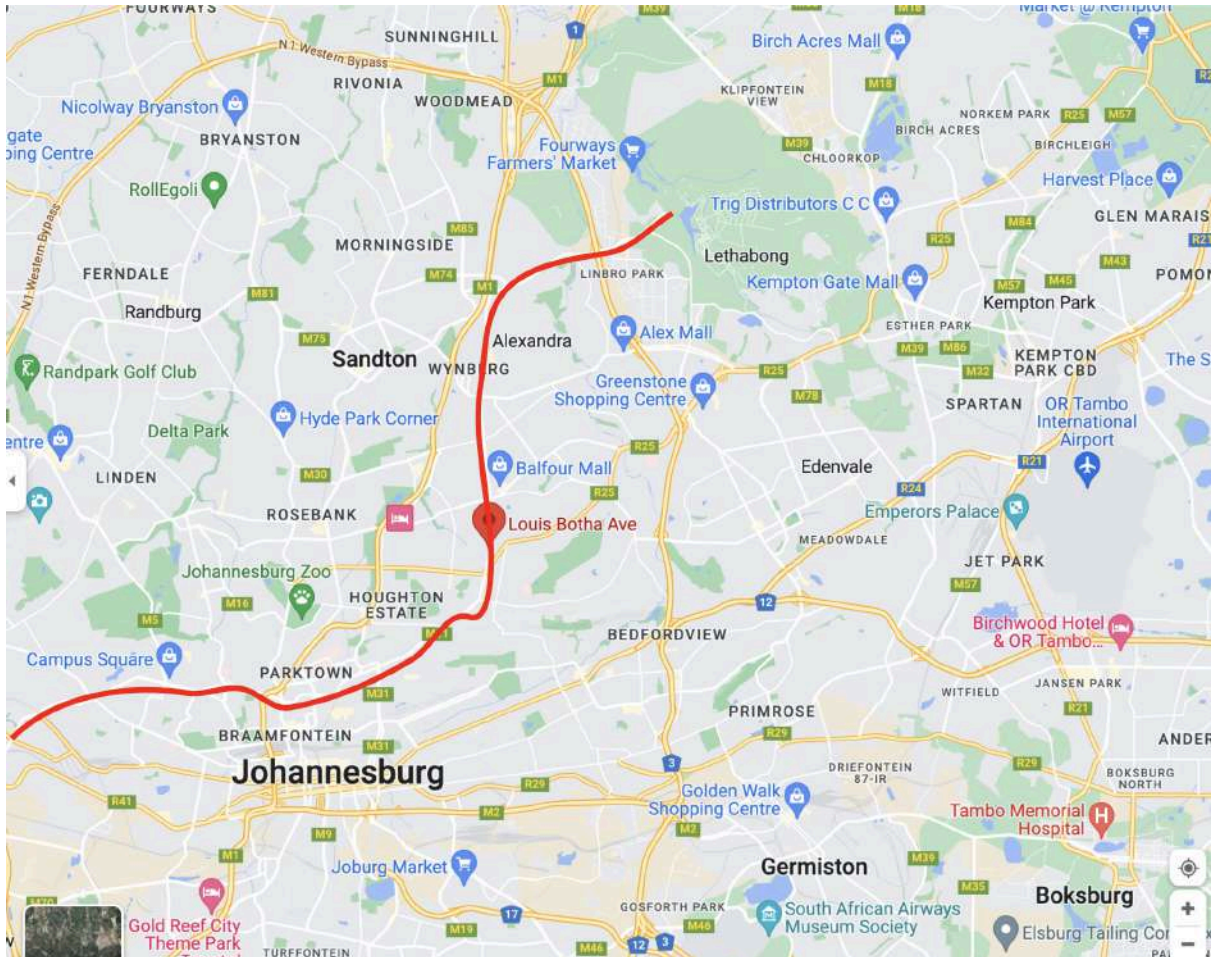


*Figure 43: Map of Johannesburg with Louis Botha Avenue marked.
(GoogleMaps, 2023)*

This part of the project occurred in many phases. Here an open call was issued where interested artists and community members could paint walls along the transit corridor. This project site was slightly different to Noordgesig as there was not a central community hub. Instead, various murals were created over 2800 metres that told the story of the location and the people that commuted through it on a daily basis. Collectively, these murals are called the “S-Bend Murals” and were commissioned by the JDA and executed by the Trinity Sessions

through the #ArtMyJozi placemaking project. In a press release in 2019, this is how the JDA described the works:

[p]ainting the S-Bend Wall Mural offered a unique opportunity for telling Joburg's multiple histories through social politics, landscape, architecture and mobility. The significant scale of the artwork warranted a collective approach to execution, cross pollinating and upcycling of styles and skills, as well as sharing of knowledge and building new networks for emerging artists and muralists. One of the main themes of the Mural is modes of transport. Historically, Ndebele traders took cattle and agricultural produce to markets along the Great North Road in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Since the early 20th century Louis Botha has been one of Joburg's primary transport routes, with cars, buses and taxis moving tens of thousands of people daily between Alexandra and Johannesburg (Monyai, 2019).

For these murals, local permanent and temporary project staff and interested community members could participate in the mural creation, however the mural concepts and execution was "implemented by a collective of 14 artists (referred to as the S-Bend Artist's Collective) of different backgrounds and disciplines, comprising of Anser NineOne, Mars, Dreda, Mr Ekse, Jestr, Maja Maljevic, Mein, Page 33, Plank, Sandile Radebe, Vivien Kohler, Zesta, and assisted by Breeze Yoko and FIYAONE" (Dinath, 2019). This approach was intentional as the different artist styles and backgrounds "allowed for a special skills exchange" (Dinath 2019). According to the press release listed on the #ArtMyJozi page, this approach was adopted as a variety of compositions and stylistic techniques employed in the mural were selected to "reflect the diverse and layered character of Johannesburg and its inhabitants" (Dinath 2019).

The murals were completed at the end of the project in 2019 and were then handed over to the Department of Community Development (Directorate of Arts, Culture and Heritage) to form part of the City's public art asset register (Monyai, 2019). The process of collecting the varied stories of transport between the 19th Century and modern day, was curated through a community exhibition and gathering. According to the Johannesburg Development Agency, "the community was invited to view the process, and add their comments and creative contributions. A series of workshops were also held with local children and community residents to develop an intergenerational narrative" (Dinath, 2019).

You can see pictures of some of these murals and their progress below:



Figure 44: Louis Botha “S-Bend Murals”, painted by various community artists. Louis Botha Avenue, Johannesburg (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2019).

On our site visit we did drive past the ‘S-Bend’ but were unable to stop to take photographs. The murals have been documented by the Trinity Sessions on their website and Instagram. This is discussed later in more detail.

6.3.3 The Rotunda Precinct

The next site that this research considers is the Rotunda Precinct area. This area is situated in Turffontein Transit Corridor. The initial JDA project focussed on upgrading the surrounding precinct of a circular park area and creating a vertical park. According to their Press Release, this was a four year project with an estimated spend of over R150-million, which would go towards the

redevelopment of the Rotunda Park Precinct as part of the extreme makeover of Turffontein, southeast of Johannesburg. The redevelopment of the area, one of the oldest suburbs in Johannesburg, forms part of the City’s Corridors of Freedom’s transit-orientated developments that will see Johannesburg transcend apartheid-era town planning by bringing schools, services, work opportunities and other benefits closer to the people, especially those who live on the outskirts of the city (JDA, 2019).

This redevelopment was carried out in three phases. These are described below by the Johannesburg Development Agency (2019):

Phase 1 involves the upgrade of Park Crescent around Rotunda Park, the upgrade of High Street North, the Northern Gateway (at the intersection of High Street and Turf Club Road) and the upgrade of the Eastern Gateway (at the intersection of Turf Club Road and Main Street). New paving will be laid, street lighting will be upgraded and cycle lanes will be added to some sections. In addition, street furniture and artwork will be installed for an improved public environment. According to her, the aim is to make the intersection safe for pedestrians.

Phase 2 of the initiative – the estimated R 47.7-million Linear Park project– will start later this year after extensive consultations and workshop sessions with the public. The park, on a 2km stretch along De Villiers Road, is a greening project that forms part of the public environmental upgrade. The road will be split and a park erected in between “to create a green public open space”.

Phase 3 will involve the extension of the De Villiers Parkway towards iconic landmarks. Turffontein, one of the oldest residential areas in Johannesburg, has been in steady decline over the years. MMC Greeff says the redevelopment of the area will attract investors, especially in the housing sector.

When #ArtMyJozi got involved, the project was already in Phase 1 and moving towards Phase 2. This involved an extended period of construction as roads had to be demolished and rebuilt. JDA and Rea Vaya needed to create a linear park as part of the City upgrades and planning. The construction for this park was slow and many residents, particularly those on DeVilliers Street, were left feeling frustrated after the continuous noise, dust and water interruptions caused by the construction (Thusi, 2017). After all of the main construction was complete, the #ArtMyJozi team started working on the project site to help beautify the area and make it feel safe again, for residents and for small school children walking home from school (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). However, unlike the other projects - this was the project where the Trinity Sessions struggled with some initial resistance from the surrounding community as they were fed up after the extensive construction (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). Equally, the Trinity Sessions was not involved from conception of this project, and were brought in to help ‘clean up’ the mess after the construction (I would also assume that they were brought in as community peacemakers). After a series of community workshops, it became apparent that the residents felt unsafe and uninspired by the ongoing construction and interruptions to basic infrastructure and service delivery (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17).

So #ArtMyJozi decided to workshop the idea of protection totems that would line the pavements outside of these houses (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). The totems were envisioned as protective mechanisms that also provided the community with spaces to tell their stories and add beauty back into the street. After the #ArtMyJozi part of the project was properly launched and the community had been actively engaged, the first few totems started to appear. The residents wanted to see what was happening and also to share their own stories with the team. A close up of a singular totem and its position in the street outside the houses is shown below.



Figure 45: Close up photograph of a singular totem (left) and a zoomed out photograph of the totems outside the homes on De Villiers Street (right). Turffontein, 2019.

During Phase 2 and Phase 3, the #ArtMyJozi team focused on making the nearby Rotunda Precinct Park area feel safe and inviting for young children again. This was due to the fact that many children walked home from school through this park (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). #ArtMyJozi wanted to bring in colours to decorate and clearly mark the walkways. Children's games such as hopscotch were also painted on to this walkway to encourage play. These walkways were partially shaded and connected the Rotunda Park to the Turffontein corridor. They can be seen in the photograph below.



Figure 46: Rotunda Precinct Park walkways. Turffontein, 2019.

As part of this process, the team had to work with local suppliers in the area to source a specific type of road paint for the pillars and the pathways to make sure that it lasted and did not lose its initial bright colour after extended wear and tear (Borton, 2019). The combined curiosity of the community and necessary project engagement around resource and material procurement meant that the community were soon on-board with this project and after some time even started to take the maintenance and upkeep of the park and surrounding areas into their own hands.

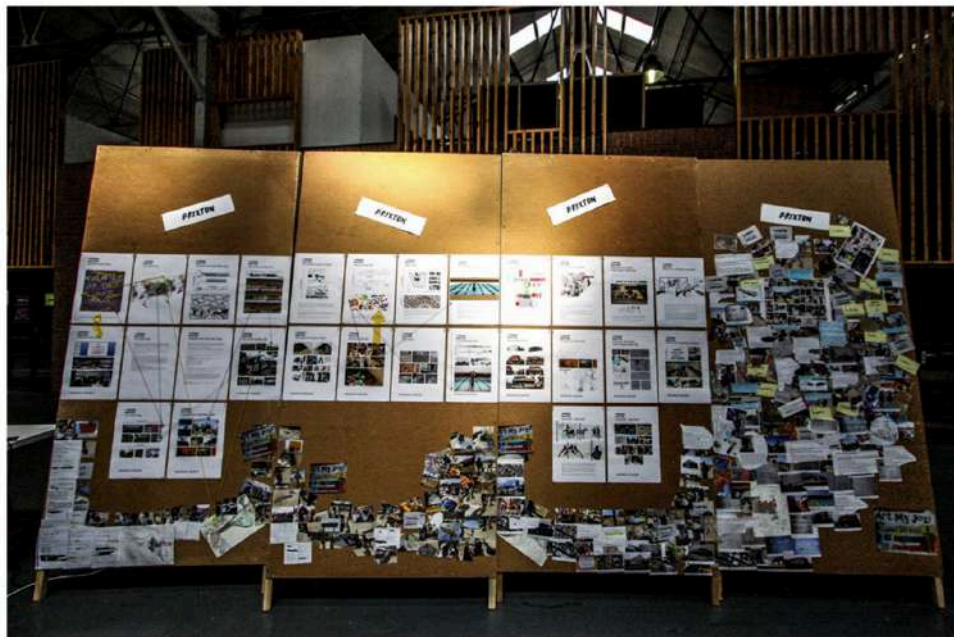
6.3.4 The Brixton Sport and Recreation Centre

The final project space was situated close to Mayfair in Johannesburg in a diverse area with a large refugee and student population. It is noted by the #ArtMyJozi report (2020) that this is what is called an apartheid ‘grey area’ where despite spatial segregation enacted by the apartheid government, this area still largely consisted of a mixed racial population. This population had experienced a significant divide between the different demographics (#ArtMyJozi, 2020) and The Brixton Sport and Recreation Centre was conceptualised with

the residents of the area in mind, so it was #ArtMyJozi 's job was to ensure that the residents felt appropriately represented and that this social cluster provided a space for social cohesion to occur. The Johannesburg Development Agency noted that this development should speak to the

diversity of residents in terms of education, income and cultural heritage, [and also] a large and ever-growing student population who attend lectures at the nearby University of the Witwatersrand and University of Johannesburg. The amenities at the centre will allow for conferencing, health and wellness training, sports seminars, televised indoor and outdoor sports competitions, daily gym activities in a fully equipped gym, community-based recreation in activity rooms and external provincial and national events (JDA, 2019).

The primary aim of the centre was to nurture young sporting talent and to lure the youth away from alcohol, drugs and gang membership (JDA, 2020). The Centre also forms part of a larger social cluster, targeted for key strategic redevelopment as Brixton was one of the areas identified for “providing a basis for growth and densification within the Empire Perth Corridor, which is anchored by the Phase 1B BRT route linking Soweto to Parktown” (Peterson, 2020).



Cultural mapping and conceptual design solutions were presented as part of a community centred exhibition at the Bus Factory in Newtown, 2017.

Figure 47: Photograph of the results of the community engagement and mapping process that took place in Brixton and the surrounding areas. (#ArtMyJozi Report, 2020).

Although the centre was only opened in 2021, the #ArtMyJozi team was on site from early 2018, and had started engaging with the surrounding community from 2017 (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). The surrounding areas of Mayfair, Crosby, Brixton, Fordsburg, Fietas and Vrededorp (#ArtMyJozi, 2019). In this centre, they coordinated the painting of a few significant murals and facilitated the creation of a large wooden sculptural piece. The mapped works can be seen in the figure below.

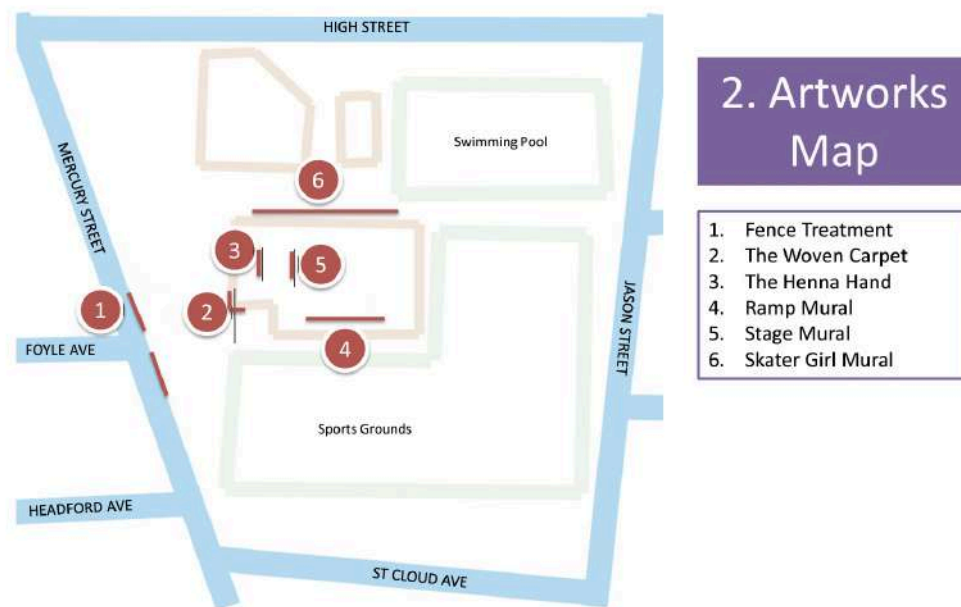


Figure 48: Artworks Map, (#ArtMyJozi Report, 2020).

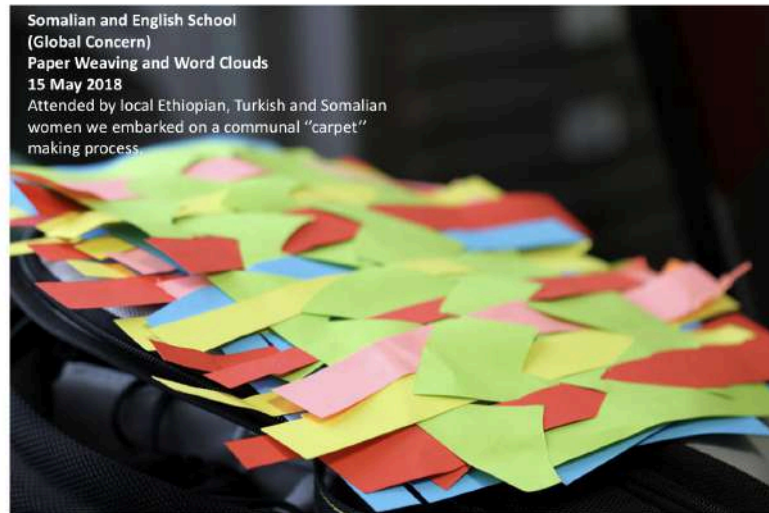
Each of the pieces created involved a community engagement and conceptualisation through visual storytelling processes with different segments of the community. The first piece, the wooden sculpture, was the tangible outcome from a visual dialogue with Somalian refugees who could not speak English, and so the team facilitated a number of visual and tactile storytelling workshops with the group so that they could communicate their stories. An example of this was that each member of the group was given a small stipend and had to make a meal that told everyone else something about them. Through this process, the Trinity Sessions team learned the importance of spice, smell, flavour and touch to this community. The food storytelling process was the initial conceptual event for what later became the large scale wooden sculpture that was hung on the entrance wall to the recreation centre. This

process can be seen in the collection of photographs below, and it also highlighted the need for a safe space for the Somali women to come and learn English in the Recreation Centre.



Figure 49: The results of the community engagement with the Somali refugee women and the Trinity Sessions team. (#ArtMyJozi Report, 2020).

The second significant project was the creation and decoration of the indoor stage space in a style that matched the outdoor panelling with various strokes, lines, squiggles and colours. This motif paid homage to the carpet trade which had historically been a big part of this community. This creates a fun and vibrant atmosphere and creates flow between the inside and outside of the sports centre. These murals were inspired by a creative workshop conducted with the community. This can be seen below:



21



Figure 50: Community engagement process where the participants created paper weaves to join together into a communal 'carpet'. (#ArtMyJozi Report, 2020).

The resulting murals on the inside and the outside of the building can be seen in the photographs below.



Figure 51: Photographs showing the inside 'carpet' mural (left) and the outside carpet panels (right) at the Brixton Recreation Centre, 2019. (#ArtMyJozi Report, 2020).

Other murals included olympic circles that were painted inside the centre behind the seating so that the association with sports achievement and excellence is referenced. There is also a visual retelling of the history of Mayfair on the side of the building that includes a graffiti wall close to the outdoor skate park section of the recreation centre. This mural included many motifs that paid homage to the surrounding Islamic population, including a skating woman in a hijab, which caused some controversy. The final mural and its creation process can be seen below:



Figure 52: Process Documentation images for the 'Skater Girl' mural created by local graffiti and mural artists and Brixton-based artists Sarah Tabane and Fatima Baig for the Brixton Recreation Centre. (#ArtMyJozi Report, 2020).

6.4 Meaning-Making Site Four: (Scale of Effects)

The last meaning-making level discussed the actual works that formed part of the #ArtMyJozi project, and detailed the locations, community engagement processes, motifs for the work, and the execution of the works. This next meaning-making site builds on that discussion by looking at the scale of effects associated with the project as a whole. This discussion focuses on three key aspects, namely artists as protagonists, extended community involvement and the Tipper Road Studio space.

6.4.1 Artists as Protagonists

Although the set up of the Trinity Sessions has already been detailed earlier on in this research, it is important to note it again here. Both Stephen Hobbs and Marcus Neustetter are practising Fine Artists who have been creating public artworks for the last three decades. In

this time, they have both learned some of the best ways to work in public space and have therefore championed the Placemaking approach as their chosen method (Trinity Sessions, 2023). They describe their approach:

Through our various public art programmes, we had access to people and communities and were actively involved in shifting thinking at city level, around artistic and cultural production in the public domain. This in turn had a significant impact on our approach to co-authorship and production within the Trinity Session (Trinity Sessions, 2023).

This statement highlights the fact that instead of waiting for the city and government officials to come to them, or to dictate what the best practices for working with City space are, they created this process themselves. They were then seen as pioneers or protagonists in the public art space and worked with the City to co-design best practice approaches to public art creation in South African public space. The way that both Neustetter and Hobbs have set up their private fabrication company and the Trinity Sessions allows for the projects to be financially self-sustaining at times, and creates an important communication loop between government, city planners, artists and corporate South Africa. This facilitates the process of collaboration as these communication pathways and networks have already been established.

6.4.2 Extended Community Involvement

When the #ArtMyJosi project kicked off in early 2017, Noordgesig was one of the first sites that the team started working on. Many of the community members joined the project on a temporary basis and helped with building work, organising supplies and upskilling fellow community members. Lavinia Williams-Otto was one of the members of the community who landed up joining the Trinity Sessions team on a permanent basis and has worked with them since then. The team upskilled Williams-Otto in project management, entrepreneurship skills and creative techniques. Hobbs and Neustetter, the project founders, also helped her out with some new glasses so that she could “see properly again and do her work” (Williams-Otto personal communication 2019, November 17). Since then, Williams-Otto is perhaps one of the project’s greatest success stories, as she has gained further skills and business expertise and used these skills to start two entrepreneurial ventures. Williams-Otto started her own tourism business where she shows tourists around Noordgesig and also runs a mural creation company where she uses the skills that the Trinity Sessions taught her to create murals for small businesses in and around Noordgesig (Williams-Otto personal communication 2019,

November 17). One of her clients included the Noordgesig pre-primary school, where she was involved in making the school more visually appealing for the children. One of the murals that she created for this project can be seen below.



Figure 53 : Photograph of the Noordgesig pre-primary school mural by Lavinia Williams-Otto, 2019.

Although Williams-Otto still keeps her two entrepreneurial ventures going on the side, her main focus is now as staff member of the Trinity Sessions, where she has worked on many of the projects mentioned in the previous section (Williams-Otto personal communication 2019, November 17).

Besides for this personalised instance, it should also be noted that every site that the Trinity Sessions have worked in as part of #ArtMyJozi project has resulted in job creation and small business support. Each of the JDA Press Releases noted the exact number of jobs that were created through these projects and the BRT investment (JDA, 2020).

6.4.3 Tipper Road Studio

When the work on the Louis Botha ‘S-Bend’ commenced, the Trinity Sessions needed to establish a nearby studio space where they could host community events, art exhibitions, and a studio to create the works. They chose Tipper Road Studios which is situated along the Louis Botha transit corridor. This space is situated near Orange Grove in Johannesburg and is part of a larger community centre called “The Orchards Project”. According to Trinity Sessions (2023) this location “is laden with rich social, cultural and environmental histories of Johannesburg”. The Tipper Studios interior can be seen in the image below, where carpenters are assembling the wooden installation for the Brixton Road Recreation Centre. Behind this are some of the totems that were created for De Villiers Street as part of the Rotunda Precinct project.

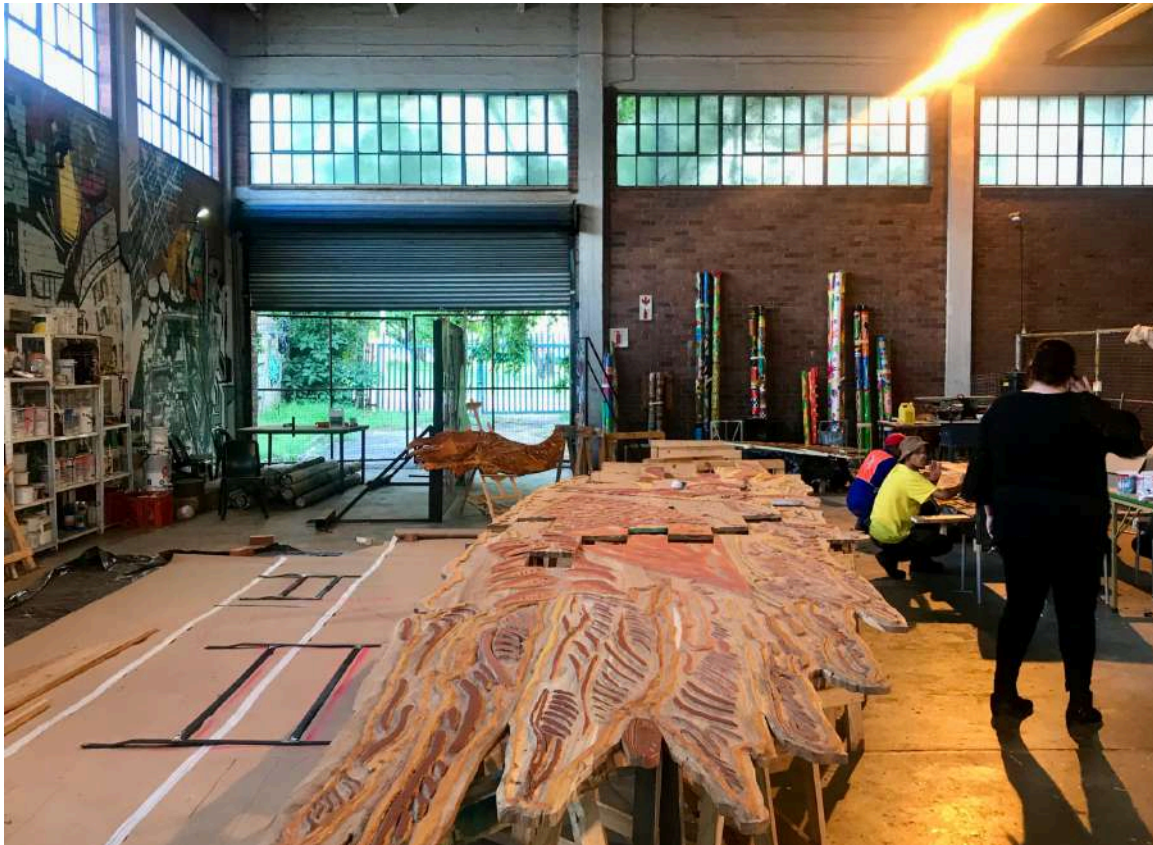


Figure 54: Photograph of the Tipper Road Studio in Orange Grove, 2019.

The Orchards Project provided a permanent physical location for the Trinity Sessions, and in this space they were able to open both the Tipper Road Studio Space and the Spark Gallery. If the Tipper Studio is where the artworks and sculptures are created, then the Spark Gallery plays an important before and after role. In other words, the gallery has hosted many townhall

and community engagement sessions before a project has kicked off, and also hosted many artwork exhibitions from local community artists during or after the project is complete (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 19). The nearby Patterson Park³³ was also included in an upgrade and Trinity Sessions were involved in the artwork creation for this emerging mixed use social cluster. (Trinity Sessions, 2023).



Figure 55: Aerial photographs of the Orchards Project and surrounding areas including Patterson Park, The Tipper Road Studio and Spark Gallery in Orange Grove, Johannesburg. (Trinity Sessions, 2023).

In this way, the physical location provided by the Orchard Project created a community node that ensured the longevity of not only the Trinity Sessions, but also the surrounding community areas. It provided a space for community facilitation and artwork creation required by the placemaking approach, and ensured that there was a physical space that project was run from, since none of the locations discussed earlier were permanent project sites. This gave the #ArtMyJozi a physical location to continue the placemaking work and community upliftment work initiated by the #ArtMyJozi projects, beyond the scope of the #ArtMyJozi project.

6.5 Meaning-Making Site Five: (Experience of media-caused entanglements)

This section will consider which communication channels were used at which point and to what effect. It is of note to this research that when I first met with Ms Pauline Borton in 2019, the #ArtMyJozi projects were all well underway. At that time, the social media channels (Instagram and Facebook) for The Trinity Sessions and #ArtMyJozi Projects were sharing

³³ These works are not included in the initial data collection as it falls outside of the scope of this project, which is specifically #ArtMyJozi projects.

some process and progress photographs, but most of the engagement was taking place in a face-to-face context.

6.5.1 Before the projects: Community awareness campaigns

Since community engagement had already taken place through calls and activation posters (see example below), the communities surrounding each project site were all mostly aware and informed about the process and motivation of each project. This was ensured by several community activation events that usually included an invitation for local artists, sports events or theatre for children and town hall events where community members could raise questions or concerns (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 19). At these initial project stages, the team was still building up a database of interested community stakeholders and therefore primarily relied on word of mouth, posters and flyers to disseminate this information amongst the relevant communities (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 19). However, this did not mean that social media was not utilised. Rather, it was not the primary means of information dissemination.



Figure 56: An example of a community poster for the Brixton Recreation Centre Project, (Trinity Sessions, 2023).

Some of these calls for participation were re-shared on social media, such as the example noted below:



Figure 57: Citizen resharing of the #ArtMyJozi call for community participation in the 'S-Bend' Mural project. (Twitter, 2022).

6.5.2 During the Projects: JDA Press Releases

The Johannesburg Development Agency released several press releases related to each project site, that spoke mostly about their involvement and the different phases of each project, as well as the intended outcomes and estimated budgets. An example of one such press release can be seen below:

largely because the press and interested community members and stakeholders were invited to ‘Media Days’ for each of the projects. Here the Project Team and involved community members and government officials were invited to present about the project and give interested members a tour of the works and facilities. These media days resulted in many posts on Instagram, Facebook and Twitter as well as several news articles.

6.5.3.1 Digital Archive Creation

From our initial conversations, Ms Borton was clear that The Trinity Session’s primary objective for its social media channels and website was that they were to be used as a digital archive to capture relevant information, process pictures, artist information and location rationales. This can be seen in many of their project posts related to each project site. For example, here is a screenshot of the #ArtMyJozi hashtag on Instagram, which pulls up many project related posts.

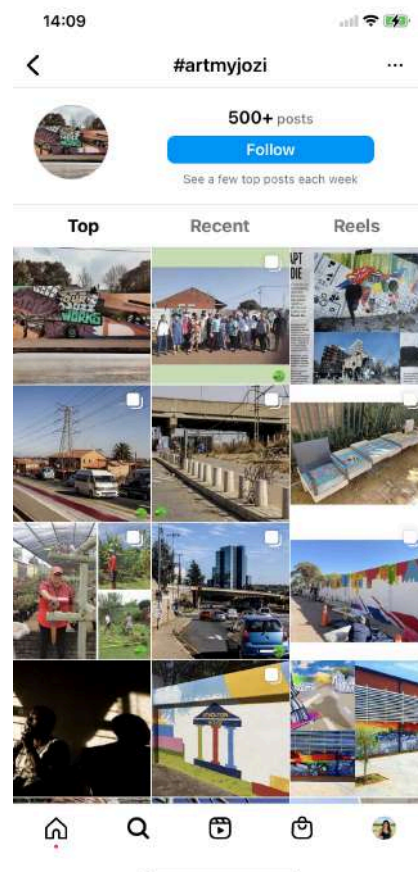


Figure 59: Screenshot of #ArtMyJozi search, (Instagram 2022).

An example Twitter post about the Louis Botha ‘S-Bend’ is shown below to illustrate how the posts around these projects serve as digital archives to recount important information

relating to the projects. It should be noted that this tweet uses the ‘throwback’ hashtag and was posted in 2021. The original Tweet comes from the JDA and is retweeted by #ArtMyJozi.

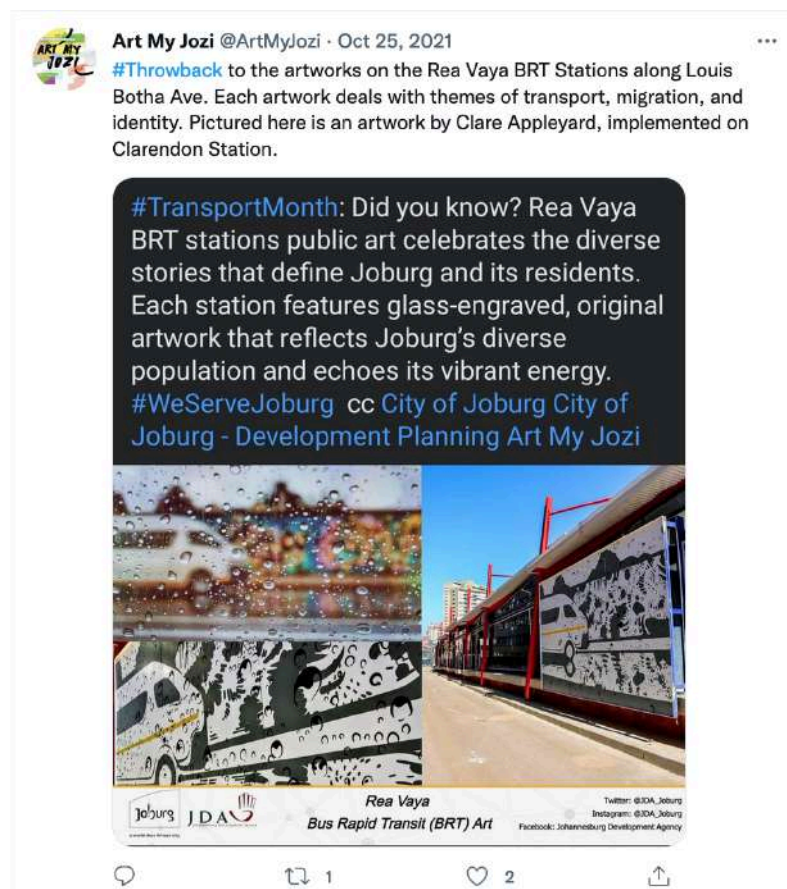


Figure 60: #ArtMyJozi Tweet detailing information about the Louis Botha Project, (Twitter, 2022).

#ArtMyJozi and Trinity Sessions also created project reports for each project, which are available on their website and included in the Appendix section of this research for reference. These reports are thorough in nature and detail many of the project processes, motifs, engagement strategies and visual references. These reports were compiled by the Trinity Sessions and were distributed to the press and other interested parties. Further project information and overviews can also be found in the different project plaques that are on display at the Tipper Road Studios. An example of two of these are shown in the images below.

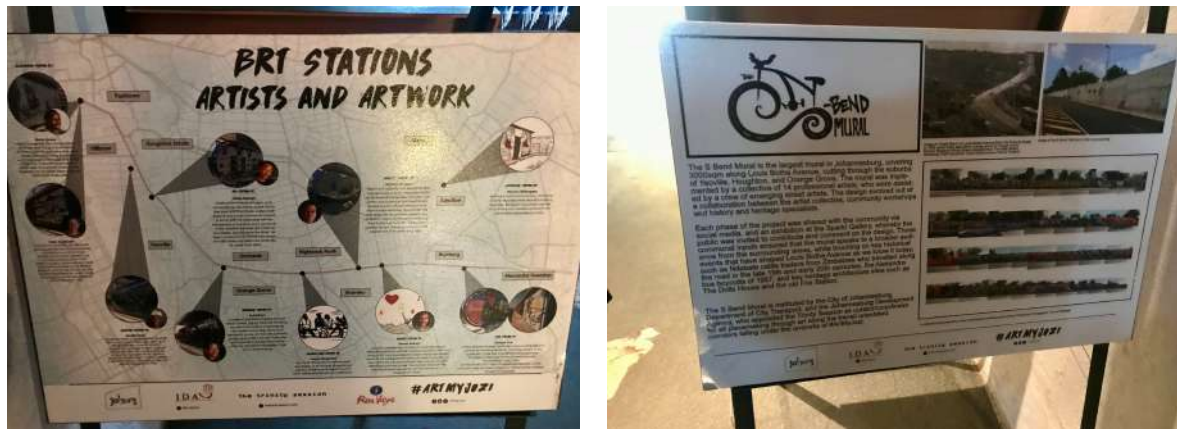


Figure 61: Photographs of project plaques for the BRT Station artworks (left) and the 'S-Bend' Mural (right) at theTipper Road Studios, 2019.

6.5.3.2 Community Responses

Many government departments and officials also reposted the projects and tagged the relevant organisations for positive media exposure. This can be seen in the example post below.



Figure 62: City of Johannesburg Development Planning Tweet, (Twitter, 2022).

These social media posts gave the projects an even greater widespread visibility and informed many people about the aims and outcomes of each project. The official endorsements from

JDA, City of Joburg and many government officials added an extra layer of positive reinforcement to the projects, and many community members were proud to be associated with these projects (Borton, personal communication, 2019, November 17).

Of interest to this research is the Tweet from one of Mama Glover's relatives. This Tweet (shown below) heralds the project for its good work and for commemorating the legacy of her grandmother. Although this Tweet fell outside of the scope of the data collection range for this research, it is mentioned here as it illustrates positive community response and active engagement with the Noordgesig Project.



*Figure 63: Citizen Tweet showcasing Mama Glover mural.
(Twitter, 2022).*

One of the only semi-negative responses that I could find within the social media data was a post from a local Crosby resident (a nursery school teacher) who felt excluded from the process when she saw the Tweet about the Brixton Recreation project in December 2019. According to the thread, this resident had felt that Crosby creatives had been overlooked in

the initial community engagement process. When I asked Ms Borton about this specific post she replied that this resident had been contacted and the Trinity Sessions was looking at adding another piece (the fence) onto the Brixton Project. The relevant community members were invited to participate in the painting of the fence detailed in the second image.

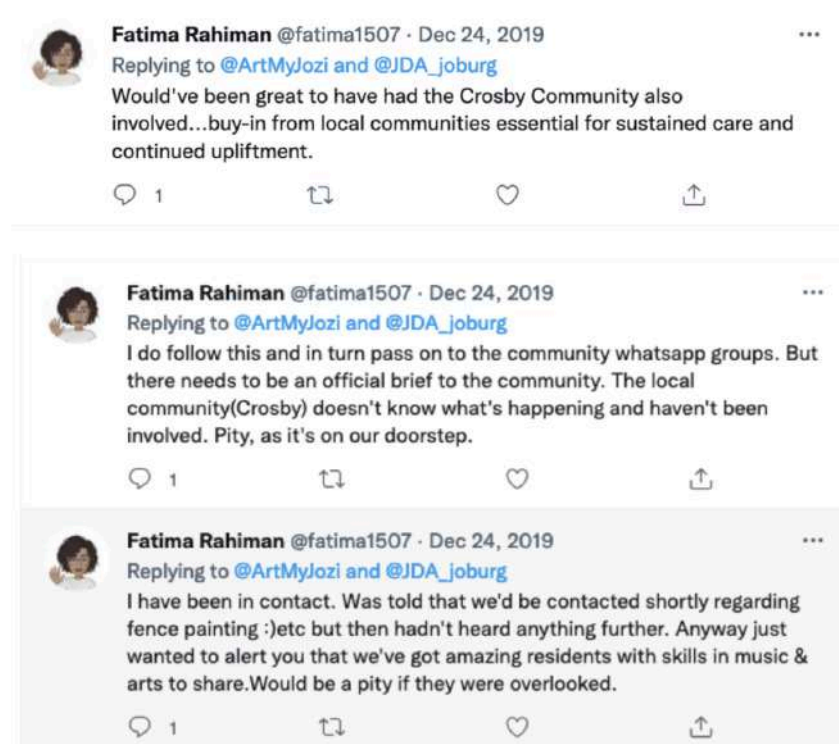


Figure 64: Citizen Twitter thread about the Brixton recreation Centre, (Twitter, 2022).



Figure 65: Photograph of the Mercury Road Fence, (Twitter, 2022).

6.6 Summary

This Chapter has detailed the five different meaning-making sites associated with the #ArtMyJozi Project Case Study. By adopting a scaffolded approach, it has explained how the project came about when the City of Joburg and the Johannesburg Development Agency started development on The Rea Vaya BRT route. This multi-million Rand project sought to re-address the spatial and public transport inequalities of the apartheid system by developing a transit-oriented corridor along the proposed bus routes. This included the upgrading and redevelopment of selected neighbourhoods and community facilities along this route in order to create safe spaces, attract investment and foster social cohesion. These project aims and specifications were detailed in meaning-making site one. This meaning-making site also examined the Johannesburg Public Art Policy and discussed how it had been co-created with The Trinity Sessions. At that point in time, The Trinity Sessions was already responsible for various public artworks in and around the City. It also noted how the City financially supported the creation and maintenance of these artworks and required that artists and organisations follow a specific creation and engagement process. Although there was not much competition, Trinity Sessions won the three year tender for the #ArtMyJozi competition to create public artworks in several preselected nodes in and around the transit-oriented corridor of the Rea Vaya BRT. These artworks would help to realise the aims of social cohesion and community engagement.

The second meaning-making site looked at how Trinity Sessions planned to achieve these aims through the adoption of the placemaking approach as detailed by the Project for Public Spaces. In this section of the research, the community-centred approach is detailed in both the information collection and distribution process about the project, and in the role of artists in the community. The third meaning-making site builds on this approach and considers how each of the project sites went about engaging the community, conceptualising works and then creating them. This section specifically looked at the projects in Noordgesig, Louis Botha Avenue, The Rotunda Precinct and the Brixton Sport and Recreation Centre. Data presented here was collected through field observations and personal interviews. The approach to each site as well as the way in which the projects were undertaken varies from location to location, and is site-specific and contextualised against the backdrop of the history of the people and the space.

The fourth meaning-making site considered the ‘knock-on’ effect of these projects, specifically with relation to the role of the artists, the extended involvement of community members and the potential that the physical location of the Tipper Road Studios unlocked. It considered how these approaches created sustainability and longevity not only for the projects, but also for the Trinity Sessions team and the continued work that they undertook in the surrounding areas. The fifth meaning-making site detailed the reception of the projects and how this had occurred across various communication channels at various stages of the project. It looked at the role of social media and websites as a secondary support and archiving medium, instead of the primary communication channel. It also detailed the involvement of local community members, the press and the government officials, all made possible by Media Days that were hosted at the project sites once the projects had been completed.

By adopting this MediaSpace approach, the set up, aims and process involved for each project within this case study are detailed in an interrelated way. This showcases how the decisions made and actions taken at the first meaning-making level have a knock-on effect to every interrelated level. The bottom up approach of the City of Johannesburg, The Johannesburg Development Agency and The Trinity Sessions meant that adequate funding was provided relatively early on in the project and that specific processes were detailed for the use of public space in Johannesburg. By tying the broader public art project (#ArtMyJozi) to the development of the Rea Vaya bus route, the aims of the urban redevelopment and improvement project are tied to the aims of the public art project. This ensures that the public art project is perceived as a public benefit project and not simply an aesthetic improvement to the community areas. The community-centric process required by the placemaking approach ensures that the community is included in the initial or early stages of the project and that any concerns or questions are heard upfront. It also provides an opportunity for the surrounding community to get involved in the work conceptualisation and creation process, and a platform for local businesses to provide goods and services.

Meaning-Making Site	Focus
Policy	Artist support, Community Engagement & Upliftment

JDA Tender & Trinity Sessions Approach	Placemaking and a three year sustainable project.
Sites of projects	Community engagement is prioritised along with the site specificity of the location. Each public art piece created is for the public by the public.
Sites of continued engagement	By discussing how placemaking is central to the artistic approach of the project and how the public artworks tell a visual story of the community. Physical locations and extended community support ensure the longevity of the project.
Public engagement	Public engagement is largely positive and different communication channels are used at different times with specific intentions. Social media is used to generate awareness and act as a digital archive of the projects. Content is generated by the media through a media day.

Table 25: Summary of each focus area of discourse within each meaning-making site for the #ArtMyJozi case study.

This combined process is detailed in the table above. It highlights the fact that by the time the project information makes it to a wider audience through social media or news articles, the interested stakeholders have already been informed and are part of the process, and therefore much more likely to feel positively about the projects and provide support. Furthermore, this allowed for more visual data to be collected from project sites and digital archives (in the form of project reports and social media). This resulted in a markedly different engagement with the content and context, even though the same methodology was used on this case study and the previous one. Key focus areas that resulted in this outcome are highlighted in the infographic below. This infographic showcases which inputs resulted in which focus areas and how that carried through into the next phase of the project.

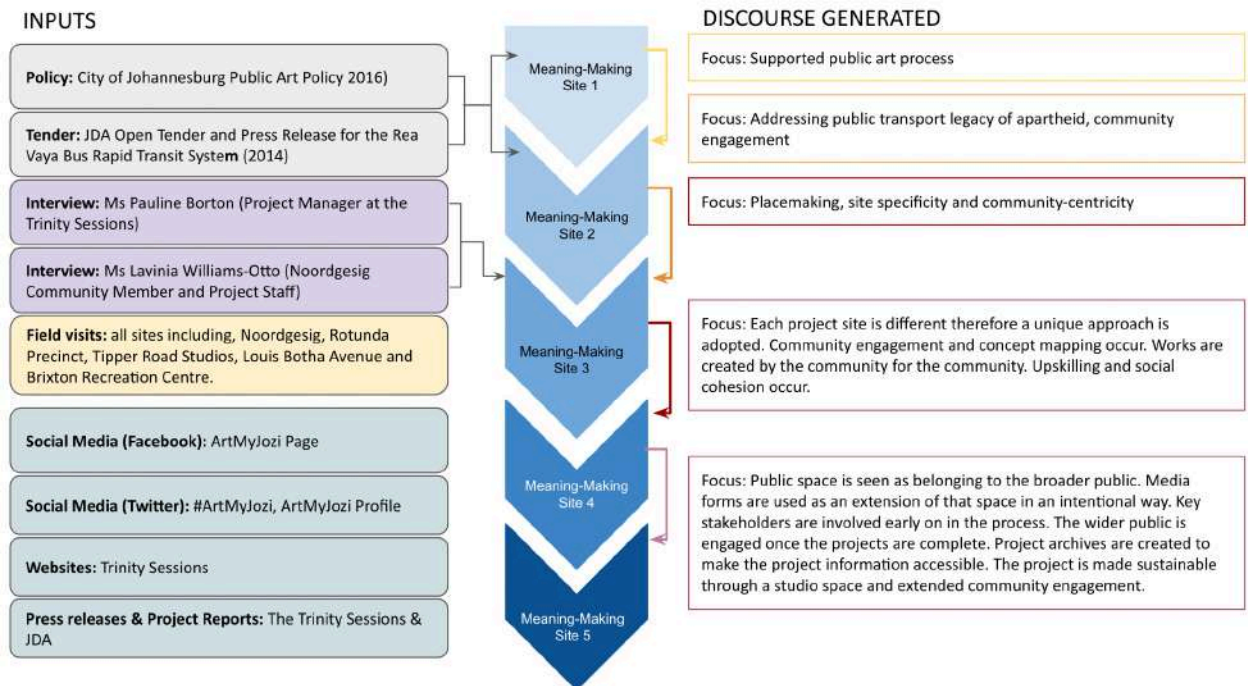


Figure 66: Infographic showing inputs and discourses generated at each meaning-making site related to ArtMy Jozi Project

The central location of the Tipper Road Studio and Spark Gallery ensures that the community has a physical node or hub to meet, create works and come together. It also provides a physical touchpoint for the Trinity Sessions project team outside of the temporary project site locations. Information about each project is widely accessible through this location or on the Trinity Sessions website, so the general public have access to relevant information. The combination of these various outcomes, processes, physical locations, community engagement, City support and public benefit showcases an example of where the positive effects of the meeting of media and space can be harnessed and amplified. This occurs when all stakeholders have shared meaning and motivation around the purpose of the public art projects and a desire to create public spaces that foster sustainable social cohesion for the communities that occupy them.

CHAPTER SEVEN - CONCLUSION

This research has presented two unique South African public art case studies as different examples that illustrate the merit of applying a spatially sensitive Media Studies methodology to visual communicative practices. The emplaced nature of visual communicative practices in South African public space means that they are both highly visible and political. This is because art is a fundamentally social phenomenon that takes place in society. It is public and it is visible (Mirzoeff, 2006). This visibility means that visual communicative practices can engage a wide variety of publics in a wide variety of spaces (physical, social, digital and mediated). These publics then engage with the discourse of the visual communicative practice, some of which is spatial. Physical space creates an environment “for making claims, of figuring particular narratives of legitimacy that enable individual and collective groups of residents to access resources and opportunities” (Simone, 2014:27). Through visual communicative practices, these spatial claims can be actively created, reinforced, or challenged.

Any interlinked study of place, scale, culture, media forms and mediation, need both a visualised and spatialized perspective. Media Studies, through the conceptual framework of Couldry and McCarthy's (2004) MediaSpace is able to provide this perspective as it presents a method to comprehensively understand the ‘total media effects’ of visual communicative practices in South African public space, and how this public space manifests in both physical space and online space. This approach has answered the research question presented at the start of this study as it has highlighted the interlinked nature of physical and online space.

So, what can be learned by adopting a spatially-sensitive and digitally-inclusive approach to studying the interconnected relationship between media, space and visual communicative practices? This research reveals not only what discourse is generated around each visual communicative practice, but how this discourse changes at different meaning-making sites. This can affect the total perception and interpretation of any visual communicative practice in public space. Future studies should consider a more systems-thinking type approach to the total meaning-making contributions involved in the creation of public art projects, particularly in a space as layered and historically fraught as South Africa.

This research is therefore necessary because it presents a more systematic way to study visual communicative practices in public space, instead of only looking at them from one perspective. It moves beyond the binary narrative of ‘good’ versus ‘bad’ actors or singular narratives and instead looks at all contributing factors to the overall reception and interpretation of a visual communicative practice in public space.

Media Studies presents a discipline through which the physical space, mediated object and then mediated (online) spaces can be studied alongside each other. In order to study this total media environment, data is collected at several key points that demonstrate the interlinked *construction, performance* and *reception* (McQuail, 2007:xix) sites of meaning-making for media objects. Therefore, data collection necessarily requires an iterative or phased approach, where one phase directly informs the next. By using MediaSpace as a conceptual framework, helpful parameters are set for this research, which are enforced by the sampling strategy used (purposive sampling). This approach allows key contributors and stakeholders to be highlighted without being prescriptive in how MediaSpace should be applied to differing contexts, since “discourse is produced through its own unique set of social relations, material practices and media apparatuses” (Hall, 1980:162).

The five different levels of meaning that are discussed in MediaSpace (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004) ensure that multiple sites of data collection are included in spatially sensitive analysis of media artefacts. This includes interviews, emails, reports, government publications, social media data and field visits. Although it was noted earlier that there is no “ground zero” (Hall, 1980:162) in meaning, understanding which initial discourses have the most influence on a space or practice is important, as it indicates the social structures and power relationships that subsequent meaning-making sites are responding to. When this information is laid out systematically, it becomes clear to see where key pain points are in the creation of truly representative public spaces. This approach is pertinent to a South African context, as it helps artists, project managers, government officials, journalists, architects and city planners to understand how their combined contributions to a visual communicative practice at different stages of its creation process can either enhance or diminish a public space.

7.1 Reflection on research approach and context

7.1.1 Visual Communicative Practices as a research object

This study explores how media and space are interlinked concepts in the context of visual communicative practices created in South African public space. To do this, it presents two case studies (BAZ ARTs IPAF and Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi) that took place between 2017 and 2019 in Cape Town and Johannesburg respectively. As this is a study in discourse and how discourse is created, the term visual communicative practices is used to discuss these practices within the research. Even though each case study describes itself as a public art project, what ‘public art’ means and how it is created, engaged with and funded in South African public space is not uniform. By using the term visual communicative practices, it removes the focus of key discourse themes in the literature review and the creation of the methodology away from the term ‘art’ and its related disciplinary approaches. The discussion focuses instead on the visible nature of these practices, and the discourse that that visibility generates.

This is an instance of what Barnett describes as “new spaces of sociality [that] are being opened up by media-in-use [this can be noticed if one] pays attention to the simultaneous production of new material infrastructures which underlie media developments” (as quoted by Couldry & McCarthy, 2004:9). In this case, the new media development is cell phone cameras and the advent of social media and citizen journalism.

The research object also presents a prime example of a space to include social media data, as I have noticed that it only seemed to emerge in the domain of street art and graffiti research. In social media’s aspatial space of flows, the focus shifts from aesthetics, encoding or artistic cannons and instead highlights the role of the audience, user-generated media, and reception. This creates a new ‘cultural public sphere’ that makes use of “the whole range of media and popular culture [in order to] articulate the politics of the public and personal, as a contested terrain through affective (aesthetic and emotional) modes of communication” (McGuigan, 2005:427). This could be a valuable aspect of future public art research to include, as it adds an important site of engagement and reception.

People have differing ideas of what does and does not constitute public art, street art and graffiti. Using a siloed or semantically-constricted approach in studying these practices would not allow me to understand the total-effect of visual communicative practices, which includes how their audiences perceive them. This is an important feedback and evaluation mechanism that should be included in future public art projects that are subject to public funding and/or the visible use of public space in South Africa.

7.1.2 Public art projects in public space: case study approach

When the key findings from each case study are discussed, I revert back to the term public art, as the convoluted and weighted nature of the term has been thoroughly explored by this point. This switch is intentional as it allows for a deeper understanding of what each city and project understands ‘public art’ to be (or not). It gives semantic insight into which practices are criminalised, tolerated or even encouraged at policy level (and why) and the surrounding attitudes. By looking at the semantics of public art at a policy level, one can quickly see what is considered as art, whom it is created for (and by), and why it is created. If the relevant policy or government leaves any of these questions unanswered, then the meaning-making potential and power inadvertently shifts to the next layer of meaning-making, which will typically be the project organisers (in terms of the two case studies). I chose case studies that were delivered through project managers and larger organisations as I did not want the focus to be placed on a single artist and their perceived victories or failures. Instead, I was interested in learning more about the process in its entirety, and all of the meaning-making sites that contributed towards its reception. By breaking up all of the various ‘inputs’ into the visual communicative practices, artistic processes, government laws and public responses, a more comprehensive picture is formed about how visual communicative practices operate in South public space, and how they affect that space. It also provides insights into attitudes and perceptions towards public space by its various stakeholders.

7.2 BAZ ART and The City of Cape Town: Permissions dances

Case Study number one was the International Public Art Festival (IPAF), managed and curated by BAZ ART. This research looked at the 2017, 2018 and 2019 iterations of this event, with 2017 being the inaugural event.

By studying various data collection points, it becomes clear that this event was created in response to the *City of Cape Town's Public Art Management Framework* (2016) and *Graffiti Bylaw* (2010). Together, these policy and legal documents heralded aesthetic art forms in the city, but criminalised anything deemed to be 'ugly', 'territorial' or 'defacing'. They also stipulated a rigorous permissions process that any artist was required to go through, that was subject to long waiting periods and criminal fines if not correctly adhered to. Once permission had been obtained, the process through which any public art piece could be created was not made clear and little to no funding was made available to artists to create these works. Furthermore, the Policy did not outline any community engagement planning strategies or any other stipulations for how the spaces and communities in which the works were created, should be handled.

7.2.1 A world class city with domestic shortfalls

From interviews (Wagner; Plato, personal communication, 8 November 2019), it became clear that government officials at that time supported these views. They also heralded street art as a major tourist attraction which aligned with broader strategic goals of making Cape Town an international tourist destination and Global city of the future. The reasons why this is a convoluted and perhaps shortsighted approach to dealing with South African city space, particularly in Cape Town, are highlighted by Lemanski (2007:448):

Global Cities are characterised by their dominance in world affairs, linked to population size and political, economic, social and cultural infrastructure. These Global Cities are also said to demonstrate increased social and spatial polarisation [and] aspirations for global competitiveness [that] are problematic for cities in the developing world, where poverty is widespread, and resources are limited. Third World' cities are traditionally perceived as places with a strong informal sector, weak economic growth, rapid population growth and crumbling infrastructure, quite different to the formal, regulated and sanitised spaces of cities in the North. In order to 'upgrade' these cities, to match the acclaimed Global City experience of places such as London and New York, poor cities have prioritised spending scarce resources on projects focused exclusively on promoting their city in the global

economy, often at the expense of domestic needs. This homogenising endeavour, to achieve an externally- determined standard, fails to value the differences that diverse cities bring.

Examples of ‘domestic affairs’ are such as community development and engagement, as well as artist support and financing are not explicitly outlined in the policy. By not clearly stipulating a project process or providing adequate artist financing (or creating financing mechanisms), The City of Cape Town leaves these two important enabling structures noticeably absent and up to the discretion of the person or organisation that can navigate their permissions red-tape and aesthetically-driven semantics. In other words, through this meaning-making level, it becomes clear that the focus here is on criminalising what is not allowed instead of enabling what is allowed, to the benefit of those affected by it.

7.2.2 Public art under any other name

BAZ ART formed as a mechanism to create tourist-attracting street art that aligns with an international festival model. In order to attract financing and sponsorship, media and social media campaigns were created. Artists are enlisted after a thorough review process, but not financially remunerated for their work. The surrounding geographical community is not directly engaged in the festival, besides through the permissions process. The approach that BAZ ART and its entrepreneurial founder, Mr Alexandre Tilmans, adopted were subjected to a great deal of media criticism and public outcry at numerous levels. This included the sponsorship and funding models, social media presence, lack of community engagement and artist support, and a despatialised and historically insensitive approach to the historical context of Woodstock, Salt River and the Central Business District in Cape Town. Although the works created as part of these festivals were branded as public art, the essence of the BAZ ART business model means that they do not function as public art pieces. Instead, they rely on their wide-ranging spatial and mediated visibility to attract tourist attention as well as serving as an outdoor portfolio for future business opportunities for BAZ ART. Perhaps this could be better addressed in the future through community-initiated approaches that tell the stories of the people from the physical spaces that BAZ ART occupies. I would also strongly suggest that a more localised and historically sensitised approach to public space is employed by this organisation, as referenced in the Literature Review of this research. It is concerning that this has not yet been employed, particularly since BAZ-ART held its inaugural public art

conference in 2022 as part of its festival offering. This event invited academics and activists to speak about public art creation, and it is concerning that local spatialised and community engagement concerns did not feature. Perhaps this can be counterbalanced with more sustainable community initiatives that give back to the community and create visibility for the members of this community. This goes beyond arts education and walking tours. I would be curious to know if the community directly benefits from any of the profits generated from BAZ ARTs commercial activities that are carried out in their space.

7.2.2 Self-appointed curators of public visible space

On reflection, by applying a MediaSpace approach to this case study, it reveals that many of these core issues and concerns originated at a Policy level, and not directly through BAZ ART. BAZ ART was created to circumvent the difficulty that many artists had encountered in dealing directly with the City of Cape Town in order to gain permissions for their work. However, since the *Public Art Management Framework* (2016) for the City of Cape Town offered no guidance on project process, possible partner agencies or funding mechanisms for public art, these issues could then be raised at the discretion of the organisation that took control of the public art creation in Cape Town. I intentionally use the word ‘control’ since there was no formal appointment or tendering process. BAZ ART simply emerged and took up the project of creating what they deemed to be public art works in and around Cape Town. No directive or collaboration was provided from the City of Cape Town, however they were later brought onboard as primary project sponsors. The City of Cape Town did not involve Heritage Associations or the relevant community liaisons, nor did they specify that any of these entities had to be involved in the conceptualization and project delivery process. However, this does not mean that BAZ ART can place the blame for the initial media backlash that they encountered on the City of Cape Town entirely. In taking on this project, and specifically using the terms ‘public art’ (albeit for brand repositioning reasons), there was a specific semantic connotation attached to the creation process, community involvement, financing and end product that would be created. However, the City of Cape Town does not specify that there is a particular process for creating works in public space, nor does it specify how that public space should be handled and the public sphere engaged.

7.2.3 Widespread visibility and mass communication

BAZ ART made use of widely visible and circulating media channels very early on in the project. It relied on social media, street pole advertising posters and news articles to announce events and call for artists. However, for many community stakeholders, this caused concern and frustration as they received this information at the same time as the general public. It isolated them from their own spatial contexts and made the once public space now exclusionary as they had not been included in these processes. The timing, messaging and use of different communication channels throughout the project process suggests that the ‘when, where, who, what, why’, and importantly the ‘how’ of the messaging about public art projects can affect the response of the surrounding public sphere. The same messages can be positively or negatively received based on these important factors. For instance, if the wider community was engaged in a face-to-face format before the launch of these projects (and not afterwards), it would have created a space for conversation and perhaps elicited more collaboration and sustainable initiatives. The art created would also speak directly to the community that it surrounded, instead of a global and despatialised audience, found in the non-place of social media. Lastly, since funding and/ or financing mechanisms were not made available to create works for the general public, this meant that BAZ ART adopted an international business model in a nuanced localised situation. This created problematic associations with past colonial legacies and prevented due consideration of the necessary historical and spatial configurations that a typical government or heritage project would require. The public art creation project was run predominantly as a business, where public and visible spaces are available to the highest commercial bidder.

7.3 The Trinity Sessions and ArtMyJozi: Placemaking

The second Case Study, Trinity Sessions’ #ArtMyJozi was brought to life through a pre-existing working relationship between the Trinity Sessions and the Johannesburg Development Agency. The City of Johannesburg’s *Public Art Policy* (2006) aligns with the approach of The Trinity Sessions since the Trinity Sessions were key contributors to the creation of this policy. The works created at part of the #ArtMyJozi project are created in response to a tender for the Bus Rapid Transit Route for Rea Vaya as part of a larger public transportation infrastructure development project. Since the Trinity Sessions were not faced with any notable competitors, they won the bid to create works on various sites between 2017 and 2019. Spokesperson for the JDA, Ms Susan Monyai, also directed me to The Trinity

Sessions to speak on behalf of the City of Johannesburg and discuss their approach to public artworks.

7.3.1 Created by artists with funding

The founders of Trinity Sessions (Stephen Hobbs and Marcus Neutsetter) are both practising artists who have been creating works in public space for over three decades. Therefore, their approach towards public space and public art is primarily built on this experience, and #ArtMyJozi benefited from this insight. The project was managed by Pauline Borton who holds a Fine Arts Degree and at the time of data collection, was working towards a postgraduate degree in the same field (Borton, personal communication 2019, November 17). The theory and practice of placemaking is something that both artists would have been exposed to in their studies or in their dealings with architects, city planners or urban activists. The placemaking approach focuses on creating works in public space that are emplaced, representative and accessible for the broader public. The Trinity Sessions was able to carry out this approach as the project did not have to seek external funding that could influence its positioning and approach. Funds raised from the JDA's 'Percent for Public Art' financing initiative ensured that the three year tender provided ample time and space to adequately engage with each community.

7.3.2 Community and spatial engagement

Each project site for #ArtMyJozi was first engaged through a community awareness campaign and Heritage Councils were involved in each project from as early on as possible. This identified key stakeholders and socio-spatial concerns that should be considered in the creation process. It also allowed for the community to get involved at each project site and as a result each project process ran relatively smoothly. It also gave the surrounding communities a sense of pride and ownership to be involved in the conceptualisation and creation process of these projects. Trinity Sessions also operated primarily on site, and only opened a centralised studio and office space towards the end of the project (Tipper Road Studios). Although the project involved many events and community activations, it was not centred around these events. The completion of the project was marked by the completion of the works and a media day where each project site was opened by government officials. This

approach created several long term community relationships and partnerships for Trinity Sessions, and ensured continued government support.

7.3.3 Later media use

The Trinity Sessions used available media channels such as social media, advertising, press releases and news articles in a specific and considered way. Many of the areas that the #ArtMyJozi projects appeared in were lower-to-middle class areas with limited or varied access to media technologies, which means that most of the initial work and messaging took place in a face-to-face or townhall-type context. Calls for community artist participation were only published on social media once the broader community had been engaged with. After that, social media was used to document project processes and community involvement. When each project site was complete, all of the works were photographed and stored digitally on Instagram, Twitter and Facebook. The media days created an opportunity for the general public to become aware of the projects and for the involved government officials to receive recognition in the role that they had played in bringing the projects to life. Many of the #ArtMyJozi project sites only gained recognition and widespread visibility after the projects were completed.

7.4 Key insights: Time, Media and Space

Whilst it might be tempting to draw direct parallels between the two case studies featured in this research, it would not be an equitable comparison. The point of choosing these two very distinctly set up public art projects with different processes and guiding policies was to offer up two different applications of MediaSpace. This allowed for an understanding of when, where and how meaning was made, and more importantly, how it was received as a result of any initial meaning-making. Each meaning-making level offers key insights and data points that become interlinked with the next one. These interlinked sites show us more of the whole picture and allow us to examine what, if anything, can be altered in future iterations of the process. Therefore a comparison would not yield fruitful results as the initial focus of each project took the case studies in very different directions. Slightly different data collection points and analysis processes were also used for each case study, and of course they took place in very different geographical locations. However, this does not mean that each case study could not learn from the other. BAZ ART was highly effective in utilising social media

to spread awareness about their project, and worked within the parameters provided by the City of Cape Town to start up a public arts project in the city without any initial support. On the other hand, the placemaking focus and community engagement process that is heralded by the Trinity Sessions in their #ArtMyJozi project, paved the way for an engaged and intentional project that involved the community at many levels.

There is also something to be said about the timing and motivation for when each case study engaged with the media and spatial components of each project. It seems that when physical space is engaged with earlier on in the project process, it allows for the situatedness and historical legacy to be duly considered. It also creates a platform for community engagement and allows any projects created in public space to have a narrative and/or purpose that applies specifically to that space. This then turns any visual communicative practices created in that process into emplaced ones. However, if the media component is engaged before the spatial component, there is a risk that a mass audience and alternative public sphere is gathered around a practice or project in a way that isolates the surrounding community and turns the public space into a non-place. Any practice in public space that is mediated before it is situated allows for a divorcing of time and space that creates exclusionary practices and hegemonic rule. If each city claims ownership over the public space in which visual communicative practices are created, then each city, particularly in a South African context, should specify the exact conditions and process for operating in public space in a domestic and spatially sensitive way. Only once this has happened can the messaging of the media object align with the nature of the public space (whether that is accessible or exclusionary remains at the discretion of the city). Media channels can then amplify or negate existing messaging instead of being a space for an entirely new or excluded public sphere to emerge. When this happens, the true power of the media as a bottom up tool is utilised as an awareness, recognition and archiving tool for these ephemeral practices.

7.5 Research limitations

This research presented a new way of studying a complex phenomenon, and has been primarily exploratory in its approach, which means that there should be room to build upon the methodology herein and augment its findings. The necessary parameters of a thesis mean that the data samples, particularly of the social media data sets, were very small, particularly for a longitudinal study. It should also be noted that it is impossible to deal with visually

polysemic practices in charged spatial contexts without some form of personal subjectivities creeping through. However, this is not abnormal for qualitative studies in the Humanities and I have counterbalanced this limitation with a triangulation of theories, disciplines, data points and analysis tools as much as possible.

This research took longer to complete than I had initially anticipated, as the COVID-19 pandemic brought about significant challenges. However, this delay also presented more time for reflection and the maturation of my ideas and argument. Although I am looking at a specific moment in time (2017-2019), it does not invalidate the broader premise that a spatially sensitive and media-focussed approach should be utilised when studying visual communicative practices in public space, particularly in South Africa. This approach was perhaps made even more timeous after the COVID-19 global pandemic.

Lastly, it is worth noting that MediaSpace was initially developed by Couldry and McCarthy in 2004 as an introduction to a collection of essays that explored the interlinked relationship of media and space in different research objects. It was not presented as an analysis tool, conceptual framework or even methodology for analysing media objects. However, when reading this chapter, I was struck by the idea that media can be spatial and timeless, whereas space is very inversely bound to specific time-based and socially constructed contexts. I was curious to see what would happen if these two lenses were combined, and if this combination could reveal new insights into practices that simultaneously existed in both realms. What this process revealed is that the same method (applying the five layers of MediaSpace) could produce very site-specific results depending on the order and context in which they were deployed. This means that although the premise that I mentioned earlier may be generalised, (the need for a spatially-sensitive and media-focussed approach that MediaSpace offers) the specific conclusions cannot. In other words, key findings for a specific project that took place at a specific point in time, in a specific place, cannot be generalised for all projects in that space. The socio-historical spatial complexities of post-apartheid South Africa are represented and enacted differently in different regions around South Africa and this is dependent on a variety of factors.

7.6 Suggestions for further research

As the previous section suggests, there is definitely scope to expand on this research project. It would be interesting to see what findings would emerge from a larger sample set or different South African cities or perhaps even African ones. I also think that there is a unique opportunity in further analysis of how both of these case studies operated during the COVID-19 pandemic ‘lockdown’ years, as it appears from initial analysis that both organisations adopted a ‘digital first’ approach. This does strongly suggest that the central premise of this research is valid, and that public spaces that are made exclusionary (through lockdowns, gentrification or privatisation) engage public spheres in other spaces such as the online space.

It would also be prudent to consider the implications of this research from a policy perspective since it suggests many practical amendments to existing policy structures and procedures when it comes to creating public art in Johannesburg and Cape Town public space.

7.7 Chapter Reviews

Chapter One introduced this research. It framed the main research question against the study’s approach, objectives, background and context. It also expanded on the need for this study, particularly in a South African context. This chapter showcased how visual communicative practices can create many public spaces, some of which are online. With this in mind, it proposed Media Studies as the best-suited disciplinary lens through which to conduct this study. It discussed important theoretical considerations in the main areas of this research, notably; visual communicative, public space, a South African context and the online digital public sphere.

Chapter Two is the Literature Review. The Literature Review examined key pieces of literature that relate to the key words for this study. It presented a theoretical and conceptual background for this research. Each keyword and focus area was discussed thematically within the review. The Literature Review introduces key readings across the different subject fields; Media Studies, media, space, MediaSpace, Spaces in the city, the public sphere, and notions

of democracy in collapsing space, analysis of the public arts in South Africa, visual culture, and virtual spaces, and lastly methodologies used. Within this chapter, ideas around visibility, the operation of defiant art movements, the importance and changing context of the public sphere and social media were examined. This extensive conceptual backbone was necessary to this research since it situated key questions relating to the progression of street art firmly within the field of Media Studies. Furthermore, this chapter showcased the link between visibility, representation and invisible power struggles present within the city.

Chapter Three discussed the methodology used to collect the data and analyse it for this study. It examined why a qualitative, interpretivist paradigm is best suited to this field of work as well as how the various conceptual models referenced in the literature review have informed the methodological approach used. This chapter detailed the different data collection sites and how they were sampled. It then discussed the key motivations for the exploratory case study approach that is used.

Chapter Four presented the iterative sampling, analysis and findings from each case study. These findings are presented at each data collection site for the two case studies. The data comes from interviews, policy documents, site visits, online news articles, press releases and social media sites. These data collections are presented sequentially in order to understand how the overall discourse around each data site is created. The significance of the collective findings for each case study are discussed in the subsequent discussion chapters.

Chapter Five was the first discussion chapter. It discusses the findings for the first case study, the BAZ-ART's International Public Arts Festival from its inception in 2017 until 2019. By categorising each discussion point around a different input and meaning-making site, this chapter shows how discourse develops across sites, and how different spaces can be more or less exclusionary for publics depending on the processes through which they are created. By considering the key focus and discourse of each site, this chapter demonstrates how decisions made at a policy or by-law level can influence the experience of a physical space. These decisions also manifest as key criticisms launched against the festival space. Lastly, it showcases how an understanding of the unique interplay between media and space creates a more comprehensive understanding of the total effects of a work in public space. It also establishes the relationship between physical space and media space in a Cape Town context.

Chapter Six was the second discussion chapter. A second discussion chapter is created as the study is not a comparative one, but rather seeks to demonstrate two different instances of a localised phenomenon. This chapter discussed the findings for the second case study, The Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi Project that took place in and around Johannesburg. Similar to the first discussion chapter, it also makes use of different meaning-making sites to thematically categorise findings and explain how discourse is carried through the different sites. It also establishes the relationship between physical space and media space in a Johannesburg context, and considers what discourse emerged in an online space and what that says about the overall creation process of these works.

Chapter Seven was this conclusion chapter. It highlighted key findings from each case study and discussed scope for potential future research as well important limitations. This chapter showcases the importance of a more total-effects approach to studying media objects and how South African public space is understood through the visual and visible practices that occupy it.

7.8 Summary

This research therefore considers the layered sites of meaning that visual communicative practices create and negotiate by asking: *“What can be learned by adopting a spatially-sensitive and digitally-inclusive approach to studying the interconnected relationship between media, space and visual communicative practices?”*

Since a localised (South African) and digitally inclusive approach to answering the research question has not been widely explored, this research adopts an exploratory case study approach. To explore two case studies, namely The Trinity Sessions #ArtMyJozi in Johannesburg and BAZ ARTs IPAF in Cape Town. This case study approach allows for various sites of data collection to take place that examine the sites of meaning production and reception. These data collection points include policy analysis, qualitative interviews with key stakeholders, social media sites and posts and walking ethnographies. These sites are used to show how existing discourse themes discussed in the Literature Review (public space, visibility, public art, spatial discourse, the historical legacy of South African post apartheid

spaces, contemporary Afro-Optimistic expressions of urban life and the extension of the public sphere through online spaces) can converge and expand or contract depending on how they are dealt with in each project. This unique approach is made possible by the research object of visual communicative practices in South African public space. These practices have the ability to both be mediated by space and to mediate space. They also encompass both a physical and online presence, which is worth studying. To do this, I used two city-based arts projects in different cities over a longitudinal period (3 years spanning 2017-2019) to showcase the different levels of meaning input involved in their meaning production and reception processes. This study therefore shows how meaning is made and what meaning is made at various levels of MediaSpace. MediaSpace describes the scale of effects when media objects and physical spaces interact. This approach presents a contemporary take on the study of public art in South African public spaces.

Artworks in public space should also include the study of the various data collection sites noted here. These include but are not limited to; the involvement of local government, the importance of financial support given to artists, and the oversight and management of the creation process through policies or by-laws, and, the role that mass media plays. All of these different ‘meaning contributors’ add to the broader narrative of the cumulative meaning-making process of these works. If they are not first studied in isolation and then brought together, the interconnected nature of these factors is missed.

It should also be noted that the treatment of the two case studies is different since the nature of this research was inductive and exploratory. Each case study started off with such different stakeholders, policies and meaning-making sites, that it led down two very different pathways. Therefore the results and subsequent discussions for each case study are also very different. As stated in Chapter 4 and 5, the two case studies cannot be compared as they present two very different types of projects that are created from very different sets of spatial and city-based needs. If one considers the research question “*What can be learned by adopting a spatially-sensitive and digitally-inclusive approach to studying the interconnected relationship between media, space and visual communicative practices?*” - then these two exploratory case studies present valuable learnings and insights that would not have otherwise been possible without this spatially sensitive Media approach.

The methodology created to explore this phenomenon was informed by the key terms discussed in the Literature Review. The gaps identified in the Literature Review are addressed in the exploratory methodology that presents a systemic way to study the interplay between media and space. This is made possible by the research object of visual communicative practices in South African public space. I used two city-based arts projects in different cities over a longitudinal period (3 years spanning 2017-2019) to showcase the different levels of meaning input involved in their meaning creation and reception processes. This approach was not necessarily used to highlight the 'better' project by making a comparison, but rather to highlight that the overall public response to these works is not something that can be studied only from singular perspectives. It also highlights the importance of using the correct medium and communication channel at the right time in the process, as well as how the initial governmental policies and spatial governance can ultimately set a project up for success or failure. These two case studies highlight that a media-centric *and* spatially-sensitive approach to studying public art in public space, particularly in the context of South Africa, has become a necessity. The contested nature of South African public space and the fraught state of local spatial governance means that South African public artworks will never only exist in one time and in one space, and only communicate with one public.

A failure to acknowledge this duplicitous nature is a failure to acknowledge the context in which South African public art and public space operates. The proposed approach that this research presents is a more systematic way of looking at the operation of public space and the response of the South African public, without necessarily zooming in on bad actors. Instead, it allows for the system to be understood as the cumulative interplay of all of its unique parts.

Furthermore, when a media-centric approach is not included, an important opportunity is missed. This is the first time that public art and visual cultural research can include an aspect of the reception of the audiences in the data collection. Before the advent of Media Studies and mass media communication, this was not a possibility. Understanding when, where, how and why a public engages with a space (and the works in that space), and what that says about the concept of public space, particularly in a democracy, is a pertinent topic that should be engaged with from an involved academia. It is a move away from Ivory Tower research topics and an applied look at how democracy is enacted and understood in South African public space, through the media research object of public visual communicative practices.

These practices become proxies of much broader debates about power, about ownership, about the injustices of apartheid, and the role of social media.

(Updated word count after edits: 77915)

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A - EMAIL EXCHANGES

City of Johannesburg

To: Executive Mayor
Subject: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Dear Councillor Mashaba,

I hope that this email finds you well.
I am a PhD student researching street art and graffiti and the relationship to the city and it's development. Would you be open to a 30 minute interview or alternatively a statement?

Looking forward to a response.

Kind regards,

Storm Brown
UCT Film & Media PhD Candidate
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RE: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Susan Tshillo Monyai <smonyai@jda.org.za>
Wed 2019/10/16 11:02
To: Storm Brown <BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za>
Cc: Pauline Borton <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>
Dear Storm,

Please forgive me I let this request fall through the cracks.

I had spoken to our public art curators, the Trinity Session to see if they can assist when we received this request and they are keen to assist you.

The person to speak to is Pauline Borton who's copied herein, additional contacts are below

Pauline Borton
[[]] the trinity session
email: pb@trinity.co.za
cell: 079 316 9579
online: www.thetrinitysession.com
office email: office@trinity.co.za

I hope we are not too late.

Regards

Susan Monyai
Marketing Manager
Acting Executive Manager: Marketing & Communications

Johannesburg Development Agency
Telephone: +27 11 688-7867
Cellphone: +27 73 061 3965
smonyai@jda.org.za
www.jda.org.za
An Agency of the City Of Johannesburg



From: Poppy Louw [<mailto:PoppyL@joburg.org.za>]
Sent: 07 October 2019 11:47 AM
To: Susan Tshillo Monyai

Cc: Elies Mchirde
Subject: FW: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study



Hi Susan,

Considering The Trinity Session has just aided in implementing the S-Bend Mural project, and other creative projects in the City, do you think we would be able to assist the student below?

Regards,

Poppy

From: Executive Mayor
Sent: Monday, October 7, 2019 11:36 AM
To: Poppy Louw <PoppyL@joburg.org.za>; Mpho Mashaba <mpomashaba@joburg.org.za>; Nkhatini Moding cone <NkhatiniM@joburg.org.za>
Cc: BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za
Subject: FW: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Dear All

Trusting all is well

Please find below for your consideration and advice

Kind regards,

Private Office of the Executive Mayor
City of Johannesburg
E-mail: executivemayor@joburg.org.za

From: Storm Brown [<mailto:BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za>]
Sent: Friday, October 4, 2019 9:12 AM

Trinity Sessions

www.jda.org.za
An Agency of the City Of Johannesburg



From: Poppy Louw [mailto:PoppyL@joburg.org.za]
Sent: 07 October 2019 11:47 AM
To: Susan Tshillo Monyai
Cc: Elias Mabinde
Subject: FW: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study



Hi Susan,

Considering The Trinity Session has just aided in implementing the S-Bend Mural project, and other creative projects in the City, do you think we would be able to assist the student below?

Regards,

Poppy

From: Executive Mayor
Sent: Monday, October 7, 2019 11:36 AM
To: Poppy Louw <PoppyL@joburg.org.za>; Mpho Mashapa <mphomas@joburg.org.za>; Nthotini Modingoane <NthotiniM@joburg.org.za>
Cc: BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za
Subject: FW: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Dear Ali

Trusting all is well.

Please find below for your consideration and advice.

Kind regards,

Private Office of the Executive Mayor
City of Johannesburg
E-mail: executivemayor@joburg.org.za

From: Storm Brown [mailto:BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za]
Sent: Friday, October 4, 2019 9:12 AM
To: Executive Mayor
Subject: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Dear Councillor Mashaba,

I hope that this email finds you well.
I am a PhD student researching street art and graffiti and the relationship to the city and its development. Would you be open to a 30 minute interview or alternatively a statement?

Looking forward to a response.

Kind regards,

Storm Brown

UCT Film & Media PhD Candidate

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The information contained in this communication from the sender is confidential. It is intended solely for use by the

Re: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Pauline Borton <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>
Thu 2019/10/17 04:11
To: Storm Brown <BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za>; Susan Tshillo Monyai <smonyai@jda.org.za>
Cc: Stephen Hobbs <sh@onair.co.za>

6 attachments (8 MB)

1. TRINITY SESSION APPOINTMENT.pdf; DRAFT 1_S BEND ARTWORK POSTER.pdf; S Bend Final long press release.pdf; S Bend Final Short press release.pdf; 2_S BEND MURAL PRESS RELEASE APRIL 2019.pdf; ARTMYJOZI 2019 (1).pdf;

Dear Storm

Thank you for your email.

It would be wonderful to contribute towards your research. Please let me check availability with our director Stephen Hobbs, and if he is not free I would be more than happy to help you with the information you may need. I will get back to you by Monday 21 Oct, as I am on study leave for the rest of this week. We can figure out the best course of action from here.

In the meantime I have attached two press releases and some other useful information on the S Bend Wall and #ArtMyJozi.

As for an interview with the Councilor, I think that is something that Poppy or Susan need to arrange/assist with.

However, should you make a trip to Joburg, we could arrange site visits on these days, which is one of the best ways of placing the project into context.

I will be in touch soon.
Kind Regards,
Pauline Borton
||| the trinity session
email: pb@onair.co.za
cell: 079 316 9579
online: www.thetrinitysession.com
office email: office@onair.co.za

From: Storm Brown <BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za>
Sent: Wednesday, 16 October 2019 11:39
To: Susan Tshillo Monyai <smonyai@jda.org.za>
Cc: Pauline Borton <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>; <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>
Subject: Re: Request for interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Dear Susan,

Thank you so much for getting back to me. No it is not too late.

I appreciate you putting me in touch with Pauline, and I would love to interview Pauline if possible. Pauline, what is your availability over the next three to four weeks? I am currently

based in Cape Town but would be very happy to come to Joburg to interview you. I would just need some advance planning to organize.

Could I also kindly request if there is also any official statement from councillor Mashabas office around street and public art? The reason I ask is because I will be interviewing Dan Plato soon and it would be helpful to have comparative perspectives.

Please also let me know if you need me to send through any materials or more information about my study.

Kind regards,

Storm Brown

Get Outlook for IOS

From: Susan Tshillo Monyai <smonyai@jda.org.za>
Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2019 11:01:53 AM
To: Storm Brown <BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za>
Cc: Pauline Borton <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>; <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>
Subject: RE: Request for interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Dear Storm,

Please forgive me I let this request fall through the cracks.

I had spoken to our public art curators, the Trinity Session to see if they can assist when we received this request and they are keen to assist you.

The person to speak to is Pauline Borton who's copied herein, additional contacts are below.

Pauline Borton
||| the trinity session
email: pb@onair.co.za
cell: 079 316 9579
online: www.thetrinitysession.com
office email: office@onair.co.za

I hope we are not too late.

Regards

Susan Monyai
Marketing Manager
Acting Executive Manager: Marketing & Communications

Johannesburg Development Agency
Telephone: +27 11 688-7867
Cellphone: +27 73 061 3965
smonyai@jda.org.za

Re: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Storm Brown <BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za>
Tue 2019/10/29 16:07
To: Pauline Borton <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>; Susan Tshillo Monyai <smonyai@jda.org.za>
Cc: stephen hobbs <sh@onair.co.za>
Hi Pauline,

Great. Thanks for this.
I'll give you a call tomorrow morning and we can discuss further.

Kind regards,

Storm

From: Pauline Borton <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>
Sent: Saturday, 26 October 2019 14:57
To: Storm Brown <BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za>; Susan Tshillo Monyai <smonyai@jda.org.za>
Cc: stephen hobbs <sh@onair.co.za>
Subject: Re: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Dear Storm

Wonderful news!

It would be great to show you in person some of our projects. We should talk on the phone before you come up to Joburg, just to figure out the best focus areas for you so you get the most out of your visit if you do fly up here.

I am free 12 Nov, 14 Nov, 15 Nov and 18, 19, 20 Nov at this point. Let me know what suits you best and lets block it out.

Should we chat on the phone next week just to confirm details before you book?

Kind Regards,
Pauline Borton
[[[the trinity session
email: pb@onair.co.za
cell: 079 316 9579
online: www.thetrinitysession.com
office email: office@onair.co.za

From: Storm Brown <BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za>
Sent: Tuesday, 22 October 2019 13:12
To: Pauline Borton <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>; Susan Tshillo Monyai <smonyai@jda.org.za>
Cc: stephen hobbs <sh@onair.co.za>
Subject: Re: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Dear Pauline,

Thank you so much for your mail. I did try get in touch with you earlier today via phone.

Unfortunately I have to invigilate a few exams at UCT during that week so I'd need to be in Cape Town. However, I'd be more than happy to come up the following week (11-16 November) or the week after (18-22 November).

Please let me know if any of the above suggested dates will work for you? I have not heard back from Susan so I'm happy to proceed with this interview first, and if possible do it face-to-face and see some of your projects.

Looking forward to your response.

Kind regards,

Storm

From: Pauline Borton <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>
Sent: Tuesday, 22 October 2019 05:27
To: Storm Brown <BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za>; Susan Tshillo Monyai <smonyai@jda.org.za>
Cc: stephen hobbs <sh@onair.co.za>
Subject: Re: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Dear Storm:

Please let us know if you are planning to come up to Joburg and when this would be? We are pretty open during from 4th to 7th Nov. Alternatively we could arrange an interview on the phone?

Please let me know what suits you best?
Kind Regards,
Pauline Borton
[[[the trinity session
email: pb@onair.co.za
cell: 079 316 9579
online: www.thetrinitysession.com
office email: office@onair.co.za

From: Pauline Borton <pauline.borton31@hotmail.co.za>
Sent: Thursday, 17 October 2019 04:10
To: Storm Brown <BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za>; Susan Tshillo Monyai <smonyai@jda.org.za>
Cc: stephen hobbs <sh@onair.co.za>
Subject: Re: Request for Interview or Statement - UCT PhD Study

Dear Storm:

Thank you for your email.

It would be wonderful to contribute towards your research. Please let me check availability

City of Cape Town

RE: Request for interview or statement

Greg Wagner <Greg.Wagner@capetown.gov.za>
Thu 2019/11/07 14:16
To: Storm Brown <BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za>
Hi Storm,

Yep, 13:30 tomorrow works.

Mayor's office is on the 6th Floor of the Civic Centre. Security will guide you where to go.

Kind Regards,

Greg Wagner
Manager: Mayoral Media
Mayor's Office

Tel: 021 400 9450 | Cell: 072 623 4400 | Email: greg.wagner@capetown.gov.za | Web: www.capetown.gov.za
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From: Storm Brown <BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za>
Sent: Thursday, 07 November 2019 09:56
To: Greg Wagner <Greg.Wagner@capetown.gov.za>
Subject: Re: Request for interview or statement

Hi Greg,

Thanks for getting back to me. Could we do 13:00 tomorrow (Friday)?

Kind regards,

Get Outlook for iOS

From: Greg Wagner <Greg.Wagner@capetown.gov.za>
Sent: Wednesday, November 6, 2019 9:20:24 AM
To: Storm Brown <BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za>
Subject: RE: Request for interview or statement

Hi Storm,

I hope all is well.

I'm in the process of sourcing responses for you and will give you a shout once I have them.
Will you be able to come in the Mayor's office for a discussion around your PhD?

Kind Regards,

Greg Wagner

From: Storm Brown <BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za>
Sent: Tuesday, 22 October 2019 14:27
To: Greg Wagner <Greg.Wagner@capetown.gov.za>
Subject: Re: Request for interview or statement

Dear Greg,

Thank you very much for your email. Apologies that I have not responded sooner, it has been end of semester here at UCT so it's been a frantic rush to get marks in.

Attached to this email I have sent a brief description of my PhD study and the questions that I would like to ask. I am undertaking a comparative study of Johannesburg and Cape Town public art projects. My questions pertain to issues like funding, selection committees, city-bylaws and public art approaches.

I have not had the opportunity to speak to any other City of Cape Town officials yet, but it is on my interview agenda. At this moment in time, I have been in conversation with Susan from Herman Mashaba's office (present situation noted), and Pauline from the Johannesburg Development Agency.

I think it's important that the City of Cape Town officially adds its voice to this research, and I will happily fit in with Councillor Plato's availability over the next few weeks.

Please let me know if you need any other information?

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Storm

From: Greg Wagner <Greg.Wagner@capetown.gov.za>
Sent: Monday, 14 October 2019 12:31
To: Storm Brown <BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za>
Subject: RE: Request for interview or statement

Dear Storm,

Thank you for the email.

The Mayor asked our Arts and Culture department to gather the relevant information for him and we've now received their response.

Unfortunately the Mayor's diary is really busy at the moment, so he's asked me to give you all the information.

I'm interested to hear more about your work so please let me know what your availability is like and we can set up a meeting. My diary is fairly open tomorrow and after 13:00 on Friday, otherwise we can arrange for next week.

Kind Regards,

Greg Wagner
Manager: Mayoral Media
Mayor's Office

Tel: 021 400 9450 | Cell: 072 623 4400 | Email: greg.wagner@capetown.gov.za | Web: www.capetown.gov.za
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From: Storm Brown <BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za>
Sent: Friday, 25 October 2019 14:35
To: Greg Wagner <Greg.Wagner@capetown.gov.za>
Subject: Re: Request for interview or statement

Hi Greg,

Thanks so much. Yes, I would be more than happy to come in to the Mayor's office. Please let me know your availability?

Kind regards,
Storm

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From: Greg Wagner <Greg.Wagner@capetown.gov.za>
Sent: Friday, October 25, 2019 2:23:27 PM
To: Storm Brown <BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za>
Subject: RE: Request for interview or statement

Hi Storm,

Thanks for the sending the questions.

Can you please send through the questions that you'd like to ask.
Are you speaking to any other City officials?

Do you have more info on your PhD at present?

Kind Regards,

Greg Wagner
Manager: Mayoral Media
Mayor's Office

Tel: 021 400 9450 | Cell: 072 623 4400 | Email: greg.wagner@capetown.gov.za | Web: www.capetown.gov.za
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From: Storm Brown [<mailto:BRWST0002@myuct.ac.za>]
Sent: Friday, October 04, 2019 11:44 AM
To: Mayor
Subject: Request for interview or statement

Dear Councillor Dan Plato,

I hope that this email finds you well.
I am a PhD student researching street art and graffiti and the relationship to the city and it's development. Would you be open to a 30 minute interview or alternatively a statement? Equally I would be happy to email through questions.

Looking forward to a response.

Kind regards,

Storm

UCT Film & Media PhD Candidate
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Structured interview questions

Interviews will take place with written and verbal consent from the participants (please consult consent form). Please note that this research will only be used for academic and research purposes and has been granted ethics clearance by the Ethics Board at the University of Cape Town.

- **Do you consent to this interview, as well as its recording and subsequent transcription?**
- **Please explain the city's approach to public art?**
- **Please explain the city's approach to street art and graffiti?**
- **How do you differentiate between the practices?**
- **How do public art works get commissioned?**
- **What does the selection process involve? Is there a committee?**
- **What is the city's approach to urban regeneration through art?**
- **Are artists required to engage with the community?**
- **Is there a long-term strategy for public art projects in Cape Town?**
- **What would you say is the most successful public art project in Cape Town to date, and why?**

Responses - Provided as a printed document

"I think well placed and carefully considered street art is a fantastic way to not only beautify an environment but also to attract the attention from people who otherwise wouldn't have visited that community. This creates opportunities for small businesses to open up and for the community to take advantage of the interest being shown in their neighbourhood, especially from tourists who travel around the world to come and see street art. I also think street art provides a platform for talented artists to market their skills and open up new opportunities for themselves. And just to be clear, I'm talking here about the beautiful murals you see around Cape Town, not the ugly tagging that defaces buildings, this is why we need regulations in place to ensure that public art improves and doesn't degrade urban spaces."

- Dan Plato, Executive Mayor of Cape Town

1. Please explain the city's approach to public art?

The City of Cape Town's Policy on Arts, Culture and Creative Industries identifies the need for a Public Art Standard Operating Procedure (referred to in the Policy as the Public Art Management Framework) that provides guidelines for:

- (a) The professional installation and maintenance of permanent and temporary public art;
- (b) Enabling innovative public art of a permanent, temporary or performance nature;
- (c) The diversification of public art in terms of:
 - (i) location of artworks - ensuring these are placed in neighbourhoods and wards throughout the city; and
 - (ii) making of such artworks ensuring that they reflect a wide variety of styles, mediums and makers;
- (d) A fair and equitable process of selecting, commissioning, acquiring and de-accessioning public art and accepting donations for public art; and
- (e) Ensuring that the process for permitting public art is widely publicised and as simple as possible.

[Please see page 6 of the Public Art Standard Operating Procedures document]

2. Please explain the city's approach to street art and graffiti?

All murals (which includes street art and graffiti art) to be painted in public spaces require a permit issued by the City of Cape Town. The applicant would need to complete the public art application form, which is obtainable from the City's website. The application is circulated to the relevant internal departments for comment and feedback. Thereafter, once all the feedback is received from the relevant internal departments, it is sent to the SDECD director and he/she will make the final decision, taking into consideration the feedback gathered, as to whether the artwork should be approved or objected. All proposals for mural art must comply with the conditions outlined in the City's Graffiti By-law as, well as with the conditions outlined in the outdoor Advertising and Signage by-law.

3. How do you differentiate between the practices?

Graffiti is known to be word-based and street art image-based. In the City of Cape Town, both these terms are considered as 'mural art'. In terms of obtaining permission for mural art, it needs to follow the City's public art permitting process which is described in the previous/above question.

4. How do public art works get commissioned?

Temporary public artworks- Through the public art permitting process (as mentioned above)- which includes feedback/comment from relevant/affected internal departments such as, but not limited to: Ward Councillor, Social Development and Early Childhood Development, Environmental and Heritage Resource Management, Traffic, Law Enforcement,

Permanent public artworks may be commissioned by the City of Cape Town in the following ways:

- (a) Direct purchase of existing work;
- (b) Direct selection, in which the artist is commissioned directly by the Public Art Working Group;
- (c) Open competition, in which the City of Cape Town calls for artists to submit proposals for public artworks; and
- (d) Competitive Invitational competition.

[Please see page 10 – 13 (permanent) and page 20 – 26 (temporary) of the Public Art Standard Operating Procedures document for further information]

5. What does the selection process involve? Is there a committee?

Temporary public artworks- As mentioned, the completed public art application form is circulated to the relevant internal departments for comment and feedback. Thereafter, once all the feedback is received from the relevant internal departments, it is sent to the SDECD director and he/she will make the final decision, taking into consideration the feedback gathered, as to whether the artwork should be approved or objected. In some instances, community representatives also play a role within the process but this only relates to the designs/artworks to be implemented, especially if it is a community project.

Permanent public artworks- A Public Artwork Working Group is established. If the Public Art Working Group approves a public artwork, the recommendations of the Working Group will be forwarded to the Manager of the Department of Arts and Culture who will be responsible for managing the approval process. This could also involve a public participation process.

[Please see page 11 – 13 (permanent) and page 17 – 22 (temporary) of the Public Art Standard Operating Procedures document for further information]

6. What is the city's approach to urban regeneration through art?

The City aims to achieve the following through public art:

- transform public places from ordinary places to sites that can lift the spirit of a community
- beautify the immediate environment and surroundings
- show ways in which murals can transform vulnerable communities
- raise the quality of existing public facilities and spaces
- enliven the city space through interactive public art/murals by presenting it in an attractive and sustainable way
- develop an understanding of public art and murals in changing cities and communities for the better

7. Are artists required to engage with the community?

Yes, especially if it's a community project.

We always try to include community members in our public art projects and also try to source local artists from the community to assist with the projects.

8. Is there a long-term strategy for public art projects in Cape Town?

The City is currently reviewing the Inclusive Economic Growth Strategy and the Social Development Strategy.

Once these two strategies have been approved, the Social Development & ECD Department will review the Policy on Arts, Culture and Creative Industries.

9. What would you say is the most successful public art project in Cape Town to date, and why?

The Baz Art Project in Woodstock and Salt River is a good example of beautifying a community and successfully drawing attention to the neighbourhoods through new business opportunities and street art tours.

How Painting Can Transform Communities, as it:

- promotes the idea of murals as a way to change neighbourhoods, encourage tourism and contribute to social and economic development;
 - transforms public places from ordinary places to sites that can lift the spirit of a community;
 - establishes a positive and stronger neighbourhood identity.
- Neighbourhood pride.
- makes art more accessible to the public by moving the art experience out of museums and galleries and into neighbourhoods and communities;
 - promotes the idea of collaborative design with creatives and communities.
 - increases the public's awareness and understanding of public art, murals and collaborative design.
 - creates a sense of ownership of the artwork through involving the community in the design and implementation of the mural.
 - provides local community based artists with financial opportunities and professional benefits.

BAZ ART

Re: Request for an interview

Alexandre Tilmans <alex@baz-art.co.za>

Fri 2019/10/04 11:48

To: Storm Brown <BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za>

Cc: info@baz-art.co.za <info@baz-art.co.za>

Hi Storm,

With pleasure, shall we meet Wednesday at 10am at 289 Victoria Road at Mi Kasi coffee shop ?
We will have an hour to go through your questions while being surrounded by beautiful pieces.

Let me know alternatively you can call me on 0173701246

Best regards

Alexandre



ALEXANDRE TILMANS

@ alex@baz-art.co.za

071 370 1246

Urban Art • Education • Community



On Fri, Oct 4, 2019 at 9:20 AM Storm Brown <BRWSTO002@myuct.ac.za> wrote:

Hi Baz Art,

I'm a PhD student writing my thesis on practices of street art and urban art forms in South Africa at UCT's Centre for Film & Media Studies. I'd love to interview you and ask you some questions about the work that you've been doing in Salt River over the past three years. Specifically, I'm interested in how you're using the art as a development tool and how you're working with the city's tough by-laws.

Please let me know if this is something you'd be willing to chat to me about.

Looking forwards to your response.

Kind regards,

Storm Brown

UCT Film & Media PhD Candidate

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APPENDIX B - SIGNED CONSENT FORMS



Name of assignment: *PhD thesis: the use of visual communicative practices in the public sphere in South Africa*

Film & Media Department University of Cape Town

1. I agree to be interviewed for the purposes of the student research named above.
2. The purpose and nature of the interview has been explained to me by the student.
3. I agree that the interview may be electronically recorded.

4. Any questions that I asked about the purpose and nature of the interview and assignment have been answered to my satisfaction.

5. Choose a), b) or c):

a) I agree that my name may be used for the purposes of the assignment only and not for publication.

OR
b) I understand that the student may wish to pursue publication at a later date and my name may be used.

OR
c) I do not wish my name to be used or cited, or my identity otherwise disclosed, in the assignment.

Name of interviewee: Alexander Tlaxana

Signature of interviewee: _____ Signed by candidate

Date: 23 Oct 2019

6. I have explained the project and the implications of being interviewed to the interviewee and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of interviewer: _____

Signature of interviewer: _____

Date: _____

cut here

For updates and further information please contact the student: _____

Email: helo@602-art.co.za

Cellphone number: 0713701240

He/she will inform you about where to view the final project.

Thank you for your participation and support of UCT Film and Media Studies students.



Name of assignment: *PhD thesis: the use of visual communicative practices in the public sphere in South Africa*

Film & Media Department University of Cape Town

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OR
b) I understand that the student may wish to pursue publication at a later date and my name may be used.

OR
c) I do not wish my name to be used or cited, or my identity otherwise disclosed, in the assignment.

Name of interviewee: Laurina Williams-Otto

Signature of interviewee: _____ Signed by candidate

Date: 23/11/2019

6. I have explained the project and the implications of being interviewed to the interviewee and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of interviewer: _____

Signature of interviewer: _____

Date: _____

cut here

For updates and further information please contact the student: _____

Email: laurina.williams-otto@gmail.com

Cellphone number: 076 887 2046

He/she will inform you about where to view the final project.

Thank you for your participation and support of UCT Film and Media Studies students.

 **UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**
 IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

Name of assignment: *PhD thesis: the use of visual communicative practices in the public sphere in South Africa*

Film & Media Department University of Cape Town

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 - OR
 - b) I understand that the student may wish to pursue publication at a later date and my name may be used.
 - OR
 - c) I do not wish my name to be used or cited, or my identity otherwise disclosed, in the assignment.

Name of interviewee: Pauline Borton

Signature of interviewee: [Signature]

Date: 18 Nov 2019.

6. I have explained the project and the implications of being interviewed to the interviewee and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of interviewer: Shawn Brown

Signature of interviewer: Signed by candidate

Date: 18 November 2019.

 **UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**
 IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

Name of assignment: *PhD thesis: the use of visual communicative practices in the public sphere in South Africa*

Film & Media Department University of Cape Town

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 - a) I agree that my name may be used for the purposes of the assignment only and not for publication.
 - OR
 - b) I understand that the student may wish to pursue publication at a later date and my name may be used.
 - OR
 - c) I do not wish my name to be used or cited, or my identity otherwise disclosed, in the assignment.

Name of interviewee: Greg Wagner

Signature of interviewee: [Signature]

Date: 8/11/2019

6. I have explained the project and the implications of being interviewed to the interviewee and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of interviewer: Shawn Brown

Signature of interviewer: Signed by candidate

Date: 8/11/2019.

APPENDIX C - CODED INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

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Coding manual

Coding is “the transitional process used between data collection and more extensive analysis” (Saldaña 2009:4). In the context of this research, the three interviews are transcribed in verbatim here and coded thematically. Each response is coded according to the theme or discourse it touches on. These ideas are elaborated on in the discussion and findings chapter.

Context and approach are discussed in a reflexive manner for each interview so that any researcher's perspective or bias is made clear.

Tone coding: this is used to help determine the tone in which each descriptor is referenced.
Used for in-person interviews.

Letter	Meaning
N	<u>N</u> utral
P	<u>P</u> ositive
U	<u>U</u> ncertain/ <u>U</u> nclear
C	<u>C</u> larifying
Neg	<u>N</u> egative

Descriptors assigned to each response at a detailed level. Theme suggestions assigned to each response at a broader level.

Descriptor	Descriptor	Descriptor
Background / establishing	Local: background	International: background
Official response	Local: Location	Bylaws
Seeking clarity	International: Location	Permit
Local specific named piece	Aesthetic	Defacement
International specific named piece	Public domain	Bad graffiti
Reference to personal Instagram page	Baz Art	Regulation
Personal story	Rebellious artists	Local example / artist
International example / artist	Digital engagement	Government engagement
Cape Town space	Commercial	Artist taking initiative

Coded interview transcripts

City of Cape Town Data

Interview 1

City of Cape Town Mayor, Alderman Dan Plato

Written statement and question responses received on Friday 8th November 2019 at the Cape Town Civic Centre

Context: The office of Councillor Dan Plato requested that I send questions via email for a written response. I received the physical print out of these responses when I visited the City of Cape Town offices to interview Mr Wagner.

Approach used: Since these questions were asked beforehand, I used a structured approach with open-ended questions relating to my key words and asking for further information on the government's involvement with public arts projects in and around the City of Cape Town. Since these answers were returned in physical form, they have been scanned and screenshotted and then added here.

Question	Code 1	Code 2
"I think well placed and carefully considered street art is a fantastic way to not only beautify an environment but also to attract the attention from people who otherwise wouldn't have visited that community. This creates opportunities for small businesses to open up and for the community to take advantage of the interest being shown in their neighbourhood, especially from tourists who travel around the world to come and see street art. I also think street art provides a platform for talented artists to market their skills and open up new opportunities for themselves. And just to be clear, I'm talking here about the beautiful murals you see around Cape Town, not the ugly tagging that defaces buildings, this is why we need regulations in place to ensure that public art improves and doesn't degrade urban spaces." – Dan Plato, Executive Mayor of Cape Town	Statement Aesthetics Community improvement Tourism opportunity	Type of response Artwork Artists Process

1. Please explain the city's approach to public art? The City of Cape Town's Policy on Arts, Culture and Creative Industries identifies the need for a Public Art Standard Operating Procedure (referred to in the Policy as the Public Art Management Framework) that provides guidelines for: (a) The professional installation and maintenance of permanent and temporary public art; (b) Enabling innovative public art of a permanent, temporary or performance nature; (c) The diversification of public art in terms of: (i) location of artworks - ensuring these are placed in neighbourhoods and wards throughout the city; and (ii) making of such artworks ensuring that they reflect a wide variety of styles, mediums and makers; (d) A fair and equitable process of selecting, commissioning, acquiring and de-accessioning public art and accepting donations for public art; and (e) Ensuring that the process for permitting public art is widely publicised and as simple as possible. (Please see page 6 of the Public Art Standard Operating Procedures document)	Policy ref Direct quote from PAMF	Type of response Process Artwork
2. Please explain the city's approach to street art and graffiti? All murals (which includes street art and graffiti art) to be painted in public spaces require a permit issued by the City of Cape Town. The applicant would need to complete the public art application form, which is obtainable from the City's website. The application is circulated to the relevant internal departments for comment and feedback. Thereafter, once all the feedback is received from the relevant internal departments, it is sent to the SDECD director and he/she will make the final decision, taking into consideration the feedback gathered, as to whether the artwork should be approved or objected. All proposals for mural art must comply with the conditions outlined in the City's Graffiti By-law as, well as with the conditions outlined in the outdoor Advertising and Signage by-law.	PAMF Policy Ref Application process	Type of response Process Space
3. How do you differentiate between the practices? Graffiti is known to be word-based and street art image-based. In the City of Cape Town, both these terms are considered as 'mural art'. In terms of obtaining permission for mural art, it needs to follow the City's public art permitting process- which is described in the previous/above question.	At odds with PAMF Own definition	Artwork Process Type of response
4. How do public art works get commissioned? Temporary public artworks- Through the public art permitting process (as mentioned above)- which includes feedback/comment from relevant/affected internal departments such as, but not limited to: Ward Councillor, Social Development and Early Childhood Development, Environmental and Heritage Resource Management, Traffic, Law Enforcement. Permanent public artworks may be commissioned by the City of Cape Town in the following ways: (a) Direct purchase of existing work; (b) Direct selection, in which the artist is commissioned directly by the Public Art Working Group; (c) Open competition, in which the City of Cape Town calls for artists to submit proposals for public artworks; and (d) Competitive invitational competition. [Please see page 10 – 13 (permanent) and page 20 – 26 (temporary) of the Public Art Standard Operating Procedures document for further information]	Policy ref Direct quote from PAMF	Process

5. What does the selection process involve? Is there a committee? Temporary public artworks- As mentioned, the completed public art application form is circulated to the relevant internal departments for comment and feedback. Thereafter, once all the feedback is received from the relevant internal departments, it is sent to the SDECD director and he/she will make the final decision, taking into consideration the feedback gathered, as to whether the artwork should be approved or objected. In some instances, community representatives also play a role within the process but this only relates to the designs/artworks to be implemented, especially if it is a community project. Permanent public artworks- A Public Artwork Working Group is established. If the Public Art Working Group approves a public artwork, the recommendations of the Working Group will be forwarded to the Manager of the Department of Arts and Culture who will be responsible for managing the approval process. This could also involve a public participation process. [Please see page 11 – 13 (permanent) and page 17 – 22 (temporary) of the Public Art Standard Operating Procedures document for further information]	Policy ref Direct quote from PAMF Mention of Public Art working /group but no description of process involved or jurisdiction	Process Process
6. What is the city's approach to urban regeneration through art? The City aims to achieve the following through public art: - transform public places from ordinary places to sites that can lift the spirit of a community - beautify the immediate environment and surroundings - show ways in which murals can transform vulnerable communities - raise the quality of existing public facilities and spaces - enliven the city space through interactive public art/murals by presenting it in an attractive and sustainable way - develop an understanding of public art and murals in changing cities and communities for the better	Policy ref Direct quote from PAMF Public space	Space Process
7. Are artists required to engage with the community? Yes, especially if it's a community project. We always try to include community members in our public art projects and also try to source local artists from the community to assist with the projects.	Community should be included especially if its a community project. Aren't all projects community projects?	Process Artists
8. Is there a long-term strategy for public art projects in Cape Town? The City is currently reviewing the Inclusive Economic Growth Strategy and the Social Development Strategy. Once these two strategies have been approved, the Social Development & ECD Department will review the Policy on Arts, Culture and Creative Industries.	Long term strat Slowly getting to review docs	Government Initiative

9. What would you say is the most successful public art project in Cape Town to date, and why? The Baz Art Project in Woodstock and Salt River is a good example of beautifying a community and successfully drawing attention to the neighbourhoods through new business opportunities and street art tours. How Painting Can Transform Communities, as it: - promotes the idea of murals as a way to change neighbourhoods, encourage tourism and contribute to social and economic development; - transforms public places from ordinary places to sites that can lift the spirit of a community; - establishes a positive and stronger neighbourhood identity. Neighbourhood pride. - makes art more accessible to the public by moving the art experience out of museums and galleries and into neighbourhoods and communities. - promotes the idea of collaborative design with creatives and communities. - increases the public's awareness and understanding of public art, murals and collaborative design. - creates a sense of ownership of the artwork through involving the community in the design and implementation of the mural. - provides local community based artists with financial opportunities and professional benefits.	Baz Art mentioned Quote from policy docs Beautifying neighbourhood	Process Artwork Government Initiative

Coding round 1 & 2

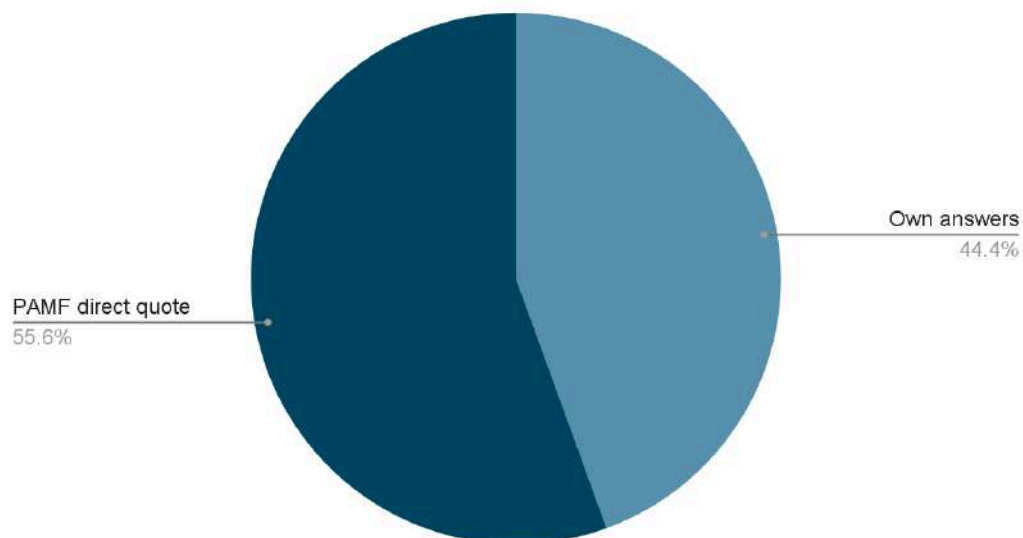
Category round 1 (Detail)	Category round 2 (Theme)
Statement	Type of response
Own phrasing	
PAMF / Policy Reference	
Aesthetics	Artwork
Beautify neighbourhood	
Community improvement	Process
Application process	
Public Space	
Baz Art	
Tourism opportunity	Government Initiative
Strategy	
Artists mention	Artists

Coding round 3

Category round 2 (Theme)	Frequency of mentions	Notes
Artwork	4	Definitions
Process	10	PAMF
Government Initiative	2	Strategy, Tourism
Artists	2	Community projects

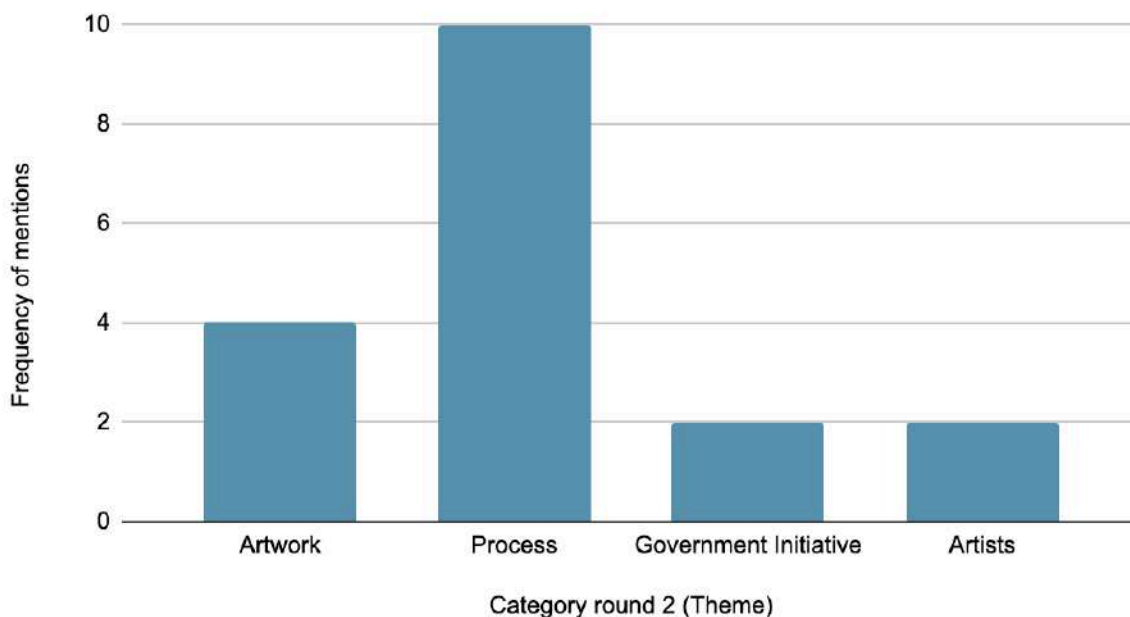
Results 1

Interview 1: Percentage of types of responses given



Results 2

Interview 1: Frequency of themes discussed



Interview 2

City of Cape Town Official Greg Wagner – Manager: Mayoral Media

Friday 8th November 2019 at the Cape Town Civic Centre

Context: Mr Wagner requested that I send a brief description of my study as well as a list of questions that the Mayor, Councillor Dan Plato, would answer via email. Mr Wagner then invited me to his office to discuss the project. I did not receive the answers from Councilor Plato beforehand. Description of study, research questions and additional material from Mr Wagner can be found in Appendix B.

Approach used: Since the ‘structured’ interview questions had been officially answered, this interview took more of an unstructured format. My approach was to understand Mr Wagner’s comprehension of and engagement with street art, graffiti and public art, as a government official and official spokesperson for the mayor of Cape Town. When it became evident that Mr Wagner was more interested in discussing his personal interest in street art, I went along with the interview to see where it went.

Speaker	Content	Tone	Descriptor	Theme

SB	Hi Greg, thank you for agreeing to an interview. Is it alright with you if I record this?			
GW	Yes sure, go ahead.	N	Background/ establishing	Personal/ Other
GW	You're welcome to quote the mayor for your thing. I've got an actual quote from the mayor which has been given.	N	Background/ establishing	Personal/ Other
SB	Thank you so much.			
GW	Your questions have been answered in detail from the officials in terms of our policies and regulations and guidelines. I think that's the kind of stuff that you would be interested in as well.	N	Official response	Process
GW	And then if there's anything extra, ask away.	N	Background/ establishing	Personal/ Other
SB	Can I have a quick look at this? So I can see what's been covered so I don't waste your time?			
GW	So what did you do for your undergrad?	C	Background/ establishing	Personal/ Other
SB	I did my undergraduate in visual cultural studies and then I moved to UCT to do my masters in media and I started exploring some of these sort of issues and ideas and just looking at how they played out. In my Master's research I looked at what had happened on the Sea Point Promenade and I sort of researched it from a lot of angles.			
GW	In terms of public art? So like the glasses and the horses and those kinds of things?	C	Seeking clarity Local specific named piece	Artwork
SB	Ja. The Art54 project. So I looked at all of that and what I realized through my Master's research is there was this whole other side of the debate, you know, you think you just put public art into the public sphere and its public so debate should happen there, but it wasn't, it was actually happening somewhere else. And that somewhere else was obviously the media aspect of it. And that kind of became the starting point for my doctorate.		Background/ context	
GW	Are you speaking as well on who had done the art and not just what the art was?	C	Seeking clarity	Personal/Oth er
SB	So, what I realized is that as soon as someone has made the art and they put it into the public domain. It doesn't really matter what the intention was because they're not there to tell everyone "this is how you must interpret my art". It's there and people will interpret it as they see fit. Yeah, so that's kind of a bit of my academic background which sparked my interest in this particular topic.			

GW	And then, your PhD, can you explain it? I mean, I've read your brief and I see how you speak about Instagram and social media and so on but if you can simplify it for me. The focus of your PhD is what it is you want to identify or discuss?	C	Seeking clarity	Personal/Other
SB	So obviously I'm looking at this from a Humanities point of view. So there's a qualitative aspect but because it's media research and this is why I chose to be in media. There's also a quantitative aspect so they can be a triangulation. In terms of like practically in laymen's speak. What am I looking at? I'm looking at the relationship between what's happening in physical tangible space. So like in Cape Town and Johannesburg and what is being spoken about on specifically Instagram because it's image sharing and if the public sphere isn't just in the physical space that surrounds the artwork but also in the virtual space that Instagram creates so really just broadening the space in which the dialogue the public sphere takes place.			
SB	Does that make sense?			
GW	Yeah. Sure. I just want to show you... [takes out cellphone] So this is my own Instagram page.	P	Reference to personal Instagram page	Personal/Other
SB	Oh, that's very cool.			
GW	I'm a huge street art fan.	P	Personal Story	Personal/Other
SB	That's amazing.			
GW	So this is in France. So this is by two guys and this is a depiction of this Folklore God, um Gilgamesh. I never really read about or anything. But I saw that I was like that looks really interesting. So I went to go find out more about actually hunted this down. Whenever we travel, my wife and I, go like look for street art and we found this one. She's always the first one to spot them because I'm looking ahead, and she like looks behind while we walk because the space is if you walk in that right then you walking into it. So she always looked behind as well and she's part of this. And I ended up buying a book on Gilgamesh.... to find out what it is. So it was Samaria and there was a poem, like a really long poem written about him and it's considered to be one of the first recorded pieces of written texts, which is like what? [shows another piece] and then this one is just there's no story behind. It was just really interesting. So now that was Toulouse. I just really like the style very muted colours and...	P P P P P	Reference to personal Instagram page International: Location International example / artist Personal story Aesthetic	Personal/Other Space Artist Personal/Other Artwork
SB	It almost doesn't look like typical street art style.			

GW	But I like that. That's this guy's style and they're waiting for their husbands coming back from war what's going on? Yeah. This is very interesting. It's not just murals that are like I also like imagery in the public domain.	P	Reference to personal Instagram page	Personal/Other
	[shows another Instagram post] So this is in Nîmes France and this is their city logo. Okay, what'd you see everywhere. Like they're very proud of it. It links back to the Egyptians. [shows another Instagram post] And this was Lisbon. I thought these are absolutely stunning and just pretty pictures. It's a girl. I mean just beautifying a space that it's pretty boring before and then there was a community in Malaga think in Spain quite a run-down area or previously neglected area, if you will. I suppose some what like Salt River with the Baz Art. So they even took old Power boxes, electricity boxes and painted them and like turned them into little pieces of sculpture, which I thought was pretty cool. I mean, this is one of the big one of the big street artists.	P	Public domain	Process
		P	International: Location	Space
		P	International example / artist	Artist
		P	Aesthetic	Artwork
			Baz Art	Process
SB	That's stunning.			
GW	He did the Obama silhouette as well.	P	International example / artist	Artist
SB	Have you seen Andre The Giant Posters?			
GW	Yeah Shepard Fairey. And so this guy that does this, D-face, is actually my favourite street artist. Yeah I love D-face's work. Not that particular piece, though. I'll show you two of his other pieces that I really like. They are in New York and Brooklyn and Manhattan – I'm a big board game nerd as well. And this is some of the local stuff - Jack the Fox. He's changed his name though.	P	Reference to personal Instagram page	Personal/Other
		P	International example / artist	Artwork
		P	Local example / artist	Artist
SB	Yeah. Keya Tama.			
GW	Yeah interesting.	P	Local example / artist	Artist
	[Refers to another piece] This is my favourite South African piece.			
SB	Is that by Falko or NardStar?			
GW	No, it's by Breeze Yoko.	C	Local example / artist	Artist
	Yeah, it is a huge piece in Khayelitsha. So, I've done a lot of work there obviously being with the government. I saw that once, and I			

	wanted to know what that was, so I like got out my car and was like – this is awesome!	P	Local: Location	Space
SB	Okay.			
GW	So, this is New York. So this is the one piece absolutely love that. I was in Bushwick. And then that piece in Manhattan.	P P	International example / artist International: Location	Artist Space
SB	so every time you travel do you go sort of looking for street art inspiration?			
GW	Ja, it's a huge part of my travel. So even little sticker art. So this is small. Yeah that piece - that piece is about [inaudible] it's like rice paper sticker art that people do. And this is a woman who focuses on gender violence and myth does kind of messages. Some are political at times very interesting. This is a New Zealand guy. I'm sure you recognize the style at the time. I didn't know who Keith Haring was. So I saw this I was like, I recognize that style and I went and read up and I found out all about Keith Haring and his HIV/AIDS stuff and all this work. And this guy was just inspired by it and changed Christ into Keith Haring style. And that's one of my absolute favourites then. Yeah, this is the same artist that did the other one. So and then Pixel Puncher. I love Pixel Puncher, so we actually saw one of his Works in Morocco of all places. Yeah. It's the first time I saw his stuff. Let's see if I can find that one. I like Falko as well. I really like his work. I like some locals too, so here's this stencil. So this was on Church Street where the Antique Arcade was.	P P P P P	International example / artist Reference to personal Instagram page International example / artist Local example / artist Local: Location	Artist Personal/Oth er Artist Artist Space
SB	How much new stuff do you find in Cape Town? Because it looks like you find incredible things all over the world. I mean you've been to some places. I haven't I been to New York, I'd love to go.			
GW	So, this is Morocco, that's Pixel Puncher that is huge. That's incredible. Didn't even know it was there we were just wandering around the capital. We actually went to this museum by the National Art Gallery this cool sculpture and then stumbled across this and then through that started following Pixel Puncher's work and everything he does. So yeah, I've always been on the lookout for Cape Town stuff and I follow Breeze Yoko and Falko and Fokalles and all these local guys. Whenever there's something up I try to figure out where it is because they don't always post that.	P P P	International example / artist International background/ context Local example /	Artist Artwork Artist

			artist	
SB	Yeah, and then you have to go find it.			
GW	Then people don't always ask either. It's like all this is so cool in the paint. Sometimes we go take a drive around Woodstock and just look and see what's new, like the Pangolin. I've wanted to see that for ages, I just never got around to it and I was in the area for work. Okay. I'm going to find this now, and then I figured out where it was.	P P	Local: Location Local example / artist	Space Artist
SB	it so funny when you drive past that because once you see it, you can't not see it but it's very easy to just drive past.			
GW	like it's not where you think it would be and then it's just like that. So yeah, I really like her and then in some of the areas that we also have QR codes that you can scan to find out more about the artist.	P	Digital engagement	Process
SB	That's such a clever thing to do.			
GW	It's really cool, and I'd love for the city to start doing something like that, but it takes a bit of investment and a bit of planning to do it well, but they had this analogy with had to QR codes and you can just scan it and beat up more by the artist in the work and everything.	P	Digital engagement	Process
SB	So like, how do you how would you think that? Better way to ask the question. What do you think is a good way to move forward into something like that?			
GW	The QR codes?	C	Digital engagement	Process
SB	just like a more digital interactive space where you have...			
GW	I think if the street artists themselves engage with government or City Representatives, they might be surprised how accepting the officials are of public art and street art and so on. But I think part of the nature of street art is a somewhat rebellious type nature so there might not always be the desire or the willingness to engage with government because its kind of like – I can put art up where I want. And that can be met with some shortcomings – you know, you could have so many more opportunities. If government was more involved, you know. Because there are legislation about defacing properties and so on, and it might clearly be a beautiful piece of art, but in terms of regulations and if it hasn't been sanctioned as such then, ja – you could be accused of spray painting or, you know, defacing.	P Neg P Neg P Neg	Government engagement Rebellious artists Government engagement Aesthetics Regulation/ sanctioned art Defacement	Process Artist Process Artwork Process Artwork
SB	Ja			

GW	So ja I think if there's more interaction between individual street artists or organisations like Baz Art that represent street artists – they propose these ideas- I think they would find a very receptive audience.	P P	Baz Art Government engagement	Process process
SB	Do you think that there is any way to like speed up the self permitting process?			
GW	In terms of? Oh so like people wanting to do a mural?	C	Permit	Process
SB	Yeah, and then they have to keep applying until they reach a stage that they are self permitted.			
GW	Self-permitted as in they don't need authorisation to do or I mean they can paint wherever?	U	Permit	Process
SB	or so they need permission of the owner, but they don't need permission of the owner and the city and...			
GW	Oh ok, ya. Again. I think more engagement with the city. If there is nothing in the by law preventing it, then there's no reason why shouldn't it be allowed? But if there are bylaws then you'd have to address those bylaws which, and their stipulations. I mean, it's obviously there so that you don't have graffiti.	P P P Neg	Government Engagement Sanctioned/ regulation Bylaws Bad graffiti	Process Process Process Artwork
SB	Ja...			
GW	Everywhere, like tagging and less visually appealing artwork like I've been to some cities and there's just tagging everywhere and it looks awful. On Heritage buildings. Just Black squiggles and imagery that doesn't say anything doesn't communicate anything doesn't mean anything. I don't know if its gang tags or what it is. So that's the other risk with you know, controlling public art, is the gang tags and territories and everything that goes with that. Yes. I've seen some cities where its just ugly. Like they've got some beautiful murals up and then they've got a whole lot of these ugly just black squiggles and lines.	Neg Neg Neg Neg Neg	Aesthetics Bad graffiti Bad / no communication Public art Gangs Aesthetics Bad graffiti	Artwork - Artwork Artist Artwork
SB	So how do you think of like the difference between graffiti, street art and public art then?			
GW	I think public art is a more... open, uh, more collaborative type of art or street art generally more individualistic. I mean these days there are a few murals that are done in collaboration but generally it's a very individualistic type of approach and they'll find a space that they want to open up the mural. And graffiti, well some people classify that street art and graffiti as the same thing, but I	P Neg	Collaboration Aesthetics Bad Graffiti	- Artwork

	think there might be a move with the growth of beautiful murals that street art has gone on to show. Graffiti is now considered different, it's less appealing and its less wanted. Whereas street art is something that does get received well. I've heard the guys, they'll be like doing their piece and then law enforcement or the police or will come and say "hey, what are you guys doing?" and they have to show their papers and say "I'm allowed to do this". So I have seen stories like that. And in a way it's a good thing that the authorities are monitoring it, because what if the building owner didn't give his or her permission? And these people were doing it and law enforcement don't respond? And the building owner goes "Ah these guys just drove past and they didn't even do anything!" "What must I do? I'm too scared to approach them".	Neg P P	Permits Regulation Building owner rights	Process Process
GW	So it's a balance, but I think engagement. I think, you know, street artists, organisations that represent them that try to bring them together. Just need to continue engaging with government. It's very receptive space. Like there are even Consulate General Offices that have brought international street artists to Cape Town. Like that one with the dog on Harrington Street.	P P	Engagement with government Specific piece	Process Artwork
SB	Are you speaking about Freddy Sam's project or not?			
GW	I'm not sure...	C	Clarification	Personal/Other
SB	I know which dog you're talking about.			
GW	The one with the cap?	C	Clarification	Personal/Other
SB	Yeah, he's from Madrid. Isn't he?			
GW	And then there's the other one that just went up - The Lighthouse – that was also through one of the Consulate General Offices.	N	Local: location Local: example / artist	Space Artist
SB	But that was with Baz Art.			
GW	Yes, ya, There's the Belgian guy. [shows Instagram post of dog on Harrington Street]	N	Baz Art	Process
SB	It's amazing.			
GW	Yeah, I said that peace is in Harrington Street. And this is the artist	N	Local: location Local: example / artist	Space Artist

SB	Do you know if that was part of a larger collective?			
GW	Baz Art facilitated it with the Belgian Consulate, and then this recent one, the lighthouse, I think it's on Loop or Long Street. That was also done with another Consulate, I can't recall which one, but I can double check for you I've got it on emails.	N N N U	Baz Art Local: location Local: example / artist Uncertain	Process Space Artist
SB	Okay.			
GW	Yes. So there, you actually have government agencies – international government agencies- facilitating street art that represents their country, that is a piece of their country that are they giving to another one - it's really great.	P P	Government engagement International example/ artist	Process Artist
SB	Hmm. I think it's super interesting though because having spent such a long time reading up about this and then juxta positioning this with what's actually happening in practice. You see this very interesting sort of interaction with the city play out and it looks completely different in Cape Town than it does in Joburg, than it does in Pretoria...			
GW	Like in what sense?	C	Clarification	Personal/Other
SB	So if you have to like backtrack historically and if you look at what graffiti was and where it first came up from that's like 1950s 1960s in Philly and then moving towards New York and then you know, it only really became an art form with Martha Cooper, Henry Chalfant and James Prigoff and the books that they published, <i>Subway Art</i> and <i>Spraycan Art</i> ...			
GW	Like Crash the guy from New York. He did that. Yeah.	P	International example/ artist	Artist
SB	but back at that stage. It was still completely considered vandalism. Like its vandalism of the worst accord, but that's sort of what was happening in New York in the 50s 60s 70s and then 80s made it into those books. I don't know if you've read much of the literature or seen some of the books from what was happening in Cape Town at the same back at the same time? Those books are the same ones that informed the underpinning of the Cape Town graffiti scene.			

GW	Okay.	N		
SB	and when there were sanctions and everything like that that was sort of where their practice started and grew and obviously street art is the aesthetic development of graffiti. So graffiti is more letter formed, street art more aesthetic. And that only really happened when people started taking pictures of graffiti. Then you have street art that's like kind of created and born and it is wonderful thing and, just seeing like what that looks like and how that works and how artists respond to certain cities. You know, I mean for a long time Cape Town was the Creative Capital.			
GW	Ja...	N		
SB	Brought about by yes, the Design Indaba that's been here for a while, but also in 2014, World Design Capital. to design and data that's been here. But interestingly a lot of the artists I've seen in the past five to six years have moved to Joburg and they've started doing lots and lots of street art around Maboneng, Braamfontein, Newtown, because they've got more canvases there. There's more 'city allowed spaces' and I know that Herman Mashaba [former DA councillor for Johannesburg] was trying to change that.			
GW	In what way? Trying to crack down or trying to open it up?	U	Regulation	Process
SB	No. Crackdown, in alignment with the DA's policies - because originally a lot of the research that has been done by places like WiSER at Wits [University of the the Witswatersrand] had been investigating it. They found that there was one person in charge of outdoor signage and graffiti and it was one office when the city was still run by the ANC. SO there just wasn't the power or manpower to enforce it. So, for better or for worse there was this burgeoning graffiti scene.			
GW	Ja that speaks to the rebellious nature of it.	Neg	Rebellious artists Bad Graffiti	Artist Artwork
SB	Ja, well you can't get the street art the beauty, the aesthetic, without the graffiti. But public art on the other hand, it works on a different spectrum as it always has to be funded if it's not funded its technically a form of street art.			
GW	Yes, so I think that's what I was trying to communicate earlier is that the difference between public art and street art is generally public art has some form of funding, some form of funding of commission ect. But I'd like to see the point where someone like The City of Cape Town commissions street art too. And we have... We have commissioned some, but I'd like to see it on a bigger scale. I'll send you an email on a project that we did a few months back, we went out into different areas. So it wasn't CBD based, it	C P	Sponsorship of arts-based community initiatives Government engagement	Process Process

	was different communities around the metro. So it was more a development part – it wasn't really the established street artists.	U	Specific location project	Space
SB	so like murals?			
GW	So it was murals, but it was more assisting developing artists – so I'd like to see more of that, but also established artists. Like Faith47, whose doing all her stuff in Joburg now, and I'm like "Why is she doing all her stuff in Joburg?" She used to be Cape Town based and now she's all over Joburg. You know that big one as you're leaving town is hers?	U	Local example/ artists Local: Location	Artist
SB	Ja...			
GW	We actually saw her stuff in Spain. [phone rings in background]	P P	Local example/artist International: location	Artist Space
SB	Do you need to get that?			
GW	No, its fine thank you.			
GW	So this is Crash, the guy I was telling you about in New York? Yeah, so he's like one of the Godfathers of street art as well. And he did the train spray painting and from there went on to do gallery exhibitions of his work and photos of his work.	P P	International example / artist International: location	Artist Space
SB	Ja			
GW	I'm not sure how much you've come across him yet but ya – he's talking about the type of stuff that you're talking about. Yeah, how he legitimised street art by taking his work into gallery spaces. He now sells his stuff for millions of dollars. He still does some street art work, but ja he sells his stuff for millions of dollars.	P	Legitimatization of street art	Process
SB	That's amazing.			
GW	Did you watch that hip hop series that was on Netflix?			
SB	Which one?			
GW	There is a recent one, about a year go? I'll find out for you now. [takes out cellphone and opens up Instagram again]. So this is his Instagram page and the kind of work that he does. It's like colours and shapes like pieces of an image, but usually you can tell that it's like meant to be a particular character and he's just taken an aspect of it. So yeah, worth checking out as well.	P	Reference to personal Instagram page	Personal/Other

SB	How important do you think it is, in a localised context in Cape Town that the work that gets made actually gets taken pictures of and gets put out there whether Instagram, Twitter, whatever.			
GW	I think its great. It's a way to market the city and attract people's attention. There's a lot of internationals who have a big interest in street art and will try visit cities just to see the street art. There are those who might have like an interest in it and say "Oh that's really nice, I wonder what else there is to see?". So I think it's really cool.	P	Digital engagement	Process
SB	do you think it could be leveraged as a tourism strategy maybe?			
GW	Definitely. I think that's part of what has happened with the Belgium piece as well as the piece on Long Street. I think both of those have elements of tourism and attracting an international audience.	N	Digital engagement International: Location	Process
SB	That's interesting. When I was busy doing my masters, I interviewed Freddy Sam, and he was just saying for him and for Faith[47], uh, he used to run a collective in Woodstock, he was just saying that the most difficult thing for him was that him and Faith[47] were the only self-permitting artists in Cape Town at that time, so 2015, 2016. It was such a fight for them to get murals up even though they were self-permitting. And Faith's mural <i>The Harvest</i> , as you come out of town, the LightUpKhayelitsha Project, that became the poster image for the World Design Capital. And at that stage, it took her almost six months to get that mural in like sort of movement. So by the time it actually went up it was at the end of the whole process was like very little help from the city. What I'm hearing from you now is that you're saying that's changed and like artists are getting supported, but I'm wondering - and I think this is the crux of my research- like I'm wondering what the link is if they go and they are public about their work. So yes in public space that they take more pictures they put it up more like what does that do for the space? What does that do for the work? What does that do for the city?			
GW	I think for some officials it could show the value of street art and just how much people appreciate it, like it and want it. Because generally, when you have an interesting, through provoking mural, you'll have people talking about it. Generally, in a positive way with few criticisms of it. I think that's a good thing. It shows movement beyond what it used to be. But I think there's still criticism of the tagging and the defacing, which doesn't add any value. Like, where I live for example - someone has defaced the stop street with a random black squiggle. Now, that doesn't add an value it just make it look ugly. But if someone had painted beautiful mural on the wall next to the stop street, that would be very different. Ja, I do think that it needs to have an element of control, because if the property owner didn't want it and someone went it did it anyways it's going to cost them money to repaint or whatever. But I definitely think there's more space for engagement with the city. If you look at done with the film industry, for example. The film industry brings massive job creation for Cape Town, for the community with skills development opportunities.	N P Neg Neg	Official response Public domain Bad graffiti Aesthetic Personal property / defacement	Process Process Artwork Artwork

	one of his huge murals up in The Shed, that must have been commissioned. And there's another one on the way to Hout Bay – at the bus stop or something. Another one in the CBD on the roller doors of a garage I think. He's got one in Khayelitsha, on the NGO buildings. I think he's found a way to commercialize his work yet still display it in public, you know, not just in galleries. He sells artwork as well, I actually took a picture of one and posted it on Instagram... The one at The Shed. [takes out cell phone and shows Instagram post] Ja, how cool is that?		Cape Town space Commercial Public domain	
SB	That's awesome.			
GW	Well that would have been commissioned by The Shed manager or owner or perhaps a restaurant or coffee shop. I don't know. There's no way that he just rocked up with his paint and did a piece.	N	Permit	Process
SB	No. Do you think that the City of Cape Town would ever get to the stage where they start commissioning murals?			
GW	Like I said before – we have with the emerging artists, but like I said, I think it's still an opportunity to focus on the established artists. I'd love to see international artists come to Cape Town and invited to do work with our local artists. Or in a space where they can do their own work, not just a collaboration you know. participated with or in a space where they can do their own work. Not just a collaboration but different spaces in that same environment. Like I've seen South Africans work overseas, like Faith47 and JackFox, I think he was with his mom?	P N	Cape Town space Local example / artist	Space Artists
SB	Yeah, they've moved overseas. They moved to Los Angeles I think.			
GW	Oh ok. [takes cellphone out again and goes to his personal Instagram page] So look at this one. This must have been like tar dripping or something. That was sidewalk art in New York.	P	Reference to personal Instagram page International: Location	Personal/Other Space
SB	Wow.			
GW	It looks like someone has just taken tar and moved it around to create an image. So things like that I spot, and I think is really... [scrolls] oh wait here's the other Falko one. Um. Ok. I wanted to show you JackTheFox and Faith's one. No this is all local. [scrolls through posts]	P	Local example / artist	Artist

	Like these I think are commissioned.			
SB	Ja. That's definitely commissioned.			
GW	So that is just off Saint Georges Mall. Close to Greenmarket Square. This is in Spain... [inaudible muttering]. Then like this – even things like that I think are really cool street art.	P	Local: Location	Space
SB	That's a stencil, Ja.			
GW	Makes you think what are they trying to communicate? So like yeah, I mean that that's unsightly [referring to graffiti around the street art in Instagram post]. You know everything around it. But I mean there's an image there, but the rest of it doesn't that's just ugly. I often take pictures of the small stuff as well. This one. I mean, like what is all this trying to communicate there - this person focuses on their self-image and looking good while kids are starving and it's very interesting message makes you think what are they trying to say? There's another one. This one is for Airbnb and it was a criticism of Airbnb so they weren't happy with what Airbnb had done to their space. So that's another form of protest street art.	Neg Neg	Bad graffiti Defacement Protest Aesthetics Rebellious artists	Artwork Artwork Artist
SB	Did you do anything artistic or visual as an undergrad?			
GW	[shakes head]. Take a look at this one. That's a derelict building.	Neg	Defacement	Artwork
SB	That's stunning. Where was that?			
GW	This was Lisbon. So Ja we often go They also often go on the street art walks. I'll map it, and my wife and I will walk it. We'll often find things we weren't expecting to because there will be an area where there is a few and you've got to look for one particular one. Ja, I've never done art myself. I used to kind of draw as a kid but I wasn't very good at it. I just enjoy art. Comic art, classic art, modern art, I just find it interesting, sculptures, paintings, watercolours, oils – I like it all. Street art I love because it's public.	P	International: Location Aesthetic Public domain	Space Artwork process
SB	Ja, anyone can see it.			
GW	It's open to everybody. And quite often there's some kind of message with it, or just a really cool picture that we redefines the space.	P	Public domain	process
SB	it's nice when it's like the city this big Concrete Jungle kind of gets transformed into a gallery by the people who live in it, which is really nice.			

GW	I mean there's quite a lot in Cape Town, but um I think there's space for more. And yeah, I hope that the street artists who want to do work engage with the city, speak to the officials, explain what value it could add, why they doing it and ja, our guys will be receptive.	P	Government engagement Artist taking initiative	Process
SB	I think it's really nice that you have a collective like Baz Art in Cape Town. You know, Joburg doesn't. They have Mzansi Golden Economy but it's kind of falling apart a little bit. It's really nice that there's leeway. Because I understand what you're saying, that people must always speak to the government, but I think it's quite difficult to be able to because there's a lot of administrative red tape and paperwork. So it's really nice when you have a sort of go-between or a broker between the city and the artists.			
GW	I also think that we give them access to spaces that wouldn't be available without government assistance.	N	Permit	Process
SB	Such as?			
GW	Like a big building space, a big open canvas that they wouldn't be able to paint on. Without government saying "cool, go ahead, paint on that, this is one of our buildings". If you look at the side of the civic centre, we've got those two huge murals there. The one of Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu. I mean those are very street-art-styled. I mean that's our own administrative building. So I do think we're open to it, but it has to be done in a beneficial and collaborative way for everybody.	P	Local: Location Local specific named piece Government engagement	Space Artwork Process
SB	Do you think artists that approach you should be primarily self-funded or should they approach you looking for commissions? Because those are two different approaches.			
GW	So I think guys that would want their work to be commissioned would need to open the cities eyes to the need for it. I'll find out about the ones that have been done already and I'll send you some information on that, that was much earlier this year but it will be on my pc somewhere. And then those that don't want to be commissioned but have found a space for what they want to do should also just come to the city. So you know, why should this take six months? Why can't this take a month to sort out? What is it that takes six months to get this finalised. I mean, we're all about being more efficient so if we could find more ways to do that – we should. Just hang on a sec keep asking questions I'm just going to look for that information for you now. [Gets up and goes to computer and shows interviewer pictures of projects recently completed in Athlone]. [inaudible chatter] [both interviewer and interviewee sit back down] Is there anything else?	P P P P	Government engagement Regulation Official response Permit	Process Process

SB	I don't think I have any specific questions at this stage, I mean I kind of just wanted to understand the city's approach and just sort of how the city is thinking about street art, graffiti, muralism. Are they using it for Community projects? That type of thing which you've spoken to me all about. And just sort of the relationship with media coverage including social media.			
GW	So yeah that's question number 8. [Refers to structure questions sent to the Mayor via email – please see next appendix]. That's a perfect opportunity for the street artists to engage with the city because those will go out for public participation no doubt. That would give them an opportunity to include their views and they can influence the policy and how we approach these things.	N	Official response	process
SB	When will that go out?			
GW	Hopefully next year. So they are waiting for another policy to be filled and then they can move forward on that one. Here's stuff on commissioning.	N	Official response	Process
SB	So from here on next Monday, I'm going to Joburg and speak to the Johannesburg Development Agency about their projects. I'm not able to speak to anyone from Herman Mashaba's office at the moment considering all the reshuffling. I'm going to keep persisting through. Is it alright if I have any questions, I just send them through to you? I understand that you're very busy and you've been very generous with your time today. And I really appreciate that.			
GW	Ja sure. Yeah, it's a particular passion of mine.			
SB	Thank you so much. I really appreciate it.			

Coding round 1 & 2

Category round 1 (categories)	Category round 2 (themes)
Local: Location	Space
International: Location	
Cape Town space	
Local specific named piece	Artwork
International specific named piece	

Aesthetic	
Bad graffiti	
Public art	
Defacement	
Local: background	
International background	
International example / artist	Artist
Rebellious artists	
Local artist	
Gangs	
Government engagement	Process
Digital engagement	
Regulation	
Public domain	
Permit	
Bylaws	
Commercial	
Official response	
Baz Art	
Reference to personal Instagram page	Personal / other
Personal story	
Background / establishing	

Table , Interview 2, Coding round 1, *descriptors and thematic coding for interview with Mr Greg Wagner.*

Table by author

2021

Letter	Meaning
N	<u>N</u> utral
P	<u>P</u> ositive

U	<u>U</u> ncertain/ <u>U</u> nclear
C	<u>C</u> larifying
Neg	<u>N</u> egative

Table , Interview 2,Coding round 2 - *Thematic coding of the interview with Mr Greg Wagner.*

Table by author

2021

Coding round 3

This table showcases the frequency, average tone and the notes associated with each broader category.

Category round 2	Frequency of mentions	Average Tone	Note
Space	18	Positive	International Location = 9
Artwork	21	Negative	Aesthetics = Positive Bad Graffiti/ Defacement = Negative
Artist	28	Positive	International = 10 Local = 8 Rebellious Artists = 4
Process	45	Positive / Neutral	Baz Art = 4
Personal / Other	20	Positive	Personal Instagram= 8

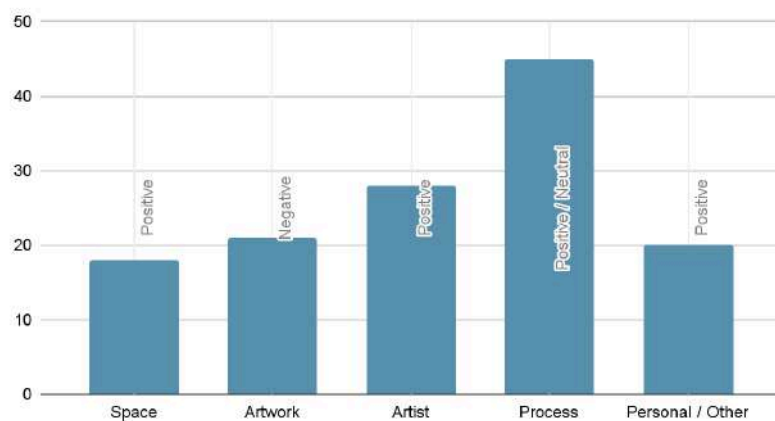
Table , Interview 2, Coding round 3 - *Thematic coding of the interview with Mr Greg Wagner.*

Table by author

2021

Results

Interview 2: Frequency & tone of interview themes



Baz Art Interview

Interviewees: Alexandre Tilmans (Baz Art Founder) & Donna De Sani (Baz Art Projects Manager)

30 October 2019 - Ma'Kazi Coffee Shop Salt River

Context: Baz Art organizes the annual International Public Art Festival. They are responsible for many of the murals in and around the Cape Town Central Business District and in Salt River. They are also involved in many other public arts projects on a smaller scale throughout South Africa. I emailed them to ask for an interview and the founder Alexandre Tilmans got back to me. We met at the Ma'Kazi Coffee shop in Salt River

Approach used: Since the 'structured' interview questions had been officially answered, this interview took more of an unstructured format. My approach was to understand Mr Wagner's comprehension of and engagement with street art, graffiti and public art, as a government official and official spokesperson for the mayor of Cape Town. When it became evident that Mr Wagner was more interested in discussing his personal interest in street art, I went along with the interview to see where it went.

Speaker	Content	Tone	Descriptor	Theme

SB	Okay, so I am a PhD student at the Center for Media Studies and then I teach Visual Communication, Art History, all of that, and I've been very interested in sort of researching street art, graffiti, public art in the intersection of them because I've noticed in South Africa they all sort of merge into one sometimes. Yeah, and so for my Master's, I compared different art forms, and I was interested in taking that discussion further. That's why I really wanted to speak to you and hear about your project, what you're doing and how you've organized the sort of festival for the past three years. So this conversation can be very relaxed, very free-flowing and you can just tell me about where you're at.			
AT	Okay, cool and, you're at UCT?			
SB	Yes.			
AT	Okay. So we have a project going on at UCT, just so you know.			
SB	Do you? Oh I wasn't aware of that. Is it with the School of Arts?			
AT	No, but she's an art teacher, a very nice lady, let me just find out the name. And so we combined the project to create seven murals, and the first one is kind of getting approved and we can get started.			
DDS	On campus.			
SB	Is that on Hiddingh on the Upper Campus?			
AT	How do you call that one? That one on there on the top?			
SB	In town or Upper Campus?			
DDS	On Upper Campus.			
SB	That's very cool.			
AT	Where you at?			

[illegible]

	route before being stuck in it, or if they want to drop out and become a mathematics teacher.			
SB	Okay.			
AT	So so it's about children growing up and assisting them in becoming a professional artist for the one that's there. I mean. We're not expecting all the kids that are taking after-school classes to become muralists. Otherwise, there's going to be a problem. So for the adults, so we still in the transition phase and it hasn't been happening yet because well, we only four years old and the kids haven't grown up enough. On the adult side, what we realise now, I'm going to speak for Cape Town first before speaking for South Africa. There was a strict by-law, which is still strict but there are ways to get through it. And so the bylaw basically bans people to paint without authorization from the owner, the neighbours and the city. So you have to get those three to agree on what you're going to paint which kills a bit of the spontaneity and make things a bit difficult because you need signatures you need paperwork. So Baz Art is there to facilitate and help that. That was kind of how it came about – in one way.	P P P P Neg Neg N	Children Career Development Transition phase Adults Graffiti by-law Paperwork process Baz Art formed to assist	Opportunity Process Process
SB	So, is Baz Art sort of self-permitting then?			
AT	Yes we are now able to self-permit, ja. But it's only because we have done more than 60 works with the City and they're happy with it.	P	Permit	Process
SB	Okay.			
AT	So we do, but it doesn't mean that because you have a certain permit you can paint.	Neg	Process for artwork creation	Process
DDS	You still have to go through certain avenues and you still need to get the permission of the owner and the neighbours.	N	Process for artwork creation	Process

AT	There's still a need to do paperwork. Yeah but by submitting the paperwork to the city, it's good.	N	Process for artwork creation	Process
SB	and how long does that usually take?			
DDS	I could happen in a day; it could happen in a month or year. So it's just about getting the different stakeholders to be in agreement. So public art as it states, is public, and belongs to the public. So it is difficult to just display something immediately and carry on with your life. So in order for public to take ownership you need to include. So ja it takes time. But Ja it happens faster now that we have gotten it into the motion. We have a system.	Neg N N	Process for artwork creation Public inclusion System for working with the City	Process
AT	So I think what Donna touched on is the right, important thing. And I think it was one of your questions in the early beginning. And um, it's the reason why we call it International Public Art Festival, International Public Art festival and not Graffiti Festival. It's that - Yeah is that because of it was banned, well because street art or murals were banned and the perception of the public was bad because people were thinking - graffiti tagging, destroying. By taking the counter approach and calling it public art suddenly it needs to appeal to the public. So it's a public piece, needs to be appreciated by the public and by by saying art you consider everyone as an artist, you don't make a distinction of, well with regards to the background of that person is that person is street artist? Is he a graphic designer? Is he a calligraphist? It doesn't actually matter. Is he a ceramicist that paints on the wall? He's an artist. And so by saying that first you get the city accept it and say oh if it's public art, it's cool. Okay, that's cool then and and all the artists at the same level because what we realize in South Africa, let's not only in South Africa is that street art and the artists that would learn the less way below any fine art artist doesn't mean that they have less skills. It's just the way it is	P P P N N P P P	Naming Public art instead of graffiti Public perception of graffiti Public appeal All artists equal Acceptance Equality of all artists	Naming Perception Public/deomcratic Public/deomcratic Artist Artist

	recognised as an art form at the moment. So by calling everyone an artist, everyone is at the same level. So that's that helps to unlock the...			
DDS	opportunity for street artists.	P	Equality of all artists	Artist
AT	Yeah, I was going to say the industry, but that's a bad word because it sounds very... uh..	C		
DDS	Niche.	C		
AT	Yeah, unlocks that niche. That niche of art and putting it at the same level of technique and knowledge as the other ones.	C	Equality of all artists	Artist
SB	and I suppose it opens up the conversation with the government hugely in a way where just using the terms street art and graffiti ...	P	Opens up conversation with government	Conversati on
AT	and with residents as well.	P		
SB	Ja.			
AT	Can we come and do graffiti on your wall? Or can we come and do an artwork on your wall? Is a completely different word and perception.	N	Opens up conversation with residents	Conversati on
SB	And what have the residents' responses been? Because I'm assuming you made a lot of your pieces in the Salt River area from the festival.			
DDS	I think in the beginning it was a bit difficult, but mainly because the notion that they had stuck was 'graffiti' 'vandalism' 'bad', but the more we shared what we're doing and the purpose of what we're doing the more and more we got community to latch on to the project. Like any other big project that you have, you'll never have 100% yay-sayers. So there are few people that are not all for it, but it's fine	P N	Residents response Communit y involveme nt Signing for	Communit y Communit y

	because we have about... for every wall that we've painted we have about four signatures of neighbours allowing for this to happen. So I think we have maybe like three four hundred people have signed for a wall of some sort. And there's a lot of involvement. Some of the homeowners are so appreciative, so grateful for the experience. So during the festival we have homeowners work super closely alongside the artist. So before the artist starts with anything, there is an introduction. There's a " this is what I intend to do. How do you feel about it? Because it's their wall. So clearly they should have the last... so there's that inclusion in the whole process of the mural being curated, created. And there's that relationship with artists that they would never have outside of the festival. So now they get to understand the message, the scope of the work that goes on behind the intention of it and it makes them appreciate the artist all the more. So when we take ourselves out of the project, these homeowners who are the new ... Ah ... appreciation for artists and for art and it blooms and it continues to grow. So there's so many spinoff things happening as a result of just the initial relationship. But yeah, I took us a while to get where we are at. But now we are I think at a good space with the majority of the residents.	P P P P P	walls/community involvement Dialogue Relationship between community and artists Appreciation	Community Conversation Collaboration
SB	And so, would the artist say "Cool. I want to paint, a person or a figure or something" and then they would approach the homeowner with that? Or would it be more " "What would you like to see on your wall?" How does that process work?			
DDS	So we so we start with the theme so the theme helps guide what is allowed to be put up. So the intention with our project is murals with meaning. So it's not about what you want to share and your abilities. It's about what serves the public. What shares a message and what would be received. So we go to all the different homeowners and then they each need to tell us like restrictions. So... "I don't like" "I don't want". So then post that restriction, we then match the homeowner to artists because each artist has their own little	P P N N	Baz Art Mural creation Process How Baz art facilitates the community and	Process Collaboration

	sense of style. Their own artistry, and we don't want to compromise the artistry in itself. So you match the homeowner and the artist and the artist is to provide a sketch that is public friendly and matches in with the theme that in that way it guides the message. And then once we match the home of the homeowner with the artist, they have a little conversation with "Okay. I like this. You may go ahead." But considering community. Considering message. Considering homeowner. And then the mural gets created. So we try to give the artist as much room for the artistry but keeping in mind is not your piece.	N N N N	artist collaboration Baz Art Mural creation Process	Process
SB	Yeah. It's like a canvas.			
DDS	It's a public piece. When you leave this thing lives on. So it's about creating something that actually leaves a little bit of a legacy that inspires people and does good things. So there is a bit of a screen to make sure that whatever is put up is beneficial to all the different stakeholders. It's not your piece...	P N	Purpose of works Belong to the public	Public/democracy
AT	Well, it is. But it's for the benefit of the artist as well. If this wall is difficult, then he can get help because he is already included people around. Let's say he needs an extra ladder and he's just doing something for himself. No. No, one of the neighbourhood is going to lend him ladder. It's stupid, but it works like that. If you work with the people, then you have a greater experience. They're going to invite you for tea and coffee when you're tired, they are going to provide you with shade when it's hot...	P P P P	Working with the community Benefits Benefits	Collaboration Community
DDS	It's like beautiful - we've seen this happen. We have seen homeowners and artists become so close and it's really it's beautiful to watch that happen, but it can only happen if you take the ego out and understand that it's a 'we' project not a 'me' project.	P	Benefits	Community

SB	Yeah, and and how do you choose your artists? Like is it mainly people you've sort of helped through the system? I know you work with a lot of international artists, South African artists. How does that process work?			
DDS	So we try to keep it as diverse as possible. And for that reason we try to not repeat artists. So we tried to give as many artists an opportunity. We have all artists go through the same process of applying. So open call – send us your portfolio – send us your... but we gravitated towards artists with a strong yearning for community work, for inclusion, for understanding that it's not a 'me' project, it's a 'we' project. And then whether their work is public friendly, if it complies with the theme. At the end of the day, it's about connections. It's about collaboration. So we like working with artists that are all for that. Yeah.	N P P	Artist selection process Community criteria Public friendly work	Artist Collaboration Community
AT	No, no that's correct. And by putting that out there there is like this self-selection process. I mean when you put an open call, you ask you ask any type of artist for their portfolio. You already have a drop-down rate because some of them are like so and then you say well, okay the the sketch other the theme for this year is Generation X. It's about education. Can you please do a sketch? A quick sketch on what you think the future of education is so that we can see how we can incorporate it and present it to the house owners. Then you have another drop-down rate because you don't receive the sketch. And then then we have, if it's a national artist we would find the wall for for him or her. If it's an International artist, we have to seek out funding. For there is the plane, the accommodation, the food. And if we don't do that effort of looking for funding together there's another drop-down rate. So it's very selective. And that's how we get to 20 artists per year 20-25. It's always half local, half international.	P P P P P	Artist selection focus Eliminating factors Eliminating factors International artists Artist selection	Artist Process Community Artist Funding
DDS	and we try to keep the group as diverse as possible. So we have emerging artists coming out. This is their platform to push their boundary. And then we have established artists.	P P	Artist selection diversity	Artist Process

	Everyone knows who this person is. And this juxtaposition allows for levelling up of the emerging artists and it allows for like a community passion project of for the international artists. So the mix is really it's a good mix. We don't - we won't cut you off if you're from the location just because you don't have xy & z. It's about meeting the levels. We try to include as much different artists as possible. And the groups we had so far were all super diverse in ability, in experience in...but all the murals that we have are... like we were so surprised with some of the artists. We would think "Okay, this is the difficult one. Where do we put you because you're not.." And then this would be one of the favourite walls at the end of the day. Just by giving him the platform to just level up. Yeah, and like we had one artist last year. I was so sceptical because I was like the the work that I've seen was not.. I'm just like I need to meet the homeowners and I'm just like the homeowner was the most... she loved her piece and the artist was so grateful. He got at least four different commissions immediately after the mural and we was just like ... Yeah- Zola. He was so appreciative for.. Ja.	P	Artists leveling up	Artist
		P	Artist ability	Artist
		P	Successful artist from the IPAF	Collaboration
AT	The participation..	C	Artist participation	Artist
DDS	The participation, ja. And none of our artists get paid for it. So well, but all voluntary...	C	Artist payment	Funding
SB	That's what I was going to ask you. Do you sponsor materials though?			
AT	Yeah yeah.	C	Sponsor materials	Funding
DDS	For the local artists we give materials. For international artists we try to source funding that covers the materials. But but mainly it's about local... propelling local artistry.	C	Sponsor materials International versus local	Funding
AT	Yeah. I think there's one point we didn't finish in the early stage of the conversation. So for an artist to participate to the	P	Artist participation	Artist

	festival you are allowed to participate once so that you give your best but it's also for us during those 10 days. We can screen you and assess you. And we promised all the locals, International is more difficult, we promised all the local to pitch jobs for them, to clients, to institutions, to organisations, that maybe they maybe couldn't reach without us.		Community job creation	Process Artist opportunity
SB	So they get exposure through you?			
AT	It's not a question of exposure because I don't believe in free exposure. That exposure doesn't pay the bill. But if you want if you are an artist, I mean we just met now I have no clue what you can do. You can show me your portfolio, but I still don't understand how you scared of heights or not. Do you interact well with the community or not? Are you a bit of an autistic person or are you very talkative? I need to know that because when I'm speaking to Shoprite to paint a creche, I need to know if your friendly with kids. Some artists are not. Some artists prefer some corporate sterile environment. It doesn't matter but at the end of the day if I know you I can sell you if I don't know you I cannot sell you. So by participating to the festival it's basically your - we assess you so that during the year we can find you jobs and then you can make a living out of your art. And then as you push, you can grow and get more visibility of your own or we will help you get visibility. But the goal is that, everybody I mean Baz Art puts money in the festival, the artists work for free, we work for free during the festival so that you're part of the family and then we work together the rest of the year. So the festival is just 10 days in the year is just too big because its a big party but it allows us to find work the rest of the year.	Neg N N P	Media/ Exposure Baz Art "selling artists to the potential sponsors Knowing artists as people to match them correctly Visibility Work for free during festival Creates work for the rest of the year	Media Artist Artists Media Media
SB	So Baz Art is obviously an NGO or NPO?			
AT	NGO	C	Funding	Funding

SB	and then do you also have other jobs or is this sort of what you do? Is this the thing you focus on?			
DDS	Public art is the focus. However murals might be a limitation. So we are still growing - and so different types of public interventions. We do The Open Street once in a while, we do public art commissions for companies once a while. If we got a commission for an artist in an office that's part of it. So different types of art interventions in public, we would give it here.	P P	Public art Other initiatives involved in public space	Public / democracy Process
AT	So you know, Donna is a full-time employee. I started a Craft Beer Company, five or six years ago, and now my background is finance, and now I do finance consulting.	C	Other interests/funding	Funding
SB	Wow. Jack of all trades.			
DDS	Yeah.			
SB	Amazing.			
AT	Or entrepreneur.	C	Entrepreneur	-
SB	So I'm interested in what you think of more traditional forms of public art, specifically in Cape Town. Because 2014 obviously World Design Capital whole lot of artists flocked here. And what I kind of saw with my research was that many of the artists felt very let down by the process and I'm not sure if that was sort of on your radar or not?			
AT	We were not there yet. We didn't exist!	C		
SB	But I mean, I'm sure you were alive were involved in the arts. What do you think about like for example, the sort of public art you see on the Sea Point Promenade?			

AT	I think it's a good question. It's the first time we get that one. I would.. my first thoughts - and it confirms why Baz Art exists- is that as a single artist on your own is very difficult to apply for such tenders. I mean we have, there's been four tenders last year issued by the City of Cape Town. We won two, we didn't participate in one and we lost one. The amount of paperwork you have to fill and the amount of compliance and regulation. It's not only like just a tax clearance certificate. It's that you have to show that all the stakeholders have paid their municipality bills.	Neg N Neg Neg	Working with the City of Cape Town Process Paperwork Showing stakeholders are legally compliant	Conversations Process
DDS	Yeah, it's discouraging for the individual artist.	Neg	Discouraging for artists	Artist
AT	Yeah. So unless you have a platform that can do that for you. Yeah, you're going to be left behind. I mean, yeah that big pair of sunglasses. I'm sure it's a consortium of people, not just one individual that is like "but I'm gonna do it". It doesn't – its not possible. So ah ...	Neg	Discouraging for artists	Artist
DDS	But with reason, I think they have these different compliances, as the city they need to cover their backsides as well.	C	City has a responsibility	Governance
AT	Yes. So, for some of the.. one of the latest piece we did in Cape Town in June, it's a huge lighthouse in front of Alexander Bar in Town.	P	Artwork - lighthouse	Governance
SB	Hmm. I've seen that.			
AT	The reason why the permit got delayed not much but we did a lot of convincing is that the people that were blocking it was scared of losing their job. But with reason, because if we screw up that piece then they're going to be blamed for issuing a permit that they shouldn't have been issued. So it needs a lot of convincing to say you're not going to lose your job. And if anyone doesn't like it, don't worry, I'll come and	Neg Neg Neg	Process Employees blocking permit Fears over losing jobs Taking responsibility	Governance

	blank it out and I'll take the responsibility for it. So again, unless you are a group of person. You cannot do that on your own. And unless you have someone that get covers for the scaffolding which was more than a hundred thousand rands. I mean, this is a you need to, you need backup.	N N	lity for work Price of scaffolding	
SB	So, how do you how do you attract investors then?			
DDS	It's not necessarily investors. We look for partners collaborate. Like let's do this together. It's different. Investors is just "here's your money - go do you". But we look for people that benefit as much as we would from the public art to work with us. It's a whole different approach. Yeah we look for organisations, artists...that would want to do good in the public in terms of art. And we work with them and their resources. At the end of the day, I think it's about linking different stakeholders and finding a common goal. Not so much investors.	P P P	Not investors Rather collaborators Do public good with art	Collaboration Funding Collaboration
AT	So so to answer your question. In 2010, I was in the tourism industry and it was a World Cup and there were a whole lot of people left behind and there were a whole lot of people that got screwed as well. So I think one would assume because of Cape Town Capital of Design / World Cup South Africa that it would have a big impact on day one. No, it is a big impact on the long haul because we still speaking. I mean I'm speaking I'm speaking with people in Italy that also that was also awarded Capital Design in Torino and they know Cape Town has been also World Capital Design and so it still exists. And they still I'm sure more work generated now than in 2014. So I think the people that felt left over that they might not, it might not be the case now because they've benefited from that image that has been carried on through the years - that's clear.	Neg N P P P	People left behind after international events Soccer World Cup World Design Capital Work is still being generated	Community Community
SB	It's a whole lot of sort of larger street artists who initially tried to start things like Faith(47) or Freddie Sam.			

AT	Yeah.			
SB	and they've all sort of gone overseas because they said the city was essentially too difficult to work with. What do you make of stories like that?			
AT	Uh, well Faith47 is going to come back for the next festival... so.	P	Faith47 festival involvement	Artist
SB	Is she? That's exciting.			
DDS	And Freddy Sam was part of the first festival.	P	Freddy Sam involvement	Artist
AT	And Faith's ex-husband (Tyler Murphy). And she might come back in April, so they are not lost.	P	Tyler Murphy involvement	Artist
AT	Then at last I think it's not a question of legislation. I think it's a question of of making a living out of your art. And people that are ... Cape Town is only so big, and street art is only a small small niche. So if you want to paint now like she (Faith47) did, a 40 storey sky-scraper well first there is none in Cape Town available for that. So you have to look somewhere else. So, if you want to pursue a recognised career as a street artist you need to travel. And that's what we do for the festival, first of all not only we bring in international here for the ones that cannot travel but we try to push South Africans to travel too.	N N P P	Making a living from art Cape Town as niche market Established career requires travel	Artist Space Artist
SB	Do you link up with other festivals?			
DDS	Yeah, we try to push residencies with other projects as well. Like we had one of our artists go to Mexico for a festival. We had one of our artist's go to Reunion Island for like a little residency. We had one of our artist's go to Belgium for a little project. We're sending two artists now to the states for a little while.	P	Residency examples with other countries	Opportunity

SB	Wow.			
DDS	So the more noise we make the more opportunities we get for local artists to go and push bounds and learn elsewhere and come and do some great things here.	P	Creating opportunities for local artists	Opportunity
AT	I'm sure you know that the more references you have on CV as an artists, the more likelihood that your prices are going to go up is higher. Yes. And then you can make a living once again.	P	Creating opportunities for local artists	Opportunity
SB	I get that and I think it's such an interesting phenomenon to engage with because what I initially noticed is that a lot of the street, graffiti, public artists that were operating here. So yeah kind of initially Johannesburg was ANC and Cape Town was DA - in terms of their laws towards street art public murals graffiti. It was very different, it was chalk and cheese. I mean Joburg had one person in charge of outdoor advertising and that is it so there was a lot more space for Newtown, Braamfontein, Maboneng to sort of use street art as sort of a development vehicle. They brought in festivals...			
AT	There is no by-law at all.	N	JHB By-law	Governance
SB	Well, Herman Mashaba is now changing that.			
AT	Yeah, it's not there yet.	N	JHB By-law	Governance
SB	It's yeah, it's still getting there. So what do you think about that?			
AT	I think having some control is good. Banning is bad. And giving a sense of responsibility is even better. So I was asked that question yesterday. We passed where there was a big tag and the person asked me "Well do you think that should be allowed?" and my answer was that well if the homeowner agrees with it and enjoys it, why not? If the guy just did a big tag on his wall because it was midnight and he just wanted to	N P	By-laws and legalisation Tags Public space	Governance Community

	put his name up then that's not cool because you don't do that on somebody else's property. So it's more, in that sense. So if the people aren't responsible, then let's make them responsible, but you should ask permission to do stuff at least to the person that...	N Neg	Permission Public good Responsibility	Public/democracy
DDS	crime is crime is crime.	Neg	Crime	Governance
AT	That's the minimum the fact that it needs to be approved by the city, the different departments and that but might be the it might be a bit too much. But again, what we have proved is that by doing 60 walls well, then we have more freedom.	N N	City permissions Doing many walls	Governance process
SB	You know what you're doing.			
AT	So we have shown we have shown responsibility for what we're doing and we were always open for that and and ready to repair whatever damage we would do, which we haven't done yet which is cool. So so it's appreciated and then you have more freedom. So I think it's more in that sense. Should it be like? Should it be the same in Joburg? I can talk for Pretoria because Pretoria is also has the same by-law and I've been talking with the city officials because no one goes and paints in Pretoria.	N N N N	Responsibility Freedom to paint Johannesburg and Pretoria by-laws	Responsibility Governance Process
SB	Yes.			
AT	and they want street art, but they don't know what the procedure should be because there is none. They don't know if they're going to look like Cape Town or like Joburg so nothing is happening because nobody knows and no one wants to take in the government section didn't want to take responsibility. So it's a funny. It's a funny thing. As a matter of comparison it's like the alcohol legislation were in Central Europe. You can nobody looks at your age or whatever and in Commonwealth countries it's super strict and there are more	N N	Pretoria street art process Government unsure of how to engage Control and	Process Governance Governance

	alcoholics. I think it's exactly the same but only when there's control in one area and there's no controlling the other I think it's more the sense of responsibility that's important. So I do education around it.	N	responsibility as paradoxical	
SB	So is there a sort of... You specifically cater to Cape Town.			
AT	No, South Africa.	C	Cater to the whole of SA	Process
SB	South Africa as a whole?			
AT	Yes			
SB	So I know there's the Mzansi Golden Economy in Joburg but that sort of has lost a lot of traction.			
DDS	They had an entire public art fund. I was trying to get hold of them for like a year and a half no reception and I get the right person but no reception. I've had people from people to people pass me to this department get the person get the number get the email no response. So they had a fairly decent grant made available for public art. No response. I don't know why. It is a bit sad because now they are keen but they are not receiving. It was very strange for me.	Neg Neg	Public art funding mechanism Unable to get hold of them	Funding
SB	I know there were some issues with them and funding and things like that, but I don't know exactly what happened.			
DDS	I tried to know but no reception. Yeah, okay.			
SB	So how important is something like Instagram or social media to what you do?			
AT	Answer first, I'll answer after.	C		
DDS	I think it's part of the Legacy. So public art is not static it evolves. And the only way for single mural to make a noise is if it resonates and people out of their own share and tag and	P	Mural lives on through Social Media	Media

	communicate and create conversation about this piece. So before a mural was designated to a location and that's that. But now the mural lives on. Yeah, it's storied. It's retweeted. It's reposted. It's shared. And this is how the volume, the message, the artistry just goes viral. The Shepard Fairy piece about Obama? There's no way that this little piece would have become the campaign if it did not resonate. So I think public art, it's very democratic. In the sense that if it resonates then it would be heard. If it doesn't, it will fade. And Instagram and all these social media helps give voice to that one piece and it helps to extend the legacy of the piece. So now it's not just location-bound, it grows beyond. Like we have this crazy cool thing coming up, you should fund, it's called a virtual street art experience. It's a 360 degree tour of some of the murals we have. And so that it lives on beyond the scope of Salt River. This is how it makes real impact, real opportunity, real noise, real resonance. But only if it resonates. If it doesn't isn't resonate, it's just like [shrugs]. If it does resonate, it will blow up. Yeah.	P P P P	Create conversation Goes viral Public art is heard if it resonates Beyond location Murals live beyond Salt River	Conversation Media Public/democracy Public/democracy Media Public/democracy
SB	That's amazing that such a necessary project as well.			
DDS	Actually. Yeah. Yeah. Share, retweet!	P		
AT	Yeah, so on social media, I don't fully agree because I would say over a hundred posts we do there's only one that goes, what we would say viral or semi-viral, so it needs a lot of effort and a lot of consistent effort to get something out there what you see on your Facebook today is what has gone viral, but you don't know how many posts that person has done before. Yeah, so it's a lot of work for maybe be successful. And so that's one thing so. So yeah, that's one thing. And then the second thing is that what I realized is that all of the communications around the world we have, or around the project or around Baz Art, and what actually brings commission work or clients at the end of the day – it's mainly through traditional medias. 90%. So social media is	Neg N C	Lots of work to create a social media post Does not always go viral Communications are through traditional media Social	Media Media Conversation

	more support to show that you active, that something is happening. It's not. You don't get business out of social media.	P	media as support/a wareness	Media
DDS	You get noise though.	P	Noise	Media
SB	so newspapers maybe? Is that more what you're talking about?			
AT	Ya newspapers, or even online blogs or online press is actually shown better than social media itself.	P	Media forms	Media
SB	That's so interesting, because around the world. It seems like Instagram...			
AT	It's a good support. You don't buy on social media really.	Neg	Can't buy on Social Media	Funding
SB	I think what's also nice about a more traditional media form is because there's a greater word limit people can hear more stories like what you've shared with me today, you know. This is why we created this mural, this is what is behind it.			
AT	Yes, its very difficult to put into a Tweet.	C	Difficulty of explanation	-
SB	Are you ever worried that your art, all the art murals that you create, public murals? Public art murals let's call them that. Might lead to some form of gentrification?			
AT	No. Well. Yeah the beginning, at the beginning, yes.	C	Gentrification worries	Gentrification
DDS	Well we had fear.	C	Concern	Gentrification

AT	At the beginning we had fear. By now we realized that it makes a neighbourhood way more inclusive and cohesive.	P	Gentrification	Gentrification
DDS	It depends on how you go about it.	C		
AT	The people are actually stronger together as a neighbourhood. Like they wouldn't chat with their neighbours before now. But at first they sign the same piece of document, but then they can start speaking about the walls and it makes them actually stronger as a community then, then before. Because gentrification is about yeah one guy selling his property than the other, then the other. But if they talk to one another then it happens less. It makes it more difficult.	P	Community cohesion through the mural creation process	Gentrification
DDS	I think one thing we can do is help provide opportunity for locals then to benefit from the art. I think it's sad if we have taken over and some random person out there is reaping the benefits. But we try to include we tried like we having a little marketing around the festival, we aiming for local artistry to come and share. We want - grow with us.	N P	Locals to benefit from the process too Marketing for Salt River	Collaboration Community
AT	Yeah, tour guides are local, the scaffolding guy is local.	P	Local suppliers	Community
DDS	We try to keep the cycle moving and give back to – grow with us. I think gentrification in itself - it's it's an Evolution, its an economic evolution of a city. This cannot be contained, and our painting on the walls is not causing it. But what we can do is help grow individuals so that they are better grounded in their space. Does it make sense?	P P P	Gentrification Economic evolution of a city	Gentrification
SB	So Donna you mentioned there's a right way and a wrong way. What would be the wrong way to go about it be?			
DDS	The wrong way for going about murals?	C		
SB	Yeah.			
DDS	Um, coming in. On your own. Doing your thing. Leaving. Taking the benefits with you. Firstly it's not your space. No	Neg	Discussing the wrong way to	Process

	inclusion. It's leechy. So I think the right way will be talking to the residents takes a lot of effort a lot of time. Getting artists to work with communities. Um, sharing the pieces. Coming back. It's not about doing something and then disappearing. It's about keeping the momentum. Make sure that whatever you sold is being delivered. Constantly grooming relationships so that the spin-offs come to life. So I think that's what Baz Art has set out to make the links. But post links there needs to be the fruit of the seed. So like seeing other projects come to life through the connections. Yeah.	P P	engage with the process Including the community Relationship	Collaboration Community
AT	Another explanation I like to use - I don't think I don't think you buy a house because there's a nice wall that's being painted. I don't think if there's a statue in the park in front of you in your neighbourhood. It's not gonna increase the value of your house. You can forget about that. But the fact that there's more and more traffic jams that pushes people to live in town more than anything. So if there is a process of gentrification it's because traffic is too much and people want to live in town and that drives the price of the property in town higher, rather than that wall that's painted with beautiful colours. How beautiful that wall is, doesn't matter. I think there are different factors that includes gentrification way more than a painted wall.	P Neg P	Gentrification Home market value Living close to town	Gentrification Space
SB	I don't think gentrification is always all bad. I just think that like you said has to be managed properly. I mean it's not something unique to South Africa. I think we just have a sort of very complicated post-apartheid legacy that we need to try and negotiate when we deal with spaces like Salt River or Woodstock. You know, where we've seen a lot of street art come up, or even in town in the CBD. But I think you know when artists are aware of their role in that process and are like conscious about that and involve the community, then that's something really powerful.			

AT	So in the first year we got that question, in the first festival 4 years ago, but since then never again.	C	Gentrification	Gentrification
SB	Wow.			
DDS	Well, we do but it's very...	C		
AT	it's addressed and then...	C		
DDS	Well, I think the fact that we've been here for four years - continue doing what we're doing in the same method and we're constantly reaching out to say "Hey guys how can we get better at this?" "Like we need your insight?" I think the fact that we've been consistent has approved the project in some way.	P P	Working with the community Consistency	Community Collaboration
AT	Like, how can you benefit too, because you also live in Salt River? What what what can you provide as a service that we could include you?	P	Resident inclusion	Community
DDS	We literally ask "how do you want guys want to get involved?" Speak to us. We can see what we can do. We about the links. So I think the fact that we've included so many local residents in the project - Yeah, we have we have we have little support. We have people that are really – for us. Like really really for us. Yeah. It's amazing, but I once again, only time allows for the consistency to play out and the benefits to be reaped. So it's just about being legit about your...	Pos	Community involvement	Community
SB	and keeping it going...			
DDS	and doing it. Ya. Do what you say you're going to do, and just be consistent with what... yeah.	C		
SB	That's amazing.			

DDS	There's a lot more that meets the eye than paintings on the wall.	P		
SB	Yes, obviously.			
DDS	Yeah.			
SB	Cool, so do you have any other remarks or closing statements that you would like to add?			
DDS	When your little research goes viral, be sure to mention that it's a non-profit activity. So if they love what we do, join in, get involved. There's many ways that that can take place. It's not just money, although that could be beneficial too. If you have connections and scaffolding and paint and artists... reach out. The only way for this to survive and to thrive, is as we said, it's a "we" project. We need more we's. Yeah.	P P P	NGO Looking for partnerships Collaboration	Funding Process Collaboration
AT	what's going to be the title?			
SB	So it's a working title. But where I have kind of landed up with is if I said cool – I'm writing about street art – it's very limiting. If I say I'm writing about public art – it's very limiting. So I've kind of just for the time being spoken about visual communicative practices, but again – it's constantly evolving. But I'm looking at how they sort of contest public sphere, democracy, artistic processes in Cape Town and I'm hoping to expand that conversation to Johannesburg. I haven't gotten any official responses as yet, but I've been looking at the by-laws and working with that so I'm hoping sort of in the next few months to start working through and analyzing my data. Then I'll submit and then once that's gone through - my end goal would be to publish a book around this, because I think we need something like that.			
AT	What do you think will be your closing statement? What is the goal? What do you want to prove?			

DDS	Yeah, the little tone that you want to give our message?			
SB	I think it's a bit counterproductive to say so now because then I'm gonna like I'm conducting these interviews little to prove my own hypothesis. But what I realized through my Masters research was that - there just aren't the formalized structures and processes and policies to support the type of art that South Africa really needs and I think that's really problematic, considering that we're moving from STEAM to STEM and like childhood education. And value of arts - as an educational tool- not in and of themselves even, it gets lost. So just to point towards the less formalized artistic practices and then they shouldn't be knocked down. They shouldn't be belittled. They should actually be up there because if they're not then where are we going? You know arts, particularly in a space and in a culture and in a country as diverse as we are – we need that polysemy. We need people to be able to look at something and all get different ideas and interpretations. We need those community conversations. If that's not happening, how do we move forward?			
AT	I think I think it will slowly like I would use today's example where in Joburg we are painting a billboard.			
SB	Okay!			
AT	Which goes back to a hundred years ago when people were painting Billboards in there was no plastic Billboards printed. So and that's being like more local and more inclusive and more like storytelling. I think that current way of communicating is probably coming back in that way. So yeah this place to grow for that. It will take a bit of time.			
SB	Definitely. But I mean also if I look at sort of the process and why I specifically asked you about this, but the process that took place around the Seapoint Promenade and how the funding and the policy happened for that and how Michael Ellisons 'Perceiving Freedom' was orchestrated.			

AT	Good Point!			
SB	Yeah, and sort of the the loopholes and in the gaps in it. Everyone saw this final product and they were so outraged but you know, no one was sort of looked back and said, okay, but what did we do wrong in this process? And how should we actually be looking at art forms in public space? Um, and that's what I'm interested in. That's what I want to touch on because that there's not there's not enough good things.			
AT	But it is still there today. Even though it was badly taken at the beginning but it is still there today and photographed, I don't know maybe 500 times a day, maybe a couple of hundred times a day. I'm certain.			
SB	But I think it's also like that thing, you know where there's like a really problematic Monument or Memorial. Um, I'm teaching my students about this now, but like the Voortrekker Monument, you know, that's so problematic. But if you erase it completely then you also erase their conversation and you erase that memory and in that process of remembering so you almost need to put it in conversation with so like what they've done with Freedom Park, you know, like have that conversation between what was and what is now and I think it's kind of the same to a much lesser extent with Michael Ellions sunglasses. Like it's great that they were completely stripped of context and everyone just laughed at them, you know cool now that it's just a photo spot. It could have been so much more. Um, but if we remove it then it also removing how the public art funding approval City process largely failed the public which is why I think what you're doing is so important.			
AT	Comes back to communication and speaking with people.	C	Collaborat ion	Collaborat ion
SB	and involving the community.	C	Communit y	Communit y

DDS	Involving! Inclusion is a big thing. It's very difficult to get right though. Um, to hear a million thousand voices and to give them all that little stage. It's difficult, but just including in the decision and in the conversation prior to anything being made. Yeah, it really helped I think last year went so well, but I think it's mainly because it's like literally spoke to people. Yeah, spoke spoke to spoke to people.	C C	Inclusion Involving all stakeholders	Community
SB	Wow. So how many of you actually organize the festivals, just the two of you?			
AT	No, no. We are four	C	Festival organisation	Process
DDS	Yeah, 4 but there's a lot going on. So everyone's plate is flipping full!	C	Festival organisation	Process
AT	Yeah, I always say because we've had the discussion many times and for me, it's more like. So we can sit down at the festival because that's she's the project manager of the festival.	C	Festival organisation	Process
SB	Shes the community. Shes the ...			
AT	But there's there's at least a hundred people that are part of the festival without counting each and every other resident that is also true. Just people that are actively part of the festival. These are hundred people. So yeah the artist you have, the house owner, you have the lady that provides the food to get from, the guy from the scaffolding the ...		Festival organisation	Process
DDS	The runners, the security.	C	Festival organisation	Process
SB	Thats alot to organise.			

AT	Yeah, so there's a hundred people. That contribute, put efforts together.	C	Festival organisation	Process
SB	Wow. Thats incredible.			
AT	Yeah.	C		
DDS	Yeah. Oh yes but it gets easier because the conversations have started and just tapping into already existing networks, contacts and its maintaining those relationships that it's very like I get so, like guys come on, like the maintaining of the relationship, is like that's me. I'm just like we said we have to, we said we need to, when we going back to this, like can we this needs to happen. Being consistent and doing what you say you're gonna do. And just speaking to people. Yeah.	C	Consistency Collaboration	Process Collaboration
AT	And alot of promising.	C	Festival organisation	Process
DDS	Yeah, alot of promising.	C	Festival organisation	Process
AT	Being humble.	C	Festival organisation	Process
DDS	Yeah, keep capacity in mind because we are still a baby organisation and we are 4 people, so yeah.	C	Festival organisation	Process
SB	Shoy, that's incredible. Okay, I'm going to stop the recording now, is that fine?			
AT	Yeah.			

Coding round 1 & 2

Category round 1 (Detail)	Category round 2 (Theme)

Festival Organisation	Process
Consistency	
Looking for partnerships	
Discussing the wrong way to engage with the process	
Cater to the whole of SA	
Pretoria street art process	
Doing many walls	
Paperwork	
Showing stakeholders are legally compliant	
Other initiatives involved in public space	
Baz Art Mural creation Process	
Process for artwork creation	
Permit	
Graffiti by-law	
Paperwork process	
Baz Art formed to assist	
Resident inclusion	Community
Community involvement	
Inclusion	
Involving all stakeholders	
Resident inclusion	
Working with the community	
Including the community	
Relationship	
After School programme for kids	
Support	
Children	
Residents response	
Community involvement	

Signing for walls/community involvement	
Benefits	
Public friendly work	
People left behind after international events Soccer World Cup	
Permission	
Collaboration	Collaboration
Consistency	
Locals to benefit from the process too	
Marketing for Salt River	
How Baz art facilitates the community and artist collaboration	
Working with the community	
Successful artist from the IPAF	
Partners / not investors	
Relationship between community and artists	
Community criteria	
Do public good with art	
Including the community	
Exhibitions	Artists
Art recognised	
Creativity	
Professional artist pairing	
Career development	
Equality of artists	
Artist selection process	
International artist	
Artist selection diversity	
Artists leveling up	
Artist ability	

Artist participation	
Baz Art “selling artists to the potential sponsors	
Knowing artists as people to match them correctly	
Discouraging for artists	
Faith 47	
Freddy Sam	
Tyler Murphy	
Public art funding mechanism	Funding
Can’t buy on Social Media	
NGO	
Opens up conversation with residents	Conversation
Relationship between community and artists	
Working with the City of Cape Town	
Create conversation	
Communications are through traditional media	
JHB By-law	Governance
By-laws and legislation	
City permissions	
Crime	
Freedom to paint	
Johannesburg and Pretoria by-laws	
Government unsure of how to engage	
Control and responsibility as paradoxical	
Gentrification worries	Gentrification
Concern	
Community cohesion through the mural creation process	
Gentrification	
Media forms	Media

Noise	
Lots of work to create a social media post	
Does not always go viral	
Communications are through traditional media	
Social media as support/awareness	
Viral	
Mural lives on through Social Media	
Visibility	
Work for free during festival	
Creates work for the rest of the year	
Children	Opportunity
Career Development	
Transition phase	
Adults	
Community job creation	
Creating opportunities for local artists	
Residency examples with other countries	
Public perception of graffiti	Public/ democratic
Belong to the public	
Purpose of works	

Category round 2	Frequency of mentions	Average Tone	Note
Process	32	Neutral/ Clarifying	Most negative tones here.
Community	19	Positive	Inclusion
Collaboration	13	Positive	Partnership

Artists	23	Positive/Neutral	Work with
Funding	10	Positive/ Clarifying	Partnership/ NGO Unpaid artists
Conversation	6	Positive	With stakeholders
Governance	10	Neutral/ Negative	Responsibility vs Control
Gentrification	7	Clarifying / Positive	Answering question
Media	11	Positive/ Neutral	Social Media versus traditional media
Opportunity	5	Positive	Career development
Public/ democratic	5	Positive / Neutral	Public inclusion

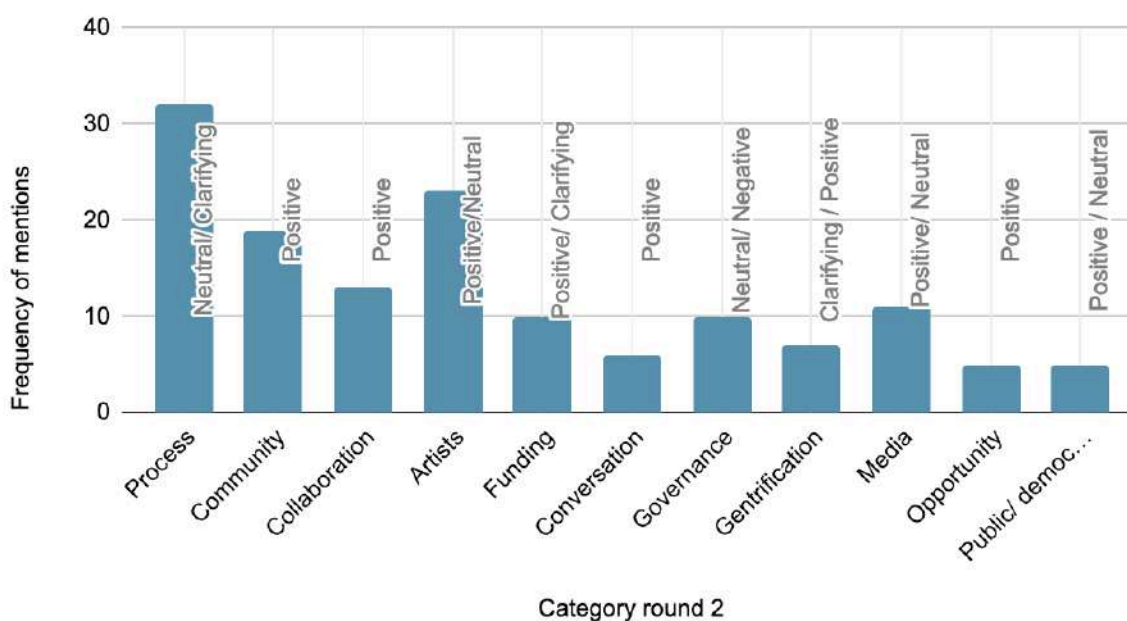
Table , Interview 3, Coding round 3 - Thematic coding of the interview with Baz Art.

Table by author

2021

Results

Interview 3: Frequency & tone of interview themes



ART MY JOZI INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

INTERVIEW 1 - INTRODUCTORY INTERVIEW

19 November 2019, in Melville, Johannesburg
Interviewees: Pauline Borton (Trinity Sessions Project Manager)

Speaker	Content	Code 1	Code 2
SB	Hi Pauline, thanks for meeting me today. Please can you tell me about the ARTMYJOZI Project?		
PB	Ok so ART MY JOZI is a place where we do art projects that are implemented by the Johannesburg Development Agency which falls under the supervising entity of development planning.	Project City	Project Context
PB	The idea centres around all the upgrade nodes along Louis Botha Road so what we do is we work along the neighbourhoods in the transit-oriented corridor. Because linked to the upgrade of the transport system is obviously the development of these urban nodes along the corridor. So what they've done is they've gone and done a massive study. I can show it to you. I'm not sure if you've seen it as well as a couple of ours and strategic planning documents for the con for the transit-orientated corridors where they have identified particular neighbourhoods that would benefit from an upgrade so it would either be high-density housing or it could be a sort of cluster with a whole lot of creation facilities for instance libraries or tennis courts or something like that. Or it can be two things at the same time for instance where they have a high density housing tender and social development tender that goes out at the same time.	Transit-oriented corridor Neighbourhoods needing upgrades Upgrade types	Project Context Location upgrade
PB	So these are the key neighbourhoods that we are targeting Noordegesig, Brixton, Orange Farm these are the four key neighbourhoods as we do a lot of work in. So when we started the project we sent out calls to all the people that lived along a corridor. So we sent out calls and then we would have these big sessions with all these people. We would ask a question that was written out on a board. For instance "how would you use art to tell a story about your neighbourhood?".	Neighbourhoods Process - sending out calls Process - working with community	Community Process

PB	We would invite people to come and join our database and to come and join our events and to be part of the conversation and to follow us on social media. And that gave us a little base of people that were interested in participating. It started out really small and it's just really grown over the past three years.	Invite participation from community	Community Process
PB	So this map here [references visual map]. It orientates you towards a broad view right, but this is really where we have the most input and where we've done the most work. So even though for instance Brixton is where you've got a close social cluster that you'll see today being built, we don't just work with Brixton alone. We extend to all the future users of that space. So we also work in all the communities around there as well.	Map showing input and work Working with surrounding areas	Location
PB	So other ones that we did like that are Orange Grove extended all the way down. Noordgesig - that was different and that's because it was a tiny little Township and you'll see that that is our first stop. So that work was quite contained. We didn't have the most involved community and you'll see that for instance we didn't extend to Pennyvale which you will see is just down the road or even to Orlando East. Because you'll see that it sits on the corner of Orlando East, so those are just a couple of maps to orient you for where we're gonna go today. And then we'll start with Noordegsig and we will work our way backwards. You'll notice that what's missing is Turffontein.	Map Townships and areas worked in.	Location Community Process
PB:	and then I also just did this for you. It's just on placemaking..		
SB:	Thank you. Just quickly, how did you get involved? What is your background?		
PB	So I am actually a Visual Art student. I'm studying - actually I've just written my last exam and I hope I passed and then I will have my honours in Visual Arts through UNISA so I've been doing correspondence for what feels like forever which is about 6 years now. Then I'm gonna do my masters and my PhD but I'll probably have a break next year. I started working with the Trinity Sessions about 4 years ago. It was a serendipitous meeting. My cousin and his now wife came out to South Africa for their wedding reception and they booked into a bed and breakfast in Saxonwold, which was owned by Stepehn Hobb's mom and my aunt recognised some of Stephen Hobbs work in the hall. She said oh my niece is really into your work and oh yeah she's busy writing a paper and you're included in that. So his mum and my aunt somehow arranged a meeting and I went	Background / Context establishing Visual Arts background / degree Stephen Hobbs part of research	Trinity Sessions Background

	and I interviewed Stephen for my research paper and then he turned around and started to interview me and then ask me to send him my CV. At that time I was working as an Au Pair as I just came back from the UK. I'd only been back for about a year-and-a-half, maybe 2 years. So I was trying to reorient myself to Joburg again and so I started studying full-time and working as an au-pair and was desperately trying to find a job. And then Stephen very kindly agreed to interview me a second time and I got appointed as their Assistant Project Manager on the council Chambers Project which was about sourcing 135 totem poles for The Chambers for Braamfontein. Which was meant to represent 135 wards in Joburg but we had to whittle it down a little bit because it is almost impossible to do a call that big and to get a story from all 135 wards unless it's been like 6 years.	Interview for PM position Council Chambers Project	
PB	So yeah instead we worked across many regions in Joburg and that was a very profound experience for me. If I wanted to learn more about Joburg and feel at home in Joburg that was definitely the way to do it. I had no choice! I travelled from one place to the next - Orange Farm to Soweto. I went to Ivory Park, Robin Ridge, and all sorts of places. Including the centre of the city. So we drove everywhere and we met people and then we did workshops with these places. So yeah it was a really interesting way of procuring an artwork because you first had to go into a neighbourhood and then you have to send out a call and then that would lead you to a whole bunch of networks and then yeah you might be lucky if like 15 people pitched up.	Travelling around Johannesburg Councils Collecting information and stories from residents.	Trinity Sessions Project
PB	So the first round of collecting the art works wasn't really successful. And then we had to do a round 2 and at that point because of the experience of just trying to find a community leader or even like a community workshop space I had met a whole series of people who then connected me to other people and these people became like the real key to getting submissions. And collecting stories and narratives. So yes then we got about 850 submissions and there was just some really gut-wrenching stories.	First year unsuccessful Go back a step Collect stories and narratives that are difficult to hear	Project Process
PB	So basically what we did is we said that the community members needed to draw pictures so we gave them like a piece of paper and said tell your story and draw a picture.	Ask community to draw	Community Process

	Tell us a little bit about where you live and what work you'd want to go into the Council Chambers. It will remind your councillors and the mayor about the people that they're serving everyday. Initially the idea was to collect positive stories.	pictures Purpose of project	
PB	And yeah when you put a piece of paper in front of someone and they don't have to talk to you face-to-face a really interesting thing happens. It became a very personal thing for some people where they told some really really sad stories about their daily realities. So we responded to this and we changed things around so yeah JPC let us which was really kind. They heard us and said to them that we can't really only source positive stories. It's not working and obviously that's not people's reality everyday. So let's look at representing that in a more inclusive way. The totems today as they stand have a sort of mix between past, present and future. Dreams and sadness.	Power of drawing a picture Sad stories, tough realities Changed project focus	Art as polysemic Tells stories
PB	So it was a really interesting experience and a baptism of fire for me. This was about my first year and a half working with Stephen and Marcus. and then the rest is history. After that I just moved on to other projects. I worked on about eight or nine different projects in a very short space of time.	First year Lots of projects Steep learning	Trinity Sessions Context
SB	That's incredible. What a cool job		
PB	It's an amazing job! I'm so lucky. There's never a dull moment and I get to do lots of cool things which are amazing and really important to us. You know it's all about sharing the story so yeah it's about doing a lot of talking and meeting a lot of people and listening it's very very very important to what we do.	Sharing a story Community	Community Process

Coding round 1 & 2 for Interview 1

Code 1	Code 2
· Project · City · Neighbourhoods needing upgrades · Transit-oriented corridor · Upgrade types	Project Context

· Map · Townships and areas worked in. · Map showing input and work · Working with surrounding areas	Location
· Background / Context establishing · Visual Arts background / degree · Stephen Hobbs part of research · Interview for PM position · Council Chambers Project · First year · Lots of projects · Steep learning	Trinity Sessions Background
· First year unsuccessful · Go back a step · Collect stories and narratives that are difficult to hear · Travelling around Johannesburg Councils · Purpose of project	Project Process
· Ask community to draw pictures · Collecting information and stories from residents. · Sharing a story · Community · Invite participation from community · Neighbourhoods · Process - sending out calls · Process - working with community	Community Process
· Power of drawing a picture · Sad stories, tough realities · Changed project focus	Art as polysemic / stories

INTERVIEW 2: ABOUT THE JDA

19 November 2019, in the car enroute to Noordgesig from Melville, Johannesburg

Interviewees: Pauline Borton (Trinity Sessions Project Manager)

Speaker	Content	Code 1	Code 2
PB	Okay so the Johannesburg Development Agency has recently commissioned a public arts policy which was in about 2005. And that's one thing that I would recommend that you have a look at if you haven't looked at that already.	JDA and Trinity Sessions working history	Project Context
PB	And that was very much around procurement or how the artwork was procured. The procedure would be almost like a tendering process for putting public art into the city. And you're right it was like a direct commission or a workshop or making an open call or a competition and then they would be what they call a PASC which is like a Public Art Steering Committee where they would be like the final decision makers around what would be implemented and what it would look like and where it would go.	Policy only discussed procurement processes Public Art Steering Committee	Public Art Policy
PB	Typically public art is usually attached to a regeneration area or like a development upgrade area. and the Trinity sessions was appointed curators and coordinators maybe around 2001. We have implemented about 500 different public art pieces around the city under the guise of this policy and in the lead up to it which is actually one of the reasons why the public arts policy was written. And then the artwork once it's in the ground it's actually meant to be handed over to Arts and Culture which then puts it on to the asset register and it should become an asset to the city and then within the public arts policy there is a clause that says it needs to be maintained by the city. The reality of this happening is that it doesn't happen.	Public art linked to regeneration or development area Accountability of looking after work	Public Art Policy
PB	3 years ago in late 2016 we got a call from the Johannesburg development agency to say that something that we had tended on about 5 years ago had come through and that we had been given the tender as creators and coordinators for public art along the trans-atlantic corridor and the Empire Perth side of Louis Botha. And then we kind of got sucked into a few meetings with our client, the Johannesburg Development Agency and we had to essentially develop and new PIC which is the public art policy. And then on that committee sits someone like eskom who is head of Arts and Culture and and those kind of people and development managers.	Delayed tender awarding JDA as client Develop new PIC	Project process Public Art Policy

PB	This is because each upgrade node has its own manager who would look after that portfolio and yeah true that the whole public arts policy was flipped on its head because it became about placemaking throughout with a real focus on process over a tangible outcome. So they all have to have a tangible outcome because money or expenditure has to be spent and you have to be able to see what the return on investment is because it is an investment. But after many discussions large parts of our budget are actually dedicated to working with human beings because we are working with humans as resources and you're just really investing in human beings and the intangible and the process and and to do that we have to workshop and and you know do the storytelling and really pull out that type of process. So it differs quite a lot from the current public arts policy in a very very exciting way.	Upgrade nodes have their own managers Placemaking - process over outcome Convinced managers to use parts of budget for people process work	Project process
SB	Was it intentionally transformed into a product of placemaking or was that just how things worked out?		
PB	It was intentional. Very very intentional you see the way that we've always done public arts projects are placemaking-orientated anyway. Embedded in these projects is always a community process and what I would hope is a very diplomatic way of extracting a narrative for a specific site with a group of very interested stakeholders and people who are really invested in a particular space and about how the story of that space is represented. So essentially the focus for us has always been about the process. It's been about working with the community. You know that kind of thing with the creative process. But this would not have been recognised in the public art policy as it was. Whereas now it's actually part of our job - it's part of our mandate for the Johannesburg Development Agency.	Intentional focus on placemaking Community process Interested stakeholders Public art policy does not recognize community	Community process Public Art Policy
SB	When did you start with your mandate?		
PB	So we were appointed curators and coordinators in 2016 for a three-year contract but we were appointed late in 2016 because you know the city's financial year runs from June to June. So I think we were appointed quite late in 2016 so we only had a little bit of the financial year left to do what work we could - research. So our contract officially for that	Time period late 2016-late 2019	Project process

	particular tender ended in June this year, but it has been extended until next year because we're still doing work and we're in the process of doing a whole lot of work for Johannesburg Parks and Brixton.	Extended contract	
SB	When you say you do a lot of research, is that always part of your process all of the time? Would you come up with a thesis statement? Do you just go into the community and do focus groups? What do you do? Is it academic research?		
PB	It's multi-layered so it's all of those things. We rely quite heavily on working with the history and heritage consultants who would have more than likely done a huge quantity of research on the neighbourhoods that we are working in and they put together these amazing heritage reports the recalled HIA's. If you can get your hands on some of them you should. So, I would look very carefully at those and then would work with the consultants themselves and get two or three history consultants that we would meet with and walk the site.	Research process Working with history and heritage consultants Site walks	Research Process
PB	But you see it also depends where we come into the project. You see the dream way to do this place making through art is to come in at the start of a project like maybe when they are digging the foundations for instance. Because what you want to do is you want to be part of the design process right from the get-go so that everything can be integrated. So any narrative that you would extract from the community is integrated into the design of the whole site itself.	Process depends on where they come into the project. Ideal is right at the start	Project process
PB	So what we do is not just storytelling about the past present and future is also going into space and saying well what does the space need how can a piece of artwork be both functional and aesthetic at the same time and that's really why you want to be working with the professional team right from the beginning while everything is being conceptualised. So yes research heritage reports and working with the professional teams which are made up of Engineers and Architects and everything like that. That's part of how things are built in a particular way. Because you don't want to come in and put a stop sign when they want to go. Research looking at their drawings and recommending or understanding why they recommend that something.	Storytelling and functionality Working with professional team Research needs	Storytelling Research Process
PB	Then there's a whole bunch of starting with your key stakeholders so usually the JDA will have a community liaison officer but they will put you in touch with someone who will already have some kind of database of key stakeholders like a Taxi Association, or a bunch of church community leaders, or that type of thing. We consider that part of our research is	Key stakeholders JDA has community	Community process

	about understanding how the neighbourhood actually works and who the key people are. And yes it is really just about having conversations. After that I will do a small series of activations.	liaison officer Conversations and activations	
SB	What is a small activation?		
PB	It's kind of like a guerilla-style pop up. We will have a table with a sign just kind of on the side of the road that will say something like "tell us a story about your neighbourhood" or "share your story with us" or something like that some kind of plan or we could even say something like "how would you use art to tell a story about your neighbourhood?". And often people will come to you and ask you a question about your sign and want to know more about it and then you tell them about it and then they want to go call their friend down the road. And then that person will come with like a plastic folder full of artwork and that would immediately start a conversation around what the creative network is in that space you know. And then you would gather a register. Maybe those people would consent to another interview further down the line or they would introduce you to someone who has lived in the space for eight years. It's also really important that we engage with the ward councillors for each space as well. They can also guide us on the interesting people to talk to.	Collecting information - pop up with sign Tell us a story Community gets involved Collect details in register Meet community members Ward councillors	Storytelling
SB	Do you ever find even if you go through this whole process your work is still met with a sense of resistance or not?		
PB	It depends on where you're putting it and it depends on the politics of the space. So it's very difficult to represent every single story you know. You're always gonna leave someone out. You know you're always gonna work with local heroes or someone who has uplifted a community in a particular way and the majority of the community will be in consensus that that person should be acknowledged. Then you might have like 10% that feels like someone else should be acknowledged or if you're ignoring that person then why aren't you and acknowledging that other person so yes it is met with some resistance. I don't think in any process you ever get a clear break. You know it's never going to be unbiased.	Working in public space Representation Local heroes Community consensus	Public space Community Process

SB	What role do you think aesthetics should play in artworks made in African space? Particularly works in the outdoor public space.		
SB	What do you think of the idea that aesthetics don't serve communities in Africa? Instead we should focus more on common good and functionality to start with. And that makes the role of art, particularly outside of the hermetically sealed space of the gallery, more focussed. Does this resonate with what you've experienced or not?		
PB	And that's part of our job. The artwork should fulfil three functions. The first one is: does it have a functional aspect to it? For instance, can I use it? Or does it provide you shade? But functionality is also about communication and sharing things, and sharing things that might not have been said before. I think that that's what happens here in Noordgesig. You know it's about social cohesion and that's a huge responsibility. So for instance in the case of Noordgesig, they felt very maligned because during apartheid they had been left off the map as they were seen as essentially part of Soweto. But they never really featured as, and they felt that they'd been extremely left out. It was never really shared and they just felt very invisible. And they've got a particular identity and I think that in a way the artworks program has solidified that identity - because it's a small enough neighbourhood and Township they all come together and you can probably say that almost 90% of the community came together and contributed and took part. They recognise the story that's up on the wall. You know, so it's not just a mural for them. It's about making your mark and it's part of their history. It's part of their cultural identity, it's about putting them on the map. And you know right from the first community meeting that was kind of the big dream. So it was about putting new histories on the map. It was asking like how do we do this, how do we put ourselves on the cultural map. At the end of the day, how do we say that we are here?	Artwork as functional Use/communication Social cohesion through work Noordgesig context Feeling invisible during apartheid Making history visible Creating a cultural identity	Artwork Visibility
PB	And now after being through the placemaking process, I'd like to say that they have that potential for being put on the map. And now the program is not just about resourcing the creativity or finding the story that will go into the artwork. It's actually very process-oriented so a lot of the community pain points come up. For instance the older generation worrying about the younger generation or lack of resources and drug problems or lack of education or you know how we add skill to the community. So embedded in our program, we try to invest as much as we can with that sort of skills transfer or sharing. You know maybe it's things like people	Placemaking process Reveals community pain points Skills transference,	Placemaking Sustainability /

	don't even realise that are valuable skills that they have. For instance someone might come and say “you know I'm just a bricklayer. I'm not skilled at art. I'm not creative.” But that’s not true - you know for instance that a bricklayer will be the person that goes on to build the wall that the mural will go on to and then he will teach some person next to him to also lay the bricks. Then someone else can also learn those skills.	education, all skills are used	Skills
PB	We also did a series of workshops called Creative Business Skills workshops - where interested members of the community were invited to come to these workshops which were held by a non-profit organisation called Flying House facilitated for us. And that became part of our program as well. So there was a process where anyone interested in doing the workshops could come and join these workshops and take away from them this knowledge. And often this knowledge would find its way back into the placemaking project as well.	Creative Business Skills workshops for the community Knowledge would find its way back into the community	Sustainability/ Skills
PB	So you’ll meet Lavinia now who has done just that. So she started out as someone who was so shy she could not stand in front of us and tell us her story. She had to get one of the men in the community to share. She painted a bunch of vegetables on a purple background and it was a story about Mama Glover who was a very important person to the community. She grew a number of vegetable gardens and she trained people in sustainable farming and then she fed a number of people in the community through her soup kitchens. Lavinia was very inspired by Mama Glover and worked with Mama Glover before she passed away. So she drew vegetables to sort of represent that story. And she couldn't tell us that story and pastor Marcus had to present her story for her. And then like 3 weeks later she's drawing more and more pictures and then she moves on to paint the mural herself. Then I commissioned her to do a whole series of designs on her own. Then she became our site manager doing all the site administration with Barry and learning from Barry who is one of our Project Managers. And now we’ve come to the end of our Project here in Noordgesig and now she’s working for the Trinity sessions. She’s in a mentorship program with us. So she’s really moved up through all of this stuff and taken on all of the learnings. It’s not been easy but I think she enjoys it.	Lavinia as an example of someone who has learnt skills and re-invested them in the community Mama Glover story Process of getting involved with the project and then Trinity Sessions	Sustainability/ Skills
PB	With the Flying House with the training that she did with the creative business skills, she was very inspired by the idea of	Flying house	Sustainability/

	putting together a tour of Noordgesig. So currently we are working with her on a business development plan to put together a tour here of Noordgesig and she's slowly pulling it all together and she will get it right at the end of the day.	creative business skills course	Skills
SB	That's very empowering..		
PB	It's the power of the placemaking project I think. And that's what it was intended to do. So it's a process, upskilling and then is there any way to make it sustainable? In a sense her story is the story of sustainability through process, the intangible thing.	Placemaking Process Upskilling Sustainability	Placemaking
SB	In terms of the Trinity Session and the relationship with the JDA, is that solidified? Or do you have to tender every time you start working with a new area?		
PB	Because of how specific their procurement process is, they have to go through the tender process with us. So for instance if they wanted another ArtMyJozi, placemaking through art, like if they wanted another iteration of that, they would probably have to put it out for tender but I am not sure. That's something that Susan might be able to answer better. But it's not solidified, no. We would have to sign another contract, do another agreement, or get an extension on the contract. We'd have to tender again. There would be a whole series of things.	Tender process necessitated through JDA procurement	Project Process
SB	So is the Trinity Sessions completely financially independent on the JDA?		
PB	Let me give you some history to put this into context. What do you know about the Trinity Sessions?		
SB	So I know you work predominantly in public arts projects and the organisation was started by Stephen and Marcus, because they had been on their own making works in the public space and realised that you needed a bit more of a formalised process. And I know that there's a connection between Johannesburg, Trinity Sessions and public art - but to be honest what I'm trying to untangle is are they part and parcel of the city or are they just contracted to the city?		
PB	Can you hold that thought. We're just arriving at Noordgesig now and I want to talk you through the murals.		
PB:	So here's the first series of murals and they are what we call gateway markers or visual markers. So your first one here on the left on the "Goodluck" shop is actually called Forest View and it's painted by Stanley Witness. Here's another mural	Murals in Noordgesig Types	Storytelling

	here. This is built - and built is actually the name that people who live in Noordgesig call Noordsig. Not many people who live in Noordgesig call Noordgesig, Noordgesig. And there's a little map of the shape of Noordgesig there as well. And this one is actually painted by someone who is more of a design engineer. He's more into CAD drawings and things like that. This is Mama Glover from the baptist church. And here's the pathway of success or the corridor of success that interlinks the school and the other part of Noordgesig. So the murals here serve as a visual connector throughout the community and you can almost imagine if you were a tour guide or a person or a visitor to this space, you'd be able to go ok I've got my surroundings. Ok so I'm walking up to the dancing mural here or even if you lived here, it's kind of like a mark - "meet me by the wedding dance" - you know. Which is what that is. And here's a little corner that typifies placemaking in a sense. So it's a mural on a resident's house. And we have what we call a bike bench and that's inspired by the Noordgesig biker boys who get old bike parts and repurpose them into bikes or fix bikes. And they have a little program where the kids can come and take the bikes and ride them for the afternoon instead of doing drugs. And you see there's another mural for Mama Glover.	Specific murals mentioned Explaining the location and significance of murals Context stories Bike bench inspired by bike boys	
SB:	She's a big figure in this community.		
PB:	Yes, I actually want you to talk to Lavinia, I don't want to say anything more on the topic.		

Coding round 1& 2 for Interview 2

Code 1	Code 2
· Policy only discussed procurement processes · Public Art Steering Committee · Public art linked to regeneration or development area · Accountability of looking after work · JDA as client · Develop new PIC · Interested stakeholders · Public art policy does not recognize community	Public Art Policy

· JDA and Trinity Sessions working history · Delayed tender awarding · Upgrade nodes have their own managers · Placemaking - process over outcome · Convinced managers to use parts of budget for people process work · Time period late 2016-late 2019 · Extended contract · Process depends on where they come into the project. Ideal is right at the start · Tender process necessitated through JDA procurement	Project Process
· Intentional focus on placemaking · Community process · Key stakeholders · JDA has community liaison officer · Conversations and activations · Local heroes · Community consensus	Community process
· Research process · Working with history and heritage consultants · Site walks · Research needs · Working with professional team	Research Process
· Storytelling and functionality · Collecting information - pop up with sign · Tell us a story · Community gets involved · Collect details in register · Meet community members · Ward councillors · Murals in Noordgesig · Types · Specific murals mentioned · Explaining the location and significance of murals · Context stories · Bike bench inspired by bike boys	Storytelling
· Working in public space · Representation	Public Space
· Social cohesion through work · Noordgesig context · Feeling invisible during apartheid · Making history visible · Creating a cultural identity · Artwork as functional · Use/ communication	Artwork

· Reveals community pain points · Placemaking	Placemaking
· Skills transference, education, · all skills are used · Creative Business Skills workshops for the community · Knowledge would find its way back into the community · Lavinia as an example of someone who has learnt skills and re-invested them in the community · Mama Glover story · Process of getting involved with the project and then Trinity Sessions · Flying house creative business skills course · Process · Upskilling · Sustainability	Sustainability/ Skills

Table : Coding table for Interview 2: About the JDA.
2022.

INTERVIEW 3: LAVINIA WILLIAMS-OTTO

Noordgesig Community Centre

Lavinia Williams Otto, community member of Noordgesig and Mentee with the Trinity Sessions, with Pauline Borton.

Speaker	Content	Code 1	Code 2
SB	Hi Lavinia, would you like to introduce yourself?		
LWO	I'm Lavinia Williams Otto. Where it started was 2 years ago I heard about a workshop that was held by ArtMyJozi Trinity and then it was right here at some of the church halls here. It was a 5 day workshop, so I started going to some of these workshops. The amazing thing is that I used to draw - but not alot, just now and then. I love art. But then, you get a chance to present some of the artworks and just tell a story about it. So what I did is, as you can see over there, if you go around the corner you will see it there. I drew this umbrella. But its covering the veggies and the plantation and the sun and the rain. So I draw that symbolising Mama Glover.	Background & context - Workshop process in Noordgesig Artworks created	Community process
LWO	So Mama Glover was this wonderful lady in Noordgesig, she used to shelter everyone, see where the need is, she used to feed people. Right over there where the cast ends, that was her house. And she used to plant veggies there. And then those veggies, she used to go to the soup kitchen that was over there, and then she used to cook for the people for Noordgesig - they didn't have food. So she used to grow these veggies and feed the people from young children to adults. If you didn't have a home to stay in, she would shelter you there, she didn't ask a cent, and she used to pray for people and just help out. That is what touched me about her, because up until her deathbed that is what she did. She fed people, taking care of them, in her own way. But coming back to how did it influence me..	Context - Mama Glover Vegetable garden Provided food and shelter for the community	Storytelling / Context / Background
SB	How did you meet Mama Glover?		
LWO	She used to stay here in Noordgesig, and basically we grew up here with her. She was always around, working, she used to have a veggie garden over here. At her home and at the school, there's one there. You'd see her in the morning planting her veggies and looking after the garden. Ploughing them all and stuff. Then I used to go over to her and talk to her - "How are you doing mama? Fine. She always used to bless you. She was a lovely lady. She was known by all here in Noordgesig. Everyone knew her. And so that is what inspired me about her.	Met Mama Glover in the Community Known by all	Storytelling / Context / Background
LWO	So coming back to our ArtMyJozi. Ya, I need to be honest with you. Before I went to this workshop. From where I am now, its very emotional. I was at a low point in my life. I felt	What the workshop did for her	Sustainability / Upskillin

	so emotional. I felt like I couldn't do anything. I had just given up on a lot of things. And you know Trinity just put something back. Just gave me the confidence and showed me what is within myself and the opportunity also to do this. I never thought of myself as doing murals one day. Simple artworks. But not only that, I became the site manager, doing the simple work, managing the guys. You know that's hard being a woman. I used to manage it, I learned a lot. I didn't know anything about murals. I used to just hold a step ladder and help out where I can. And then eventually I painted, so if you just go up this corridor, I will show you. I painted two murals by myself with the help of the artists. And you can see the difference from this work here and this work here. It was such an amazing experience, I just grabbed every opportunity to sit in front of that wall. That is now me. I forget about everything else. And then I became the site manager and did all of the administration at my house, I used to gather all of the materials. I had to oversee it to make sure the guys were not wasteful. So it's just amazing where I am today because of Trinity. I can only thank them, you know.	Low point in her life Created confidence Started off with artworks, moved on to site management and administration Thankful to Trinity Sessions	g
	So look at this gate here - I used to sit on this big metal plate, drawing these splashes. When I looked at it, I realised that it's just amazing. I never realised that I could do this or go that far. It's just simple things. And now, not so long ago we had an interview with SABC and when I look at it I can't believe it. It's still so amazing.	Artistic progression SABC interview	Artistic Progression
	This area was here before it was developed, and now I'm talking here with the artworks. It was like seedy. But now with the artworks even the crime level dropped with the quality of the place.	Community enrichment through art / vs broken window theory	
SB	What did the community say to you?		
LWO:	The feedback was very positive. Especially after the interview because I spoke about our community and how we've uplifted it. So you know when they see me they are like - "you were on TV". "I saw your interview". But you guys are doing a great job. When we were doing the corridor by the school. The little kids would come and stare at the pictures as they walked past. Only then they would really find out, ok this is the history, this is what really happened in Noordgesig. They didn't even really know this, but here they grew up you know. It's just so amazing, because at the same time it gave us an opportunity to talk to them about their community, you know, teaching them. It's just amazing.	Interview seen by community Children from the community learned about the history	Community Process
SB	And it's incredible to see how proud you are.		

LWO	I am. Because two years ago I wouldn't have sat here talking to you like this. No way. It wasn't me. It wasn't me at all. And then the person who really helped me and stood by me was the Trinity project managers. They were with me every step of the way. Down in Noordgesig, I started my own business. So this creche, down the road, it's like a storybook with characters talking to them. So we have these beautiful trees and bees and the children they just love it. This is a bee, this is a butterfly. So ya, it's just amazing. Because of that mural I got that job there at the creche. And then I was approached a few months ago - this lady in Noordgesig wants to do a logo for a catering company outside by her house on the wall. So she approached me. Then you know what Pauline did. Ah it's just amazing. She sent me to one of these guys with this big huge printer to print on material, and then you put it on the wall. Much easier with phone numbers and names and everything. Its just amazing. You see the confidence, it just evolved from holding the step ladder. You see. Next step next step, next step. All the way. Terry helped me with the quotations, Pauline helped me and said no you need to do this. You need to get that. Even Stephen, just encouraging me to go on and not to give up. And now, just to not leave it here, to keep going on. We hope to turn this into a tourist destination, where we can get tourists. Pauline and Tammy are helping me with that.	Increased personal confidence Trinity session working with Lavinia Lavinia opening up her own wall painting business Got help from Trinity Sessions Starting tour business	Sustainability / Upskilling
LWO	It's amazing. Especially where I come from. It's about me personally, how I feel emotionally now. It's just amazing. 2 years ago. Fabes, he says that my wife never used to smile. Now, he can see the difference. Now it's affecting my family life within the house. Because you know I come from a very dark place and then even now, Pauline still helps me with my self-esteem because it's not all there because I'm growing in that. It's just a learning process and it's awesome.	Personal growth and development	
SB	It's incredible to hear you speak about your experience of going from a dark place to some has literally become a community spokesperson and creating jobs and beautifying your home.		
LWO	It's just an amazing opportunity. A lot of thank yous will not even be enough, because what I have is more valuable than money. Money can't buy that. Honestly. If you looked at this place like 2 years ago, you would have been sad. This is like an upgrade in every level here. And art, I didn't know art can speak like that. It's on another level.	Invaluable contribution	Sustainability / Upskilling
SB	How do you think the SABC heard about what you were doing?		
LWO	Wow. I'm not sure though.		

PB	The JDA would have probably put out press releases to all of their contacts in the media. Maybe they picked up on it that way. What was the reporter who interviewed us L? I can't remember.	JDA sent out press releases about the projects	Project Process
LWO:	Gillian Pillay.		
PB:	Yes. So it was a lifestyle piece on a Sunday night. And Lavinia and I have never been interviewed like that before. It was very nerve-wracking. Lavinia was a star though.	Context for interview	
LWO	I never thought that it would go so far. It doesn't stop. I just need to mention this now. So way back when I was in school I used to wear glasses. But I never thought of getting new ones but I couldn't see nicely and Pauline noticed this and she talked to Stephen and they got me glasses. It was about R5000 I could not afford them. But she saw the need and then she just helped out in that area. So that's what I mean, this what you see here is more valuable. It speaks to the heart, like really. When you are out there for the money you miss much more than what really the value is here. I am telling you. This woman is godsent to my life. All of them.	Trinity sessions helped out with glasses for Lavinia	Sustainability / Upskilling
PB	Lavinia is the reason why.. Or rather people like Lavinia, and we work with lots of different people like Lavinia which is why we love our jobs so much. It's why we get up in the morning.	Community development as motivation for work	Project Process
LWO:	So now what we're doing is identifying some areas in Noordgesig for some blue plaques and now for this tourist thing, which is what we are busy with here and in Noordgesig as well.	Blue plaques - heritage plaques	Project Process
LWO	So ya the development. The children now are fortunate, having all of this around them, being part of history around them.	Children learn history directly	Storytelling / Context / Background
SB:	It's an incredible way to grow up.		
LWO	It is.		
PB	So if we walk past the benches now, when we first came here the walls were crumbling and so we gave the community members paint and turned it into like this little temporary mural.	Temporary mural for residents	Community Process
SB	Has that been preserved digitally?		

PB	Sort of. It sits on all the social media platforms. And we have a website for ArtMyJozi that we are constantly building. But its hard because we just absorb so much information on a daily basis that it would probably take someone like myself and Tammy a year just to compile it in a sense. We have amazing portfolios that we put together. I'm very proud of our digital archive. We work very hard on it. We have a digital archive. It's about 8 terabytes. So at the moment I've got a little tongue in cheek document on the go that I'm calling "distilling 8 terrabytes of information" because we need to get it into some sort of hand over document and that's a lot of information. But it lives in the digital world somewhere but it should be online. Or like a library.	Using ArtMyJozi social media sites as digital archives Complete digital archive is 8 TB	Digital Archives
SB	Are you using it for tourist information to get people here?		
PB	Sure. That's what Lavinia is working on at the moment.		
PB	I did 43 oral history interviews last November. With the assistance of Lavinia and pastor Marcus. We had an amazing team, the four of us, that did that. And we went from house to house and person to person. We sat there for hours and often went back to the same person again. And that process really solidified the stories that had come from the creative workshops. So although we had a ream of information that came from the creative workshops and influenced the design on the shop for instance, the question was, but that now only comes from a group of 35 artists. What does it really mean to the rest of the community, which is why we did the oral histories interviews. It really did. It really proved that the stories were reminiscent of a past story or of a future dream or of a communal goal or whatever the case might be.	Consolidation process for checking history Information from artist workshops Against the broader community narrative	Research Process
PB	And we met some amazing people, people who were like local heroes and political stalwarts.	Met the locals	Storytelling / Context / Background
LWO	And ya we just did it in time because some of them passed on.	Captured stories	Storytelling / Context / Background
PB	Ya like Uncle Gregs. He was one of our first interviews. Shame he wasn't well when we interviewed him though and I think when you watch his interview back - when we were transcribing and stuff. For him, he knew he was going to pass on. That was his legacy.	Example - Uncle Greg Sharing legacy	Storytelling / Context / Background

			und
PB	So this particular building that you're looking at, is the community centre. It is considered a heritage building. It's very special to the community because they built it themselves so they take ownership. Its the one building they never knocked down. The images on the building represent things that we did in the activations and various communal activities. It's important to note that all artworks, particularly in this neighbourhood - were implemented by local artists. So we didn't bring in outside suppliers. Except Dawid.	Community centre built by community Artwork shows how it came to be	Storytelling / Context / Background
SB	Who is Dawid?		
PB	He owns his own sandblasting company and he has been helping us with the artworks along Louis Botha and now with this program because he has a specialist set of skills that are transferred to all sorts of amazing things. That's also another amazing thing about this project is that working with our suppliers and really pushing the boundaries. And that's what it's about, you know. Working with them, experimenting and pushing the boundaries.	Working with local suppliers	Community process
PB	The long table is very special because there's a story about a table that was passed through people's windows and used for political meetings and for weddings and for funerals and in actual fact, the long table still exists today. It belongs to the malgas family, who live on the other side, we'll drive past their house now. It's a very unassuming brown wooden table that was literally used like that. It passed through windows. And we went and we interviewed the Malgas family, they were amazing. And told us the story about their parents, what it meant to them. Basically it represents a whole lifecycle. So you start at the table when you're a baby and when you die, you end at the table as well because its your funeral. So it's this big piece of urban furniture. And there's this other section around the other side, and it kind of hugs the sports court. On top of the table you've got all of these representations of artefacts that the Malgas family pulled out for us and put on top of the urban table so their old china and crystal and the cracked salt cellars and the silver spoon. All these things that meant so much to them as a family sitting around the table. And they had an open door policy so no-one was to go hungry. You were welcome to come to their house for food as well. So this is a symbolic representation of that long table as well. So it's meant to be functional as well. So its a shelter, a bench. There's an image cemented in my mind where I drove past this and there's three kids sitting on the table in their pyjamas eating breakfast. How cool? To sit at the long table and eat your breakfast. When you're a kid you don't care that you're wearing your pjs and slippers.	Long table story Community heirloom Used for all community events in every stage of life	Storytelling / Context / Background

PB	So let's continue. I want to show you the house of prayer and the church. So there are a whole heap of pain points and social issues in Noordgesig. And maybe the community doesn't get all the help that they need. Like many communities in South Africa, from the government. And really in this community I think that its the churches that step up. So this is one of those churches. This is the house of prayer ministries - so we've watched it grow and get renovated over time. They have a soup kitchen over here. And because we couldn't access the community we would do all of our creative workshops here. So we'd be in the church running our creative workshops and the soup kitchen would be running over here. So instead of paying a rental fee. We paid for soup kitchens. So we would make an agreement with the pastor and say ok so how many soup kitchens is it going to cost us? And that's what we did.	Communities are largely aided by the church where the government can't step up Workshops held in church for the price of sponsored soup kitchen	Community Process
PB	So I think that's also an important aspect in terms of how the capital was spent. It was about feeding it back into the community as much as we possibly could.	Community process	
SB	How much time would you say the Trinity Sessions has spent in this community?		
PB	3 years	Project length	Project Process
SB	But do you still come here every week?		
PB	No, not like we did before. So it officially came to an end two months ago. And now all that's left is to get the artists names on the artwork and get them to come sign them. And posters. So we did like a big community hall for the foyer for the long stories like the long table. But ya, it doesn't mean that we're not going to come back again. So I'm very comfortable coming back like this. We're very proud of the work and very proud of the community and I think we feel very at home here. So we always bring people here to show them around. And then when Lavinia has her tour set up we will be bringing more people around to show them.	Trinity sessions does come back, even after the project ends Tour	Project Process
PB	The idea with all of the placemaking through art programs is that we've built up substantial networks of people, not just creatives. It's invaluable, and we will continue our work with all of these communities just in a different way.	Work with communities continues in different way	Community process
PB	We're very invested in maintaining these relationships that we've fostered in this time period and even if we go away for 6 months because we maybe need to make a business plan or the time wasn't right - it doesn't mean that we won't come back and work down the road in Soweto. It doesn't	Maintaining community relationships	Community process

	mean we won't call again. These networks are invaluable that Trinity session has all over Africa and that they have done it for years.	Community networks	
PB	And each mural connects you to the next network, the next road, the next story.	Murals interconnected	Storytelling / Context / Background
PB	And that's really important for this town, which is what we call a steep town. Noordgesig largely felt that it was invisible and left out of the narrative of Soweto. Like for instance there's this hill that you can go to in Soweto and it's really high and if you look down you can see over the whole of Soweto but you can't see Noordgesig. So it's the invisible township. And this is a representation of that.	Invisible township	Storytelling / Context / Background
SB	Do you get any resistance from the community?		
PB	So we were thinking about putting a big Mama Glover statue here, kind of like a monument to her. And the residents around this particular corner objected to it. Because I think that they just experienced upgrades with pipes and all the paving had been ripped up - so they had probably had enough at this point. So our compromise was could we paint on your wall? She said yes. But because we had so many physical representations of Mama Glover everywhere else we wanted an abstract and symbolic one.	Objection process to statue Residents did not want pavement to be dug up again Compromise: abstract mural	Community Process
SB	That's so interesting because if you drove past this you wouldn't know. But to the community, they know the whole story.		
PB	On the other side there's an extraction from Lucky and Mzee who did this during the workshops. They call it their immortal township.	Mural description	Storytelling / Context / Background
SB	Please could you explain the Forest View Mural?		
LWO	In Noordgesig, before there were so many houses - up in Noordgesig there was a forest and everyone used to go there. It was basically like a picnic spot. There was also a little	Background and history	Storytelling / Context

	dam there. Everyone would go there and chill and there were these plants that they used, like herbal plants in those days that they used for any kind of sickness in Noordgesig and wood from the trees they used to make furniture out of, especially these little benches that you can sit on. It was just an amazing time for those years for the people of Noordgesig.	Forest in Noordgesig	/ Background
SB	What happened to the forest?		
LWO	Well then the houses came in and it was just destroyed.	History	Storytelling / Context / Background
PB	We're going to Lavinia's house now.		
PB	I'll never forget this palm tree.	Marker	
SB	Why?		
PB	It's the January family. The January family were part of the Noordgesig sporting history during apartheid. They have a very strong sporting history in terms of soccer, tennis and hockey and ballet.	History	Storytelling / Context / Background
SB	Would you say that it's a very religious community?		
LWO	To some extent, yes, because there are a whole lot of churches here. But there's lots of different religions. Mainly Christian but there's Islam here as well.	Religion / context	Storytelling / Context / Background
PB	A lot of the history of Noodgesig can be seen in its architecture. So you'll see these houses here at the end of Noordgesig, we call these houses Rock n Rolls. Each particular type of house has been nicknamed. So a rock n roll house - is called rock n roll because it rocked and rolled in the wind. It's not very stable. And often the houses get nicknamed based on the colours as well.	Architecture / context	Storytelling / Context / Background
PB	We've also seen that nowadays a lot of people go away and then come back when they are older. That was a common theme in our oral histories. Like people will say "oh my dad built this house, and I grew up here, but then I moved away to the city or overseas, but then I came back again."	History, generations living in Noordgesig	Storytelling / Context / Background

			und
SB	Why is that?		
PB	I think maybe for responsibility. Looking after the older generation. Some of the people went through tough personal stuff and then they came back as well.	Why people return here	Storytelling / Context / Background
PB	Okay, our next stop is Rotunda.		
SB	Pauline, do you wait until one project is done before you move on to the next one?		
PB	No, we run multiple projects. It's a lot of ups and down.		
PB	So we had Noordgesig, Patterson Park, Brixton, all the Rea Vaya stations, Balfour Park and then Milpark - all simultaneously. But each project might be at varying stages in the project. So at Noordgesig you might be implementing murals but in Brixton you'd only be starting with your open call for submissions. So you'd have multiple things happening at the same time.	Multiple projects on at the same time	Project Process

Coding round 1 & 2 for Interview 3

Code 1	Code 2
· Background & context - · Workshop process in Noordgesig · Artworks created · Interview seen by community · Children from the community learned about the history · Temporary mural for residents · Working with local suppliers · Communities are largely aided by the church where the government can't step up · Workshops held in church for the price of sponsored soup kitchen · Work with communities continues in different way · Maintaining community relationships · Community networks · Objection process to statue · Residents did not want pavement to be dug up again · Compromise: abstract mural	Community Process
· Community development as motivation for work · Got help from Trinity Sessions · Starting tour business · Personal growth and development · Blue plaques - heritage plaques · Project length · Trinity sessions does come back, even after the project ends · Tour · Multiple projects on at the same time	Project Process

· Context - Mama Glover · Vegetable garden · Provided food and shelter for the community · Met Mama Glover in the Community · Known by all · Met the locals · Captured stories · Example - Uncle Greg · Sharing legacy · Community centre built by community · Artwork shows how it came to be · Long table story · Community heirloom · Used for all community events in every stage of life · History, generations living in Noordgesig · Murals interconnected · Invisible township · Why people return here · Architecture / context · Religion / context · History · Marker	Storytelling / Context / Background
· What the workshop did for her · Low point in her life · Created confidence · Started off with artworks, moved on to site management and administration · Thankful to Trinity Sessions · Increased personal confidence · Trinity session working with Lavinia · Lavinia opening up her own wall painting business · Invaluable contribution · Trinity sessions helped out with glasses for Lavinia	Sustainability / Upskilling
· Artistic progression · SABC interview · Community enrichment through art / vs broken window theory	Artistic Progression
· Using ArtMyJozi social media sites as digital archives · Complete digital archive is 8 TB	Digital Archives
· Consolidation process for checking history · Information from artist workshops · Against the broader community narrative	Research Process

INTERVIEW 4: Rotunda Precinct

1.2km Linear park in the Turffontein Corridor

Interview with Pauline Borton & Lavinia Otto-Williams

Context:

“The development of the Turffontein Corridor, southeast of Johannesburg, took another giant step forward when the City of Johannesburg announced the construction of a multimillion rand linear park that will help to significantly change the shape, character and look of the area. Turffontein is one of the oldest suburbs of Johannesburg that had been in steady decline over the years. The R17.8-million Linear Park is a 1.2km stretch of development on De Villiers Street that links up with the Rotunda Precinct, part of the R200 million three-year extreme makeover of the area.” (City of Johannesburg Press Release, 2017)

Speaker	Content	Code 1	Code 2
PB	Ok, we’ve just arrived. You’ll see that there’s a round park just behind us. When you look at a Google Map, you can see this round park and then a long linear park there as well. Interesting concept right? I think that there’s only one other one in South Africa and that’s in Cape Town. Its literally, they changed where the road was. So the road used to be where the park is and the road is on the opposite side. So they had to do a whole flip to get the road built like this. Our artworks program identified with the shape of the park really. So that’s kind of how the artworks are designed really. You want to connect the one end of the park to the other end.	Linear park JDA Project involving transport Road changed to suit park	Spatial Context
PB	So there’s a creche just down the road called Super Juniors and then there’s about 14 artists. This community was really tough to get into and despite many open calls and invitations to community meetings, it was not very well attended so we don’t have a massive group of artists in the same way that we do in Noordgesig, where we started with say 45 artists. Here we’ve only got about 14-18 artists and then we work with local school members as well. So the painting all the way down on the park and the painting on the left side of the lamp post. They are all designs from work that we did with the kids, so for instance, we put down a big long piece of paper and they all sat down on either side of it and we asked them to design the road. And they put hearts in and iconography and finger painting and it was amazing. A beautiful mess basically. And in the sense, when you think about it, it’s kind of a legacy project - because if you’re a kid and between the ages of 3 and 6 last year, middle of the year, and as you grow up in this area you always know that your	Local creche involvement Only 14 artists Difficult to interact with this community Children’s contributions used as a legacy project	Community Process

	mark is on this park - so that's like a legacy project in that sense.		
SB	Why did you decide to make a park here, like this?		
PB	So we didn't decide to do this. It was the Johannesburg development agency and I think that its because its intended to connect the thoroughfare. So this is like pedestrian thoroughfare and vehicular thoroughfare. So there's a main road down there and I think that that's another key intersection in this space, so I think that people use this as a thoroughfare. It's intended to be a safer space, you know a safer way of walking through this space. It would also be easier for cars	JDA project Pedestrian thoroughfare Safe space	Project Process
SB	And is there a way of monitoring if it's used in this intended way?		
PB	I would imagine there is a way of doing a study to see if this is working, but then it would be about funding it. But I know that there's a couple of community members who have taken ownership of this park. There's a guy that waters and another one that comes and collects the rubbish. And maybe that would be the informal way of monitoring it, because they could come and tell you. That at one in the afternoon that's when all the school kids use the park and walk up and down, you know.	Community uptake and ownership of the project	Community Process
SB	It's amazing to see how the community has taken ownership of this.		
PB	Yes. So as we move along, the blue gum trees are the tale of time in space. They are monumental, they are huge. There's a little myth or legend about how in the mining town you would climb up the blue gum tree to see where the fire was. So you would see smoke somewhere and you wouldn't know where to go.	History / context Mining town	Storytelling / Context / Background
SB	This area is also very high up. Is this part of Rossentville?		
PB	Yes, it's the heart of Rosettenville.	Location	Storytelling / Context / Background
PB	In order to implement this work, we had to get a drone who got footage from above and then we worked with a graphic designer who had the drone footage and took the designs from the workshops to make them into something that connected from the top to the bottom. And the paint is actually road marking paint, but it's a very special and very	Used a drone to map area Specialised process	Project Process

	expensive version of that. But this was only finished in June, so it hasn't been here that long. Technically it is supposed to last 10-15 years. Of course it would fade over time but it shouldn't come off. You'd need an angle grinder to grind this paint off the surface. It might get dirty but it's washable. It's got an anti-blackening sealant on top of it. You know the carbon emissions from cars make paint really dirty. So this has got the anti-blackening stuff on top of this, so it stays like a proper public space for people.	and materials Road paint used Use considered	
SB	It's incredible, there's a gym, there's a soccer pitch. Little playground. That's incredible. I've never seen anything like this anywhere.		
PB	Okay so now we're approaching the Southern Suburbs bowling club. So like I said in Noordgesig, it's about finding spaces and resourcing the community with the money that we have to spend - so that's why you do a workshop in a church or you build in someone's back garden and you work out a rental deal with them. This is the spot that we used for this particular project, the Southern Suburbs Bowling club, it's also a heritage building. But they accommodate everything from community meetings to creative workshops to portfolio ceremonies. So maybe the interventions in this park don't look like as much as Noordgesig, but they were incredibly meaningful to the community that did participate and I think that they have given everything a bit of a facelift. So this particular fence all the way around, again, is a design and colour that matches the road paints. And it created work for community members who learned how to paint a fence. It seems like a very simple thing to do, but it's a skill. It's something that you can put on your CV. I've used a stencil, I know how to mask. I understand that you have to prime, then you paint, then you seal. So now I'm going to go home and paint my own fence because I know how to do it.	Finding community hubs process Southern suburbs club for Rosettenville Meaningful interventions for the community Skills development	Community Process
SB	And what's on these trees here?		
PB	So these are the totems that are beautiful. They are hand-carved out of gum trees and they are intended to connect the linear park to these bottom two parks, as the fence. Because unfortunately the linear park was supposed to extend down this road but the capital did not extend to that. So they had to end it where that triangle is. So the artworks program decided to give this little spot some love and connect it to mainroad. The totems are designed by 14 artists. Each artist contributed about 3-6 designs each. Each story means something, like maybe something personal to the artists or maybe it's about the history of the space, or there's a bunch of iconography in it that talks to their children. So on and so forth. So you'll come with me to the	Totem poles project Artwork project picked up where other budgets ran out Created by	Storytelling / Context / Background

	Tipper Space just now, and that's where we carved these totems and then painted them there as well.	local artists to tell stories	
PB	So the artists, when we were in the neighbourhoods we found that many people here never really leave the neighbourhood where they are from. They travelled to their office inside of Joburg or worked in a different space. This project provided the opportunity for many of the artists to leave Rotunda and Rosettenville and come to experience a different space. And another important thing that was quite catalytic is that this is where Dawid, who cuts the glass is from. He does the stations, he was pushed outside of his comfort zone. He paints the fence. For instance this mural that you see down at the bottom, he painted, he did that and the lamp posts as well. And he worked with all the local artists as well which he had never done before. And he got along with about 4 of them really really well and then they came with him to work on Brixton, so there's a cross-pollination of job-opportunity and skills and so on and so forth.	Residents and artists spent most of their time in Rosettenville, Change of scenery Local business development	Community Process
PB	And there were no objections from residents to putting these totems in whatsoever. If anything there was a moment when we were installing them and I was here and I was checking things out and chatting to our installer, and started to drive away as I was leaving. And this lady came out, and she appeared to be shouting at the team as they were installing things. And I said to Stephen, "I actually think that lady might be upset". So he asked her if everything was ok. And she said "no, I'm just so excited!"	No objections from residents Excitement	Community Process
PB	So if you just think about this path, it's a linear path, with gum trees on either side of the path and the totem poles and the lamp posts. This for me is a very kind of cohesive design as I would imagine you know. We've got multiple designs from the creative workshops with the artists. So these will talk directly to the designs on the totem poles.	Design Layers of meaning	Design Process
PB	And as we drive past Theodore Fisheries, they are a bit of an institution here. They were amazing while we were working. They would let us use their bathrooms and the owner let us talk to him a few times. They were very accommodating. So there's a school behind this wall over there. This is their boundary wall. And again, they were incredibly accommodating and supportive. Once they found out what we wanted to do and it meant painting over their existing graffiti, which I believe was part of a program that they had done. They had no objection to it at all. They were very supportive of the process.	Local businesses supported them Graffiti wall from past projects	Community Process

SB	So does your wall end where their graffiti wall starts?		
PB	Yes.		
PB	Okay, let's head off to Brixton now.		
SB	I'm curious to know how your material sourcing works. Do you have preferred suppliers, or do you ever get sponsored?		
PB	So for this particular project we haven't been sponsored, but we do have amazing suppliers who answer all of our crazy questions. So we've been working with Spek Coatings that supply most of our paint. There's a product that we use called glaze tech. It's a clear coat sealant that's UV resistant. It forms a really thick layer on top of whatever you're painting. So you kind of have to chip away at it. And it's anti-graffiti, so you can just wash any graffiti off it and we use that to protect almost everything which is why the walls are covered in it. All the murals get it, so on and so forth. And that all comes from specialised coatings. And because they are really passionate about what they do and they are scientists, they will help you experiment with things like the road paint and they did loads of experiments on wood and all that stuff. I know that Buidler's Warehouse in Norwood is Tarry's go to place.	Materials Suppliers who understand projects Use graffiti-resistant paints	Project Process
PB	So Lavinia really belongs to Tarry at the end of the day, they have a little mentorship program going on. They first met in Noordgesig and he saw potential in her to be his administrative assistant and site manager.	Trinity Sessions Project manager	Trinity Sessions Context
PB	And then we have Mpho who works with Barry. So we have a Barry and a Tarry. And they are both our technical project managers. They are very sweet, and very good at what they do. So Barry is a Fine Arts Graduate, so he's getting a Masters and he applies the practical knowledge to our everyday work. And Tarry is into the simple stuff like engineering and construction project management. That's his comfort zone. So those two skills together make it like a perfect match.	Trinity sessions employees	Trinity Sessions Context
PB	And then there's Tammy. Storm met Tammy this morning.		
SB	And on a day-to-day basis, how involved are Stephen and Marcus?		
PB	Super involved. So we've got other projects on the go. So Marcus, simultaneously has two other massive projects in and amongst everything else. So we got commissioned to do the artworks for the Leonardo in Sandton, and that's Marcus's baby, and then Stephen and I look after ArtMyJozi. So up until when things started to die down mid-this year, we were very hands on. It's like everyday we're doing something.	Involvement of founders Commissions side	Trinity Sessions Context

	Going to a site, in meetings, doing all of that stuff. Lots of Project management, lots of hand-holding, lots of quality control, constantly conceptualising, constantly thinking one step ahead. It really is creative thinking all day every day. It's consuming but its good. Talking, learning every day.	ArtMyJozi	
SB	Are there any other public arts projects that come close to what you have done or are similar to your work?		
PB	No, not in Johannesburg. And I would be very surprised if there was one in South Africa, and it would be hiding! But I don't think so, I don't think there's a bonafide placemaking project that can put its hands up in the air and from start to finish when we conceptualised it, to the end we can show evidence that it was successful and that it does have sustainability in the future. I don't think that exists. But then again, my head has really been in this project for three years - so maybe there is another one. Who knows? There are other public art projects happening in the city though, outside of ArtMyJozi. So there's city public art projects. They actually started the same time as we started ArtMyJozi along the corridors and the difference between that particular contract is that that one is about actually maintaining the existing public art. So it's about going back.	No other placemaking projects Other public arts projects in JHB Focussed on maintenance	Trinity Sessions Context Public Arts Policy
SB	There's a lot of public art in Johannesburg.		
PB	Yes, massive amounts of public art. So for instance, fixing the Newtown heads. I think there's a lot of maintaining heritage projects that either need to be repaired or cleaned or removed or need a blue plaque or something like that. So that's more like a maintenance and public heritage project. Which is also sorely needed.	Maintenance and heritage work Needed by city	Public Arts Policy
SB	Yes, I can imagine.		
PB	Or, I guess you have to make peace with the fact that its a temporary thing. And maybe therein lies the argument for social media and online capturing of the works.	Social media as a form of preservation	Digital Archives
SB	Yes, the digital space does give ephemeral works a second life.		
PB	And then they don't die.	Immortality from social media	Digital Archives

PB	What was your question that you asked that I never answered?		
SB	It was about funding.		
PB	Oh, so we're not dependent only on the JDA. So we are a Closed Corporation (CC), which means that we can tender on other things. So our funding would come through city or municipal funding, but we do get other commissions. For instance the PPC Imaginarium. So for instance for many years Stephen was the curator at The Trinity Sessions and the curator and the project manager on that. That's actually how we met Barry. He was the project manager on PPC Imaginarium. We do work all over, so not just in Joburg. So like the Nelson Mandela Bay Public Artworks Programme was all of us in collaboration with multiple professional teams and a few other stakeholders from the municipality. We do work with Redbull for the Academy down in Langa in Cape Town or Mamelodi in Pretoria. We also work for the bus Rapid Transport System Rea Vaya, but in Ekurhuleni, their version is called Rambli, so we did artwork procurement for them. Again, this was a community engagement process where we sourced a whole bunch of artworks and built up an extensive portfolio of narratives and asked if we could translate it works for the stations. So that just gives you a broad idea of some of the work we did. The commercial commissions, like the Leonardo. And the other legacy project was the Michaelangelo (or was it the Raphael?). Michelangelo.	Funding CC Arts Projects Other public arts programs Work in other provinces in South Africa Bus corridors Commercial Commissions	Project Process
SB	But then how do you position yourselves?		
PB	In terms of what?		
SB	For instance with Michaelangelo. Do you still call that public artwork?		
PB	No we call it a commission. So I know for that particular one, that was a Hobbs-Neutstetter one. That would fall under their umbrella. But for Leonardo, that was positioned as an interior fit out with an artworks component that I think resourced and sourced local artists and celebrates local craft. It's a huge project, it's sort of just coming to its end now. But I think that they have a ridiculous amount of artworks. 50 or 60, they are massive, huge, so large scale. And they would have been done through one artist. So for instance, Stone Mabundo, in Soweto, and Uncle Toms, he did amazing work like carving with his hands. He used 30 tree trunks that he installed all together to make an installation.	Naming Public art versus commissions Sourcing local artists	Trinity Sessions Context
SB	That's incredible. There are a huge amount of South African corporates who want to make what they call corporate art,		

	but they don't know where to start or where to find the artists. So I think that makes what you do so special.		
PB	Yes, that's what we facilitate in these situations. We're like the intermediary between the client and then the community or the site. And we connect the dots as well. We call it finding the golden thread. There's a golden thread in everything. And if you can find that connective tissue between the site and the community then, you've got your narrative and then you've got something that is sustainable beyond just you.	Facilitate connecting community and the client	Community Process

INTERVIEW 5: Brixton Sports Recreation Centre

Interview with Pauline Borton

Speaker	Content	Code 1	Code 2
PB	Okay, let's talk about the aims of the project. One of the biggest things we tried to do is to connect the transorientated corridors to Noordgesig. Which is what the corridors are supposed to do. They are supposed to open up those routes for people to make it easier to travel across those boundaries. It's been fascinating to watch them unfold.	Project aims - Rea Vaya corridors Break down boundaries	Project Process
PB	Okay, we're here now. Let's just put this into context. So Brixton social cluster sits on the boundary of two wards, so the work that we did, we worked in Fordsburg, Mayfair, Fietas, Vrededorp, High Street, Brixton, Auckland Park. it is a huge huge community to cover. We didn't have the time and resources to cover everything. We really struggled to tap into the community meetings, it wasn't the right forum for us, because that's serious issues in this community around service and stuff like that. So we had to do it more under the radar. So we got a list of key stakeholders and organisations in the area from the ward councillor and we did it that way. So we worked with local non-profit organisations like the Jan Hofmeyer Soup Kitchen or we would go to a rec centre and then they would direct us somewhere else.	Brixton context Location Other small towns involved Worked with community organisations	Project Process

PB	We did work with an NPO called the Somalian Community who serves refugees and asylum seekers from all over Africa and we would sit in their boardroom and we would have a group of Somalian women who were not from Somalia, they were from all over, majority muslim women. And there was a language barrier. They couldn't speak English and I couldn't speak their language. So although we had a translator, she would pop in and out. So we had to figure out little strategies around communicating with each other. So we had a little drawing or a painting that we would use symbols. For example we would make a comparison between what their version of home is, and what their version of home is here. And what that fruit is there and what that fruit is here. And we developed a whole bunch of symbols and signs that really joined the dots in terms of the language. The one thing that really connected all of us was food and telling stories around food. So we broke bread around the table and everyone was invited to bring their favourite dish from home. We gave them some money to go and cook and we had a massive communal meal together. Spices were really important in terms of smelling and tasting and touching and we created a whole bunch of artworks out of spices. There then was another workshop that we did. We joined another Somalian Community with an English school just across the way. And we started a weaving process, and we just literally used A4 coloured paper. Everyone would take their piece of paper and put it down next to the others so that we had one massive carpet. That came from a diverse group of women from about 5 different demographics, and that's what that is. It's an interpretation of all those different pieces together. Its called the woven carpet. It's here and it greets you as you come in through this entrance. It's our gateway marker. Okay let's go inside now.	Joined force with an NPO focussing on immigrants from Africa Language barriers Used art to communicate Food as a connecting force Broke bread together Spices as tangible conveyor of culture Weaving a carpet together	Storytelling / Context / Background
SB	Is this a community hall?		
PB	This is a sports and rec centre. It's amazing, it's super practical. It's got an amphitheatre on the inside its got swimming pools and a gym.	Purpose of building	Storytelling / Context / Background
PB	This centre is still actively under construction so it's not being used by the community.	In progress	
PB	So the spice workshops that I told you about, resulted in the most amazing spice drawings. Which have been carved out of a 12m piece of wood that is going to sit here. This centre was designed to accommodate different religions as well. So mostly the muslim community. So this connects the male and the female gyms for instance.	Spice drawings from the workshop translated into	Project Process

		artwork	
PB	The mural in between the centre and the parking is based on a lot of site visits and photographic research that Tarry did. I think it's based on public space. It's a nice bridge between the parking lot, the mural and the sports centre. It's a play on activity. It breaks down any stigma attached to who can skateboard, who can't, who can play sport and who can't, and who shouldn't play sport, so on and so forth. There's actually a movement. I can't remember the name, but the advocate for women skateboarding as well. All the symbols and iconography are from workshops with the Somali Community and the women that I work with. They were invited to bring artefacts from home or something that reminded them of their culture. Something precious. And then they drew them. So there is some of that in there. There's some islamic words as well. We did a whole bunch of activations and creative workshops with the Johannesburg inner city sports, which is down the road in Crosby. So again, there's a really strong female voice in this particular community. And I think it's because the moms would bring their kids to the creative workshops. So there's iconography that comes from these workshops as well.	Mural outside Layered Sports focus Destigmatize participation Islamic influences Inner city sports collaboration Strong female voices	Storytelling / Context / Background
SB	What about the colour, is it supposed to be like a fabric or spice or something?		
PB	No I don't think so, but it almost makes you think of a translucent sari or something like that. For me this is a powerful one. But I can't choose my favourite. I think the woven carpet also has an absolutely fantastic story.	Painted in a texture like a sari	Storytelling / Context / Background
PB	So this one has a massive story. It's far more complex than I'm letting on. And that's part of our job. When you get to the end of the process. When you've motivated for it and curated it and designed it, now its painted. Now we need to sit down and think about how its published. So what happens now? Does it get a name? Should it have a little plaque that tells the whole story? Does it need a 7m plaque? So I'm still working on this narrative in terms of making it something that's cohesive.	Complex story Needs to be documented	Storytelling / Context / Background
SB	That's also where you have so many tools at your disposal to tell that story, or not, and let people make of it what they will.		

PB	Yes that's right.		
PB	So one of the artists that helped paint this, so it's one of the graffiti guys right? But Sera Thabani whose work is in the inside found it very difficult to work with. She thought that we were being very exclusive with this mural and that we were only representing one religion and we were not being true to the mixed demographic of Brixton. So her and I sat together for an hour and really unpacked it. So I explained how multi-layered this really is, down to the fact that I know, those houses, Tarry physically went into them and he's got photos of himself talking to these people and he knows the owner of the houses and one of them is a fashion designer.	Objections to the mural Seen as exclusive Opened up a discussion	Community Process
PB	And she pointed out one of the figures that was clearly a woman wearing a hijab and muslim fashion and she's skateboarding. And I said to her that surely we're supposed to live in a world where you are allowed to wear whatever you want. And skateboard wherever you want. And that you should not be looking at and judging it from that perspective at the end of the day.	Focus on a figure in the mural Speaks about who can and can't do sport	Storytelling / Context/ Background
SB	You're almost inverting a whole lot of stereotypes and flipping them on their head. And with that comes this new perspective.		
SB	What's nabad?		
PB	I'd have to check to be sure, but I think it's the name of a banana in Somali. The symbols are abstract, and I like the way that it's almost futuristic. There's a nice mix between the past, the present and the future you know. So yes, so with Sera and discussing her concerns about it, it was an interesting debate. Everyone is entitled to their opinion, you know. And I think that it's really important that these conversations happen. And then on the flipside, Fatima runs a local preschool down the road. She's been a huge supporter of our project, right from the get go. She's an amazing communicator, followed us on social media, always wanted to get involved, always brought her kids with. So we even had a little exhibition at her preschool that she runs at the back of her house. Against the palisade fences we put up the designs so everyone could see, and a little activation table. And as part of that cycle to end off that cycle we invited her to come paint this. So she's not an artist. But she painted this. She doesn't consider herself a creative person but she is, she's an amazing creative person.	Somali words Abstract symbols Opens up debate Local supporter from from Pre-school became involved in the mural	Artwork process
PB	It was a very profound experience working with all these incredible women who I think have been through some very	Working with	Community

	trying times. Some of them have been here for like three weeks or months and others for 3 years. It's amazing.	women	Process

Coded Tables for each interview

Interview 1: Introductory Interview

Code 1	Code 2
• Project • City • Neighbourhoods needing upgrades • Transit-oriented corridor • Upgrade types	Project Context
• Map • Townships and areas worked in. • Map showing input and work • Working with surrounding areas	Location
• Background / Context establishing • Visual Arts background / degree • Stephen Hobbs part of research • Interview for PM position • Council Chambers Project • First year • Lots of projects • Steep learning	Trinity Sessions Background
• First year unsuccessful • Go back a step • Collect stories and narratives that are difficult to hear • Travelling around Johannesburg Councils • Purpose of project	Project Process
• Ask community to draw pictures • Collecting information and stories from residents. • Sharing a story • Community • Invite participation from community • Neighbourhoods • Process - sending out calls • Process - working with community	Community Process

• Power of drawing a picture • Sad stories, tough realities • Changed project focus	Art as polysemic / stories

Interview 2: About the JDA

Code 1	Code 2
• Policy only discussed procurement processes • Public Art Steering Committee • Public art linked to regeneration or development area • Accountability of looking after work • JDA as client • Develop new PIC • Interested stakeholders • Public art policy does not recognize community	Public Art Policy
• JDA and Trinity Sessions working history • Delayed tender awarding • Upgrade nodes have their own managers • Placemaking - process over outcome • Convinced managers to use parts of budget for people process work • Time period late 2016-late 2019 • Extended contract • Process depends on where they come into the project. Ideal is right at the start • Tender process necessitated through JDA procurement	Project Process
• Intentional focus on placemaking • Community process • Key stakeholders • JDA has community liaison officer • Conversations and activations • Local heroes • Community consensus	Community process

● Research process ● Working with history and heritage consultants ● Site walks ● Research needs ● Working with professional team	Research Process
● Storytelling and functionality ● Collecting information - pop up with sign ● Tell us a story ● Community gets involved ● Collect details in register ● Meet community members ● Ward councillors ● Murals in Noordgesig ● Types ● Specific murals mentioned ● Explaining the location and significance of murals ● Context stories ● Bike bench inspired by bike boys	Storytelling
● Working in public space ● Representation	Public Space
● Social cohesion through work ● Noordgesig context ● Feeling invisible during apartheid ● Making history visible ● Creating a cultural identity ● Artwork as functional ● Use/ communication	Artwork
● Reveals community pain points ● Placemaking	Placemaking
● Skills transference, education, ● all skills are used ● Creative Business Skills workshops for the community ● Knowledge would find its way back into the community ● Lavinia as an example of someone who has learnt skills and re-invested them in the community ● Mama Glover story ● Process of getting involved with the project and then Trinity Sessions ● Flying house creative business skills course	Sustainability/ Skills

● Process ● Upskilling ● Sustainability	

Interview 3: Lavinia Williams-Otto

Code 1	Code 2
● Background & context - ● Workshop process in Noordgesig ● Artworks created ● Interview seen by community ● Children from the community learned about the history ● Temporary mural for residents ● Working with local suppliers ● Communities are largely aided by the church where the government can't step up ● Workshops held in church for the price of sponsored soup kitchen ● Work with communities continues in different way ● Maintaining community relationships ● Community networks ● Objection process to statue ● Residents did not want pavement to be dug up again ● Compromise: abstract mural	Community Process
● Community development as motivation for work ● Got help from Trinity Sessions ● Starting tour business ● Personal growth and development ● Blue plaques - heritage plaques ● Project length ● Trinity sessions does come back, even after the project ends ● Tour ● Multiple projects on at the same time	Project Process
● Context - Mama Glover ● Vegetable garden ● Provided food and shelter for the	Storytelling / Context / Background

- community • Met Mama Glover in the Community • Known by all • Met the locals • Captured stories • Example - Uncle Greg • Sharing legacy • Community centre built by community • Artwork shows how it came to be • Long table story • Community heirloom • Used for all community events in every stage of life • History, generations living in Noordgesig • Murals interconnected • Invisible township • Why people return here • Architecture / context • Religion / context • History • Marker	
• What the workshop did for her • Low point in her life • Created confidence • Started off with artworks, moved on to site management and administration • Thankful to Trinity Sessions • Increased personal confidence • Trinity session working with Lavinia • Lavinia opening up her own wall painting business • Invaluable contribution • Trinity sessions helped out with glasses for Lavinia	Sustainability / Upskilling
• Artistic progression • SABC interview • Community enrichment through art / vs broken window theory	Artistic Progression
• Using ArtMyJozi social media sites as digital archives • Complete digital archive is 8 TB	Digital Archives
• Consolidation process for checking history • Information from artist workshops	Research Process

● Against the broader community narrative	

Interview 4: Rotunda Precinct

Code 1	Code 2
● Linear park ● JDA Project involving transport ● Road changed to suit park	Spatial Context
● Local creche involvement ● Only 14 artists ● Difficult to interact with this community ● Children's contributions used as a legacy project ● Community uptake and ownership of the project ● Finding community hubs process ● Southern suburbs club for Rosettenville ● Meaningful interventions for the community ● Skills development ● Residents and artists spent most of their time in Rosettenville, ● Change of scenery ● Local business development ● No objections from residents ● Excitement ● Local businesses supported them ● Graffiti wall from past projects ● Facilitate connecting community and the client	Community Process
● JDA project ● Pedestrian thoroughfare ● Safe space ● Used a drone to map area ● Specialised process and materials ● Road paint used ● Use considered ● Materials ● Suppliers who understand projects ● Use graffiti-resistant paints ● Funding ● CC	Project Process

• Arts Projects • Other public arts programs • Work in other provinces in South Africa • Bus corridors • Commercial Commissions	
• History / context • Mining town • Location • Totem poles project • Artwork project picked up where other budgets ran out • Created by local artists to tell stories	Storytelling / Context / Background
• Design • Layers of meaning	Design Process
• Trinity Sessions Project manager • Trinity sessions employees • Involvement of founders • Commissions side • ArtMyJozi • No other placemaking projects • Naming • Public art versus commissions • Sourcing local artists	Trinity Sessions Context
• Other public arts projects in JHB • Focussed on maintenance • Maintenance and heritage work • Needed by city	Public Arts Policy
• Social media as a form of preservation • Immortality from social media	Digital Archives

Interview 5: Brixton Recreation & Sports Centre

Code 1	Code 2
• Project aims - Rea Vaya corridors • Break down boundaries • Brixton context • Location • Other small towns involved • Worked with community organisations • Spice drawings from the workshop translated into artwork	Project Process

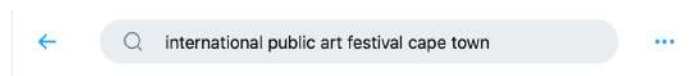
● Joined force with an NPO focussing on immigrants from Africa ● Language barriers ● Used art to communicate ● Food as a connecting force ● Broke bread together ● Spices as tangible conveyor of culture ● Weaving a carpet together ● Purpose of building ● Mural outside ● Layered ● Sports focus ● Destigmatize participation ● Islamic influences ● Inner city sports collaboration ● Strong female voices ● Painted in a texture like a sari ● Complex story ● Needs to be documented ● Focus on a figure in the mural ● Speaks about who can and can't do sport	Storytelling / Context / Background
● Objections to the mural ● Seen as exclusive ● Opened up a discussion ● Working with women	Community Process
● Somali words ● Abstract symbols ● Opens up debate ● Local supporter from from Pre-school became involved in the mural	Artwork Process

APPENDIX D - SOCIAL MEDIA METADATA

Data Set 1: International Public Art Festival	2
1. Search One: Twitter Search for International Public Arts Festival Cape Town	2
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Search Four: Instagram posts with #ArtMyJozi	37

Data Set 1: International Public Art Festival

1. Search One: Twitter Search for International Public Arts Festival Cape Town



From: Anywhere

Who? Anyone

When: Anytime

“Top” results.

Code category 1 - Image (Yes/no)

Code category 2 - Type of user

Code category 3 - Content of Tweet

Code category 4 - Engagement (reply/likes/retweets/share)

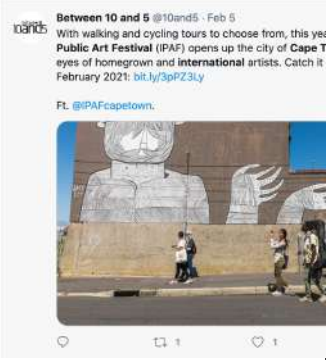
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5	The Journalist @TheJournalistSA · Feb 4, 2019 We are looking for a young journalist in Cape Town to cover the International Public Art Festival on 13 February 2019. thejournalists@gmail.com if you are interested. See pic below for more info. IPAF is a community based street art event hosted by Baz Art, Cape Town. The theme for this year is: "GENERATION NEXT: EDUCATE, COLLABORATE, EMPOWER". RSVP: www.baz-art.co.za by 8th February Logos: ILOVE, LITTLE, etc.	6	Brooklyn Street Art @BrooklynStreetArt · Feb 24, 2019 Sunny, "Corridors Of Hope" in South Africa. How can we needs of today without compromising the world our full will inherit? https://www.brooklynstreetart.com/202/02/23.htm. So international public art festival takes place in and around Salt River, Cape Town. @baz-art-co-za #prohelvetia_johannesburg Photo: A mural of a tiger.	7	Flanders SA @Flanders_SA · Nov 16, 2018 Harrington St in Cape Town has a whole new look, than street artist Smates. With support of the Govt of Flanders Art, he has created a 400 m2 work - the largest mural in 3rd International Public Art Festival takes place in CT Photo: A dog wearing a helmet.	8	Allison Foat, like a butterfly @AllisonFoat · Sep 18, 2019 BAZ_ART has announced the 2020 theme for the International Public Art Festival (IPAF) in Salt River, Cape Town. Digitalism happened last year is anything to go by, Capetonians #baz-art.co.za/highlights... Photo: A collage of street art images.
9	AffordableArtSA @AffordableArtSA · Oct 8, 2019 International Public Art Festival 2020 (IPAF) Feb 12, 2020 at 11 AM - Feb 16, 2020 at 6 PM at MeKa Victoria Rd, 7925 Cape Town, Western Cape baz-art.co.za and facebook.com/events/4886965... Photo: A large mural of a person's face.	10	Between 10 and 6 @10and5 · Jan 16, 2020 The 4th International Public Art Festival (IPAF) takes place in Salt River, Cape Town from 12-16 February 2020 under the "DIGITALISATION". Photo: A mural of a person's face.	11	CapeLux @CapeLuxAfrica · Feb 8, 2017 Cape Town art takes to the walls at the International Festival to be held in Salt River, 10-19 Feb bit.ly/2kRk49M Photo: A person painting a mural.	12	The SA Art Times @saarttimes · Jan 24, 2017 South African Art: Cape Town to host International Public Art Festival @ArtFund @SouthAfricaArt @SouthAfricaArt bit.ly/2kRk49M Photo: A person painting a mural.
13	BelgiumPretoria @BelgiumPretoria · Feb 23, 2019 Art helping to transform Salt River neighbourhood in #IPAF #GenerationNext Photo: A mural of a person's face.	14	Pro Helvetia Johannesburg @prohelvetia_jhb · Feb 13, 2019 Swiss artist Gilles Dussat has been invited to take part International Public Art Festival Taking place from River, Cape Town @baz-art-co-za #prohelvetia_johannesburg Photo: A man with a beard.	15	SONI @SONI_ART · Feb 20, 2019 A competition for all Artists that participated in the International Public Art Festival 2019, Cape Town. Please help us win by scrolling down to the Soni Art St. click LIKE. Shukran/Thank you to... facebook.com/135... Photo: A mural of a person's face.	16	AffordableArtSA @AffordableArtSA · Dec 19, 2019 Baz-Art - Dates for the 3rd International Public Art Festival 2019 IPAF is a community based street art event hosted by Baz Art, Cape Town The theme for this year is: "GENERATION NEXT: EDUCATE, COLLABORATE, EMPOWER" facebook.com/events/1097829... Photo: A logo for ART organisat.

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4 9		5 0		5 1			

2. Search Two: Twitter Search for IPAF Cape Town



From: Anywhere

Who? Anyone

When: Anytime

“Top” results.

Code category 1 - Image (Yes/no)

Code category 2 - Type of user

Code category 3 - Content of Tweet

Code category 4 - Engagement (reply/likes/retweets/share)

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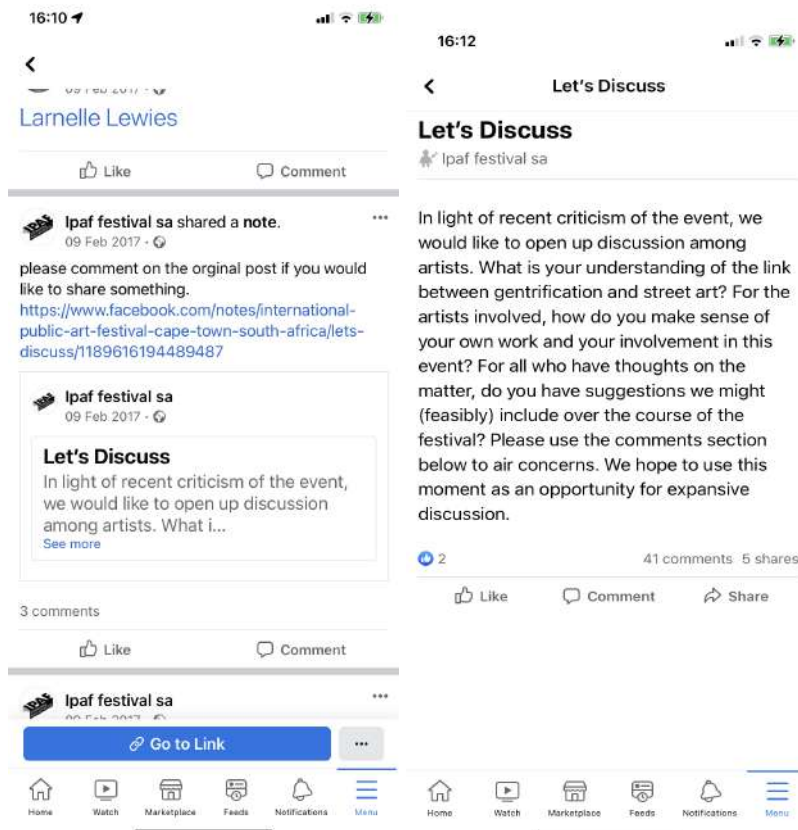
9	Julien S - DHN @KingthedaDtn · Mar 7, 2018 Photo - Lucas Aoki while he was creating this stunning mural in Salt Cape Town! IPAF Festival (paf festival sa dlvr.it/QK4LbZ  10	EyesIn Photography @EyesInPhotogral · Feb 18, 2019 The hands of a mural artist @paf_festival_sa @bazarLingo @UNNkon @capetownmag @NatGeo @yourshot at the 2019 art festival in Cape Town  11	SONI @SONI_A_R_T · Feb 14, 2019 Day 3 Progress updates of our Arabic Calligraphic Mural, International Festival (IPAF) 2019 Cape Town What an awesome and fulfilling day Alhamdulillah, @M awesome... instagram.com/p/BG2nPCG9jA/... 12	Yotastemaker @Yotastemaker · Feb 18, 2019 Ipaf 2019. Cape Town. @ Cape Town, Western Cape instagram.com/p/BuBb4H403d/... 12
13	GottaLoveSA @GottaLoveSA · Mar 11, 2018 Some amazing new street art popping up around Cape Town International Public Art Festival. This place by @rubencarrascoart, addressing the water crisis #gottalovesa #ipaf_festival_sa #everydropcounts #urbanart #capetownartweek ... ift.1i/2HnOQbs  14	Lunga Mateta @yourisdylunga · Feb 11, 2018 So I'm gonna miss @ICTArtFair and @IPAF_Festival in Cape Towning next?? Kanyo nje ? Jesus please make a way 🙏 15	What once off. @dfeast447 · Feb 13, 2018 Workshops at IPAF, @ Salt River, Cape Town instagram.com/p/B1wQRCBAGAM/... 16	Jeff Bradford @boozewithbrad · Mar 6, 2018 Apparently there was a street art competition in Cape Town this weekend #ipaf2018 @paf_festival_sa Pic by @Epic work by #russpaining #capetownartweek #capetownstreetart #streetart #capetown  16
17	Between 10 and 5 @10and5 · Oct 10, 2019 IPAF is making an official OPEN CALL to South African artists from around the African continent to take part by creating murals in Salt River; one of Cape Town's burgeoning urban industrial enclaves. 10and5.com/2019/10/10/int... 18	Cape Town Now @TopCapeTownNow · Feb 17, 2017 Have you checked out IPAF Cape Town yet? topcapietown.com 19	I Support Street Art @I_S_S_ART · Jan 12, 2019 Not to miss! IPAF Festival / Cape Town facebook.com/isupportstreetart 20	SONI @SONI_A_R_T · Feb 12, 2019 About yesterday 🙏 We are super excited to be asked to participate in the International Public Art Festival (IPAF) 2019-17 February. Shaheen and I are producing a mural/street art on a... facebook.com/58853116152578... 20

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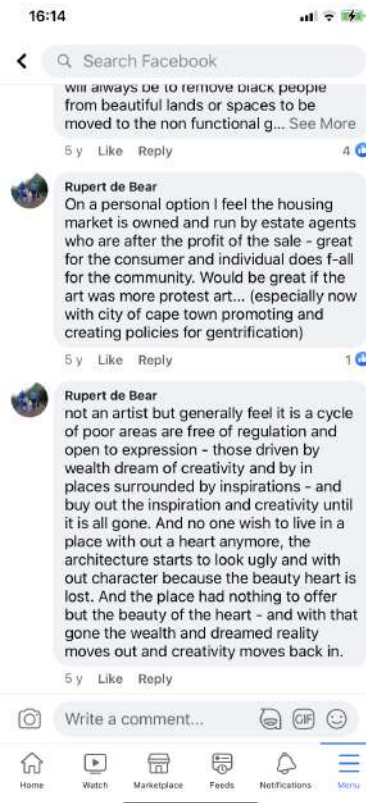
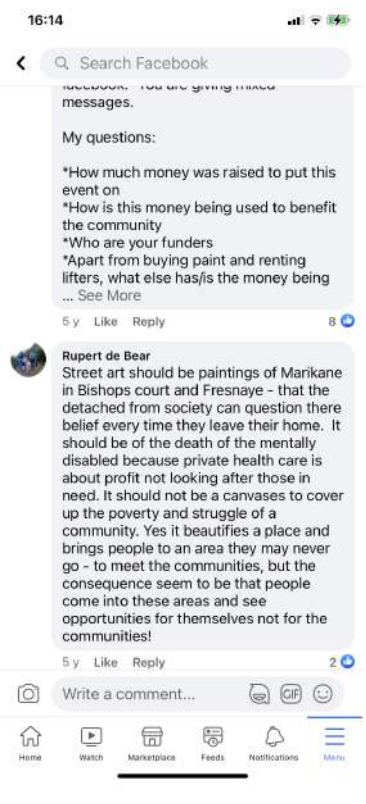
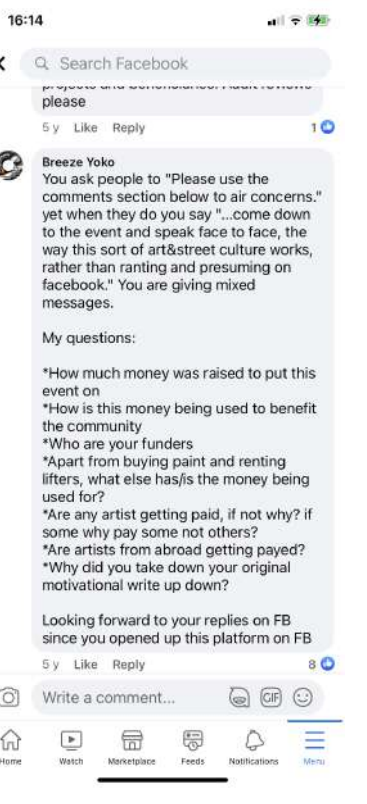
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3. Search Three: Facebook Event Pages

Discussion about gentrification and public art - reposted to the 2017 event page by Ipaf sa.



Comments:
(From bottom to top)

1	 16:14 Search Facebook of poor areas are free of regulation and open to expression - those driven by wealth dream of creativity and by in places surrounded by inspirations - and buy out the inspiration and creativity until it is all gone. And no one wish to live in a place with out a heart anymore, the architecture starts to look ugly and with out character because the beauty heart is lost. And the place had nothing to offer but the beauty of the heart - and with that gone the wealth and dreamed reality moves out and creativity moves back in. 5 y Like Reply Quasiem Gamiet The removed criticism were made only because this festival obviously stated gentrification in the motivation. The connection would not have been criticized if you did not mention it. I am a salt river resident and I really hope your motivations are pure and that this really benefits my community, as you so proudly state. 5 y Like Reply Nard S Tar The festival received criticism for it's original write up on it's motivation, why has that been removed? 5 y Like Reply Write a comment... Home Watch Marketplace Feeds Notifications Menu	2	 16:14 Search Facebook will always be to remove black people from beautiful lands or spaces to be moved to the non functional g... See More 5 y Like Reply Rupert de Bear On a personal option I feel the housing market is owned and run by estate agents who are after the profit of the sale - great for the consumer and individual does f-all for the community. Would be great if the art was more protest art... (especially now with city of cape town promoting and creating policies for gentrification) 5 y Like Reply Rupert de Bear not an artist but generally feel it is a cycle of poor areas are free of regulation and open to expression - those driven by wealth dream of creativity and by in places surrounded by inspirations - and buy out the inspiration and creativity until it is all gone. And no one wish to live in a place with out a heart anymore, the architecture starts to look ugly and with out character because the beauty heart is lost. And the place had nothing to offer but the beauty of the heart - and with that gone the wealth and dreamed reality moves out and creativity moves back in. 5 y Like Reply Write a comment... Home Watch Marketplace Feeds Notifications Menu	3	 16:14 Search Facebook 5 y Like Reply Blakka Siphatheleni Then go do the festival in Cape flats.am I not allowed freedom of speech. You call it ranting but it's real.the truth is you undermine black people and there's nothing called people of colour. Black is the colour of the people 5 y Like Reply Blakka Siphatheleni The same old imperialist story that the missionaries used to colonise Africa is being used again in 2017 this time hidden in art fake opportunities by people whose interested is in buying out the land, space and property that belongs to the black child.Manifestation of white privilege through art is really disgusting and to note that some of the artist are askariz and helpful to the selling out is so uncouth. Which sane artist volunteers his or her craft to help a project that is 3million funded . The logic doesn't add up but will always be seen as angry blacks and the whites will remain generous good willing people yet their motives has and will always be to remove black people from beautiful lands or spaces to be moved to the non functional g... See More 5 y Like Reply Write a comment... Home Watch Marketplace Feeds Notifications Menu
4	 16:14 Search Facebook should be of the death of the mentally disabled because private health care is about profit not looking after those in need. It should not be a canvases to cover up the poverty and struggle of a community. Yes it beautifies a place and brings people to an area they may never go - to meet the communities, but the consequence seem to be that people come into these areas and see opportunities for themselves not for the communities! 5 y Like Reply Nard S Tar 1. Why was the original motivation write up for the festival deleted if the festival believes they have good intentions? 2. Why was this discussion opened and then swiftly closed with a comment about being to busy to discuss and to come chat in real life? 3. Who are the real brains from the Cape Flats that were vaguely mentioned above? 4. Why are we being told to speak to Mak and Chantel instead of Alex and Sebastian, the actual organisers? 5. If you truly value the street artists, why wouldn't you prioritise acquiring funds to pay artists before approaching artists and launching the festival? 5 y Like Reply Write a comment... Home Watch Marketplace Feeds Notifications Menu	5	 16:14 Search Facebook ... See More My questions: *How much money was raised to put this event on *How is this money being used to benefit the community *Who are your funders *Apart from buying paint and renting lifters, what else has/is the money being ... See More 5 y Like Reply Rupert de Bear Street art should be paintings of Marikane in Bishops court and Fresnaye - that the detached from society can question there belief every time they leave their home. It should be of the death of the mentally disabled because private health care is about profit not looking after those in need. It should not be a canvases to cover up the poverty and struggle of a community. Yes it beautifies a place and brings people to an area they may never go - to meet the communities, but the consequence seem to be that people come into these areas and see opportunities for themselves not for the communities! 5 y Like Reply Write a comment... Home Watch Marketplace Feeds Notifications Menu	6	 16:14 Search Facebook ... See More 5 y Like Reply Breeze Yoko You ask people to "Please use the comments section below to air concerns." yet when they do you say "...come down to the event and speak face to face, the way this sort of art&street culture works, rather than ranting and presuming on facebook." You are giving mixed messages. My questions: *How much money was raised to put this event on *How is this money being used to benefit the community *Who are your funders *Apart from buying paint and renting lifters, what else has/is the money being used for? *Are any artist getting paid, if not why? if some why pay some not others? *Are artists from abroad getting payed? *Why did you take down your original motivational write up down? Looking forward to your replies on FB since you opened up this platform on FB 5 y Like Reply Write a comment... Home Watch Marketplace Feeds Notifications Menu

1 3	16:15 < Search Facebook and may choose to not to be on Facebook. we hope that the event will speak for itself, but other questions we will hopefully get to on the Facebook page as soon as we can. 5 y Like Reply Author lpaf festival sa Hello, thanks for sharing your opinions about the festival. Please refer to our latest public statement (in the note section) that has been posted on the 14th of February called "How Baz-Art came to create South Africa's first international public art festival" which answers all of the questions that have been asked in this discussion. Thank you 5 y Like Reply Blakka Siphatheleni Thanks but you are late. We can't trust you and what you cooked up all this time. You failed to answer in time. we can't play your game we have communities to preserve from such entities like you. That PR moves don't work, we dealt with your likes since the inversion of Africa till now. We know your kind. #devilonthecross we ain't praying to that. #Mayibuye i Africa izwe lethu 5 y Like Reply Write a comment... Home Watch Marketplace Feeds Notifications Menu	1 4
	16:16 < Search Facebook Author lpaf festival sa This discussion was primarily opened for artists who are involved to express themselves with others. We can't force them to do so, and many have said that they would prefer for people to come and see the event for themselves. We understand that there many questions about the event that remain unanswered, we apologize for that and realize it has created much confusion. At this point in time, the artists are busy painting walls and may choose to not to be on Facebook. we hope that the event will speak for itself, but other questions we will hopefully get to on the Facebook page as soon as we can. 5 y Like Reply Author lpaf festival sa Hello, thanks for sharing your opinions about the festival. Please refer to our latest public statement (in the note section) that has been posted on the 14th of February called "How Baz-Art came to create South Africa's first international public art festival" which answers all of the questions that have been asked in this discussion. Thank you 5 y Like Reply Write a comment... Home Watch Marketplace Feeds Notifications Menu	1 5
	16:16 < Search Facebook who are all volunteering their own time and not always available to comment on Facebook, are very busy making the event happen. For now, we urge anyone who would like to know the facts regarding how this event came to be, which channels it passed through, and how the Salt River community have responded (and are involved) please join us in Shelley Road to see for yourself. There you will be able to speak to the organisers and artists in person. Thank you. 5 y Like Reply Author lpaf festival sa Hi Blakka, everyone involved in this project is working for free. Any sponsorship at this stage is purely to get the event off the ground, no salaries are being paid. There are many presumptions around this issue based on he-say-she-say. The real brains behind this event are people of colour who grew up on the Cape Flats and understand art and community. They urge you to come down to the event and speak face to face, the way this sort of art&street culture works, rather than ranting and presuming on facebook. Best people to speak to: Max, and Chantel. 5 y Like Reply Write a comment... Home Watch Marketplace Feeds Notifications Menu	

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Search Four: Instagram posts with #IPAFCapeTown

59 Posts from the last post to the first

1	#ipafcapetown 100+ posts Follow See a few top posts each week	2	#ipafcapetown 100+ posts Follow See a few top posts each week	3	#ipafcapetown 100+ posts Follow See a few top posts each week	4	#ipafcapetown 100+ posts Follow See a few top posts each week
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Data Set 2: ArtMyJozi

4. Search One: Twitter Search for ArtMyJozi



 artmyjozi

Search filters

From: Anywhere

Who? Anyone

When: Anytime

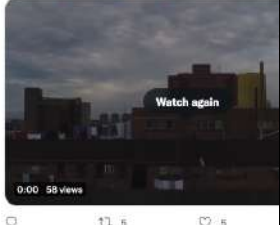
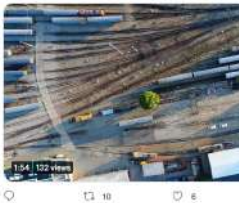
“Top” results. (First 50 between 1 Jan 2017 and 31 December 2019)

Code category 1 - Image (Yes/no)

Code category 2 - Type of user

Code category 3 - Content of Tweet

Code category 4 - Engagement (reply/likes/retweets/share)

1	Ambit Aerial @AmbitAerial · Jul 27, 2018 Replying to @JohannesburgYP and @PastExperiences #aerial #drone #film of #Johannesburg from above @job @JozStyle @joziwalks @ArtMyJozi @JoziFilmFest @Yfost @mabongevents @visigauteng 	2	The Transport Guy™ @Takiso_Modi · Oct 1, 2019 #OTM19 sick off at the #ArtMyJozi S-Bend Mural Walk! 	3	Ambit Aerial @AmbitAerial · Jan 11, 2019 Our intriguing city #Johannesburg #Jozi, #SouthAfrica with positive energy? #drone #aerial #video @JohannesburgY @JoziStyle @ArtMyJozi @mabongevents @Jfospredic 	4	Poppy Cynthia Louw @PCLouw · Apr 26, 2019 Take a young tour of Noordseig with your mates some @ReelVibes, even. You'll be in for a great treat! Cc @reuben_masango @CityofJoburgZA @CulDevPlanning @CulTransport @CulJoburg @ArtMyJozi @joziwalks #ExploreJozi Art My Jozi @ArtMyJozi · Apr 26, 2019 A group shot of the #ArtMyNoordseig artistic team the visually powerful Mama Glover Mural in Noordseig Photo Credit: #ArtMyJozi Crew #ArtMyJozi @IDA_Joburg #TheTrinitySession 
5	ReCreationSpaceSA @ReCreationSA · May 13, 2019 We held a workshop in April which was about getting the as dreamers and optimists. They got to dress up as diffe reimagine various sites as their chosen careers. #ReCreationSpaceSA #ArtMyJozi #PlaceMaking #Chik #OrchardsProject #youth 	6	Rea Vaya Bus Transit @ReaVayaBus · Dec 5, 2019 #ArtMyJozi S-Bend Mural Walk! #ExploreJozi™ Art My Jozi @ArtMyJozi · Dec 5, 2019 Waterfall Marker Mural Completed! A previously hidden waterfall is situated at on Louis Botha same waterfall that where the river into Paterson Park. Facebook page for the full story #ArtMyJozi @IDA_Joburg 	7	Thabo Jobo @ThaboNokajobo · Oct 1, 2019 The newly built S-Bend Mural on Louis Botha Ave has been beautified with colorful designs and graffiti by local artists by IDA as part of #ArtMyJozi project #TransportMoth @ @NE_Tribune 	8	Marlon @whocaresitart · Apr 13, 2018 Learning so much at the #ArtMyJozi media day! #Jozi @CityofJoburgZA 
9	Poppy Cynthia Louw @PCLouw · Jul 17, 2019 @IDA_Joburg appointed art curator, @ArtMyJozi to coordi 3000sqm S-Bend Wall Mural, that is currently underway a The project saw a heartfelt tribute made to the late CEO, C m.facebook.com/story.php?stcr...  City of Joburg and 4 others	10	Poppy Cynthia Louw @PCLouw · Apr 12, 2019 @CityofJoburgZA residents are encouraged to make their their stories on what will be Joburg's largest mural that will Louis Botha Transit Corridor. #ArtMyJozi Cc @reuben_masango @CulDevPlanning Art My Jozi @ArtMyJozi · Apr 12, 2019 	11	Ideal Concepts Media @ideal_concepts · Jun 14, 2018 Youth day event @OliveTreeTheatre Alex with amazing actv Info contact Refloe on +27 72 345 9975 @ArtMyJozi @Jozi @Ke_Motabogo @AlexmB81 @AlexTV 	12	Better @betterjoburg · Jun 23, 2018 Going into the kingdom of the birds, just as the sun set. I performances tonight and Sunday 4:30pm at the Spark Orchards. betterjoburg/soaring-to-new... #ArtMyJozi #B #soar 

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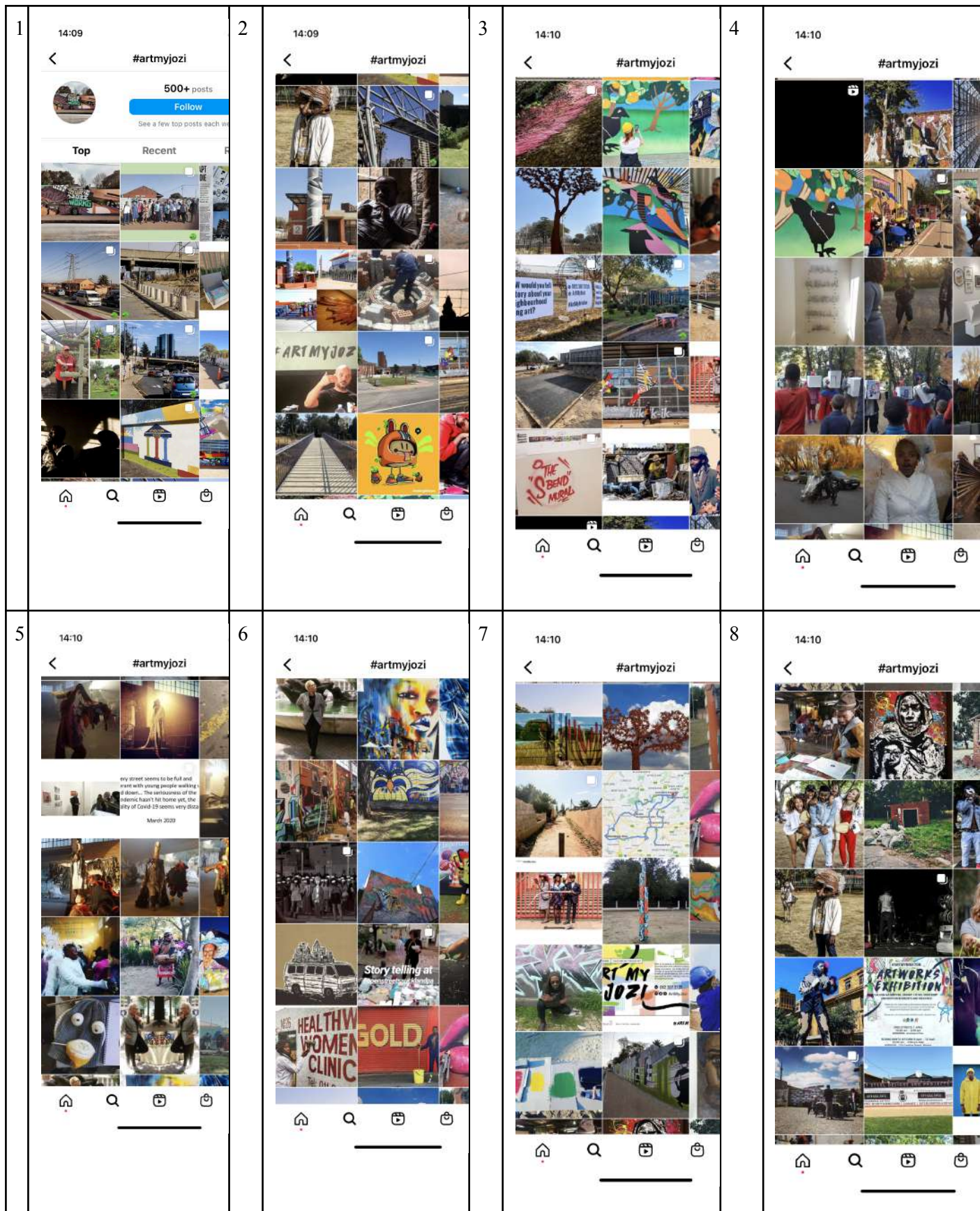
Outside of date selection criteria, but other tweets of note to the interview content themes:

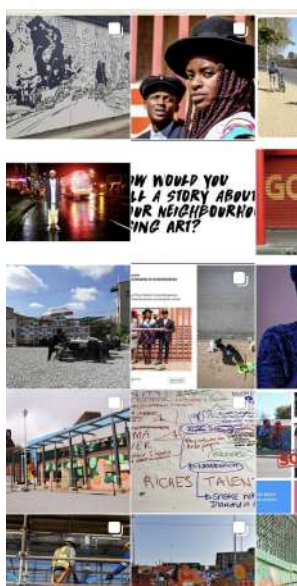
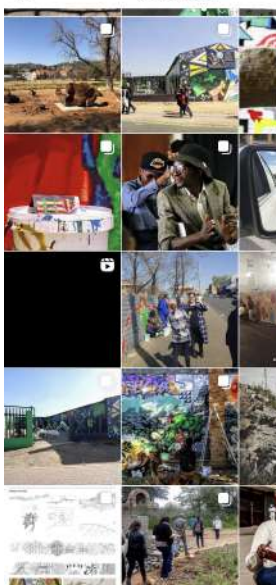
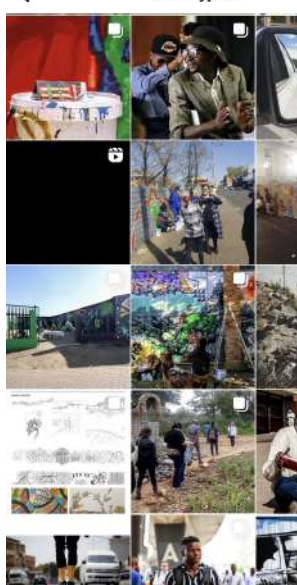
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Search Four: Instagram posts with #ArtMyJozi

The top 240 Posts from the last post to the first



9	14:10 < #artmyjozi  Home Search Add Post Share	10	14:10 < #artmyjozi  Home Search Add Post Share	11	14:11 < #artmyjozi  Home Search Add Post Share	12	14:11 < #artmyjozi  Home Search Add Post Share
13	14:11 < #artmyjozi  Home Search Add Post Share	14	14:11 < #artmyjozi  Home Search Add Post Share	15	14:11 < #artmyjozi  Home Search Add Post Share	16	14:11 < #artmyjozi  Home Search Add Post Share

APPENDIX E - SOCIAL MEDIA METADATA

TWITTER

1. Search One: International Public Art Festival Cape Town

Tweet Number	Date		Image?	Content of image	User type	Content of tweet	Link to	Engagement			Notes
	Month	Year						Reply	Retweet	Like	
1	Feb	2021	Yes	Artwork	Company	Awareness	-	0	0	1	Old Biscuit Mill
2	Feb	2017	Yes	Artwork	Artist	Awareness	-	1	0	1	
3	Mar	2017	No	-	Company	Throwback Thursday	Facebook Event	0	0	1	
4	Nov	2018	Yes	Artist	Company	Call for Artists	-	0	1	0	
5	Feb	2019	Yes	Sponsors & Logo	Media	Call for Journalists	-	0	5	2	
6	Feb	2021	Yes	Artwork	Street Art Page	Artist and artwork feature	Brooklyn Street Art webpage	0	7	29	Brooklyn
7	Nov	2018	Yes	Artwork	Embassy of Belgium	Artist and artwork feature	-	0	1	7	
8	Sep	2019	Yes	Artworks	Blogger	Announcement of 2020 theme	Baz Art Webpage	2	5	15	
9	Oct	2019	Yes	Me’Kasi Cafe and children	Art Page	2020 Festival awareness	Baz Art Webpage Facebook Event	0	1	0	
10	Feb	2017	No	-	Company/Sponsor	Sponsor awareness	Facebook Event	0	0	0	
11	Jan	2017	Yes	Artist	Art Page	Awareness	Facebook post	0	0	4	
12	Feb	2019	Yes	Artwork	Art Page	Congratulations	Art Times Webpage	0	5	13	
13	Feb	2020	Yes	Artist	Embassy	Artist awareness	-	0	0	0	Belgian
14	Feb	2019	No	-	Embassy	Artist Competition	Prohelvetia Webpage	0	0	0	Swiss
15	Feb	2019	No	-	Artist	Artist Competition	Facebook post	0	0	0	
16	Dec	2018	Yes	Logo	Artist Page	Awareness	Facebook post	0	1	2	
17	July	2019	Yes	Art	International Cities Culture Forum	Creative city responses (Invalid)	Facebook Event	1	1	4	International mention
18	July	2019	Yes	Artwork	International Cities Culture Forum	Cape Town’s response to crisis	-	0	3	0	International mention
19	Dec	2020	Yes	Artwork and Poster	Person	Awareness	Instagram	0	0	1	

20	Jan	2020	Yes	Tour	Company	Awareness	Biz Community Article	0	0	0	
21	Jan	2021	Yes	Wall	Person	Awareness	Travel Article	0	0	0	
22	Jan	2018	Yes	Artwork	Embassy	Awareness / Artist Call	Cape Town etc article	0	11	7	French
23	Feb	2020	Yes	Artworks + Event Photographs	Ambassador	Awareness / Sponsor thanking		1	13	38	Belgian
24	Jan	2017	No	-	Person	Awareness	Facebook Post	0	0	0	
25	Feb	2018	No	-	Company	Awareness	Visi Article	0	0	0	Luxury
26	Jan	2017	Yes	People	Gallery	Awareness	Citizen Article	0	3	4	
27	Jan	2019	No	-	Media	Awareness	Facebook Post	0	1	0	Trending in Cape Town
28	Feb	2021	Yes	Artist + Artwork	Company	Awareness	Estate Living Article	0	0	0	Estate Living
29	Feb	2020	Yes	Artist + Artwork	Organisation	Awareness	-	1	1	8	UNICEF South Africa
30a	Jan	2021	Yes	Artwork	DA Premier	Thread - value of public art	Facebook Post	6	33	87	Seapoint hands International Artists
30b	Jan	2021	No	-	DA Premier	Public art connecting spaces	-	1	1	5	Sea Point, Langa, Phillipi
30c	Jan	2021	No	-	DA Premier	Province as vibrant community of artists	-	1	1	5	Tech Capital of Africa
30d	Jan	2021	No	-	DA Premier	Artist choosing Cape Town Space	-	0	2	8	Saype Creative Capital
30e	Jan	2021	No	-	DA Premier	IPAF Awareness	-	1	1	7	Support by local artists
30f	Jan	2021	No	-	DA Premier	Safe way to see art	-	2	2	7	Open Air gallery
30g	Jan	2021	No	-	DA Premier	Covid 19 difficulties (support sector)	-	1	1	9	
31	Jan	2021	No	-	Company	Awareness	Events SA article	0	0	0	
32	Jan	2017	No	-	Street Art Page	Awareness	Street i am article	0	1	0	Invalid link
33	Dec	2017	No	-	Street Art Page	Awareness	I Support Street Art Article	0	0	0	
34	Feb	2019	Yes	Painting Video	Artist	Awareness / recognition	Facebook Watch	0	0	0	
35	July	2019	Yes	Event Poster	Company	Creative Climate Cities	-	1	1	1	Not directly related to IPAF
36	July	2019	Yes	Event Poster	Company	Cape Town as Creative Climate Cities	Julies Bicycles, Creative Climate Cities Profile	1	1	1	Features Cape Town as sponsor

37	Jan	2020	Yes	Tour	Arts Page	Awareness	Artslink Article	1	0	0	
38	Jan	2020	Yes	Artwork	Media	Awareness	Between10and5 article	0	1	0	Pangolin
39	Mar	2019	No	-	Arts Page	Awareness	Voertaal article	0	0	0	
40	Feb	2017	No	-	Person	Shoot Street art awareness		1	0	1	
41	Nov	2018	No	-	Company	Call for artists	Facebook Post	1	0	0	Old Biscuit Mill
42	Nov	2018	Yes	Artwork	Page	Awareness	I Support street art article	0	0	0	I Support Street art
43	Feb	2017	No	-	Person	Awareness	Instagram link	0	0	0	Street art pioneer
44	Jan	2021	No	-	Company	Event Awareness	Event SA Article	0	0	0	
45	Jan	2017	No	-	Company	Event Awareness	Street I am article	0	0	0	Invalid link
46	Feb	2021	Yes	Artwork	Media	Event + Tour Awareness	Between10and5 article	0	1	1	IPAF tag
47	Feb	2021	Yes	Artwork	Art Gallery	Event + Tour Awareness	Between10and5 article	0	1	2	Copy of image and article from above
48	Jan	2019	Yes	Street	Art Gallery	Event + Tour Awareness	Between10and5 article	0	2	1	
49	Feb	2019	Yes	Artist + Artwork	Person	Artist Awareness		0	0	0	
50	Jan	2021	Yes	Artwork	Company	Awareness	Love Cape Town Article	0	3	3	Tourism
51	Jan	2017	No	-	Person	Awareness	Biz Community Article	0	0	0	
52	Jan	2017	No	-	Person	Awareness	Biz Community Article	0	0	0	

1.2. Data Summary of Tweet counts

Tweets with images		Tweets with Facebook links		Tweets with links to articles	
				Author	Salience
				BizCommunity	3
				Between10and5	4
				Blogs	1
				Love Cape Town	1
Content of Images	Salience	Content of Links	Salience	Street I am	1
work	16	Facebook event	3	Voertaal article	1
ist	3	Facebook posts	8	Artslink	1
ist & Artwork	3	TOTAL	11	Event SA	1
ent Poster	2	Table: Tweets with Facebook links			
TOTAL	34				
Table: Tweets with images				I Support Street Art	1
				Estate Living	1
				Visi	1
				Cape Town etc	1
				Travel	1

		TOTAL	18
		<i>Table: Tweets with links to articles</i>	

Tweets with links to webpages		Tweets with links to Instagram
		Both Tweets were private citizens tweeting their personal Instagram posts.
Webpage	Salience	
AZ ART	2	
Brooklyn Street Art	1	
Bro-Helvetia	1	
Art Times	1	
Julies Bicycles	1	
TOTAL	6	
<i>Table: Tweets with links to webpages</i>		

1.3. Data Summary of Discourse themes

Theme of Tweet (Category 1)	Collective Theme (Category 2)
Awareness	Generating Awareness
2020 Festival awareness	
Event + Tour Awareness	
Artist Awareness	
Event Awareness	
Sponsor awareness	
IPAF Awareness	
Artist and artwork feature	Artist Participation
Call for Artists	

Call for Journals	
Announcement of 2020 theme	Theme responses
Cape Town's response to crisis	
Creative Climate Cities	
Cape Town as Creative Climate Cities	
Covid 19 difficulties (support sector)	
Congratulations	Promotion
Safe way to see art	
Thread - value of public art	Public art
Public art connecting spaces	
Province as vibrant community of artists	Cape Town
Artist choosing Cape Town Space	

Search Two: IPAF Cape Town






×

Advanced search

Search

Engagement

Example: 280 - Tweets with at least 280 replies

Example: 280 - Tweets with at least 280 Likes

Example: 280 - Tweets with at least 280 Retweets

Dates

From

Month

January

▼

Day

▼

Year

2017

▼

To

Month

December

▼

Day

▼

Year

2019

▼

Tweet Number	Date	Image?	Content of image	User type	Content of tweet	Link to	Engagement	Notes

	Month	Year						Reply	Retweet	Like	
1	March	2018	Y	Artist & artwork	Street Art Lisbon	Awareness of festival	-	0	11	16	
2	March	2018	Y	Artwork	Street Art Lover	Artwork	-	0	8	27	
3	Feb	2019	Y	Artwork	Belgiumin Pretoria	Congratulations to BAZ ART (Belgian Links)	-	0	5	13	
4	Sep	2019	Y	Artwork	Alison Foat	Festival theme awareness	Baz Art Website	2	5	14	
5	Jan	2019	N	-	Yotatsemas ter	Street art	Instagram post	0	0	1	
6	Dec	2018	Y	BAZ ART LOGO	Affordable ArtSA	Awareness	Facebook event	1	0	2	
7	May	2018	Y	Artwork	LucasAoki	Awareness -an artist sharing his work	-	0	0	1	
8	Oct	2019	Y	Artwork & community	Affordable ArtSA	Awareness	Facebook event	0	1	0	
9	Mar	2018	Y	Artwork	JulienS-D HN	Artist	Facebook page (IPAF Festival)	0	1	0	
10	Feb	2019	Y	Artist	EYESixPhotography	Artist	-	0	0	0	
11	Feb	2019	N	-	SONI	Artist	Instagram post	0	0	1	
12	Feb	2019	N	-	Yotatsemas ter	Street art	Instagram post	0	0	0	
13	Mar	2018	Y	Artwork	GottaLove SA	Artist & festival awareness	-	0	0	1	
14	Feb	2018	N	-	Lunga Mateta	Festival/ personal	-	0	0	1	
15	Feb	2018	N	-	Defeat once off	Workshop awareness	Instagram post	0	0	0	
16	Mar	2018	Y	Artwork	Jeff Bradford	Festival awareness	-	0	0	1	
17	Oct	2019	N	-	Between10 and5	Open Call for artists and theme announcement	Between10and5 article	0	1	2	
18	Feb	2017	N	-	Cape Town Now	Festival awareness	Top Local Now article	0	0	0	
19	Jan	2019	N	-	I Support Street Art	Festival awareness	Facebook post	0	0	0	
20	Feb	2019	N	-	SONI	Festival awareness /	Facebook	0	0	0	

		9				artist mural	post				
21	Sep	2019	Y	Artwork	IG: The Jax Blog	Retweet - Festival Awareness	BAZ-ART highlights-website	4	7	0	
22	Jan	2020	N	-	I Support Street Art	Festival awareness	Facebook post	0	0	0	
23	Apr	2018	N	-	Anthea Missy	Festival theme awareness	Youtube link Film/ WE ARE NATURE	0	0	0	
24	Feb	2017	N	-	Cape Town Now	Festival awareness / weekend lineup	Top Local Now article	0	0	0	
25	Jan	2018	N	-	Anthea Missy	International artist	Facebook post	0	0	0	
26	Oct	2019	N	-	SAID DONKINS	Mural awareness by artist	Instagram post	0	0	0	
27	Feb	2018	N	-	media4africa	Festival awareness	Instagram post	0	0	1	
28	Feb	2019	N	-	SONI	Mural awareness by artist	Facebook video / timelapse of painting progress	0	0	0	
29	Nov	2018	N	-	I Support Street Art	Festival awareness	I Support Street Art Website post	0	0	0	
30	Feb	2019	N	-	EyeSix Photography	IPAF over, SANDF awareness day	Instagram post	0	0	0	Not directly related content
31	Oct	2019	N		Anthea Missy	VR tour awareness	LinkedIn post	0	0	0	
32	Feb	2017	N		BeFront Magazine	Festival awareness	Instagram post	0	0	0	
33	Jun	2019	N		Ryan Allen/ Eyekoo	Artist awareness	I Support Street Art article	0	0	0	
34	Feb	2017	N		ART AFRICA	Festival Awareness	Facebook post	0	0	0	
35	Feb	2019	Y	Artwork	Shanice Da Silva	Photograph of artist at work	-	0	0	0	
36	Apr	2018	Y	Artwork	Thot	Artist awareness	-	0	1	1	Not in english
37	Mar	2017	N	-	Defeat once off	Artwork/ artist awareness	Instagram	0	0	0	
38	Mar	201	N	-	I Support	Festival awareness	Facebook	0	0	0	

		8			Street Art		event				
39	Feb	2018	Y	Artwork	Embassy of Israel	Festival and artist awareness	-	0	0	0	

Summary:

Tweets with images: 15

Content of Images	Salience
Artwork	11
Artist	1
Artist & Artwork	1
Artwork & community	1
Logo	1

Tweets with Facebook links: 10

Content of Links	Salience
Facebook event	4
Facebook posts	7

Tweets with links to articles: 4

Author	Salience
Between10and5	1
I Support Street Art	1
Top Local Now	2

Tweets with links to webpages: 3

Webpage	Salience

BAZ ART	2
I Support Street Art	1

Tweets with links to Instagram: 9

These Tweets were mainly private citizens or artists tweeting a link to one of their personal Instagram posts. Very few accounts were public.

Content Themes in Sample 2

Theme of Tweet (Category 1)	Collective Theme (Category 2)
Awareness	Generating Awareness
Awareness of festival	
Artist awareness	
Artist & festival awareness	
Workshop awareness	
Mural awareness by artist	
Festival theme awareness	
Mural awareness	
VR Tour Awareness	
Artist	Artist
Sponsor	Publicity
Open Call for Artists	
Congratulations	
Artwork	Artwork
Street art	

FACEBOOK EVENTS

The table below lists the festival themes of each of the iterations of the IPAF festival in Cape Town (2017,2018,2019) as well as key facts about each iteration.

Year	Date	Theme	Artists	Walls	Hosts	Partners

2017	10-19 February	None	25	n/a	XO Events BAZ-ART Ipaf Festival SA L7 Craft Beer SA	
2018	10-19 February	Nature doesn't need us: We need nature	20	80	XO Events BAZ-ART Ipaf Festival SA L7 Craft Beer SA IPAF Festival 5 Wolves no Pigs	
2019	9 - 17 February	GENERATION NEXT: EDUCATE, COLLABORATE, EMPOWER			BAZ-ART Ipaf Festival SA L7 Craft Beer SA	Flanders Southern Africa Baz-Art XO Events Paintsmiths Group I Support Street Art Ekse Lens The City of Cape Town

Social Media Coding Table - Johannesburg Data

TWITTER

Tweet Number	Date		Image ?	Content of image	User type	Content of tweet	Link to	Engagement			Notes
	Month	Year						Reply	Retweet	Like	
1	July	2018	N	-	AmbitAriel	Jozi Style video	n/a	0	5	5	Video
2	Oct	2019	Y	Artwork and bus	Government	S-Bend mural / event kick off	n/a	1	1	3	

3	Jan	2019	Y	Trainstation	AmbitAriel	Transport/Johannesburg	n/a	0	10	6	
4	April	2019	Y	Art Tours	Citizen	Art My Jozi Retweet	n/a	0	2	4	
5	May	2019	Y	Children workshops	ReCreation SpaceSA	Recreation children workshop	n/a	0	1	1	
6	Dec	2019	Y	Artworks	Rea Vaya	Art My Jozi Retweet	n/a	0	3	7	
7	Oct	2019	Y	Artworks	Government	S-Bend Mural artworks	n/a	0	5	20	
8	Apr	2018	N	-	Citizen	Media Day for ArtMyJozi	n/a	0	2	0	Link to Instagram video
9	Jul	2019	Y	Artworks	Citizen	Media Day for ArtMyJozi	Facebook	0	1	2	
10	April	2019	Y	Artworks	Citizen	Call for residents		0	4	3	Tagged CojDevP Laning
11	Jun	2018	Y	Call	Ideal Concepts Media	Youth Day Event		0	3	1	Tagged ArtMyJoz i
12	Jun	2018	Y	Photograph	Better Joburg	Spark Gallery Performances		0	0	0	Better joburg link
13	Jun	2018	Y	Photographs	Citizen/musician	Spark Gallery Performances		0	0	0	
14	Oct	2019	Y	Artists	Citizen	Louis Botha S-Bend Mural		0	1	1	
15	Dec	2019	Y	Artwork	Micro-Adventure Tours	Explore street art in your city		0	0	0	
16	Apr	2019	Y	Artwork and Call	Citizen	Open Streets Auckland Park		0	0	0	
17	Oct	2019	Y	Photograph	Government	ArtMyJozi Media Day		0	3	8	
18	May	2019	Y	Photograph	Citizen	Invalid tag		0	1	2	
19	Oct	2019	Y	Photograph	Citizen	ArtMyJozi Media Day		0	0	2	
20	Dec	2019	N	-	Citizen	2 Summers blog Link for S-Bend Mural Write up		0	0	0	City of Joburg
21	Jul	2019	Y	Artwork	Pipeline Art Gallery	Coffee painting by artist		1	0	3	
22	Apr	2018	N	-	Citizen		Instagram link	0	0	1	

23	Dec	2018	Y	Photograph	Accountability lab South Africa	Invalid tag					
24	Oct	2019	Y	Photograph	Government	Transport & Art My Jozi Tour		0	3	3	
25	Apr	2019	Y	Photograph	Citizen	Exhibition at Roving Bantu Kitchen		0	0	0	
26	May	2018	Y	Call for Audition	Walk My Jozi	Brixton Call		0	0	1	
27	Apr	2019	N	-	Citizen	Art My Jozi Work		0	0	0	
28	Sep	2019	N	-	Citizen	Heritage Day		0	1	2	
29	Dec	2019	N	-	Citizen	Art My Jozi project involvement		0	0	1	
30	Apr	2019	Y	Art My Jozi Interview Photographs	702	Trinity Sessions interview with Stephen Hobbs		0	0	1	
31	Nov	2018	N	-	Blasting Tools	Using sandblasting process for artwork creation	Facebook link	0	0	0	
32	Apr	2018	Y	Call	Walk My Jozi	Insta Photo Challenge call		0	2	4	
33	Jun	2018	Y	Article Link	Better Joburg	Spark Gallery article	Better Joburg Article link	0	0	0	
34	Dec	2018	N	-	Citizen Reply to betterlab South Africa	Invalid tag					
35	Oct	2018	N	-	Plan & Use Group	Reply / Love my City		1	0	1	
36	Aug	2019	N	-	Past Experiences	Louis Botha Mural	Instagram link	0	0	2	
37	Jun	2018	N	-	Citizen	Orange Grove Art	Instagram Link	0	0	0	
38	Apr	2019	N	-	Roving bantu kitchen	Brixton event	Instagram Link	0	0	0	
39	Apr	2019	N	-	Roving bantu kitchen	Brixton event recap	Instagram Link	0	0	0	
40	Oct	2019	N	-	Plan & Use Group	Reply / Love my City		0	0	1	

41	Nov	2018	N	-	Blasting Tools	Using sandblasting process for artwork creation	Facebook link	0	0	0	
42	May	2018	N	-	I was shot in Joburg	JDA Walks	-	0	0	2	
43	Apr	2018	N	-	I was shot in Joburg	JDA Walks reply	-	0	0	1	
44	Oct	2019	N	-	Citizen	Event reply		0	0	1	
45	Oct	2019	N	-	Government	Reply		0	0	2	
46	May	2019	N	-	Diversity Property	Acknowledgement of Art My Jozi Project		0	1	0	
47	Aug	2019	N	-	Past Experiences	Missing Brenda Fassie Statue		2	1	0	
48	Oct	2018	N	-	Creative Feel	Art My Jozi Project	Creative Feel link	0	0	0	
49	Oct	2018	N	-	Creative Feel	JDA	Creative Feel link	0	0	0	
50	Oct	2018	N	-	Creative Feel	Art My Jozi Project	Creative Feel link	0	0	0	

Tweets with images: 24

Content of Images	Salience
Artwork	7
Artist	1
Photograph	9
Call	6

Tweets with Facebook links: 3

Content of Links	Salience
Facebook posts	3

Tweets with links to articles: 4

Author	Salience
Creative Feel	3
Better Joburg	1

Tweets with links to Instagram: 4

These Tweets were mainly private citizens or artists tweeting a link to one of their personal Instagram posts. Very few accounts were public.

Timing of Tweets

(Note that the Art My Jozi Media Day took place in 2019)

Year	Salience
2019	29
2018	17

(Invalid tweets: 3)

Content Themes in Sample

Theme of Tweet (Category 1)	Collective Theme (Category 2)
Jozi Style Video	Generating Event Awareness
S-Bend/Louis Both Mural	
Transport	
Media Day for Art My Jozi	
Youth Day Event	
Spark Gallery Performance	
Bantu Kitchen Event	
Brixton	
Interviews/ Articles	
ArtMyJozi Retweet / Reply	Engagement
Call for Residents/ Artists	
Explore Street Art	Publicity
JDA Walks	
Government	