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Art's Dialectical Role in Urban Social Struggles

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Much has been written about how cities are central to the spatial development of neoliberalism, where the macro-politics of globalizing economies make and unmake landscapes and architectures within which the micro-politics of many millions of people's day-to-day existences are lived out (Lefebvre 1968, 1974, 2000, 2003; Harvey 2006, 2012; Sennett 1994; Tonkiss 2005). As a response to this urban experience, identified as deeply segregated urban landscapes and social inequality, a growing urban resistance has also become visible features of urban life (Purcell 2008).

Urban art has long been discussed for toning down urban anxieties, boosting the economic environment of post-industrial cities, energizing communities and neighborhoods, and enforce policies for new urban planning (Rich 2019; Zukin, 1987; 1995). Although the relationship between art and power is multifaceted, art and artists' image as a malign force of the neoliberal urban landscape. There is a pressing need to challenge the dominant arguments that reduce the complex and contradictory role of art to a straightforward phenomenon in a continuously evolving urbanism. While the aesthetic reconstruction on urban space has an essential role in producing and reinforcing socio-spatial divides, the anti-hegemonic struggle tries to reconnect the fragmented subjects through shared aesthetics that reframes the apprehension of to whom urban space belongs. Art is in the middle of this contestation for the aestheticization of the urban space—as a tool to both reinforce and resist it.

Art has a long story of standing at the forefront of movements for social justice and social change. Last decade, the role that the urban space plays in the construction and communication of urban struggles has been well demonstrated and the artistic field has become more visible in the moment of accelerated urbanization and urban social movements. Therefore, arts in urban space have been receiving more and more critical responses. However, while a myriad of topics are discussed on the neoliberal urban impact of social realities on the social perceptions within the milieu of divided and segmented urban space, much less is understood about the impact of new social realities on social perceptions of urban creativity vis-a-vis urban social struggles.

In recent years, we have witnessed that the urban social struggles have shown very diverse rebellious creative activities and subversive visual representations that

changed the definitions of political agency and public responsibility in an increasingly divided and unjust urban public sphere—all the while art's function in the politics of the public space revealed its intimate relationship with the visual memory of the society. Art's relationship with social struggles has a broad scope from a clear "right to the city" aspiration with its ecological, spatial and ideological agenda, as well as individual and collective freedoms.

Art had an essential part during the Egyptian and Tunisian revolution (Abaza 2012), Spanish Indignados (Ramírez Blanco 2018), the Greek Aganaktismenoi movement (Tsilimpoudini 2016), and the Gezi Uprising (Tunali 2018). It is even argued that the civil war in Syria is triggered by a graffiti work in Dara'a (Asher-Shapiro 2016). Recently, the Black Lives Matter movement leaves its mark in the urban space with street murals in nearly 550 places across the US. However, most research related to the arts in social resistance, both from a social science perspective and from a community arts perspective, tends to emphasize the therapeutic, unitary, or reconciliatory attributes of art, paying attention to how art contributes to ease tensions between communities and city authorities. Although such criticism for socially engaged art and community art is sound, it undermines art's capacities of struggle and antagonism, of contestation and re-appropriation that emerge through the creation of common and shared spaces for socialization, mobilization, and political action

This special issue aims to understand how we can interpret the relationship of various forms of urban creativity to urban social struggles from the perspective of subcultures, freedom of expression, community participation, sustainable environment and social and spatial justice. The articles and essays seek to reveal the potential of art in the critically reflecting formation of agonistic experience that constitutes democratic political culture in the urban space. They discuss the construction of the counter aesthetics in the neoliberal urban space and capture not only how art declares itself about social struggles but also how it functions in these very struggles. And they seek answers to questions such as: What kind of urban public should critical art try to constitute and what kind of public spaces are needed to that effect?

Rebellious artists have always engaged with issues of oppression and exploitation–by-products of colonialist and capitalist systems–throughout history from slavery and resource extraction; to exploitative labor practices and the environmental consequences of industrialization; and human rights movements and climate change anxieties of the past century. Art that takes place in urban struggles are not about igniting a change but are about creating unmediated spaces and instances of emancipated subjects. The authors in this issue analyze various forms of art within economic, cultural and social urban contexts to shed light on the complexity of modern urban life and struggles for more just cities.

The issue opens with Philipp Shadner's discussion of the 1970s punk movement, which not only questioned and provoked aesthetic values but also has had a major influence on the multitude of styles of urban art until the present. Shadner gives us insights into the history of the punk movement, the symbols and slogans punks used and still use not only for tagging urban spaces, but also put temporarily or permanently on their skins and/or their clothes to create a visual struggle against the conformist mainstream society. Arthur Crucq's article analyses the social and political role of collaboratory art in an urban community in The Hague, Netherlands. Using examples of textile installations, Crucq's discussion centers on recognizing community art projects as autonomous platforms for the development of political agency in the urban space. Jeni Peake looks at street art activism from the perspective of linguistics. Peake explores English graffiti found in urban spaces in the city of Bordeaux, France. With a large number of the graffiti examples adhering to many themes of social struggle, Peake's article seeks to establish to what extent the use of English could be understood as a political or at least rebellious and creative act. Angelos Evangelidis examines the political posters on the walls of the streets in Athens that worked as both a visual and political platform for the anti-austerity movement in Greece (2010-2015). Furthermore, Evangelinidis' literature review shows that the dialectical relationship between urban space and visual practice is the key to map the process of art's role in social struggles.

Jenna Altamonte's essay is concerned with street activism in 2015, 2017 and 2018 surrounding the Venice art biennale and architecture biennale. Altamonte discusses how the protestors used streets, sidewalks and docks around the Biennial pavilions to protest human rights abuses, climate change, government corruption and neoliberal restructuring of the urban space. Mathilde Vignau introduces her current field research in Toulon in France that challenges the dominant discourses on the role of culture and creativity on local economic development and urban attractiveness. Vignau's perspective offers to look at art and gentrification in this city from the perspective of "institutional creativity" rather than "creative city" discourses. This perspective allows us to notice how urban creativity also partakes in current urban struggles - in this case of the social struggle for sustainable development in Chalucet neighbourhood in Toulon.

The invited researchers from the University of St Thomas in St Paul, Minnesota belong to the Urban Art Mapping research group. Their current research maps the anti-racist street art in the twin cities—St Paul and Minnesota—that developed as a visual uprising after George Floyd's death at the hands of the Minneapolis police. Their research shows, how, in the context of this intense crisis, street art transforms urban space and fosters a sustained political dialogue, reaching a wide audience and making change possible. We propose that protest art in each of the three neighborhoods under examination varies in aesthetics and content. In addition, this paper argues that these differences can be attributed to a number of factors having to do with the demographic characteristics of each neighborhood, the experiences of neighborhood residents and their relationship to the art, and the political realities and challenges each neighborhood faces.

The issue finalizes with Alla Myzelev's interview with Marine Tanguy. Marine Tanguy is an art entrepreneur and founder of MTArt Agency that helps artists negotiate public projects. The interview with Tanguy is centered around the discussion of creating the language that helps both artists and those in charge of commissioning for the public good understand each other. Tanguy's art agency is interested in pushing and furthering neo-liberal urban aesthetics that is currently very prevalent in larger cities by commissioning projects that deal with social struggles as a way of whitewashing the deep-seated issues of unequal distribution of resources that are embedded in cities such as London or New York. The interview presents us with the insider views from the commercial art world to see art's role as both a resource and resistance in the changing neoliberal urban landscape.

Perhaps now it is more pressing than ever to acknowledge, examine, and reflect upon both historic and perpetuating inequalities in urban social life. It is imperative now to talk about art and its involvement with urban struggles as pertaining to the re-creation rather than the consumption of the city. Therefore, this special issue's contributors engage in key areas of the socio-political relationships with new urban poetry--what the reconfiguration of difference, equality, and equity entails at present moment in the urban space for art and artists. This issue further aims to construct bridges between the contemporary practices of art for the urban public and the critiques of the city generated in disciplines such as urban sociology and human geography, informed by critical theories of urbanism, society and culture.

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Street Rebels with a Cause:
Punks and Their Influence on Forms of Artistic Protest

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Abstract
The social movements and protest initiatives of the 1970s, especially the punk movement not only questioned and provoked aesthetic values but also has a major influence on the multitude styles of the street and urban art until the present. Since early punks gathered in the streets, squares or parks of London, and other cities in Europe or the U.S., they use their bodies as canvases to express creativity as well as a form of resistance and direct channel of communication. The aim of this article is to show that punks were participants in the rebel streets as individuals and collective counterparts of mainstream society not only because of their scepsis about the status quo of societal norms and aesthetical ideologies but also through maintaining influence on various forms of artistic protest in the urban space.

Keywords: body art/modification, punk, aesthetic protest, street art, zines

Introduction
One of the most rebellious social movements, which can be traced back to the early and mid-1970s in various urban spaces and still has an ongoing influence on different art styles, is the punk movement. This article will give insights into the beginning of the punk scene, the symbols and slogans punks used not only for tagging urban spaces, but also put temporarily or permanently on their skins and/or their clothes to confront mainstream society through their visual appearance. The participants within this counter-movement were described in various media reports as depraved or vicious because of the societal negation of mainstream values that horrified most of the common people and the various radical forms of protest against the ideologies or aesthetics of previous subcultural movements (i.e the teddy boys, the mods, the zoot suiters or the hippies). (Baumann, 2007; Blake et al., 2006; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Lentini, 2003; Reinecke, 2012; Roberts and Moore, 2009; Rubin et al., 1988; Wojcik, 1995).

The discussion of this essay concentrates on the amalgamation of the punk scene with art styles like music, fashion or literature. For example, the role of influential bands, boutique owners or zines for various ways of resistance by so-called "second class citizens" against the values of the dominant society and their participation in political mobilization networks. This article also discusses how street artists such as Hugo Kaagman, Shepard Fairey, Banksy or Jilly Ballistic are influenced by the punk attitude and the DIY credo or how they use the characteristic aesthetics. One of the major initial points for the punk movement to fetch public awareness globally, was on November 6, 1975, when the British band *Sex Pistols* (fig. 1) played their first gig in the St. Martin's School of Art. Although this recital was broken off after a couple of songs due to the chaotic behavior of the musicians (Blake et al., 2006; Brake, 1985).[1]

1 - In the same year and before the New York City music club CBGB was the hub for the punk movement in the U.S., where bands like the Dead Boys or the Ramones played their first shows (cf. Blake et al., 2006; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Roberts and Moore, 2009). The so-called proto-punk bands MC5, Iggy & The Stooges or the New York Dolls started some years before in the U.S. and moved to London in 1972; together with Andy Warhol and the Situationist Art Network they had a major influence on the punk movement in Europe (Blake et al., 2006; Brake, 1985; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Lentini, 2003; Wojcik, 1995).

Fig. 1 - The original line-up of the *Sex Pistols*. Left to right: Johnny Rotten, Steve Jones, Glen Matlock and Paul Cook (https://findery.com/heather/notes/november-6-1975-sex-pistols-play-their-first-gig - accessed on August 18, 2020).

The last mentioned venue illustrates the connection between art and punk. It also exposes a concert poster that mentions the *Sex Pistols* as a support band (fig. 2), reveals the early punk aesthetics and could be seen all around London's public places—especially the boutique *SEX* (fig. 3) of the fashion designer Vivienne Westwood and the visual artist and manager of the Sex Pistols Malcolm McLaren.[2] Furthermore, *London SS*, *The Clash*, *The Damned* or *The Slits* were influential British punk bands from the early years (Blake et al., 2006; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Wojcik, 1995).

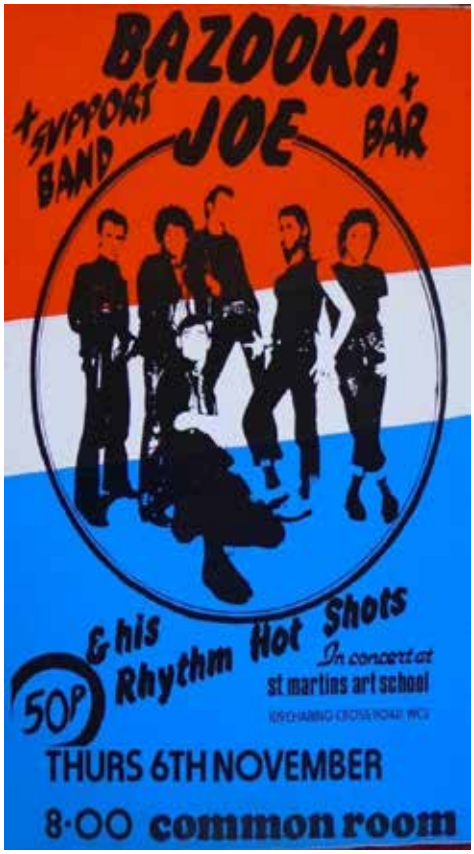


Fig. 2 - The concert poster for *Bazooka Joe & his Rhythm Hot Shots* in St. Martin's Art School (1975), which mentions the *Sex Pistols* as a support band (https://gramho.com/explore-hashtag/theonlyfleamarketthatmatters - accessed on June 20, 2020).

The boutique at 430 King's Road was first opened in the back room of a store called *Mr Freedom* under the name *Let It Rock* in 1971, where teddy boy clothes designed by Westwood were sold. After a gradual shift–to customized biker jackets with studs and chains or black sleeveless T-shirts decorated with motorcycle slogans–the shop was renamed *Too Fast to Live Too Young To Die* two years later and still kept the chief aim to provoke mainstream society with oppressive designs. In 1974, McLaren reopened the shop as a fetish and bondage outlet. Not only its interior changed obviously and was partly covered with graffiti from the *SCUM* (= Society for Cutting Up Men) manifesto but also the name was altered to *SEX* and soon became a famous meeting place for many participants in the movement (Blake et al., 2006; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008). Although McLaren stated that the punk clothing was created by Westwood and for him "it wasn't fashion as a commodity. This was fashion as an idea" (cited in Blake et al., 2006: 87). This boutique, which was renamed *Seditionaries: Clothes For Heroes* in 1976 and is since the late 1980s called *World's End*, was at the same time the starting point for the commercialization of punkish fashion (for example, clothes resp. body art).[3]

The accountant of another famous clothing store and popular gathering point for punks–called *Acme Attractions* at King's Road 135–was Andy Czezowski, who managed *The Damned* and launched one of the first punk venues at 201 Wardour Street in London's Soho, the *Roxy*. Its holders, John Krevine and Steph Raynor, opened the first high-street punk shop, *BOY*, in 1976 and were also the managers of the punk band *Chealsea*. Many early punk bands like the *Buzzcocks*, *The Clash* or *The Unwanted* had a few gigs there before the *Roxy* was closed after 100 days on April 23, 1977. In the same year, *The Votrex* and the *Marquee* were other important locations in London where punks came together and influenced each other in various artistic and aesthetic ways. In front of the last mentioned venues and stores, it frequently happened that participants in the movement drew the public attention on themselves because of their obscene behavior and provocative appearance (Blake et al., 2006; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008).

2 - McLaren described the origin of the name for the Sex Pistols as follows: "Taking their name partly from the shop, SEX, I then added the word Pistols" (cited in Blake et al., 2006: p. 280).

3 - As Wojcik notes that once "the industry of haute couture commodified punk adornment for elite and mass consumption, the outward forms of punk aesthetic lost much of their potential to disturb and infuriate" (1995: 20).

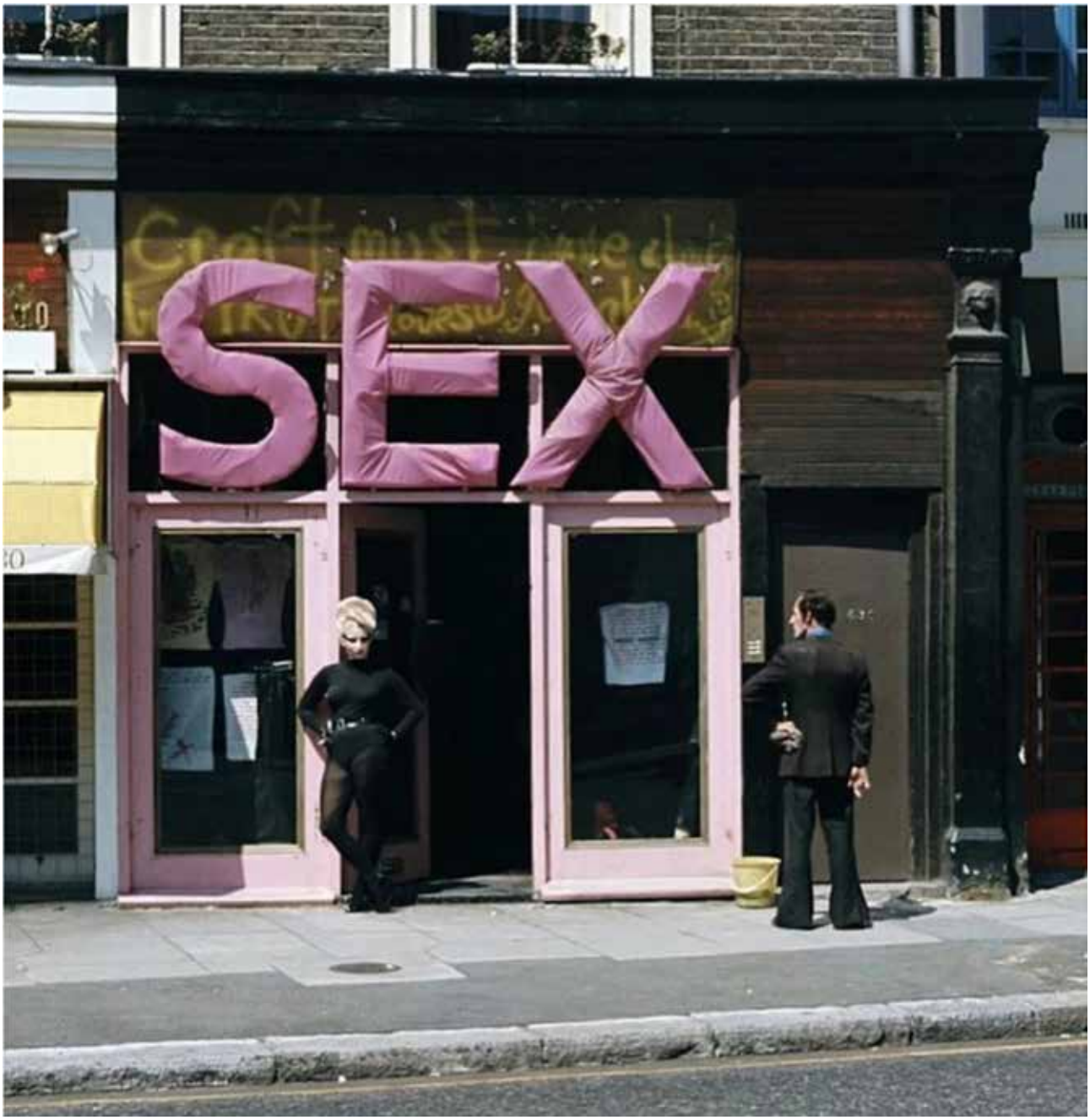


Fig. 3 - The boutique *SEX* at 430 King's Road, London. On the lintel behind the pink rubber letters was sprayed with Thomas Fuller's dictum: "Craft must have clothes but truth loves to go naked" (https://www.reddit.com/r/london/comments/de1x29/sex_kings_road_1976_vivienne_westwood_malcolm/ - accessed on November 9, 2020).

Fig. 4 - A punk sprayed the band name Sex Pistols with a stencil on his jacket (https://mopop.de/storys/rohe-punkrock-energie-zum-lesen-das-buch-hamburg-calling-von-alf-burchardt-und-bernd-jonkmanns-handelt-von-der-wilden-zeit-2531/ - accessed on November 9, 2020).

The punk subculture of the 1970s was characterized by anti-commercialism as well as anti-capitalism and the participants within the movement created not only anti-fashion aesthetics but also an own way to show their individuality and rejection of common fashion ideas and the art industry itself.[4] The characteristic adornment frequently violated political, religious and sexual taboos. As Wojcik points out that not only swastikas and inverted crosses or crossed-out crucifixes were common symbols to horrify rather than to indicate an actual interest but also "deviant connotations were especially evoked by punk use of the entire repertoire of bondage wear and sexual fetishism. [...] This flaunting of a sex shop and sadomasochistic accessories served primarily to shock, threaten, or expose culturally constructed ideas about 'deviancy' rather than to entice" (1995: 19). Although their critique of moral and aesthetic norms has often been reduced as naive or even "primitive," it constituted a critique resp. a refusal of the status quo. Because the concept of art is mainly associated with the traditional relation between patrons and artists, masters and pupils, punks not only threatened cultural boundaries, but also national morals, dominant ideologies. As a consequence, they challenged elitist concepts of what art should be and who could be entitled to create it (Blake et al., 2006; Brake, 1985; Moore, 2010; Reinecke, 2012; Wojcik, 1995; Wroblewski and Ostermann, 1988).

At the beginning of the punk movement, the participants communicated primarily in face-to-face interactions and informal contexts. They cut and styled their own hair and, for example, put band names/logos or song lyrics, provocative iconography or safety pins on their garments (fig. 4) as well as on/in their skin in form of body art/modification (like tattoos or piercings, which was characteristical for the DIY (do-it-yourself) credo.[5] Punks borrowed traditional

4 - Wojcik describes anti-fashion as follows: "A hodgepodge of materials–plastic, plaid, tartan, lurex, nylon mesh, mock zebra, tiger, leopard skin, and even trash bags–was adopted, modified, and paraded on the streets. [...] Any style abandoned by the fashion industry as gaudy, cheap, or passé was embraced and exhibited" (1995: 15).

5 - Wojcik points out that "many punks tattooed themselves or

European and American tattoo motifs but they created also their own unique designs that expressed the characteristic aesthetics. Their tattooing style included not only political symbols (for instance the word anarchy resp. the letter A within a circle, hammer and sickle) but also bats, spiders or spider webs. As Roberts and Moore note, the "DIY ethic states that punks should not be content with being consumers and spectators but instead should become active participants in creating culture by starting their own fan magazines (commonly known as 'zines'), creating their own record labels, starting their own bands, and creating a network of venues for live performance" (2009: 22). The punk style and its attitude flooded throughout the countries because it gave expression to many of the frustrations and concerns of urban youth, for instance the high unemployment rate and a pervasive disposition of desperation and meaninglessness. The punk slogan *No future*, which expresses the sense of hopelessness for the early punk ethos, comes from the *Sex Pistols*' song *God Save the Queen* (1977) and became a global anthem within the scene (Blake et al., 2006; Brake, 1985; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Hahn et al., 1983; Lentini, 2003; Schadner, 2010; Wojcik, 1995).

All over the U.S. and in European urban places various concert posters, tags and graffiti could be seen as well as participants in the movement. Wroblewski and Ostermann have shown that the *Sic Boys Federation* used new forms of the visual arts, for example, performances, and gathered together "at special places –like parks, beaches, cemeteries or garbage dumping grounds—to hold excessive happenings stimulated by drugs and alcohol, events frequently stopped by the police" (1988: n.p.). Brake points out that the punk aesthetics were and still are a form of "what Walter Benjamin called 'shock effect'" (1985: 79) to protest against mainstream society and threaten the social order through provocative slogans (like *No Future*, *No gods* or *No masters*) and nihilistic symbols (for instance pentagrams or skulls) of deviance. Although punk ethos has been characterized as anarchistic and nihilistic, the emphasis on doom and destruction reveals the apocalyptic themes within the movement, which are manifested in band names and lyrics. Since the ethos of destruction and apocalyptic themes were combined with the DIY credo, it started the engine of creativity, boosting the evolvement of new styles of music, writing, and art as general with endless possibilities. The apocalyptic legacy of punk can be traced back to artists, such as Patti Smith or *Iggy Pop* The latter screams in the song *Search and Destroy* (1973): "I'm the runaway son of the nuclear A-bomb –I am the world's forgotten boy –The one who searches and destroys ..." (Brake, 1985; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Schadner, 2010; Wojcik, 1995).

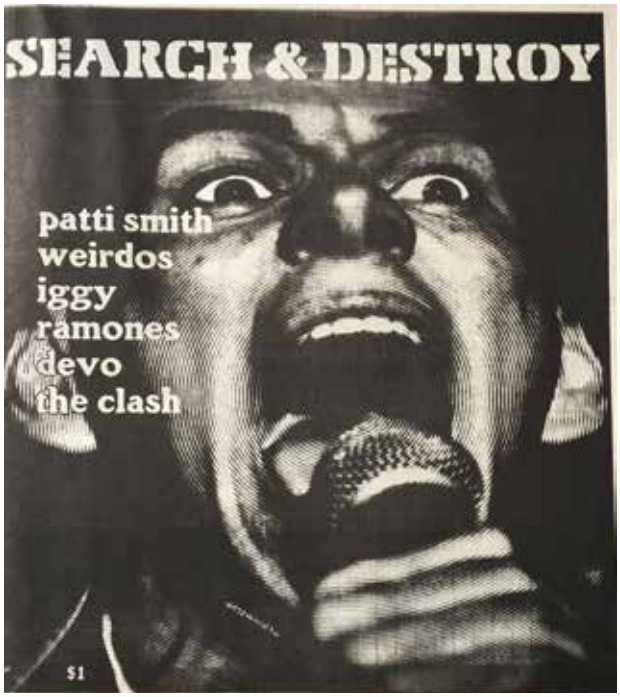


Fig. 5 - The cover of the zine *Search and Destroy* (No. 2) with articles concerning Patti Smith, *Iggy Pop* or *The Clash* (https://www.researchpubs.com/shop/search-destroy-2/ - accessed on June 22, 2020).

Since the mid-1970s zines are an important way to distribute the punk attitude and also a major source for the participants, which include music reviews, interviews, scene reports, and various forms of visual art (flyers or posters for concerts, album covers, etc.). Important examples are *Search and Destroy* (fig. 5) which was edited by Vale Hamanaka aka. V. Vale in 1977 and 1978, *Fallout* or *Sniffin' Glue*.[6]

were tattooed by friends, the result being somewhat crude designs that reflected the punk do-it-yourself ethos and its emphasis on an amateur, unpolished aesthetic" (1995: 17-8).

6-https://blogs.harvard.edu/houghtonmodern/2016/05/05/search-destroy/, accessed May 10, 2020

In 1988, V. Vale published together with Andrea Juno Modern Primitives: Tattoo, Piercing, Scarification. An Investigation of Contemporary Adornment & Ritual, wherein punks found new inspiration for various forms of body art/modification–like the early tattoos from Leo Zulueta, which were inspired by indigenous traditions–as provocative forms for their cultural and aesthetic protest.7 Another well-known zine was *Punk* (fig. 6), which was published between 1976 and 1979 by John Holmstrom, a graduate of the New York School of Visual Arts, the filmmaker Eddie aka. Legs McNeil, and Ged Dunn. As appears from the Figure 6 the author, singer-songwriter and poet Patti Smith, was an influential participant in the punk scene. Already during the early years of the movement, she performed in the New York City music club *CBGB* that was launched on December 10, 1973 by Hilly Kristal in Manhattan's East Village and soon opened the stage for bands like *Television* or *Blondie*. One storefront next to this club became the *CBGB Record Canteen*, a record store and café, which was converted in the late 1980s into an art gallery and second performance space, the *CB's 313 Gallery* (Blake et al., 2006; Brake, 1985; Knight, 2014; Lentini, 2003).[8] Eichhorn points out that "at least in New York the punk scene was, from the outset, deeply entangled with the city's downtown art scene. Punk's visible presence there in the 1970s and early 1980s–the walls of posters and flyers for upcoming shows and events of all kinds that appeared as a result–was a sign of life, of a constantly shifting life force in New York's downtown landscape" (2016: 92). During the beginning and mid-1980s a politicized punk scene formed in San Diego (California, U.S.), where a collective of anarchist punks, students, and activists started to publish the zine

7 - Wojcik notes that, for example, tribal designs "appealed to some punks who valued the bold features, unique patterns, and exotic connotations of ancient tattoo imagery from Borneo, Polynesia, and Micronesia" (1995: 18).

8 - https://www.cbgb.com/about, accessed on May 10, 2020

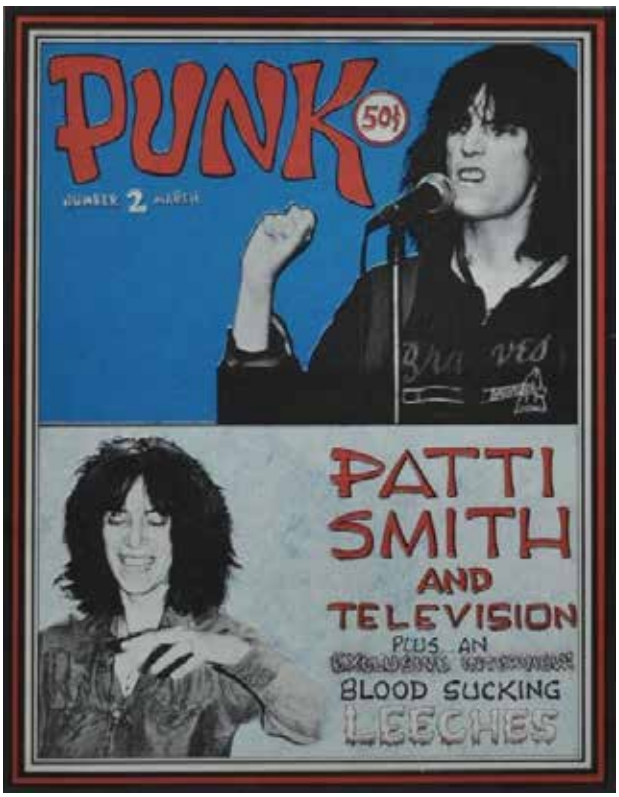
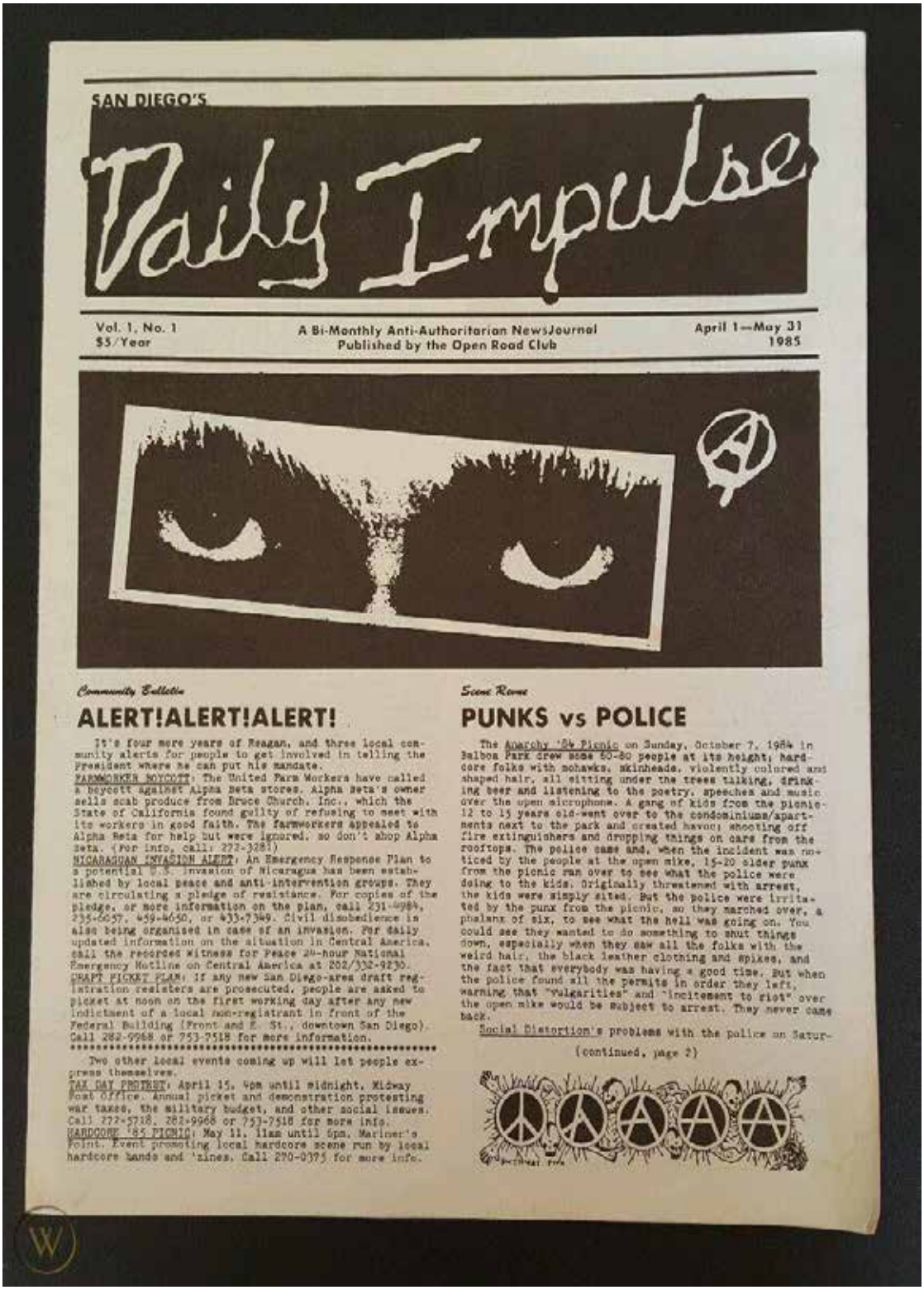


Fig. 6 - The cover of the zine *Punk* (No. 2) which shows Patti Smith (https://www.jp-antiquarian-books.com/john-holmstrom-ed-punk-magazine.html - accessed on June 22, 2020).



SAN DIEGO'S

Daily Impulse

Vol. 1, No. 1
$5/Year

A Bi-Monthly Anti-Authoritarian NewsJournal
Published by the Open Road Club

April 1—May 31
1985

Community Bulletin

ALERT!ALERT!ALERT!

It's four more years of Reagan, and three local community alerts for people to get involved in telling the President where he can put his mandate.

FARMWORKER BOYCOTT: The United Farm Workers have called a boycott against Alpha Beta stores. Alpha Beta's owner sells scab produce from Bruce Church, Inc., which the State of California found guilty of refusing to meet with its workers in good faith. The farmworkers appealed to Alpha Beta for help but were ignored, so don't shop Alpha Beta. (For info, call: 272-3281)

NICARAGUAN INVASION ALERT: An Emergency Response Plan to a potential U.S. invasion of Nicaragua has been established by local peace and anti-intervention groups. They are circulating a pledge of resistance. For copies of the pledge, or more information on the plan, call 231-6984, 234-6657, 459-4650, or 433-7349. Civil disobedience is also being organized in case of an invasion. For daily updated information on the situation in Central America, call the recorded witness for Peace 24-hour National Emergency Hotline on Central America at 202/332-9230.

DRAFT PICKET PLAN: If any new San Diego-area draft registration resisters are prosecuted, people are asked to picket at noon on the first working day after any new indictment of a local non-registrant in front of the Federal Building (Front and E. St., downtown San Diego). Call 282-9968 or 753-7518 for more information.

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Two other local events coming up will let people express themselves.

TAX DAY PROTEST: April 15, 4pm until midnight, Midway Post Office. Annual picket and demonstration protesting war taxes, the military budget, and other social issues. Call 272-5718, 282-9968 or 753-7518 for more info.

HARDCORE '85 PICNIC: May 11, 11am until 6pm, Mariner's Point. Event promoting local hardcore scene run by local hardcore bands and 'zines. Call 270-0375 for more info.

Scene Report

PUNKS vs POLICE

The Anarchy '84 Picnic on Sunday, October 7, 1984 in Balboa Park drew some 50-80 people at its height; hardcore folks with mohawks, skinheads, violently colored and shaped hair, all sitting under the trees talking, drinking beer and listening to the poetry, speeches and music over the open microphone. A gang of kids from the picnic- 12 to 15 years old-went over to the condominium/apartments next to the park and created havoc; shooting off fire extinguishers and dropping things on cars from the rooftops. The police came and, when the incident was noticed by the people at the open mike, 15-20 older punx from the picnic ran over to see what the police were doing to the kids. Originally threatened with arrest, the kids were simply sited. But the police were irritated by the punx from the picnic, so they marched over, a phalanx of six, to see what the hell was going on. You could see they wanted to do something to shut things down, especially when they saw all the folks with the weird hair, the black leather clothing and spikes, and the fact that everybody was having a good time. But when the police found all the permits in order they left, warning that "vulgarities" and "incitement to riot" over the open mike would be subject to arrest. They never came back.

Social Distortion's problems with the police on Satur-

(continued, page 2)

Fig.7 - The cover of the punk zine *San Diego`s Daily Impulse*, No. 1 (https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/vintage-original-punk-zine-daily-1783028535 - accessed on June 24, 2020).

San Diego's Daily Impulse (fig. 7). They combined reviews of the latest punk concerts to reprints of essays written by the American anarchist Emma Goldman. This zine included not only a *Community Bulletin*, which announced upcoming demonstrations and boycotts, and provided contact information for activist groups, bands, and bookstores. It also featured a regular column called *Dealing with Family Life* written by social workers who advised young people about how to cope with various forms of abuse in their families (Moore, 2010; Roberts and Moore, 2009).

Moore outlines that "the political activism surrounding punk and hardcore shares many similarities with what have been called 'new social movements' mobilized around identity and lifestyle. These examples demonstrate that punk's mode of resistance have not been limited to cultural provocation, however, for punks have also periodically engaged in what social movement scholars call resource mobilization, which involves the strategic organization of dissent and political action" (2010: 70).[9] During the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s public postering–with its strong links to art, activism, and the punk movement–was targeted as one of the things (such as other forms of street art) to be limited and finally eliminated by officials all over the world (Blanché, 2016; Eichhorn, 2016; Reinecke, 2012). The great impact of the punk movement and its DIY credo on early graffiti artists already started in the late 1970s, which can be recognized by the cut-out and photocopied letter collages from newspapers. A defining example is the artwork of the LP *Stations of the Crass* (1978) by the British punk band *Crass*, whereby its cover (fig. 8) shows illegal stencil graffiti "in the London Underground, which are regarded as an influential predecessor of Street Art stencils" (Blanché, 2016: 102). The graffiti art scene in Amsterdam started approximately one year earlier and was initiated primarily by Hugo Kaagman. Inspired by the British punk attitude and the DIY credo, he began spraying graffiti in order to display his own ideas and belonging to this subculture. Kaagman lived in a squat at the Sarphatistraat 62 during the Dutch commercial crisis and is seen as one of the pioneers of stencil graffiti (his murals are created with the aid of self-made stencils) and precursor of the street art scene in Europe. In this building various galleries were settled along its occupation and everyone with artistic aspirations could find a place to create and show their work. People were welcome to write or spray all sorts of provocative slogans on the walls. One gallery was named *ANUS* (fig. 9), which became the operating base for both graffiti artists and/or graffiti Vandals.

In contrast to other countries and due to Kaagman, graffiti and punk are closely associated in the Netherlands as well as street arts became an essential part of the punk movement in Amsterdam. Kaagman organized the *Grand Prix du Graffiti* in 1978, when Ivar Vičs aka. *Dr. Rat* won the first prize. Ssoon afterwards, this event became hugely popular. One year before Kaagman already started to print and publish the well-known zine *KoeCrandt* (e.g., *Koekrand*, *Koekrant*, *KoeCrand*) (fig. 10) when he and the second publisher, ex Rietveld Academy student Diana Ozon, operated under the monikers *Amarillo* and *Gretchen Gestapo*. Later Ludwig Wisch, Kristian Kanstadt and *Dr. Rat* joined the zine. It featured collages, poems by *Gretchen Gestapo*, comics by *Amarillo*, drawings by *Dr. Rat*, reviews of concerts, and disturbances caused by participants in the scene. As demonstrated (Blanché, 2016; Müller, 2017; Reinecke, 2012) one similarity between punks and street artists is their usage of zines, which were exchanged by participants or dispatched for small amounts. Early examples in the street art scene are *Copy Spam* or *Dirty Soup* (Skov, 2018).10

One of the popular street artists, who has his roots in the punk movement, is Shepard Fairey. As a teenager, he already listened to bands such as the *Sex Pistols* or *The Clash* and because it was difficult for him to purchase punk merchandise, he began in 1984 to create t-shirts and stickers by using stencil spraying and afterwards silk screen-printing. In 1988, Fairey started to study at the Rhode Island School of Design in Rhode Island. One year later, his street art campaign *Obey Giant* was initiated with the motif *Andre the Giant has a posse*, which was a parody of propaganda and as Fairey stated "the concept behind 'Obey' is to provoke people who typically complain about life's circumstances but follow the path of least resistance, to have to confront their own obedience. "Obey" is very

9 - Roberts and Moore have shown that punk "can be considered both as a social movement in its own right, and as a movement that made links to other social movements, rather than merely an instrument used by an external movement like White Power" (2009: 24).

10 - https://www.ox-fanzine.de/interview/punk-im-graffiti-1289, accessed on July 10, 2020

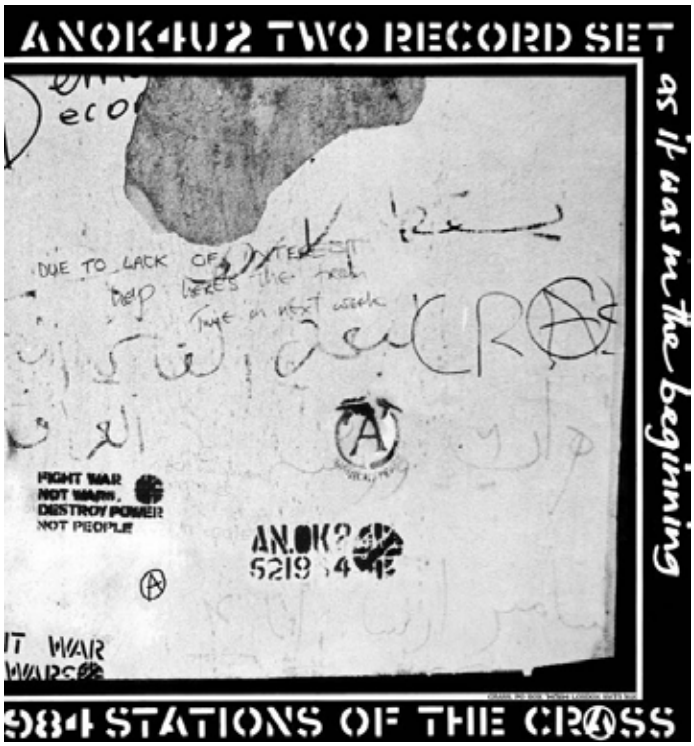

Fig. 8 - The LP cover of *Stations of the Crass* by the British punk band *Crass* (1979) shows tags and stencil graffiti (https://crass.bandcamp.com/album/stations-of-the-crass - accessed on June 23, 2020).

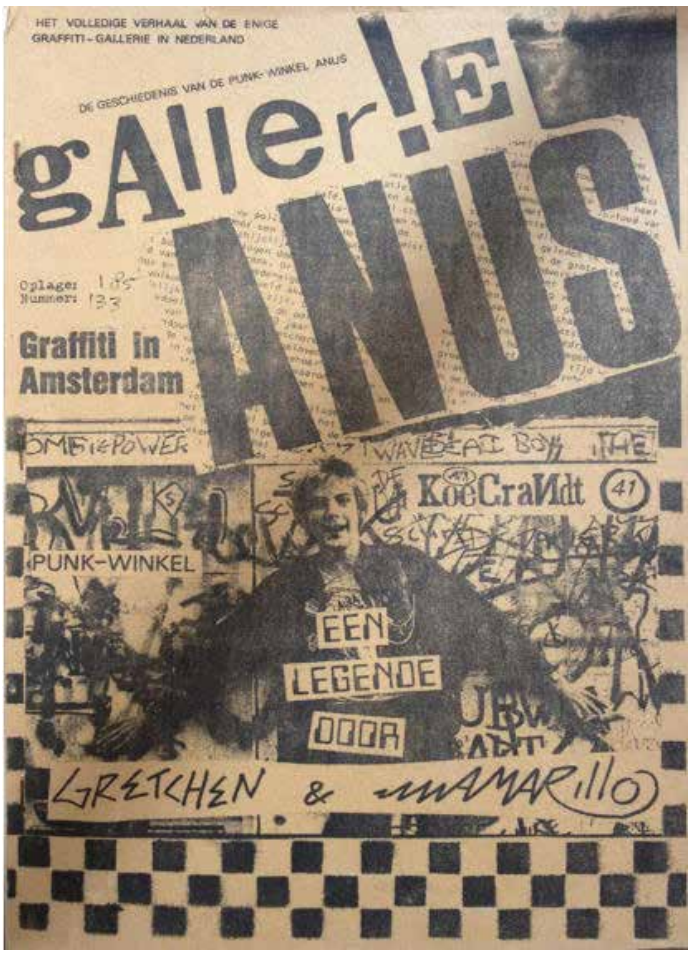

Fig. 9 - The graffiti gallery *ANUS* was in a punk squat in Amsterdam, 1979 (http://www.kaagman.nl/index%20f.htm - accessed on October 26, 2020).

Fig. 10 - Various covers of the zine *KoeCrandt*, which featured comics by Hugo Kaagman (aka. *Amarillo*) poems by Diana Ozon (aka. *Gretchen Gestapo*), reviews of concerts or street art scene reports.https://www.lotsearch.de/images/auktion/zwig-gelaarauctions.nl/20190530_144814/024488.jpg - accessed on October 24, 2020. Public domain.

sarcastic, a form of reverse psychology" (cited in Reinecke, 2012: 55). Between 1989 and 1996, Fairey produced over a million stickers in the DIY manner and the ones he did not use, were sent to skateboard magazines and punk zines which ordered them at cost price. Nowadays, various forms of Fairey's iconographic motif of *Andre the Giant* (stage name of the professional wrestler André René Roussimoff) can be seen all around the world not only in form of stickers, posters, and stencil graffiti in public locations, but also imprinted on skateboards, t-shirts or other products (Blanché, 2016; Müller, 2017; Reinecke, 2012).

The punk iconography and a critique–on the commercialization and the development of this movement is also a part of various works of the street and urban artist *Banksy*, which can be recognized by the large-scale stencil graffito *IKEA Punk* in the South London area Croydon. Blanché points out that the do-it-yourself attitude is in this case limited to the "use of self-assembly instructions –in the same way that DIY is also typical for IKEA. Instead of spraying left-punk slogans like "Smash the system" on the street, this pseudo-punk buys a kit at IKEA" (2016: 102).

Jilly Ballistic is another street artist who gets inspired by the punk aesthetics (fig. 12) and anti-capitalism (fig. 13). She describes herself as New York City's most well-known unknown street and subway artist. *Ballistic* is also famous for terrorizing Hollywood's movie posters with charming wit and adding her infinite knowledge as *Policy Advisories* to the cannon of idioms, as well as celebrating the 100th Anniversary of Chemical Warfare and War Culture by pasting historical images to site specific locations. In the issue 17 of the journal *1985*, she was interviewed by the director Nadia Szold, where she said that doing street art was extremely addictive. She also said that she just loved the process and that there was just so much reward; the reward of finding the right spot, the right materials, doing it at the right time. Ballistic points out that if you are a fan

Fig. 13 - Ballistic captions this piece as follows: “The many cases against McDonalds (at Greenpoint Ave. Queens bound G. https://jillyballistic.tumblr.com/page/3 - accessed on June 28, 2020. Public domain.

of street art, which is also part of the thrill, you go hunting for it. But you have to look for it, that is part of the reward to come across stuff that somebody, for some reason, did.[11]

Conclusion

This article discussed that early participants in the punk movement were street rebels with a cause and used various forms of artistic expressions, such as music (provocative band names and song titles/lyrics) or body art/modification (clothes, tattoos with nihilistic and anarchistic symbols/ slogans, etc.) as a way to protest against mainstream values, commercialism, and capitalism. Using the example of visual arts (illustrated by, e.g., posters or zine and album covers), it was shown that street–and urban–artists like Hugo Kaagman, Shepard Fairey, Banksy, and Jilly Ballistic were and are still influenced by the punk attitude –the characteristic aesthetic and the DIY credo.

11 - http://www.1985artists.com/artist/jilly-ballistic, accessed on June 30, 2020; http://www.streetmuseumofart.org/ jilly-ballistic, accessed on June 30, 2020

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Space, Place and the Imagined Urban Community: Sara Vrugt's Textile Installations

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Abstract
In this article, the social and aesthetical potential of community art will be addressed from the perspective of how space, place and community relate to material manifestations within urban community art projects. As a case study two installation works by Dutch artist Sara Vrugt will be discussed. Since 2010, Vrugt, an autonomous artist originally trained in the textile arts, has developed a number of community art projects in which she does not refrain from addressing societal issues. Her textiles installation Look at You 05, addressed self-representation through social media. This work was embroidered by two-hundred people from a local community in The Hague over the course of three months and was shaped into an installation in the form of a four-meter-high elongated embroidery of abstractions of social media profile pictures, which was folded into a spiral to create a spatial structure through which the viewers could walk and watch the work as it were unfold. Vrugt's latest project 100.000 trees concerns climate change and is another embroidery installation work containing one-hundred embraided trees that were composed in four different pop-up studios. The embraided trees in the work refer to the one-hundred thousand trees that as part of the project will actually be planted. I will approach both these installations from a notion, derived from Gottfried Semper, of weaving as the primordial craft, which underlies the creation of spatial surface and thereby that of architectural space as well as place. I will argue these works provide a place for the community members in which their collective effort manifest through the work's embroidered surface: a surface that creates both a space and place for community members as viewers, makers, and active participants within the spatial and social relations in the community to which they belong and to which the artwork relates.

Keywords: Community art, urban community, embroidery installation, artistic participation

Introduction

In the Netherlands, as in other countries, an increasing number of artists work with and for local communities within so-called community art projects (Klaver 2012, 8-9). In this article I will discuss two of such projects by Sara Vrugt: the embroidery installation work Look at You 05, which was made together with local community members in The Hague in 2012, and 100.000 trees that concerns with climate change and deforesting, and was made with the help of participants in four different pop-up studios in the Netherlands in 2020.

Sara Vrugt is a Dutch artist originally trained in the textile arts, who considers herself mainly as an autonomous artist but whose works often came forth from projects that can be regarded as community art. What makes her works so intriguing, is that besides being the product of a community effort, the embroidery in the form of the installation work also forms a surface in the sense of a space-divider within what can be regarded as an architectural urban space—a space through which one moves and within which the imagery of the hanging embroidery can also address the participant to derive meaning from the aesthetic experience. To show how this is related to the very textile craft by

means of which Vrugt and the participants manufactured the work, I will discuss both installations from a theoretical perspective concerned with the relationship between the textile arts and the creation of architectural space. For that purpose, Gottfried Semper's nineteenth century theory on the elements of architecture appears to be still highly relevant.

The aim of this article is to understand the significance of both installations from a perspective on how space, place and community relate to material manifestations that as it were, emerge from collective physical labour and social processes involved in narration. To arrive at such an understanding of the relationship between social processes and artistic participation, or in other words, the concrete production of an artwork, within what is referred to as a community art project, must be discussed first. I will then discuss both installations by Sara Vrugt, which will be contextualized successively from the perspective of theoretical considerations on space and place. I will finally argue that we can understand Vrugt's textile installations as a meaningful manifestation of a collective physical and manual effort which' traces within the images stitched into the fabric of the embroidery, signifies both subject and community. Furthermore, I will argue that these installations exemplify how through spatial-temporal processes urban space becomes a place.

Community art: between social and artistic participation

The term community art denotes those kind of art projects that are principally collective endeavours although a number of different concepts can be used to denote such projects and they do not always have the same significance.[1] Sara Vrugt's projects often engage in initiating a certain artistic process and the involvement of members of a community, in other words, they are aimed at bringing about a process and to involve participants within that process (Stuiver et al., 2013, 300). This involvement of community members in both a social and artistic process is what sets community art projects apart from the artistic practice of the autonomous artist. Arthur Caris and Gillian Cowell emphasize that in socially committed art, the community involved also should have authorship and authority, which means that the pedagogical role of the artist should be aimed at the "publicness" of the project (Caris & Cowell 2016, 471-472, 477-478). Community art arose partly in rejecting the institutionalized artworld of the late twentieth century, which would have become too elitist and thus exclusive.[2] In the United Kingdom, it was rooted in the radical arts and radical political movements of the late 1960s. This radical and political agenda would largely shape the nature of community art as it evolved in the United Kingdom in the 1970s and 1980s and its objective was often social change (Jeffers 2017, 134). However, Alison Jeffers makes clear that not every project was equally politically driven. The term "participatory arts" is therefore sometimes preferred by artists whose projects also revolve around the involvement of a participatory community but who do not pursue a specific political agenda. Jeffers further explains that participatory arts has been used by institutions for projects that concern promoting and facilitating access to the existing arts for groups that are,

1 - In the Netherlands the term *gemeenschapskunst* literally translates in English as community art, however, *gemeenschapskunst* rather denotes late nineteenth century and early twentieth-century notions on art and architecture as expressing community spirit, or romantic interpretations of medieval art as being made in the service of community such as would have been the case with the Great cathedrals for instance. These large projects were in the German speaking world also referred to as *Gesamtkunstwerk*. After all, they embraced all the individual arts within one big work, an idea that inspired many artists and theorists on art in the nineteenth century. However, both terms have little to do with actual public participation (Maas 2006, 154).

2 - Although community art comes forth from serious concerns about art's role within social and political practices, under financial pressure and dependence on local governmental funding, many projects also quickly accommodated the demands determined by what could be regarded as a populist discourse, which since the beginning of the century gained strength and which in turn was highly influenced by neoliberal austerity policy; a policy no longer based on the so-called "self-evidence" of governmental funding of the arts. See (Jeffers 2017, 142-144). In the Netherlands, the sentiment that art had become too elitist, has been fuelled by politicians and policymakers and they particularly exploited this sentiment in the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008, when in 2010 a right-wing government introduced a harsh austerity policy which affected the arts drastically. The rhetoric with which this policy was promoted was infused by both concerns from the left who plead for more diversity in the arts and wanted art institutes to reach out to new audiences, as well as by the anti-elitist art rhetoric from the nationalist right. Not only was this austerity policy legitimized from these sentiments but also with it came the neo-liberal imperative imposed on artists and institutions to engage in cultural entrepreneurship and to reach out to new audiences such as young people and people with culturally diverse backgrounds. See (Twaalfhoven 2011, 6-13).

for instance, concerned as under-represented within these institutions. In that sense, participatory art connects to what Jeffers refers to as the democratization of culture. In that sense, democratization is by means of participation but not necessarily always in terms of co-producing art, which is the key objective within many community art projects (Jeffers 2017, 135). Since the 1990s, an increasing number of art institutions and artists have been involved in projects that can be called either "community art" or "participatory art", but which are often labelled as community art. Jeffers makes clear that as such, the term "community art" has become too broad and too much connected to projects with all sorts of other social interests rather than an artistic interest towards social change (Jeffers 2017, 137-138).

Besides, the term "community art" has been loaded with ideological connotations and, according to Jeffers, this was another reason that artists wanted to move away from it. Moreover, projects would be increasingly more detached from actual local communities as is also the case with Sara Vrugt's 100.000 trees project. Therefore, the term "participatory art" proved to be more useful and applicable to denote projects not confined to a specific geographical community but who rather engage in temporal communities of individuals drawn to the project who form a "community of interest" (Jeffers & Moriarty 2017, 246; Caris & Cowell 2016, 475). This shift from community to participatory also marks a cultural shift from the collective and politically motivated action of the seventies to projects and programmes, which are rather aimed at the self-development of individuals, or as how Owen Kelly frames it, a move from "class politics (…) towards a politics of identity" (Jeffers & Moriarty 2017, 247). To bring individuals together within an art-project became detached from community development and the fostering of the community's political voice (Matarasso 2011, 216, 226).[3] Owen Kelly points out that for some artists, such as Cathy Mackerras for instance, there is still a clear distinction between participatory art and community art. The latter would be about issues of authorship; questions on who owns the creative ideas, who is expressing whose views. For Mackerras, her involvement in community art is about giving the community the possibility to express their own views (Jeffers & Moriarty 2017, 246; Caris & Cowell 2016, 478).

As stated above, the development of what now is called community art cannot be seen separately from the move away from the traditional art institute.[4] Although many of the once anti-elitist art movements from the twentieth century had become elitist themselves, the powerful potential of some of their artistic strategies, were adopted by activist artists and artists working within the community and could still be used successfully. For instance, the Happenings of the late 1950s and the 1960s also revolved around the process and the participation of an audience. They too were initially an artistic strategy to counter the capitalist art market with its emphasis on objects and sales, an emphasis which would have alienated ordinary people from the realm of art, people who could no longer be referred to exclusively as "viewers". If present in Happenings, objects rather functioned as temporal props and would have had no lasting value after the Happening (Drucker 1993, 51).[5]

3 - Alison Jeffers also recognizes in community arts a move from 'the politics of class' to a 'politics of identity'. (Jeffers 2017, 139). This can be regarded as being analogous to the move from community to individuality as recognized by Matarasso taken into account that communities were traditionally often shaped by class, especially in Britain, while identities are constructs to which individuals can relate regardless of the physical proximity of a community. Owen Kelly points to the fact that issues of class in the United Kingdom have moved down the political agenda since the 1970s (Jeffers & Moriarty 2017, 246).

4 - In the second half of the century the influence of popular culture on the art world increased significantly. See (Witkin 2003, 30-32). Elements of popular culture were absorbed by artists and found their way to the institutionalized artworld in the form of movements such as for instance pop-art. Forms of visual expression that altogether emerged outside the institutionalized art world, such as graffiti, which originated literally on the streets, were soon to be recognized by galleries and museums and were eventually incorporated into the institutionalized art world. See (Murray 2004, 10). Nevertheless, these developments could not prevent that by the end of the century, popular culture in the form of cartoons, films, games, magazines, pop music, video, websites and forms of leisure time activities, had irreversibly undermined the once self-evident authority of traditional art institutes such as museums. Technology has contributed in important ways to this process. When recording equipment became increasingly cheaper and affordable, more and more independent musicians and record labels arose and undermined the dominant position of larger record industries. Similar processes occurred with photography, films, websites. Technology has been the main driving force behind a process in which humans have become increasingly both consumers and producers of cultural content. See (Kelly 2017, 231-233).

5 - Although the traditional sense of a work of art as an object to be

Many projects that are referred to as community art can be regarded as social interventions by artists whose aim is to unravel certain processes and highlight social structures as will become clear in the following sections. Besides, many projects such as for instance Sara Vrugt's Look at you 05, came into being against the background of local government funding. Such funding is often motivated by political concerns for social inclusion of what is referred to as marginalized groups, for instance, people with non-Western cultural backgrounds of which is assumed they have less access to the institutionalized artworld (Jeffers 2017, 149).[6] An important question is therefore also whether incorporating as many people within the artworld as policymakers plead for, is indeed always socially including them, especially within a political climate that tend to stimulate the further commercialization of the art world at the same time. In such a climate, potential art audiences are approached from the same neoliberal perspective as audiences in other fields of the market economy (Jeffers 2017, 151). In other words, it must be questioned to what extent these new groups were really allowed to be included, in the sense that beyond being a visitor in an art institute, their voices were heard as well.

This is an important question because too often politicians and policymakers have argued that art projects should be above all low-profile, accessible and aimed at predefined and calculable "social" targets (Belfiore & Bennett 2006, 8). This call for reaching out to new and larger audiences can have the effect that community art projects indeed become low-profile in terms of accessibility. The latter is often also a demand to assure local governmental funding but it comes with the danger of losing a critical perspective and projects therefore becoming rather unchallenging with regard to form, participatory process and content (Jeffers & Moriarty 2017, 245). The emphasis on the importance of measurable social outcomes can overrule the creative objective of community arts project while in this article it will become clear that it is the active creative participation in the making of the community artwork in particular, which might contribute more to social inclusion as opposed to passive spectatorship, regardless the fact that for institutes the latter might be easier and more opportunistic in terms of reaching higher numbers of visitors (Jeffers 2017, 153).

Look at you 05

The inclusion of participants within many of Sara Vrugt's projects concerns the actual manufacturing of a material work of art, which in both projects discussed here takes place in a workshop, which also becomes a social place where participants meet and where stories can be exchanged. In her project Look at you 05 Sara Vrugt departs from the textile craft of embroidery. To manufacture a work by means of a textile craft appears to be a relevant and appropriate means for Vrugt to include participants in her projects, considering the relative ease of the technique and the scale of the final work, which enables many participants to join the project. Embroidery is related to other textile crafts such as weaving in the sense that both embroidery and weaving essentially concern the connection of fibres to create a spatial surface.

The alternation of different colours of fibres allow the artist to make patterns and images, which in essence endows the two-dimensional surface with the power to represent something. Inspired by how young woman represents themselves today on social media such as Facebook, Vrugt transferred images of these women to the design of the embroidery. Within this design the images of the young women slowly merge with an abstracted version of an image of the retina

The final embroidery would become four metres high and was hung onto a spiral construction by means of which, as it were, an architectural space emerged—a space through which the spectator can move and observe how the embroidery unfolds in the passing-by.

The work on the embroidery was executed by two-hundred-and-fifty volunteers from the local neighbourhood of the Regentessekwartier in the Dutch city of The Hague.[7] It took

displayed no longer necessarily applied, community artists, however, never completely abandoned it. Many projects were concerned with both social processes as well as with creating a concrete work of art. This is also explicitly clear in both projects by Sara Vrugt.

6 - Including new audiences was hardly met with objections by the artworld but one can imagine there were reservations with regard to the underlying motives. These had less to do with social and artistic motives but were mainly financially driven (Jeffers 2017, 134).

7 - The project was partly funded by the municipality of the city of The Hague and produced by contemporary art institute Heden, kunst van nu.

Fig. 1-: Sara Vrugt, Look at you 05, 2012, installation with embroidery, 400 cm. Photo: © Lisa van Wieringen

Fig. 2- Detail of the manufacturing. Photo: © Lisa van Wieringen

Fig. 3- Workshop Heden Hier contemporary art institute with the original design in the background. Photo: © Lisa van Wieringen

Fig. 4- Workshop at Heden Hier Contemporary Art Institute. Photo: © Lisa van Wieringe

three months to make and during the project, ten to fifteen volunteers at the time would work on it, on and off, around a long table on which the embroidery was laid out.

It was at this table that people met, were getting to know each other, where stories were told and where, even though the design of the work was predetermined, each participant with every stitch put something of her- and himself into the work. Besides, they were literally represented in the embroidery. Sara Vrugt made pictures of each participant which she successively embraided into an ornamental band at the bottom of the work.[8]

8 - Vrugt, Sara. "Look at you 05". Vrugt.com. http.vrugt.com/#/look-at-you-05/. (accessed 25 October 2020). To an extent Vrugt's working practice brings to mind the medieval workshop in which craftsmen would anonymously dedicate themselves to something that would last, that to an extent transcends the self. In terms of the final result of the project in the form of a large embroidery it of course also reminds of the narrative medieval embroidery works and tapestries such as that of Bayeux. See Bayeux Museum: Bayeux Museum. "The Bayeux Tapestry". http://www.bayeuxmuseum.com/en/the-bayeux-tapestry/. (accessed 26 October 2020).

The aspect of working around a table while telling each other stories brings to mind the emphasis architect and historian of architecture Gottfried Semper already laid in the nineteenth century on the presumed importance in early cultures of the hearth as the central spot were men would gather and where according to Semper culture would have emerged through storytelling exactly. Semper recognized the significance of a central architectural element such as the hearth and considered it a distinct motive in architecture, which would translate in the course of history into forms such as for instance the altar in temples and churches (Semper 1851, 55-56). Although the embroidery table in Vrugt's project is not comparable to a hearth, it did function as the central element around which stories were told and through which a sense of community could emerge (Stuiver et al 2013, 300-301). From that perspective, the embroidery table was the concrete element that preconditioned the initiation of both the artistic and the social process. In a sense, the social process, the meeting

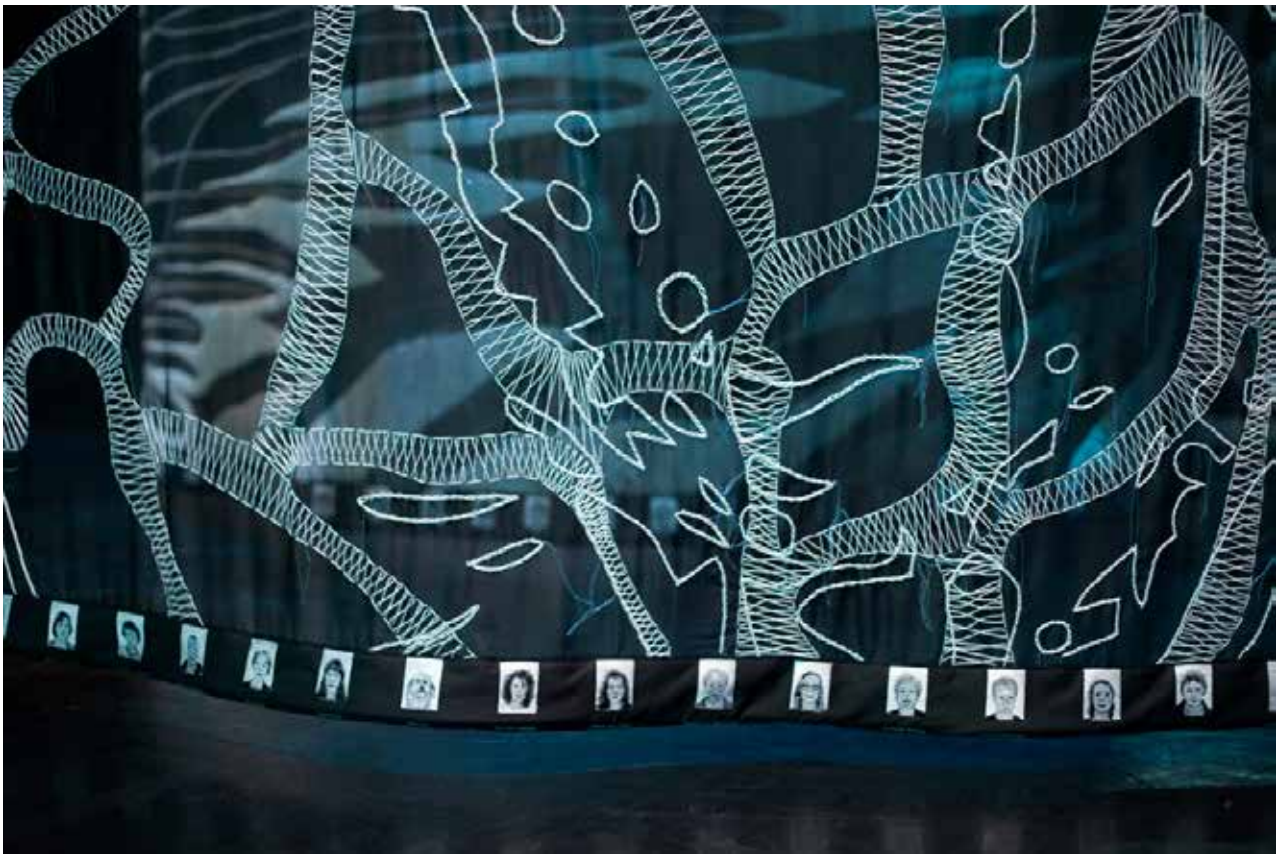

Fig. 5-Sara Vrugt, Look at you 05 (detail of seam), installation with embroidery, 400 cm. Photo: © Lisa van Wieringen

Fig.6- Sara Vrugt, Stitching of the fabric. Photo: © Lisa van Wieringen>

Fig. 7-Sara Vrugt, Look at you 05 (detail with spectators), installation with embroidery, 400 cm. Photo: © Lisa van Wieringen>

of the embroiderers and the stories told at the embroidery table over the course of three months, as well as the events that take place, people shifting place, new people coming in, mismatches in the embroidery etcetera; all that cannot be separated from the artistic process. Firstly, the latter is the very reason why the participants came together in the first place. However, it also translates into the embroidery work as every participant also has its own way of stitching in each part that she or he contributed even though the image of the work itself was predetermined.

This narration in the form of stitches unfolds again as the participants moved through the spatial constellation of the artwork when turned into an installation. In this condition, every stitch in the work is a reference to both the work process and to a specific participant—even though the participant's stitch cannot be traced back to its maker.
The power to represent something, to point to something, to refer to content that is outside the embroidery itself lies not only in the alternation of different coloured fibres by means of which images can appear. Since every stitch to an extent is an index to a maker, the accumulation of stitches indexes the community of embroiderers as a whole and as such becomes a reference to the collective physical labour as it unfolded in space and time, and as it keeps unfolding in space and time in the form of the imagery on the embroidery that hung up within the form of an installation artwork becomes an architectural space within which the spectator can move (Crucq 2018, 99-105). And, as will be discussed later, this active moving through space turns the installation into a place.

100.000 trees

Sara Vrugt's latest project is quite similar to Look at you 05. It again concerns an embroidery work which also will be hung up within a spiral-shaped installation.
This project was carried out in 2020 and in terms of content concerns the relationship between humans and nature, climate change and in particular deforesting. For this project too, Vrugt worked together with participants to make the embroidery. However, in this project the participants were not necessarily bound to a specific geographical location. The workshop in which the embroidery was made was also not located in one specific place as with Look at you

Fig. 8: Sara Vrugt, 100.000 trees and a forest of thread, 2020, model for installation with embroidery, Photo: © Sara Vrugt

Fig. 9- Sara Vrugt, 100.000 trees and a forest of thread (detail), 2020, installation with embroidery, Photo: © Sara Vrugt

05 but moved with each season of the year to a location in respectively The Hague, Amsterdam, Leiden, and Enschede. Although the content of the work is again predetermined by the artist, the imagery appears to leave more room for the participants. As Vrugt indicates on her website, the works she makes together with the participants concern an embroidered forest that will be based on the personal stories of the participants as they will describe their experiences with nature which they will successively stitch into the work in the form of a tree in compliance to how the participant imagines a tree.

The result of the accumulative trees of all the participants will be a forest of embroidered trees, which will be hung up into a spiral shaped construction as was also the case in Look at you 05. The cloth will remain semi-transparent and will therefore form a layered collective forest through which the participants can move. In the seam of the work, which also played a role in Look at you 05, Vrugt will process real plant seeds such that when the work will be permanently installed in the future, it can potentially grow together with its environment. In the meantime, participants and supporters of the project can make a financial donation with which, during the project, an amount of 100.000 real trees will be planted.[9]

As made clear, this project is less concerned with a specific urban community as was the case with Look at you 05, which took place in a destined The Hague neighbourhood although even in The Hague people from outside the neighbourhood were welcome too and not everybody from the neighbourhood of course participated. However, like in Look at you 05, although now even more explicit, it is through the participant's stories that a community is created, so to speak. Moreover, as their personal stories about their experience of nature will be transformed into the imagery of their work, each imaginary tree will not only be an index to a participant's physical effort dedicated to the work, but also an index to this experience exactly. Again, the accumulate forest of all the participant's trees will be an index to the community brought together within this process as a whole, as well as an index to the 100.000 trees that will be planted.

9 - Vrugt, Sara. "Bomen". Vrugt.com. http.vrugt.com/#/bomen/. (accessed 25 October 2020). See also the project website: Vrugt, Sara. "100.000 trees and a threaded forest". http.honderduizenbomen.nl/home/english. (accessed 26 October 2020).

By referring to her project as a forest of thread, Vrugt allows an interpretation of the artwork as a surface of intertwined threads that, through their semantic reference in the form of images of imagined trees, refers back to the origin of human culture in nature. As will become clear with respect to the question of space in the next session, Gottfried Semper had imagined the earliest architectural structures to have emerged from braided sticks, plant fibres and pieces of bark. According to Semper, architectural space emerged when natural materials were used to create a two-dimensional fence by means of which it became possible to demarcate one space from another (Semper 1851, 55-56). What Semper argued and what also becomes manifest in 100.000 trees, owes to these natural materials provided by the forest that as humans we were able to build things. Processed by means of men's physical labour which in turn is fostered by men's cognitive competences, these materials are transformed into a work that, as we can understand from Hannah Arendt's insights on the essence of what makes something a work, becomes a sustainable part of what we call "the world" (Arendt 1998, 136-138). This common world though, remains inextricably linked to its natural origin, no matter how much it evolved.

Although both works discussed clearly emanate from a commitment to that world and can be interpreted as a commentary on that world, the question is whether they are also activists in the sense they serve a political agenda. Vrugt encourages people to act and the works have the power to encourage change. After all, she initiates a process in which the participants not only contribute to the creation of a collective work of art, but also through their stories, collectively weave a social structure. This is certainly the case in the 100.000 trees project in which by means of the planting of the actual trees a real change in the world is made possible. The social process which underlies the creation of the work and which, as it were, through the artistic process becomes manifested in the work therefore gains a matter of permanency. As such, the work is also capable to be an agent of the voices that are less explicit, that does not cry out for attention loudly but voices that call for dialogue. The work then becomes an agent for a variety of voices who nevertheless share a common world.

Space, place and community

At the basis of what in Vrugt's work can be interpreted as "community building through storytelling (be it literal or in the form of embroidering)" lies the literal creation of what can be regarded as an architectural space, which given its creation by means of a technique from the textile arts, allows to be interpreted through Semper's theoretical explanation on the relation between architecture and the textile arts, for Semper weaving in particular, and the emergence of culture through storytelling, for which according to Semper, shelter and protection appeared to be an important condition. Before discussing the relevance of Semper, however, the complex concept of space must be discussed briefly first. It is a concept which has not only been a concern for architects and art—and architecture historians but obviously also for geographers and mathematicians, as well as for instance for philosophers and linguists.

One of the key questions concerns how space is conceived and imagined by humans and how it is experienced in daily life. In the latter sense, space relates to place but they are not the same. Space, for instance, denotes something broader than just geometrical space; as said it is also something imagined. Marian Stuiver et al., explain that beyond the binary view of space as both real measurable space and imagined space, scholars in geography conceptualized space as tri-partite. Space is also shaped by the activities of those that inhabit it. In that sense, space points to place, meaning that place is something constructed in the activities of those that inhabit a space (Stuiver et al. 2013, 302). One could therefore argue that place is performative. While space can be regarded as an abstract structure, place is the way space becomes meaningful through those social and spatial activities. In other words, only through social practice space becomes a place. Because social practice is continuous, place is also continuously re-imagined through that social practice exactly. Tim Creswell makes clear that place as constituted through social and spatial practice has a locality and is material in the sense that it contains concrete stuff such as objects and buildings, which as products are in turn themselves produced through human spatial activity. Imagined places are material too in the sense that, for instance, an imagined place, like a room described in a novel, contains objects such as chairs and tables (Creswell 2004, 7-8). Marian Stuiver et al., explain that different from geographers, the philosopher Michel de Certeau, distinguished place from space akin to how

grammar would relate to spoken language. Place would then be the abstraction of space while space the lived practice of place. Through playing with its abstract structures, for instance in a city where inhabitants navigate the spatial grid of sidewalks and roads using their own distinctive routes, space would then become meaningful space.

Drawing mainly on Edward Soja's concept of 'Thirdspace' Stuiver et al., conclude that space, however, is neither just geometrical, imagined or lived but all of this at the same time and as such multi-layered (Stuiver et al. 2013, 302-303). Soja's concept of "thirdspace" must then be understood as the "simultaneously, real, imagined and lived" (Stuiver et al. 2013, 303). To an extent Semper's theory anticipates this multi-layered notion of space but then from the perspective of his interest in the emergence of architecture, which Semper conceived of as rooted in cultural rituals, and architecture's relation to the decorative arts. Semper was one of the first theorists to emphasize the importance of textiles for architecture in particular and for the history of human culture in general. He thereby implicitly criticized the importance attached to sculpture, painting and architecture, within the then still relatively young discipline of art history. Semper showed how these disciplines were indebted to the textile arts exactly. Although with his theory Semper would not have had an explicit intention to revalue a craft that in his time was mainly regarded as female, his theory did became important for the arguments of later female artists and theorists who published about the role of the textile arts and correspondingly did revalue the textile arts from a feminist perspective in the twentieth century. We can see this, for instance, in both the work and writings of Anni Albers (Fer 2018, 22).

As has already been argued above, an urban community implies the reconstruction of both space and place. In the discussion of Sara Vrugt's embroidery works, the central element of the embroidery table within the temporal workshop around which the participants' stories emerged and took shape, echoes the importance that Semper attributed to storytelling. I made clear that according to Semper culture emerged when members of early civilizations started to tell stories around the hearth, which for Semper was in a symbolic sense the central element of architecture. When humans erected fences around the hearth a demarcated and protected space emerged in which this storytelling could take place. When humans started to use more refined natural fibres that were woven into a cloth that could be suspended from one or more poles, the first architectural structures would have emerged (Semper 1860, 227-231).[10] When following Semper's theory on the elements of architecture it is not surprising that Semper attributed a great significance to weaving. It was the woven cloth that even when later replaced by brick and stone walls, that in the form of hanging carpets, would have remained the "true" space divider although now in a symbolical sense (Semper 1851, 58). Semper came to this insight when he saw the stone panels from the palace of Nineveh at the British Museum.

After all, the decorative patterns of these panels resembled those of carpets. Both the woven patterns and the initial function of the carpet as a space divider were now, as it were represented in a different material (stone) and by means of a different craft (masonry and sculpture). The notion that original patterns of braided surfaces could be translated into other media and materials, prompted Semper to realise that all wall art, such as relief sculpture, tapestry and painting, must have essentially originated from the braided surface. When for reasons of durability the braided surface was replaced by brick and stone walls, this did not end the practice of humans attaching woven, sculpted or painted surfaces to the walls. On the contrary and even though the once abstract patterns from the craft of weaving became increasingly more complex and naturalistic imagery entered the realm of tapestries, reliefs and paintings too, something of the original motif(s) of the hanging cloth as a space divider would according to Semper continued to resonate in all later monumental art (Semper 1851, 59-60).[11] Taking Semper's theory in account, Sara

10 - Semper therefore regarded the tent and not the hut as the oldest form of architecture. Semper, Der Stil, 227-231.

11 - Semper emphasized the connection and interweaving of different fibres which underlies the activity of creating a spatial surface and which relies on the principle of knotting. For Semper,

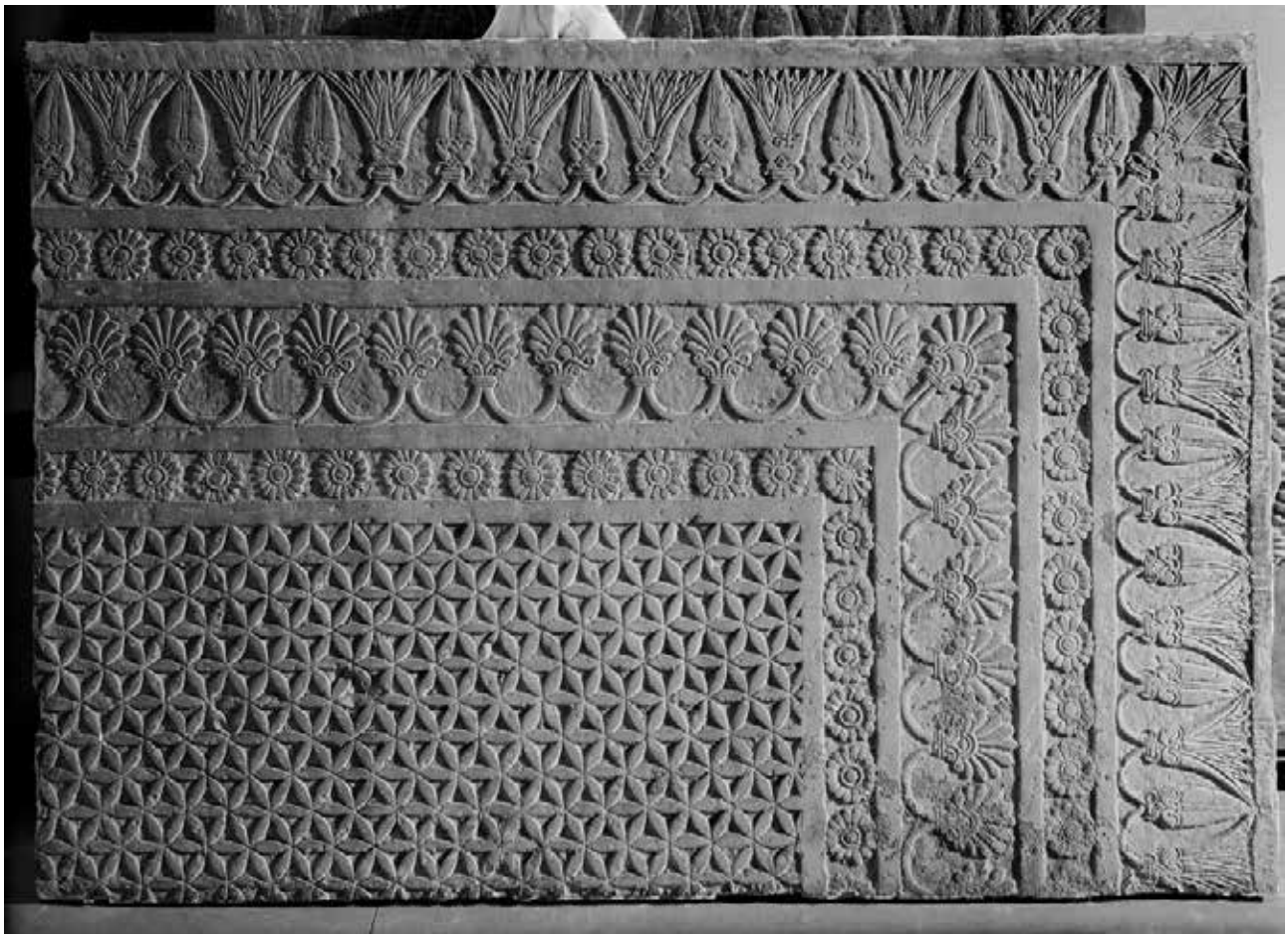

Fig.-10: Anonymous, Gypsum door sill; carved as carpet, with rosette and lotus flower designs, Neo-Assyrian, 645-635 BC, British Museum. © Trustees of the British Museum. https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>

Vrugt's installation works—in which large embroidery works are suspended—can be interpreted as providing an architectural space for the community members in which their collective effort is presented and manifested through the work's embroidered surface: a space for community members, as viewers, makers and active participants within that space and as present within the spatial and social community to which they belong

Conclusion

This article discussed that that both projects by Sara Vrugt concern the collective manufacturing of what can be regarded as an architectural space that emerges from the hanging embroidery which brings to mind the relationship

knots were the primary motives within the woven surface and as such would also gain decorative significance. See Also (Semper 1860, 180-182).

between the textile arts, architecture and narrative, a relationship that was emphasized by Semper in his nineteenth century theory on the elements of architecture. It can also be concluded that the community aspect of both projects lies mainly within the process of manufacturing and to a lesser extent in the actual imagery of the embroidery and the design of the installation, which was more or less controlled by the artist. The imagery of Look at you 05 after all concerns the artist's reflection on the representation of young women on social media. The 100.000 trees project allowed more freedom for the participant in the sense that Vrugt only prescribed the imagery to consist of trees but did not prescribe how this should be visualized by the participants other than they had to rely on their imagination. Moreover, the concern for deforesting and climate change is broadly felt and therefore has social relevance and urgency. Hence, it can also be argued that by endowing her projects with such clear content, the opportunity for the participants to bring in their own concerns has been more or less prohibited. Although both projects were designed to include participants this aspect of authorship could be regarded to also work partly as exclusive because Vrugt remains the director of the artistic process exactly.

However, the significance of both installation works must be understood form their double-facedness. They emerged partly from the individual designs and concerns of the artist herself and partly from the gathering of individual participators within a public space that becomes a place for the very literal social activity of work, that is, only when the manufacturing process of the art project is to be considered as being part of the work of art as well. In that case, the significance of Vrugt's work as socially engaged community artworks lies in the more subtle details through which it makes present the community. It is through the texture of the fabric of the actual embroidery that the collective manual labour of the community of participants is signified. Regardless of the content and the imagery, each stitch is a reference to a subject, to a body, as well as to a specific moment in time, which has been made manifest within the material qualities of a work. This manifestation has not only transformed into an architectural space but through both the spatial-temporal manufacturing of the space as well as the movement of the spectator through the space that becomes a place imagining a community and a place in which a community can be imagined.

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Jaytalking in the Streets of Bordeaux

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Abstract
The term jaytalking is used to define the many forms of urban inscriptions: from stickers, posters, and tags, to graffiti and street art (Merrifield 2002). When the population takes to the streets they express their true feelings (Bushnell 1990). Authentic jaytalking is powerful and reveals contemporary thoughts and feelings (Brown 1995). The word jaytalking epitomises the rebellious nature of urban inscription. It is dangerous, risky, and is written in the public domain. Not only is the act of writing in a public place rebellious, but more often than not the content is also rebellious. Common themes include critiques of the status quo, challenging cultural values, and condemnations of governing bodies. This paper identifies a third means of rebellion: linguistic rebellion. Youths often use language to express and align themselves with their respective communities of linguistic practice (Wenger 1999) and young French citizens are no exception, as instances of English inscriptions can be found throughout the country. This paper identifies English and hybrid urban inscriptions found in urban spaces in the city of Bordeaux, France. Through analysis of the corpus, I aim to understand to what extent the use of English might be understood as a political, rebellious and creative act.

Keywords: Graffiti, language, identity, street art, hybridity

Introduction: Questions and methodological approach.

Jaytalking is a neologism first used by Andy Merrifield (Merrifield 2002) and later revisited by Elizabeth Sage in 2016. *Jaytalking* is a pun on jaywalking - the act of crossing the street where it is forbidden (Cambridge Dictionary Online 2020). Although neither Merrifield nor Sage thought that a definition was necessary, Sage gives the following explication:

> …jaytalking, like jaywalking, is street behavior, a form of speech that occurs in the space between two rows of buildings, encompassing the sidewalk and the traffic pavement, as well as all other public spaces and fixtures found alongside or on city streets: stoops, doorways, alleys, plazas, café terraces, bridges, quaysides, market stalls, trees, flower boxes, benches, lightposts, urinals and signposts (Sage 2016, 856).

Sage explains that due to the similarity of the words, readers can instinctively understand the concept of *jaytalking* as: "talking where and how we are not supposed to, ignoring the rules that tell us where speech is and isn't appropriate, avoiding the powers-that-be as we communicate within public space in was that are surprising, unforeseen, creative, and prohibited (Sage 2016, 856)."

In this article the term *jaytalking* is used to refer to all types of street communications, with a particular focus on urban inscriptions such as: tags, graffiti, and pictorial art. Urban inscriptions are a means of creating a link between "the viewer, artist, and their worlds" (Casino 2019, 225) as it opens up a dialogue for people who do not normally have a voice. *Jaytalking* is a common feature of our scriptorial landscape (Gade 2003) and is therefore the perfect example of visual expression. *Jaytalking* is also an example of text art where the "language *is* the image, or a dominant element of the visual field" (Jaworski 2014, 140). However, graffiti,

tags, and street art not often viewed as traditional art because they are often the work of an individual in a public space without permission from the relevant authorities (Keough 2010) and yet graffiti is one of the oldest forms of writing known to man (D. D. Gross and Gross 2016).

An important element of graffiti is that it is simultaneously private and public. Private as it is often anonymous, and yet public because it is written in urban spaces with the intention of being seen. Therefore, the *jaytalkers* are not restricted by social etiquette and can give honest reflections of the current status quo including the freedom to discuss topics that are normally taboo (Gonos, Mulkern, and Poushinsky 1976). *Jaytalking* is often considered as a means of expression for the marginalised (Casino 2019) who are frequently denied "a role on the public stage [...] by official institutions" (Bushnell 1990, 813). The main method of rebellion that will be assessed in this article is language choice. Youths use language to express themselves and identify with their chosen communities of practice (Wenger 1999) which means that by choosing a specific language the writers take charge of their own lifestyle or choose to follow a trend, this is otherwise known as expression of agency (Lawson 2015). The aim of this article is to focus on the use of language in instances of jaytalking, exploring the ways in which language is used as a means of rebellious communication and critique of current events. This article thus explores the presence of English, hybrid and French jaytalking found in urban spaces in the city of Bordeaux, France. To do so, I will address the following questions: 1) To what extent is the use of English understood as a political or rebellious act, 2) How do English and hybrid inscriptions reflect French speakers' linguistic identities? This study is based on 59 instances of urban inscriptions found in Bordeaux and its surrounding suburbs. As mentioned earlier, the act of tagging, creating street art or writing graffiti is by nature rebellious, therefore, for this study the criteria used were that the content of the inscription must also be rebellious or critical. The data was then sorted into various themes, locations, types, and languages.

Background Context

The study this article is based on took place in Bordeaux, in the south-west of France. Bordeaux is the sixth largest metropolitan city in mainland France, and due to its size, student population, and wealth, is also a pivotal and very politically active city. This was most recently demonstrated during the *gilets jaunes* (yellow vests) movement, which started in November 2018 and is still taking place in some cities, Bordeaux being one of them (The Local 2019). Bordeaux is the biggest city in its region and therefore many disgruntled protestors come from the surrounding countryside towns in order to demonstrate and protest political dissatisfaction. Bordeaux is also home to two universities spread over six campuses, as well as several Business and Engineering schools. This means that a significant part of the population in Bordeaux is made up of students. In 2017, students were displeased with the proposed educational reforms and they barricaded one of the central campuses for approximately five months. Therefore, Bordeaux is well-known as a city where the population makes itself heard and consequently an appropriate city for this research.

Working Definition of Key Terms

Despite graffiti, tagging, and street art being a feature of our streets for almost 60 years and becoming popularised in the 20th century (Casino 2019) there is still some debate about the terminology used. Defining "graffiti" and "street art" is a challenge for academics, for the purposes of this study, the following terms have been defined as follows:

Graffiti: words and sentences sprayed written or printed in the street. It is a means to change public surfaces through painting, writing, or engraving (Quintero 2007). (Fig. 1).

Tags: the artists' and writers' calling card. They mark the places they have been with their unique pseudonym as a means of gaining notoriety but also to feel a part of the tagging community. This internal communication is understood by all writers and artists, for instance when one person tags in an area it attracts other tags. Tags are often formed by words, letters, or numbers which are used by the artists and writers as a signature (Fig. 2).

Fig. 1-Example of graffiti, photograph taken by the author, Gradignan (2019)

Fig. 2-Examples of Tags, photograph taken by the author, Villenave d'Ornon (2019).

Pictorial art: work that is primarily pictorial rather than scriptorial, meaning that the image is the main focus and that there are few or no words (Fig. 3).

Text Art

Graffiti and pictorial art have only recently been accepted as part of the art world, becoming mainstream when a New York museum hosted a graffiti exhibition (Casino 2019). Graffiti and pictorial art have also become more present in society with the arrival of street artists like Banksy who have become a household name and very prominent in the art world. In the world of art history, text and image have often been linked; for example, the first letter in texts was often heavily decorated in medieval literature (Jaworski 2014). *Text* can be defined either "spoken or written languages" (Fairclough 2013, 3). Texts themselves are used to represent reality, facilitate social interactions and form new identities (Halliday 1978). Text art is where the "language *is* the image, or a dominant element of the visual field" (Jaworski 2014, 140). *Jaytalking* is the ultimate example of text art as it combines words and art in one piece. Text art has had a variety of different names, it has been defined as "linguistic landscape" (Coupland 2012) or "semiotic landscape" (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010), "displayed language" (Eastman and Stein 1993), "discourses in place" (Scollon and Scollon 2003) and finally, "staged linguistic performances" (Bell and Gibson 2011). As a common feature of our streets it is evident that *jaytalking* can be described all of the above terms. "Image-text relations – and their investigation within a broad range of disciplines from literature and philosophy to art history and geography – have a rich and varied tradition." (S. Gross 2010, 277)."

Fig. 3-Pictorial art inspired by the corona virus, photograph taken by the author, Bordeaux (2019).

***Jaytalking* in Second or Third Languages**

Generally, urban inscriptions are either in the language of its country of origin, as it is designed to reach the maximum number of onlookers, or in the first language of the person who creates it. However, there are writers who choose to write in a language that is not an official language of the country where the graffiti is created. Bálint Varga suggests that this could be a case of writers overestimating "the linguistic abilities of their contemporaries, transmitting their own experience to the entire society" (Varga 2014, 965). Whereas others believe that it is simply a reflection of the writer's own language habits and choices.

Very little research has been done on *jaytalkers* who write in another language. There have been some instances of English graffiti in countries where English is not an official language. Brown found popular culture references and unusual English phrases in Szeged, Hungary including "dirty words, names of western pop groups and obscure English phrases" (Brown 1995, 115). According to John S. Bushnell, in the 1980s English language graffiti in Moscow became popular for expressing praise whilst Russian was the language of choice for blame (1990).

In the cases of some artistic fields, such as rap and hip hop, the use of a foreign language "can reveal unexpected meanings, alternative trust that broaden the scope of the sayable and the imaginable" (Kramsch 2006, 102). Language is just another means to express a person's identity. There are several levels to identity: the internal individuality (the self) and the social identity (the person) (Reynolds 2016; Riley 2007). Language is not just defined by our cultural identity. According to Daniel Gade, our cultural identity is communicated within a territorial space which means that the semiotic properties of texts are often linked to their geographical interaction with other texts and the social actors themselves (Gade 2003; Scollon and Scollon 2003). Language is often viewed as one of the most important factors in defining cultural groups, this is because "language is not only seen, it is felt; and that is why its role in nationalism is so emotional" (Gade 2003, 429). Therefore, the choice to go against the national or traditional language can be seen as an act of rebellion and even unpatriotic.

Language Hybridity

Orysia Demska explains that "language makes cultural hybridity visible while also being an element of it" and therefore "linguistic hybridity should be treated as a part of cultural hybridity, rather than as a separate phenomenon" (Demska 2019, 2). It is argued that language is not a part of a culture that can be removed, language and culture are interdependent and interconnected (Tinker 2011). This means that for language to be hybrid there must be two distinct languages which are being consciously used together, (fig. 4). Mikhail Bakhtin defines linguistic hybridity as social language contact in an utterance, or the meeting of two or more linguistic consciousness (Bakhtin 1982). Explicit linguistic hybridity can be either unconscious or conscious, is it normally viewed as the beginning of hybridisation and can affect the language users, whereas implicit linguistic hybridity tends to be unconscious and is naturally present in the language (Demska 2019).

Fig.4-An example of hybrid graffiti featuring English and French. (Translation: Struggling University. We Don't say OK Professor, but OK boomer) photograph taken by the author (2019).

Hybridity is easily identified on our streets, it can be seen on signs, in business names, and in *jaytalking*. Given the nature of urban areas, and the effects of both immigration and globalisation, urban areas are often influenced by hybridisation (Demska 2019). In fact, this globalised world has meant that all linguistic landscapes are hybrid landscapes (Demska 2019). Linguistic landscapes serve as a tool for marking the geographical locations of the present communities of practice (Landry and Bourhis 1997). Franz Cumont, a Belgian classicist, piloted the idea of syncretism in 1906: namely that no cultures are pure but mixed (Burke 2012) and as languages and cultures are not mutually exclusive, languages cannot be said to be *pure* either. Demska argues that "the lexicon of any language is always hybrid, created by native and alien elements; furthermore, natural language is the product of this hybridisation, the end point of this process" (Demska 2019, 3). This is due to invasions, changes in countries' borders, trade, and the process of hybridisation and language flux is now accelerated by the use of the internet and globalisation. "The linguistic picture painted by all of these signs depends on the time and place; on the history of the region, state and city; on cultural and language policies; on the type (official, commercial, private); and on the values, education, native language and bi-/multilingualism (or lack of) of the author (Demska 2019, 2)."

International Movements

Several international movements have been referenced both online and in the streets. The main movements have originated from or are closely linked to English-speaking countries. In 2018, alongside the gilets jaunes protests, a parallel march took place where thousands of people in Bordeaux walked around the city centre protesting the lack of progress fighting climate change. Although veganism and the battle against climate change do not originate from English-speaking countries, they do benefit from publicity and support by prominent English-speaking celebrities and scientists. Similarly, the issues surrounding climate change and protecting the environment are by no means restricted to English-speaking countries. However, as these countries are heavily involved in these movements, the movements are therefore linked to the lingua franca used in those countries, which, in this and many cases, is English.

In 2020, following the ease of lockdown, people gathered in the streets of Bordeaux to support their Northern American counterparts protesting in support of the Black Lives Matter movement. This movement began in the United States of America in 2013 after the death of Trayvon Martin but has been more prominent since May 2020 following the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis (Black Lives Matter n.d.).

Fig. 5-Example of climate change graffiti found in Bordeaux, photograph taken by the author in 2019.

Finally, feminist pictorial art and urban inscriptions can be found all over the city of Bordeaux, telling the story of sexual abuse of women (fig. 7 and 8). Women's rights have been debated for many years in many countries, however, focus has recently turned to the instances of sexual abuse that are accepted by society. This was brought to the world's attention after several Hollywood actors were accused of inappropriate behaviour with female colleagues. This in turn launched the social media campaign #metoo and the French equivalent #balancetonporc ('Me Too. Movement' n.d.) (Translation: #SquealOnYourPig) and following that feminists took to the streets to continue the fight for change.

The outcome of the presence of these issues in French people's political agenda was mirrored by the appearance of related graffiti and street ar. The manifestation of these international issues is evidence that the writers and artists wish to express discontent for not only local but also global issues.

Data

Fifty-nine urban inscriptions were selected for this study. I have classified the forms of *jaytalking* into three main areas: graffiti, tag, and pictorial art. The bar chart (fig. 9) shows that most of the rebellious inscriptions were classified as graffiti (52 instances) followed by pictorial art (5 instances) then tags (2 instances).

Fig. 6-Example of black lives matters graffiti found in Talence, France photograph taken by L. Graham in 2020.

Fig. 7 and 8- Example of feminist graffiti found in Talence and pictorial art found in Bordeaux, France. Photographs taken by L. Graham and Y. Seetahul (2020).

Next, I classified the inscriptions according to their overall theme. The main theme found in this corpus was rebellious language in general and national politics, these themes were closely followed by COVID-19 inspired graffiti, (fig. 10).

The inscriptions were also categorised by their language use. The community of global English-speaking graffiti writers and street artists also affects the identities of the local street artists and graffiti writers. The majority of the rebellious urban instances found in Bordeaux were written in English (43 phrases), followed by eight phrases which

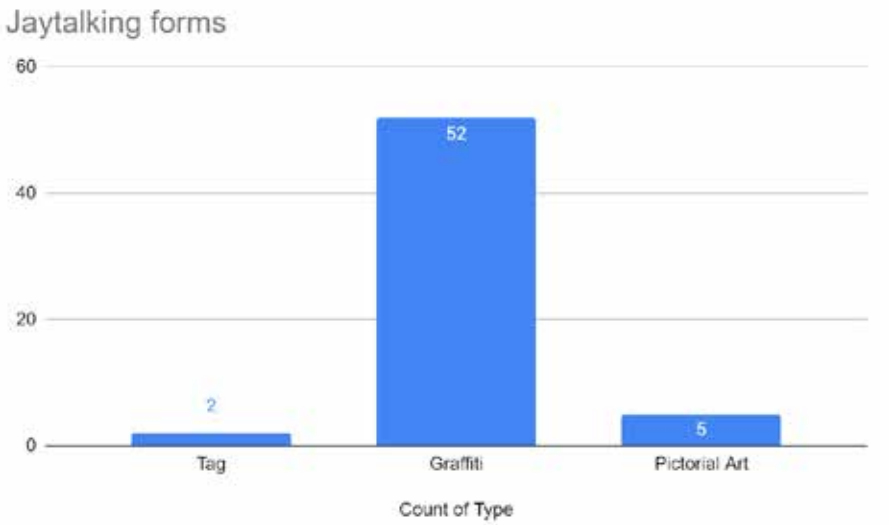

Fig. 9-Classification of the urban inscriptions, graph created by the author

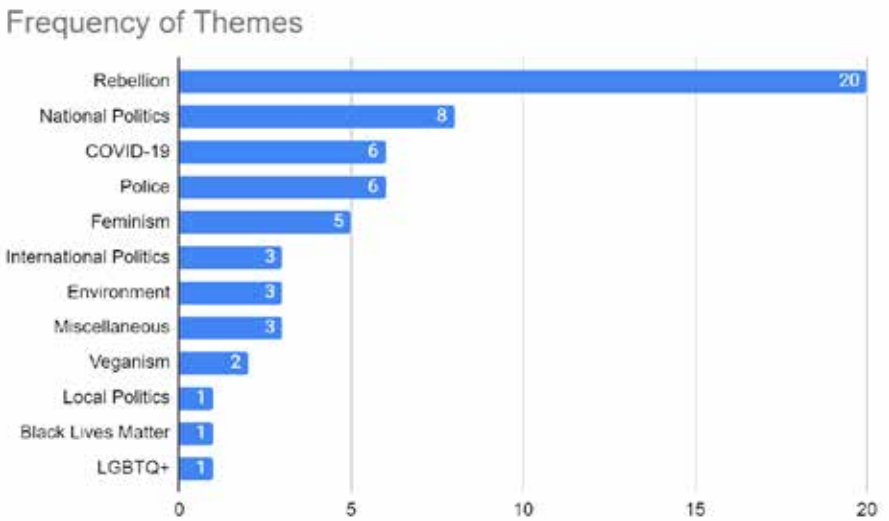

Fig. 10-Graph showing the themes present in the urban inscriptions, graph created by the author

17	7	4	4	4
FUCK	ARE	ACAB	BEAUTIFUL	LE
4	3	3	3	3
ALL	CLITORIS	LA	YOU	THE

Fig.11-Table of repeated words, table created by the author

contained both languages and are therefore considered hybrid phrases in this study, seven phrases in French and one example of pictorial art that contained no words. This shows that the graffiti writers and street artists in this area use English to criticise and rebel more than they use French. English is over five times more than both the French and hybrid examples, and over three times as many as the French and hybrid phrases combined. Only one example did not contain any words. The 59 examples of urban inscriptions revealed major themes, but also key words. Most of the words appeared only once in the corpus but one word (*fuck*) was used 17 times. This was double more than any of the other repeated words (fig. 11 and 12).

Finally, the study focuses on each of the examples on a micro-level. Each inscription has many layers and reveals elements of the writer's or artist's identity. Below is an analysis of some of the urban inscriptions that were included in this study. The examples have been grouped together where appropriate.

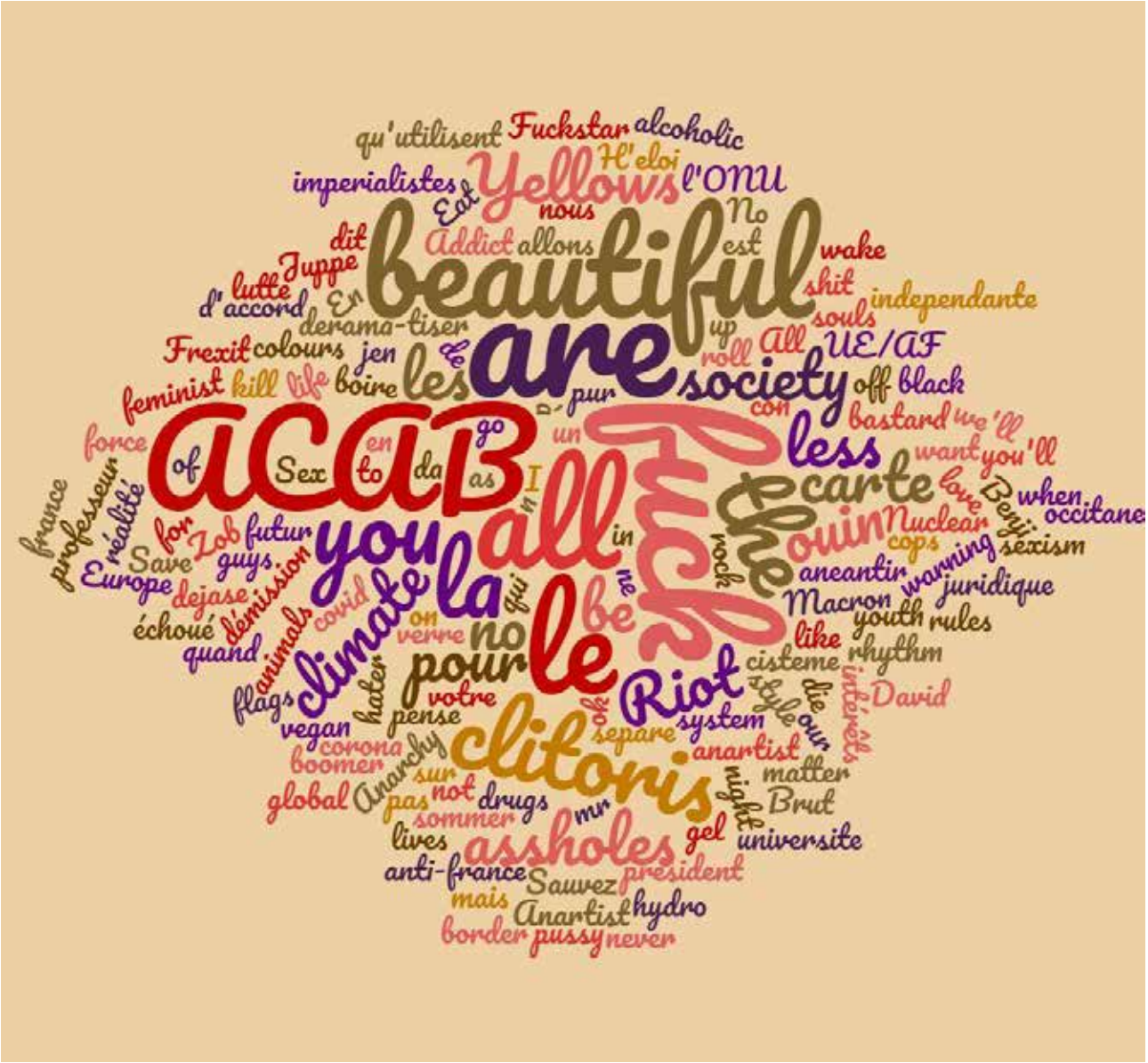

Fig. 12-A word cloud of the most common words found, word cloud created by the author

The F Word

Fuck was the most popular English word, (English or otherwise) in this study. There are seventeen instances in which the "f" word was used. Seven of them rebel against authority, seven are used with no specific target, *fuck* is used twice referring to sexism and once as word play. The first image was found at the University Bordeaux Montaigne, the humanities university in Bordeaux, (fig. 13). Originally it was graffiti that supported the far-right, signalling a desire for France to leave the European Union. This is evident in the words "Frexit" (French exit – copying the style of Brexit), the European Union flag which has been crossed out, the prominent "Fuck UE", and the two lilies, which are symbols of French royalty. However, this inscription has been altered by another graffiti writer. The second author has altered the message to read "FUCK AF", which could be interpreted as Action Française (French Action = a royalist, far-right political party). They also crossed out the royalist symbols and added the words "ouin ouin". "Ouin" does not feature in the French dictionary and so it is complicated to identify its true meaning. After asking several French speakers, I have discovered several possible meanings. Ouin ouin is used as a Swiss name for a funny person, as well as being used to refer to the people who live in Geneva. However, the most likely answer is that it is the onomatopoeic form for the sound of a baby's cry and therefore insinuating that the original artist is behaving like a child.

Fig. 13-Anti-European Union Graffiti, taken by the author, Pessac (2018)

The next inscription of interest is also classified as a hybrid phrase, (fig. 14). It contains English, French, and a number. The number is in reference to the French police (in France if you call 117 you are connected to the police). There is also an extension of this graffiti by another artist, this time a play on the word *fuck* which is phonetically close to the word *phoque*, which is French for seal. To illustrate this, the artist has drawn a seal, and a third writer has named the seal George. A fourth writer has written *sauvez les* (save the) above *fuck*. The writer is probably referring to seals as grammatically it should read *sauvez le* if they wished to save the police. Four asynchronous interactions complete this inscription, which is once again testament to the sense of community between writers and artists.

Fig. 14-Hybrid play on words, photograph taken by the author, Bordeaux (2018)

The next hybrid phrase follows the commonly seen structure of using *fuck* in English and following it with the topic of discontent in French, (fig. 15). In this example, the writer is not happy about the *cistème*. This is a hybrid using the French words *cisgendre* and *système* (cisgender and system). Cisgender means that the gender identity of the individual corresponds with the sex that the person was identified as at birth (Merriam-Webster 2020). *Cis* is pronounced the same as *sys* in French and therefore the writer is able to create a hybrid word criticising society and supporting transgender people.

Fig. 15-French play on words, photograph taken by the author, Bordeaux (2018)

The final example containing the "f" word contains three of the instances used in this study, (fig. 16). These shop front shutters display a critique of society, a personal message from one writer, a message of love from another, a rejection of that love, and the acronym ACAB. The acronym ACAB started in the United Kingdom in the 1940s, meaning "All Coppers Are Bastards". Then, in 2018, ACAB returned to the public eye, this time resurging in the United States of America following numerous instances of police brutality. The phrase can now be understood as "All Cops Are Bastards", or "All Cops Are Bad" (Groundwater 2020). This writer in particular has also written ACAB in numerical form 1312, where the letters are replaced by the corresponding numbers. Therefore, this writer is either an avid supporter of the ACAB movement or very interested in it.

ACAB

From the 1940s to present day, ACAB has changed both around the issue of police brutality and also outside of it. There are many instances of ACAB around France, I have documented ACAB inscriptions in Paris, Seignosse, Marseille, and Arles. Presently, I have only seen instances of the evolution of ACAB in Bordeaux. There are two instances of ACAB being linked to a feminist movement in Bordeaux, (fig. 17), where the acronym now reads ALL CLITORIS ARE BEAUTIFUL. It is not clear in the photograph if ACAB was written first and then altered by a second author, or if just one author wished to link both movements together. ACAB has not only been appropriated by a feminist movement, but has also been adapted and reused as part of another message: ALL COLOURS ARE BEAUTIFUL (fig. 18). This banner could be referring to Black Lives Matter and different colours of skin. It could also be in support of graffiti writers and street artists who use colour in their artwork.

Fig. 16-Various inscriptions in English, photograph taken by the author, Bordeaux (2018)

Fig. 17 and 18-Evolution of ACAB, photographs taken by the author, Pessac and Merignac (2020)

A Critique of the Gilets Jaunes Protests

As mentioned earlier, Bordeaux was a pivotal city during the *gilets jaunes* protests. The government underestimated the extent to which people would protest in Bordeaux and sent the police to other cities. This resulted in substantial amounts of vandalism, street blockades, traffic disruption and chaos. After six months of large scale protests every Saturday in the city centre, the local population in Bordeaux started to sympathise less and less with the movement, (fig. 19 and 20). As *jaytalking* is anonymous it is impossible to know if this an English-speaking resident of Bordeaux expressing discontent with the protests or a French speaker that wishes to align themselves with the English-speaking community rather than the protesting French community. What is clear is that the speaker uses American English using the word "asshole" instead of the British variant "arsehole". Judging by the formation of the letters it could be argued that these two inscriptions were not necessarily written by the same person. Either, the same person rewrote this message in more than one location which could be considered testimony to their frustration, or a second person was also criticising the protests through graffiti.

Fig. 19 and 20-Criticising the Gilets Jaunes Protests, photographs taken by the author Bordeaux (2020)

No Rules

This example of *jaytalking* is classified as pictorial art as it is more of a painting than a piece of writing, (fig. 21). What makes this example of pictorial art interesting is that it is in the suburbs of Bordeaux, not the cosmopolitan city centre. This shows that the use of English is widespread in this area and not restricted to the student frequented city centre.

Fig. 21-Pictorial Art in the Suburbs, Photograph taken by the author, Gradignan (2020)

Go Vegan

The next examples were also found in the suburbs surrounding Bordeaux, (fig. 22 and 23). Once again this proves that the use of English is not restricted to the city centre. Bordeaux is a rich city with lots of students and is known for its "hipster" feel. There are more and more vegetarian and vegan restaurants opening up and therefore, the vegan movement is in keeping with the values of the city. Nevertheless, it is impossible to know if the writers were native English-speakers or if they were writing in English to appeal to a wider audience, be trendy, or to link to the global food crisis – to which veganism is a solution. The first inscription to be written on this road was "GO VEGAN!" this was followed about six months later by the second phrase "EAT PUSSY NOT ANIMALS!". Given the way in which the letters have been formed, it can be deduced that it was a different writer, but it can be assumed that the second writer saw the first inscription and decided to respond in solidarity. This echoes tag community behaviour, whereby taggers leave their mark around other tags in order to indicate that they have also been in the area.

Fig. 22 and 23-Messages in the Suburbs, photographs taken by the author, Villenave d'Ornon (2019 and 2020)

From the data in this present study, graffiti in English can be understood as an extra element of rebellion when *jaytalking*. The writers and artists choose to align themselves with the English-speaking world instead of the French-speaking one that they geographically reside in. This may be because they move in English-speaking communities virtually and/or physically or associate more with the English-speaking movement or value that they wish to express. For example, in 1994 the French government imposed a law on French radio stations. This law requires the stations to play French music at least 40% of the time. When young French people

continue to listen to English music and use more and more English in their speech, art, and writing, it can be seen as a way of rebelling against these restrictions.

Jaytalking is a physical representation of how artists and writers view themselves and consequently their self-identity. The choice of location, size, colour, content, and language are all important to the writers. Especially when it is their tag and therefore chosen signature. Consequently, when writers choose to write in English, they align themselves within the global community of English-speakers and also separate themselves from the French-speaking status-quo. This is particularly noticeable when the writers leave the words: "Love A" meaning "love anarchy" in English in a French city (fig. 24). I have also found a variant on the normal usage of the anarchy symbol whereby the writer has combined the words "anarchy" and "artist" to form the hybrid word: *anartist* (fig. 25).

Examples of hybrid language usage is the most prominent type of rebellious language. I suggest that the artists and writers are using words and phrases that are present in their everyday vernacular, such as the word *fuck*. The artists and writers do not seek to use an English word to change their message, that word, albeit of English origin, has become a part of this speaker's personal vocabulary. Most phrases being written completely in English refer to international social movements that either originated or have strong links to English-speaking countries. The main international movements being referenced in the streets of Bordeaux were Black Lives Matter and Feminism. The data from the urban inscriptions shows that international movements tend to use the lingua-franca, English, for their communication even within a country such as France where English is not an official language.

Conclusion

Jaytalking allows researchers an insight into "unabashed self-expression"; it gives the writer the freedom to comment on topics that are normally considered taboo due to its anonymous nature (Ball 2019, 1; Gonos, Mulkern, and Poushinsky 1976) and is therefore the perfect medium through which to rebel against authorities. *Jaytalking* is omnipresent and is a "symbolic phenomenon present on a variety of surfaces in any city of any size." (D. D. Gross and Gross 2016, 342). This study confirms this presence

Fig. 24 and 25-Anarchy in the streets, photographs taken by the author, Bordeaux (2019)

in Bordeaux, due to the amplitude of examples found in and around the city centre. As the present study consisted of anonymous graffiti writers and street artists, careful attention was given not to make assumptions about their identities. The results showed that urban inscriptions in France often included English words, but more often than not, the swearword *fuck*. This is not proof of bilingualism, identity or language ability, only proof of the linguistic choice made by that writer in that particular instance. The motivation to write comes above and beyond the reasons behind language choice despite the cognitive process required. This study therefore reveals that the linguistic choices made when *jaytalking* are a key part of the writer's identity. Therefore, the hybrid phrases containing both French and English are proof that the English language is becoming a part of French identity.

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Protest Posters and the Political Street Art Universe in Greece

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Abstract
The social movements of the last decade in Greece following the financial crisis and austerity packages brought to the fore the role and the usage of street art as a form of expression of the urban youth in general. There has been a significant number of publications from different disciplines and points of view analyzing the proliferation of political street art in the urban centers of Greece. However, the majority of this line of work remains fragmented has not been subjected to a comparison as the one suggested here. The aim of this paper is to provide a short overview of the history of political street art in Greece in relation to social movements while stressing the role of movement posters and presenting a case study. We identify gaps in the literature and suggest ways where future research should be targeted.

Keywords: Political Street Art, Social Movements, Greece, Posters

Introduction

Social movements have a long history in the use of street art for their purposes. Either as an "expressive resistance tactic that challenges power relations" (Waldner 2013), a social commentary or an alternative way of engaging in dialogue with the public, scholars categorize this type of action within the realm of "visually-expressive symbols of protest" (Fahlenbrach 2013; Buechler 2000), where space and street politics have a greater role. They redefine public space as a politicized space and reclaim it for the local citizens. The content of the messages of political street art reflects the struggles, associated with urban forms of living and form a type of social commentary (Ferrell 1995). A major characteristic of a city is its walls (Avramidis and Tsilimpounidou 2017). Especially, in dense-constructed urban districts and neighborhoods, walls are seen everywhere. It can be house walls, multi-storage buildings walls. These walls, as well as any other kind of surface, become often a canvas for artists, political activists and the urban youth. It is a popular form of expression that is characteristic of urban art, found either in small cities or bigger metropoles. The street is offered as a public space where we can investigate the history and the culture of the population, such as in the Greek case.

In addition, expressive forms of protest contribute to different functions in the formation of a collective identity, a 'we-consciousness'. This can be done through agitation (provoking people with new ideas), a sense of esprit de corps (creating solidarity and belonging), morale or ideology. Street art and graffiti can position itself within all these functions. It can use them to present a condition of a financial crisis of unjust, to restructure the blame-game of who is responsible, provide ways of action. Either on an individual or collective level, the reading and viewing practices of political street art can enhance political empowerment that enables more "radical" organizations to gather support for political goals.

Political Street Art

An early major breakthrough of importance in the study of political street art is Lyman Chaffee's Political Protest and Street Art. Popular Tools for Democratization in Hispanic Countries (1993). Chaffee sees street art simultaneously as a political tool of expression and a mass communicational medium. The majority of scholarship described above tends to neglect these aspects, which are not taken into consider-

ation. Chaffee (1993: 4) focuses on posters, wall paintings, graffiti, and murals (and parenthetically with political stickers, T-shirts, lapel buttons, billboards, placards and banners). A secondary point by Chaffee is her focus on collective forms of street art. This constitutes another break with the mainstream scholarship where usually individual artists and/or practitioners are mostly investigated. This is may end up being problematic, especially in recent times where there is a growing tendency of commodification of street art, which serves a number of wide purposes from "alternative" neighborhoods filled with street art becoming sites of tourist attraction, promoted by local/state authorities or even building up an individual artists' portfolio through commissioned art. Nevertheless, a number of shortcomings exist: Chaffee does not enter into an exchange with communication theories, visual culture or social movement studies. In addition, his approach has an "up-bottom" perspective focusing more on the historical, sociopolitical narrative on each of the three case studies with no empirical analysis in the micro-level of why and how activists choose a specific form and not others, along with their production and distribution practices.Street art and graffiti may be considered "underground" or illegal, but at the same time can lead to a career in the art world (Lachmann 1988). They can become "harbingers of gentrification and consumerism" (Ferrell 2017) in the cityscape. Chaffee offers (1993), nonetheless, some main characteristics of street art based on the case studied he examined that are also useful when one examines political poster. Summarized, he finds that majority of street art is:

a. collective in nature, made by mostly groups and artists' collectives, not individuals
b. creators don't care about neutrality and objectivity, rather serve an idea or purpose
c. it is accessible to everyone, from marginalized groups to mainstream parties
d. is characterized by direct messages and a simple discourse reduced to view words, phrases and slogans and
e. it has an adaptable character that can be used from oppressive regimes to the most open, pluralistic societies.

In the same point of view, Ryan (2016) asks if street art can be "understood as an example of "everyday politics", or even "everyday resistance", in that it provides a space and opportunity to contest and question dominant cultural codes and conventions" in a similar way of what James C. Scott has called as the "weapons of the weak" (1985). Ryan adopts a broad definition of street art focusing not on the content of the art (i.e. expression) but on its connection to a political meaning, "to be oriented towards society, to engage with and challenge existing structures and terrains of power" (2016). Unlike Chaffee, Ryan takes into account social movement literature and calls for an "aesthetic turn" in social movement studies. Street art, according to her, can play this role.

Political street art is often part of an alternative public sphere where artists, practitioners and political groups enter a "space of symbolic exchange" (Zaimakis 2015) in which opinions and ideas clash and collide not only with each other but also with political narratives of the mainstream parties and mass media. In Greece, media discussions about the roots and causes of the financial crisis were conducted in polarized conditions, within a frame that did not allow critical voices to be expressed. Opposing views about topics such as the efficiency of austerity programs, the role of IMF, the future of the Eurozone and EU, etc. were almost ostracized, creating in a way a gap between civil society and mass media (Pleios 2013). Urban landscapes and street art serve as a substitute for the lack of credibility where various political formations explore the possibilities of street art to articulate their thoughts and ideas.

Another characteristic is working in teams. As Chaffee notes, "groups employ this communication channel to identify problems, question values, make claims, and suggest alternatives" (Chaffee 1993:8). In contemporary Greece for example, political posters are in a great degree collective; they are a collective effort that requires planning, time and organization. Chaffee (ibid) finds that most of the street art in Latin America was mostly collective in nature due to their creation process requires planning and organization. The same can be acknowledged for the majority of the Greek political street art.

Groups have the tendency of their work although this is not always important, such as in the case of wall slogan writing[1] because what matters is the overall cause, reaching a wide audience, not the credits. On the other side, individual artists who practice political street art always sign their work which offers them fame and reputation, not only in the street art world but also to the public. It is also a way of building themselves in the art world. In the cases Chaffee studied, about 80% percent had an identifiable signature. In general, for individual artists signing their work has a greater value, which may be connected with the material interests. Kirsten McKinney supports this view, stating that:

> The name is the currency of graffiti. The consideration and planning that went into the picking of a name could last for months and for good reason. The goal of becoming a graffiti writer was fame and respect and therefore the name carried an important weight. The name also needed to be functional, made up of five or less letters that would flow well together. Once a name was chosen it was turned into a tag, a signature that could be painted quickly and easily" (McKinney 2016).

Chaffee describes the role of street art to form social consciousness where activists are allowed to express their sentiments and, at the same time, lobby for their interests. In that way, according to Chaffee, street art connotes a decentralized democratic form where the only control comes from the producers themselves. This non-mediated aspect is considered important for the activists, as discussed in interviews with Greek practitioners.

Greek Street Art and Protest

Politics before and after the 2008 crisis

Street art and graffiti in Greece have a long trajectory. Political street art has been used, although not under this label, mostly in the forms of posters and placards throughout the 20th century. It has been, the main medium of political expression in the streets by protest movements, mainly student movements, and by leftist parties. During election times, where it was a sine qua non tool of propaganda for every political party. A second medium was the slogan writing in the walls of the cities, a common and plain form, which became prominent during the Nazi occupation and resistance, the civil war (1945-1949), the student uprising of the Technical University (1973) and continued to be used as a form of expression, throughout the period after the restoration of democracy. The slogans on the city walls continue today to express popular protest and provide a vivid witness of the general political climate. In any case, it is argued that in the city of Athens exists a specific "wall culture" that is characterized by a plethora of street art usage that is difficult to pass unnoticed (Theodosis and Karathanasis 2008) and the most common practitioners are either "a reactive-artistic crowd of graffiti or the varying sociopolitical youth organizations and parties" (ibid, p. 19). Vamvakas (2020) attests that wall writing in Greece after the restoration of democracy era (1974 and after) is not related with just a (youth, artistic or any kind of) subculture as "with a relatively coherent ideological projection (propagation) of specific non-marginal political arguments" practiced by "specific political (far left collectivities) and not individuals." Greek graffiti, in its modern form, emerged and imported by influences from abroad in the late 80s as a marginal art form. In the 1990s, graffiti was often associated with the rising hip-hop subculture and started to gain popularity among the younger generations; the first artists and crews emerged during this time. In September 1998, the first international graffiti festival took place (Leventis 2013; Anonymous 2010) hosted by the municipality of Athens and Hellenic American Union. After the following of the announcement that Athens was officially selected to host the Olympic Games of 2004, the first commissioned works started to appear sponsored by state and municipality companies that continued after the games. These events led to the proliferation of graffiti and its establishment as a recognized form of art.

From the mid-2000s, the anti-globalization movement along with student movements against reforms to the privatization of higher education became the main vehicle to the appearance of a younger generation of activists that had nothing to do with the previous "silent" decade of the ´90s with its absence of collective actors and movements. The growing neoliberalization of the economy and its con-

1 - Slogan writing here is used as the writing of a phrase or a sentence, which can have sports-, political- or religious- related purposes. This kind may be some insignia or a symbol-logo of the creator(s) like the hammer and the sickle for communist groups, the letter "A" in a circle for anarchists or the logo of a football team.

Fig. 1 Street Art and Posters in Mesologiou Street in Athens. Photo taken by author.

sequences (like precarity, lower wages, flexibility, social security etc.) along with the exclusion of young people from the labor market (Greek youth employment was and still remains among the highest in EU) were the main grievances even before the financial meltdown of 2008 (Anagnostopoulos and Evangelinidis 2017). This generation, which included many artists/activists that practiced street art use it to express the fears and prospects of an entire generation, played the main role in milestones events like the December 2008 riots, the anti-austerity protests of 2010, the indignados occupation of the squares in 2011 just to name a few. This precarious subject experimented with various ways of organizing and proposed a number of alternatives in the context of prefigurative politics and horizontalism beyond the traditional models of party politics or bureaucratic trade unions. Side-by-side with these forms of precarity activism and cultural forms of expression that include –but not limited to- dance, theater, cinema, singing were always present in the peak of mobilizations, from occupied theaters and opera houses, to public singing and street performances.

During this time at the start of the decade, the rise of free press magazines like Athens Voice and Lifo, that focused on urban culture gave a significant boost to the spread of street art and graffiti (Anonymous 2010: 34). Following examples from abroad, both magazines created urban mythology for the "consumption" of subcultures in the margins and recognition of a "sensitivity" of mildly youth offense. In addition, the medium of stencil graffiti is introduced, which from now is used widely and practiced during every demonstration by activists, while some early collectives are using it solely (like the group Political Zoo during 2007-11)[2]. In any way, stencil becomes a standard tool in the political street art repertoire that accompanies social movements and uprisings (Stravrides 2017; Drakopoulou 2016; Theodosis and Karathanasis 2008).

Hence, the most interesting dimension is that during the formative years of this generation (mainly 2004-2009), there is an explosion of interest in street art that goes hand-in-hand with protest movements. A number of authors have observed a shift in the content of street art that features more political statements, social criticism before, during or after the student protest movements of 2007 (Theodosis and Karathanasis 2008). Karathanasis (2019) notes after the December 2008 rebellion it is observed an increase in political references through graffiti. At the same time, he continues, political groups choose more often this type of method to express their grievances. Zaimakis (2016) also connects precarity with this type of political graffiti as a means of political activism. It is no coincidence that three journalistic accounts were published in Greek that focused on the political street art produced during the December 2008 riots (Chatzistefanou 2009; Kuriakopoulos and Gourgouris 2009; Haritatou-Synodinou 2010) while one more was published on slogan writing just before these events (Peponis 2008). All four books build their way through documenting and taking photos of street art. These books recognized very early that this ephemeral material, although self-expressive and symbolic according to them, needed to be recorded. Without it, grasping emotions and sentiments around this youth rebellion would have been impossible. The authors took many photos of the Athenian cityscape and focused mostly on the neighborhood of Exarchia, which was the epicenter of the events. In a similar way, 30 years before, some photojournalists tried to capture in photos the slogans and posters written in the streets of Paris during the May '68 protests (Memou 2013). Academic work on street art followed the media interest -domestic or international- started to grow.

After the December 2008 events, the context of the financial crisis and the danger of default allowed political street art and graffiti to become more visible in the urban fabric of Athens. The crisis became one more knot to this chain of that 'long' decade that sparked an increase in attention to street art, that had at its center the consequences and causes of this situation and so, attracted international media attention[3] followed by catchy phrases like "Athens in the new Berlin" or Athens as "a Mecca of Street Art" and expressed

2 - The artist' collective *Political Zoo Stencil* was one of the few groups that focused on political street art. See for more in their webpage http://politicalzoostencils.blogspot.com/ (last access 20.05.2020)

3 - See for example: Guardian, *Greece's anti-austerity murals: street art expresses a nation's frustration* (04.07.2015), Guardian *Contemporary graffiti art on the walls of Athens – in pictures* (11.11.2014), New York Times, Across Athens, Graffiti Worth a Thousand Words of Malaise (16.04.2014).

in alternative street art city tours[4]. By creating the image of a city as "alternative" and "trendy" destination, where street art is everywhere available, was not always positive. Several authors had mentioned some negative effects of this phenomenon such as attracting tourists-street artists (Daskalopoulou 2018), the gentrification of the city center (Karathanasis 2019, Vamvakas 2020) which is no exception to the international trend.

On the other side of the abundance of graffiti/street art is the fact that the cleaning services of the municipality of Athens (but also others as well) suffered a great loss of personnel due to the austerity measures imposed[5]. In addition, anti-graffiti programs are expensive and authorities use their funds on more important topics such as social care (Tsilimpounidou 2015). Alexandrakis (2016: 288) mentions that graffiti has become so common in the city of Athens that when his interlocutors (a teenage graffiti crew) were caught by a shop owner painting, instead of complaining or calling the police, thanked them that made his shop part of the neighborhood. In this context, political street art acts as a visual-social diary (Tsilimpounidi 2012, 2015) that records events, labelled as important by minor political actors and activists. It is another form of manifestations.

We do not argue here that Greece should be considered an exceptional case or innovations for its use of street art during social movements. It follows a rather worldwide trend in the same timeframe, from Gezi Park during its occupation in Instabul in 2013 (Ta and Ta 2014), the Occupy Wall Street Protests in New York in 2011 to mobilizations against the Mubarak regime in Egypt in 2011 (Awad and Wagoner 2017). In all cases, street art in general as a means that accompanied the political goals. What is amplified in the context of Greek street art is its connection with a precarious youth and politics in the long durée, not only in the peak of mobilizations. It is incubated slowly but steadily.

4 - In the case of a company that organizes street art city tours https://www.alternativeathens.com/tours/street-art-tour/ (Last access 20.05.2020)

5 - The former mayor of Athens, George Kaminis, argues in an interview that 1/3 of personnel has been reduced due to the inability of hiring new stuff. See https://www.lifo.gr/articles/athens_articles/108561 (Last Access 23.05.2020, in Greek).

A Neglected Medium: The Protest Poster

A type of political street poster is one that focuses not on parties or propaganda purposes but on the service of social movements. In various instances, posters have been acknowledged as forms of cultural expression but have been neglected to the margins of the art world, distribution and cultural reception. The traces of these can be traced in the late nineteenth century workers' movement but it was developed during the global protests in the 1960s and continues in a way until today. The explosion of protest posters in the 1960s was an international phenomenon connected with the various "new" social movements (Melluci 1989) that appear and include among others civil rights, student unrest, national liberation, antiwar, ecology, feminism and LGBT issues.

This "Renaissance" of the poster was geographically diverse. They spanned from the revolutionary Cuban posters of Castro' administration (Sontag 1970) and the Chilean posters against Pinochet dictatorship in Latin America, to the anti-Vietnam war posters in the United States (Reed 2019) to the May '68 student mobilizations in Germany and France, the anti-nuclear protests in Germany and Chinese posters of "cultural revolution", posters became again an important medium for activists all around the world.

Protest posters display the history of a movement in the form of an archive. They are able to document the struggles, concerns, claims and events that took place when they were printed. As Lipsitz (2001) argues, posters provide the "material memory" artifacts and are critical tools for understanding the issues for the times but also the passions they provoked. They also constitute an important part of the "hidden" public sphere that is usually left out from official or state media channels. They have been created to make direct appeals for action, for everyday use on every possible surface, on walls, lampposts or bulletin boards in order to inform passersby for forthcoming demonstrations and meetings. One of their main function is to nurture and sustain collective memory by commemorating important movements of past struggles (Lipsitz 2001). They also play a role in constructing solidarity and defining collective identity (ibid, p. 73). Social movements need to create and sustain a collective identity. To do that they use symbols of the past to connect historical struggles (Reed 2019) with the political imperatives of the present. Geise (2016: 1211) argues

that posters "represent intended strategic communication reflecting underlying structures of political power and unequal access to resources and distribution channels…[they] are not neutral witnesses. In situations with unbalanced political power, posters can function as an efficient protest against existing hegemony and domination". In the way, posters signal the emergence or existence of spaces for an oppositional and alternative activity.

The Poster Wars in the Greek streets

The streets corners and storefronts of empty shops are filled with political posters in the center of Athens (fig. 1 and 2). Due to the lack of hoardings, every possible surface becomes a canvas for posters. Political posters along with also commercial ones are found side by side, next to each other. The time and effort for those involved in these political poster displays are evident of the importance attached to this medium, even in this age of digital era. They also testify to the strength of the tradition of political activism in Greece. During periods of heated political crisis (like the financial breakdown of 2009, the referendum of 2015 or the COVID-19 pandemic), different parties and groups even carry a dialogue on the walls through posters. New posters are pasted to the walls on a daily basis. This places time constraints on the actual total time that posters remain available to be read on the walls before being pasted over with a new poster or destroyed by weather conditions.

Fig. 2. A wall filled with posters and graffiti in Athens. Photo taken by the author.

The practice of putting posters on the walls by the people that were emotionally attached to them and acted as its representatives is today constrained to political activism, small groups and trade unions (Papaspyrou-Karadimitriou 2000: 4). The volume of poster activity in Greece, especially in major cities like Athens or Salonika, is the result of widespread political interest along with the numbers of political activists and groups that are active. Posters nowadays are used mostly by groups stemming from the tradition of the libertarian Left (Kitschelt 1989).

A Case Study from the Streets of Athens:
The Sunday Opening of Retail Shops

Here we present a case that focuses on a campaign that relied heavily on the usage of posters and can serve as an example. Sunday, November 3rd, 2013 marked the first day of a contentious pilot program launched in Greece to help spur consumer spending in its bleeding economy. Under a new reform, retail stores were supposed to be open seven Sundays in the year, while smaller, independent shops could open every Sunday, depending on local authorities. This development constituted a radical change to labor conditions nationwide, given that workers had to work for more days with equal pay. A nationwide 24-hour strike was organized the same day, which was followed by a demonstration in most of the big cities.

From that day on, and for the next five years, a campaign was launched led by the Athens-based grassroots union of book workers. Their strategy was quite simple: every Sunday that the shops should open, they organized a mobilization followed by a strike in their sector. Their mobilization included not only a demonstration but also a symbolic blockade of shops of the main commercial streets of Athens. In order to achieve this goal however, high numbers of participants were required, which was not possible on union mobilization alone. For this reason, the union launched a campaign that targeted not only the public but also the social movement milieu of Athens. This campaign was facilitated mainly through the medium of posters that glued regularly in the streets of Athens in mass numbers. The campaign proved to be effective since the union managed to achieve sufficient numbers for consecutive mobilizations, making this specific issue a central issue to the social movements' agenda. It also allowed the formation of an initiative called "Coordination against the Sunday Opening" with labour-related grassroots collectives, unions and activists that dealt exclusively with the Sunday opening of shops.

The protest campaign went through many phases, with ebbs and flows, but managed to suspend the Sunday opening of shops, three months after a change in government. The activities of the activists follow a certain premeditated visual strategy that included the usage of posters that had a specific image that became the logo of the campaign and acted as a visual marker. The sketch was a woman wearing a coverall suit with a headscarf, showing her fist while looking angry. This particular image accompanies all posters of this specific campaign until today and is immediately recognizable from almost all people embedded into the Greek social movement milieu. The old-fashioned drawing of this woman (fig. 3) was however not entirely new, it was taken by a different context, a WWII Australian propaganda poster that had as its purpose to recruit women to work in wartime industries such as ammunitions factories. The logo was adopted as a signature logo in all the following posters made by activists the following years and continues to be in use until the time of writing.

Conclusion

Street art in Greece has been examined under the lens of various disciplines in social sciences, Art and Humanities such as critical theory and philosophy (Stavrides 2017; Drakopoulou 2016), cognitive science (Stampoulides 2019), linguistics (Serafis et al. 2018; Stampoulides 2016; 2018), cultural sociology (Zaimakis 2015a; 2016; Tsilimpounidi 2016), anthropology (Alexandrakis 2016; Knight 2015). A media or a visual perspective is not taken into consideration more as a descriptive point of view (with the exception of Chiotis 2015). The vast majority of the scholarship focuses on the context of the recent financial crisis and while most writers argue that during this time there is a proliferation of street art, very few try to contextualize the period before, as we presented before. Another issue is that most try to analyze street art without an ethnographic focus; either they build a corpus of photographs or analyze the message of the slogans/graffiti/stencil art through a linguistic, cultural studies lens. Within the few works that do have in an ethnographic focus (e.g. Stampoulides 2016, Zaimakis 2016, Alexandrakis 2016, Tulke 2013), often semi-structured interviews are conducted with street artists that have already achieved status and participate in commissioned art.

That is a necessity than a choice, given that the majority of street art is not signed since authors/practitioners are not rather interested in recognition or credits from the graffiti scene.

Very few practitioners sign the political street art they produce because it is usually followed by a political symbol e.g. a star, the letter "A" in a circle, hammer and sickle, etc. that means they are embedded within a certain political tradition. In addition, this kind of graffiti (slogan writing) is done at the level of the individual and not as a part of a team, crew or group. What they really want is a way to express themselves and promote overall claims. Artists who do sign their work are mostly professionals, some with a cultural education, like fresh graduates from the School of Fine Arts that are about to begin building their way to the artistic world[6]. This of course does not mean that they are from the start focused on this role but gradually, they gain recognition and this as a potential way of winning some revenue. In any case, existing literature review shows that political street art or more specifically, political groups who regularly produce street art to promoter their political campaigns, are not taken analyzed per se. In all works examined and cited here, no author focuses on work done by political activists and why they choose this type to promote their mes-

6 - See for example the most known street artists like iNo, Cacao Rocks and WD.

Fig. 3 Posters containing the central logo of the campaign. The accompanying text says: "Hands off from our Sundays and our lives. Think as workers and not as customers. At Sundays we should not work. Do not shop". Photo taken by author.

sages and ideas, how they relate to the political landscape of Greece and how the "street" as a concept, is constructed in their view. This is a gap yet to be filled.

Furthermore, collective work in political street art is not something in scarcity at the Athenian cityscape. Some groups may produce stencil templates or organize walks for slogan wall writing as part of their duties as activists but they usually avoid signing their work because it is not of importance. Their aim, derived from preliminary data from interviews with activists, is to promote a message about an event or deconstruct mainstream narratives from media as part of an alternative public sphere. When they do sign their work, is done mostly through the medium of poster. This brings us to another gap in this literature. Although posters are mentioned, they are not taken into account or are part of a research corpus. Almost all of the authors mentioned in this article do not pay any kind of attention to posters although, if mentioned, they do include them within the definition of the street art 'family'. Future research should aim to fulfill this gap.

Finally, another point of discussion is that researchers often see street art and graffiti as an end-product. They neglect or abstain from paying attention to the processes, rituals of creation and distribution. The repercussions of this choice is that we cannot grasp the full sociopolitical context, the way choices are made, under which conditions are taken, if they follow a pattern and so on. Even if, for the sake of counterargument, agree that street art is meaningful and not only an illustration with a superficial character what do they offer us apart from the message they directly offer? We must pay attention to these attributes if we want to see the full picture. Future work should aim to answer these questions.

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(Dis)Rupture, (Re) Engage: Occupation and Protest at the Venice Biennale

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Abstract
The Venice Biennale serves as a major international art exhibition celebrating achievements in contemporary art, architecture, film, theater, and dance. Since the turn of the twentieth century, countries select artists to represent their nation and respond to a general theme developed by the Biennale curatorial staff. However, located outside the Biennale pavilions, artist-activists seek to disrupt the formal gallery and exhibition spaces. Though the tradition of protest and disrupture that dates to the 1960s, I examine two recent protest-performances at the 2015 Art Biennale and 2018 Architecture Biennale that respond to environmental, labor, and social issues affecting marginalized and vulnerable populations. Gulf Labor's collaboration on the #GuggOccupied protest (2015) and the women's protest at the 2018 Architecture Biennale each used the streets, sidewalks, and docks around/between the Biennale pavilions as platforms for critiquing these issues. These protest-interventions exemplify the greater socio-artistic effects produced against the backdrop of the Venice Biennale.

Keywords: Street Protests, Contemporary art, Venice Biennale, Urban Space, Protests

Introduction
Since the turn of the twentieth century, the Venice Biennale has served as a major exhibition event celebrating artistic achievements in contemporary art, architecture, film, theater, and dance. Countries select artists to represent their nation and respond to a general theme developed by the Biennale curatorial staff. However, located outside the Biennale pavilions, artist-activists seek to disrupt the formal gallery and exhibition spaces. Though the tradition of protest and disrupture that dates to the 1960s, I examine two recent protest-performances at the 2015 Art Biennale and 2018 Architecture Biennale that respond to environmental, labor, and social issues affecting marginalized and vulnerable populations. Gulf Labor's collaboration on the #GuggOccupied protest (2015) and the women's protest at the 2018 Architecture Biennale each used the streets, sidewalks, and docks around/between the Biennale pavilions as platforms for critiquing these issues. These protest-interventions exemplify the greater *socio-artistic* effects produced against the backdrop of the Venice Biennale.

The Venice Biennale:
Founded in 1895, the Venice Biennale began as an event to exhibit artworks outside the formal structures of the museum or gallery (Venice Biennale). Translated to *every other year*, the biennale model is employed by other mega art shows like documenta, Art Basel, and Art Dubai. Staff and guest curators develop a general theme every two years, often incorporating current social, cultural, or political issues affecting the global contemporary art scene. The Art Biennale (odd years) and Architecture Biennale (even years) invite artists, architects, and collectives to exhibit their work within assigned venues based on nation of origin or regional/diasporic affiliation. The Giardini currently houses thirty permanent national pavilions funded by each nation and private donors (Venice Biennale). For nations that do not hold national pavilions, exhibition spaces are provided throughout Venice or in smaller pavilions located in the Arsenale.

Although Biennale curators attempt to diversify the show and fracture center- periphery tension, criticism about nation division, venue location, and elitism affect

Fig. 1-Protestor march during the 1968 Venice Biennale (image rights pending)

the reputation of the event. In many cases, artists find difficulty obtaining travel visas or monetary sponsorship afforded to other artists with national patronage. Critics David Neustein and Grace Mortlock reiterate this criticism, outlining the complex relationship between the local and the global, artist and audience:

> Marooned on its tourist island, the Biennale is an idealized world-in-miniature, free of the realities, confusions and conflicts of the world-at-large. The environment is timeless, picturesque, serene: hardly representative of the world's 'increasing complexity.' (Neustein and Mortlock 2016)

The Biennale is increasingly viewed as a space of privilege, marketed to art connoisseurs, collectors, and art enthusiasts afforded the opportunity to travel to the event. Concerning this "complexity," many artists from the diaspora(s) or nations in political turmoil find limited representation afforded to sovereign nations with sponsored pavilions at the Biennale. Instead, these artists may affiliate with other nations or regional pavilions (or not at all). Critic Philip Kennicott notes these issues by stating:

> It is not uncommon for a national pavilion to be at odds with the country's political leadership. In the pavilions of authoritarian countries, one often finds paeans to dissent and individualism, acts of conscience and even direct rebukes to power. Authoritarians may be canny and have sharp instincts for self-preservation, but they are often stupid men, with closed minds and no capacity for thinking about art (Kennicott 2019).

To exemplify this point, there is an oft-critiqued argument that the Biennale serves as space for nations to select "safe" artists that create "safe" pieces that do not irk the leadership or sponsoring organizations within each pavilion. However, regarding the 2019 Arte Biennale, the choice by the United

States to select sculptor Martin Puryear complicated the "safe" paradigm. Puryear created sculptures for the United States pavilion that recognized the violent legacy of slavery in America while lionizing canonical figures like Sally Hemings. Heming's abstracted sculptural form juxtaposed the Colonial-style architecture reminiscent of Thomas Jefferson's estate at Montecello. Puryear's pieces thus reflect a shift in how nation-based pavilions recognize their racist and violent legacies (Kennicott 2019).

#Gugg Occupied Protest (2015) and the 2018 Women's Protest

At the 34th Venice Biennale (1968) crowds assembled near the Giardini to protest unfair working conditions, the Vietnam War, and general distrust against the Establishment (Fig. 1). The protestors entered the galleries and turned artworks against the walls, obstructed access to the buildings, and plastered the pavilion exhibition spaces with anti-war signs (Di Stefano 2010, 133). The after-effects of the protests resulted in curators shifting their attention to "a stronger, more provocative curatorial agenda for subsequent Biennales, and established them as forums for cultural debate (Rawsthorn 2013)."

However, analogous to the 1968 protests, demonstrations at the 2015 and 2018 iterations also used the Biennale as a platform to criticize human rights violations, climate change, government corruption, dubious labor practices, and corporate interest. At the 2015 Arte Biennale, titled *All the Worlds Futures*, several artist-activist organizations descended on the Guggenheim Museum and Biennale pavilions. Since 1986, the Peggy Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation manages the United States pavilion (Guggenheim). The foundation organizes shows in conjunction with cultural agencies of the United States. The Guggenheim Foundation's relationship with organizations that support controversial drug manufacturers and permit labor violations provided fodder for several Italian-based collectives like GULF (Gulf Ultra Luxury Faction) and Gulf Labor, and Sale Docks and Macao (Vartanian 2015). The collectives met at the docks outside the museum and displayed banners and signs condemning the numerous labor violations used to construct the new Guggenheim and Louvre museums in Abu Dhabi. The museums, located on Abu Dhabi's Saadiyat Island, received criticism and condemnation by artists, activists, and critics stemming from accusations of slave labor and hostile working conditions (Fig. 2). Human Rights Watch claims that workers are subject to "prison-like conditions" on Saadiyat, noting that many are lured to museum construction jobs only to be denied pay, healthcare, and adequate housing (Human Rights Watch 2009).

The protests at the Guggenheim and Biennale grounds brought attention to various labor violations supported by Guggenheim's affiliates. Using a similar tactic at the 2018 Architecture Biennale, protestors descended on the Biennale grounds to support the women's protest. Organized by renowned female architects and scholars like Caroline James, Martha Thorne Odile Decq, and Farshid Moussavi, the protest recognized the absence of women and in particular Black, Indigenous, and Women of Color, within the national pavilions (Sayer 2018). Citing the #MeToo movement and the lack of female representation at the Biennale, over one hundred participants gathered in the Giardini section of the Venice Biennale. Waving fans in the air as a sign of solidarity, Thorne read the group's manifesto titled, "Be a fan of Voices of Women" (Voices of Women 2018). An excerpt from the manifesto reads:

> We as Voices of Women are building conversations and taking actions to raise awareness to combat pervasive prejudices and disrespectful behaviour that appears to be systemic in our culture and discipline. We are united in denouncing discrimination, harassment and aggression against any member of our community. We will not tolerate it. We will not stand silent…The Venice Biennale 2018 Freespace is a crucial moment of awakening to promote equitable and respectful treatment of all members of the architectural community irrespective of gender, race, nationality, sexuality and religion. We will join hands with co-workers, students, clients, collaborators, and our male colleagues to create a new path forward toward equitable work and educational environments that promote respectful discourse and open exchange of ideas. Be a fan of Voices of Women. Make a vow to uphold fairness, transparency, and collaboration in architecture NOW. (Voices of Women 2018)

Fig. 2-A group of protestors occupy the docks outside the Guggenheim in Venice, 2015 (image rights pending)

Operating outside the nation-based pavilions, the gathering magnified the lack of female representation at the Biennale and associated pavilions.

What is at stake concerning the legacy of the current Biennale model? With rapidly changing political, social, and geographical landscapes, how can the nation-state model endure? How do the protest-performance by GULF and Voices of Women embody the contemporary condition? Art historian and critic Terry Smith raises concerns about the future of the Biennale model, stating "how might we understand biennial exhibitions within contemporary conditions?" (Smith 2017). These protests serve to draw attention to major social and political crises that are often censored by nations operating within the formal Biennale pavilions. Artist-activists respond to these moments by bringing attention to environmental concerns, corporate greed, misogyny, and labor violations. Attempts to dissolve the current biennale model is gaining traction with organizers opting for location-based curators or artists to guide the show. Recent counter-shows, the Anti-Biennale and the Ghetto Biennale in Port-au-Prince seek to fracture the current model and create a more inclusive, diverse, space for exhibitions to comment on issues affecting marginalized and underrepresented communities.

Fig. 3-A flash-mob supports the Voices of Women during the 2018 Architecture Biennale (image rights pending)

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The Use of Sustainable Development in Urban Creative Transformations: Analysis of Chalucet Creative Neighbourhood in Toulon (Southeast of France)

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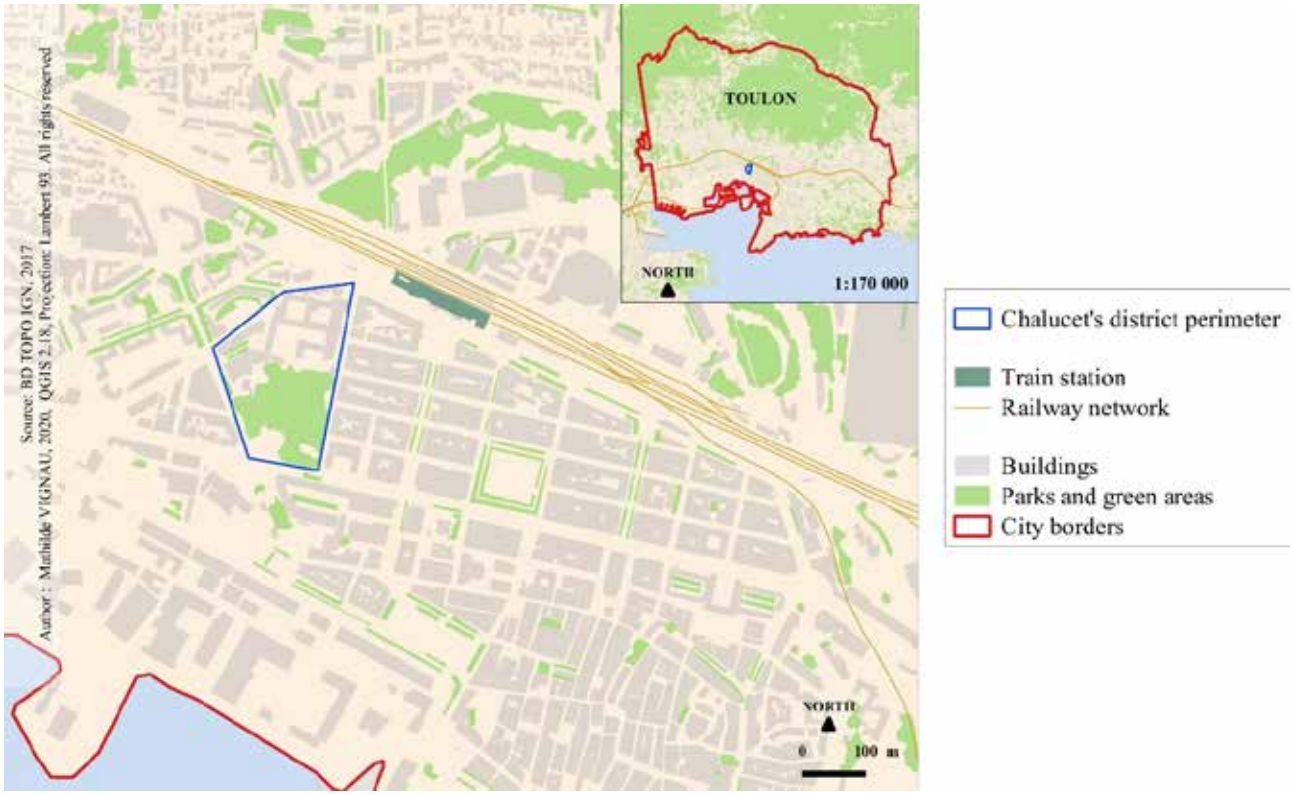
Abstract
For several decades now, creativity has been presented as a new tool for urban rehabilitation projects. Through a large number of scientific works published since the end of the 1980s, academics from all over the world pointed out the positive effects of culture and creativity on local economic development and urban attractiveness. Even if some of them have also demonstrated how limited these new tools can be by increasing gentrification, neoliberalism and socio-spatial injustices, it is quite clear now that the optimistic and enthusiastic statements coming from some scholars have undoubtedly affected urban and political decisions taken within cities worldwide. Concerning this analysis, this paper aims to present the specific case study of Toulon, a city located in the Southeastern part of France. It refers more precisely to Chalucet neighbourhood, a brand-new creative and knowledge district inaugurated in 2019, which is particularly relevant for two reasons. First, it focuses on what may be called "institutional creativity" that differs from the current idea that we often make of urban creativity through a large variety of arts, including graffiti and street art. Secondly, this specific example allows us to develop a strong connexion that exists between urban creativity and sustainability (Krueger and Buckingham, 2009, 2012). Indeed, it seems that we can sustainability consider as one of the significant factors regarding the emergence of creative cities which mainly depend on the environment and quality of life. From 2011 to 2019, the use of sustainable argument ran through the creative and knowledge district project in Toulon. For these reasons, this paper aims to present this project by underlining the links between urban creativity and sustainable development preoccupations. Moreover, it also demonstrates that the Chalucet neighbourhood in Toulon can affect local development both positively and negatively.

Keywords: urban creativity, creative city, sustainability, urban transformation, urban

Introduction

Environmental preservation, as well as sustainable development, are one of the most critical issues in the 21st century. It becomes even more important with the global pandemic hardly experimented worldwide for various months. In this context, this short essay tries to question the role of urban creative regeneration projects towards sustainability. About this topic, several issues appear. For instance, we can wonder, what can be the links between these two notions? How the creative city integrates sustainable preoccupations? Is the environment only a new narrative discourse serving green marketing to valorize urban creative projects? Finally, despite its positive aspects, is the creative city genuinely sustainable?

For several decades now, creativity has been presented as a new tool for urban rehabilitation projects (Bianchini et al., 1988; Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Landry, 2000; Scott, 2006). Through a large number of scientific works published since the end of the 1980s, academics from all over the world have pointed out the positive effects of culture and creativity on local economic development and urban attractiveness. On the other hand, some researchers have also demonstrated how limited these new tools can be by increasing gentrification, neoliberalism and socio-spatial injustices (Glass, 1964; Smith, 1979; Zukin, 1982, 1991; Peck, 2005; Sager, 2011). Nevertheless, it is quite clear now that the optimistic and enthusiastic statements coming from some scholars (Florida, 2002, 2004, 2005) have undoubtedly affected urban and political decisions taken within cities worldwide.



Map 1- Location of the Chalucet neighbourhood in Toulon, Southeast of France.

Concerning this analysis, this paper aims to present the specific case study of Toulon, a city located in the Southeastern part of France. It refers more precisely to the Chalucet neighbourhood, a brand-new creative and knowledge district inaugurated in 2019, which is particularly relevant for two reasons. First, it focuses on what may be called "institutional creativity" that differs from the current idea that we often make of urban creativity through a large variety of arts including graffiti, street art... Secondly, this specific example allows us to develop a strong connexion that exists between urban creativity and sustainability (Krueger and Buckingham, 2009, 2012). Indeed, it seems that we can sustainability consider as one of the significant factors regarding the emergence of creative cities which mainly depend on the environment and quality of life.

From 2011 to 2019, the use of sustainable argument ran through the creative and knowledge district project in Toulon. For these reasons, this paper aims to present this project by underlining the links between urban creativity and sustainable development preoccupations. Moreover, it also demonstrates that the Chalucet neighbourhood in Toulon can affect local development both positively and negatively. We use several methodologies, among which are interviews, photographs, and press reviews.

The role of the environment in urban creativity theories

Many of the scientific statements and theories about urban creativity consider that the environment plays a pivotal role to transform some abandoned urban areas and to attract and keep new urban users or inhabitants. For instance, it is mainly the case with the creative class concept partly based on what Richard Florida has called the "people's climate" which includes quality of place through the development of parks and green areas among other environmental amenities. Moreover, some academics also consider that the creative city itself can produce innovative solutions to regenerate urban territories in a more sustainable way (Sepe, 2010; Fusco Girard *et al.*, 2011). Therefore, there is, in theories, a kind of two-ways relationship between creativity and sustainability.

Concerning this first point, the specific case of *Chalucet* neighbourhood in Toulon is exciting to study. Toulon is a city located in the Southeastern part of France, and the neighbourhood called *Chalucet* refers to a new district located near to the train station in the city-centre of Toulon (see Map 1). As Map 1 below shows, *Chalucet* neighbourhood, inaugurated in January 2020, is the blue perimeter that covers more than 35,000 m² dedicated to creativity and knowledge. This case is particularly relevant mainly because it shows the use of the environment, green areas and more generally sustainability in all the phases of this project from the architects' plans to the recent attribution of a new ecolabel, which rewards the high environmental performance of this urban regeneration project.

The *Chalucet* neighbourhood creative transformation:

The *Chalucet* neighbourhood host several essential amenities, many of them are creative resources such as the media library, the school of fine arts or the international school of business, management, and design. It also includes around 200 housings. It is a historical place that is still full of memories for the inhabitants. But the most interesting point concerning the urban regeneration of this neighbourhood started from 2011 when the *Chalucet* hospital area was sold to a regional public land institution by the city that wanted to get funds to build a brand-new hospital in another district. The question of urban regeneration raises quickly after the former hospital's sale and closure. In January 2012, the local decision-makers signed a land intervention agreement on the *Chalucet* site between the city of Toulon and the regional public land institution. This agreement determines the preliminary study phase (concerning the security of the site and the feasibility of the urban regeneration project), which led to the validation of the first project in December 2013.

Thus, this territory was never abandoned and became so to say a "wasteland" only for a brief period contrary to other industrial wastelands as the ones in Marseille for example. This district was immediately considered as a land of opportunities by several political decision-makers. Indeed, during a town council in June 2014, the urban project called "reconversion of the former *Chalucet* Hospital" was clarified and the elected representatives highlighted its vocation to "[…] participate in the revitalization of downtown and [to] materialize Tomorrow's Toulon by turning it towards future."[1]Then, to carry out this project, a call for applications was launched in October 2014 to determine the candidates

1 - Quotation extracted from the town council report in Toulon in June 2014 (translated in English).

admitted competing as potential project managers. In March 2015, the local decision-makers selected four agencies and architect's offices to compete. Finally, in September 2015, the jury appointed as the winner of the competition and project manager, the architect's office *Vezzoni & Associés*, led by the renowned French architect Corine Vezzoni and the building works started until the official inauguration last January.

Moreover, the study of several official documents and reports coming from Toulon's council town put forward a relevant strategy of communication around the notion of creativity. Indeed, at the very beginning, political decision-makers considered that the critical resource to develop within this new neighbourhood was the one knowledge through digital and new technologies. Between 2012 and 2015, the word "creativity" did not appear in the official name of the urban regeneration project. In fact, until the first quarter of 2015, the official documents from the town council referred to the Chalucet neighbourhood as the "knowledge and digital district." The specific use of the term "creativity" appeared quite lately in September 2015. This name's change may seem trivial, but, according to us, it reflects the will to highlight communication around the project by using the more inclusive and significantly improving concept of creativity.

According to the architect C.Vezzoni, this notion not only appears through the future facilities that will host the *Chalucet* neighbourhood but also through the sharing of common spaces also called "third places" in various scientific publications (Oldenburg, 1989; Dubus, 2009; Burret, 2013, 2018; Pineau, 2018). In this regard, she stated: "We have shared spaces [...], and that is creativity too. […] In *Chalucet* housings, we offer rooms, which could be shared. So, when you have a friend or family who comes, you can host them, but they will stay in a place that you would have booked in advance. In the same way, we have planned a shared dining room and a communal kitchen."[2] If the concept of creativity has played a crucial role within this urban regeneration project, the latter was also firmly connected with sustainability and the environment, which are two fundamental concepts in this example.

The importance of sustainability in all the project's phases: From 2015 to 2019, sustainability became a strong argument that ran through the creative and knowledge district project in Toulon. According to the planners and political decision-makers involved in this project, the environment is entirely part of what a creative city or district must be. This idea reminds us of some academic works that have underlined the crucial role of gardens, parks, and nature within cities' regeneration (Swanwick *et al*., 2003; Kabisch and Haase, 2013). At the heart of the Chalucet neighbourhood, the urban regeneration project stands the *Jardin Alexandre 1er*, which is the green area visible within the blue perimeter (See Map 1). This public park is the core of the creative and knowledge district. Its regeneration is significant within the whole architectural project defended by architect C. Vezzoni who stated: "Our goal was to extend the park to make it crosses the entire neighbourhood. We wanted nature to penetrate the district and do what the 19th century was unable to do that is: connecting the city with nature."[3] To sum up, in the *Chalucet* urban project, three phases show how urban creative regeneration and sustainability are linked. During the first phase, the architect C. Vezzoni and her team wanted to improve sustainability in the project's plans and during all the building works. This ambition passed through several concrete actions such as the extension of the Jardin Alexandre 1er which has been extended by 5000 m² (total size: 20.000 m²) and where gardeners planted 153 new trees (total number of trees, bushes, and plants: 14.838). The installation of birdhouses also preserved biodiversity. Concerning the building works, a charter was signed to implement an environmental approach, which minimizes noise pollution, dust, and vibration. To achieve that, the workers were, among other actions, constantly spraying water on the buildings' rubbles to avoid dust dispersion. Finally, the workers paid peculiar attention to waste sorting. The method used for this research consisted of the analysis of local and regional press journals and articles' study. These specific documents have shown that many press articles present this new creative and knowledge district through the promotion of its sustainable features. The local and regional press often suggests that the *Jardin Alexandre 1er* is a "green lung" to preserve in the city, no matter the costs.

2 - Interview with architect Corine Vezzoni in Marseille on 06 June, 2017.

3 - Interview with architect Corine Vezzoni in Marseille on June 06, 2017.

Moreover, using green areas photographs, the political decision-makers want to convey complimentary messages about sustainable progress within the city-core of Toulon. Finally, the third phase starts with the éco-quartier labelling of The Chalucet neighbourhood. This label is a French award rewarding several positive criteria such as a pleasant living environment, a diversity of urban functions (housing, education, culture), the presence of natural spaces, the valorization of historic monuments or the protection of biodiversity as well as the existence of water points. Overall, the criteria rewarded are both parts of the urban creativity and sustainable city.

Is this project genuinely sustainable?

Some possible future threats:

Even if the urban regeneration of the creativity and knowledge district seems to be very positive from various points of view, there are some possible threats, which could jeopardize the global sustainability of the whole project. Indeed, this urban regeneration project is still very young, and until now, we do not gather enough scientific data to measure its real social or territorial impacts. However, when we analyzed this perimeter at a broader scale, we realized that this project participated in the whole city-core regeneration, which is not sustainable, especially at a social level. One of the biggest threats could be the fear of the gentrification process that slowly but surely appears, around the *Chalucet* neighbourhood. For instance, less than 500m far from it, a private firm has built a four stars hotel which is part of the group Okko Hotels and which contrasts with the social inclusion of sustainable objectives.

Moreover, some citizens currently fear the death of other neighbourhoods with the opening and concentration of big creative amenities in the same area. Finally, if the positive effects of this urban regeneration are apparent, more studies and scientific analyses are now needed to explore its real impacts in terms of social and economic inclusion to prove that this case is a real example of a creative and sustainable urban project. That is why it could be interesting to focus on the potential movements of resistance or rebellion against this kind of urban transformation.

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Preserving Plywood Protest Art: Minneapolis and Saint Paul after George Floyd

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Abstract
Since 25 May 2020, George Floyd's death at the hands of the Minneapolis police has sparked civil uprisings throughout Minnesota. In the context of this intense crisis, street art transforms urban space and fosters a sustained political dialogue, reaching a wide audience and making change possible, as seen in art throughout the Twin Cities and eventually the world. For example, the mural depicting George Floyd painted by local artists on the sidewall of Cup Foods at 38th St and Chicago in Minneapolis initially transformed a location that was a tragic marker of an extrajudicial anti-Black murder into an important community space for memorialization, organizing, fellowship, and healing, but it also became a site of conflict and negotiation. Graffiti was spray-painted onto plywood-covered store windows, which business owners put up in fear of riots. Images of anger and hope covered those boards. Our research discusses what will happen to art such as this, who wants to preserve it and why, how it could be used in the future, and what that means for anti-racism efforts in the Twin Cities.

Keywords: Physical preservation, Collecting, Non-Profit Organizations, Social Justice, Anti-racist Street Art

On 25 May 2020, police officers murdered George Floyd on a busy street corner in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Video of this horrendous act of racial violence spread quickly throughout the world by way of social media. Although the state of Minnesota was under stay-at-home orders due to the Covid-19 pandemic, people took to the streets in Minneapolis and St. Paul, demanding that justice be served. Minneapolis and St. Paul are metropolitan areas with active creative scenes, but perhaps due to many months of inclement weather, it is not known for its street art scene. However, when Twin Cities businesses boarded up their windows to fend off potential property damage from riots, unintentionally supplying canvases, artists and graffiti writers seized the opportunity. The plywood panels were temporary fixtures and the art on them can be erased quickly. For those of us interested in street art, many questions arise: what will happen to these boards when they are eventually removed? Who will take care of them? And most importantly, who ultimately controls the narrative of protest art in the wake of George Floyd's murder?

Knowing these irreplaceable canvases have a short lifespan, activists began to come up with ways of preserving them and the stories they represent.[1] Our Urban Art Mapping research team based at the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul responded by creating a digital archive: the George Floyd and Anti-Racist Street Art Database.[2]

1 - Kristi Belcamino, "Advocates want to preserve George Floyd street art," *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, June 8, 2020, https://www.grandforksherald.com/news/government-and-politics/6527442-Advocates-want-to-preserve-George-Floyd-street-art

2 - https://georgefloydstreetart.omeka.net

Fig 1 & Fig 2- "Bomb of Tags." *George Floyd & Anti-Racist Street Art*. Accessed October 28, 2020. https://georgefloydstreetart.omeka.net/items/show/1091.

Fig.3- Lisa Hey Skildum, "Lion HeART: See Me. Hear Me. Believe Me.," *George Floyd & Anti-Racist Street Art*, accessed October 28, 2020, https://georgefloydstreetart.omeka.net/items/show/1089. This was documented on June 7, 2020 on a boarded-up ALDI in Minneapolis, MN.

Because the works on plywood would be temporary, we knew digital preservation was important. We determined we would not play a role in the collection and preservation of physical objects for a few reasons. First, we observed that works on plywood were changing quickly as graffiti was written over multiple times and sometimes concealed by new messages and paintings. Second, many works appeared on surfaces such as pavement, stone, glass, and fixed signs, and were therefore unsuitable for collection. Instead, we created an archive with images and metadata to provide open access to the art for anyone with an internet connection. As for physical preservation, other groups stepped up to the challenge.

Knowing these irreplaceable canvases have a short lifespan, activists began to come up with ways of preserving them and the stories they represent.[3] Our Urban Art Mapping research team based at the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul responded by creating a digital archive: the George Floyd and Anti-Racist Street Art Database.4 Because the works on plywood would be temporary, we knew digital preservation was important. We determined we would not play a role in the collection and preservation of physical objects for a few reasons. First, we observed that works on plywood were changing quickly as graffiti was written over

3 - Kristi Belcamino, "Advocates want to preserve George Floyd street art," St. Paul Pioneer Press, June 8, 2020, https://www.grandforksherald.com/news/government-and-politics/6527442-Advocates-want-to-preserve-George-Floyd-street-art

4 - https://georgefloydstreetart.omeka.net

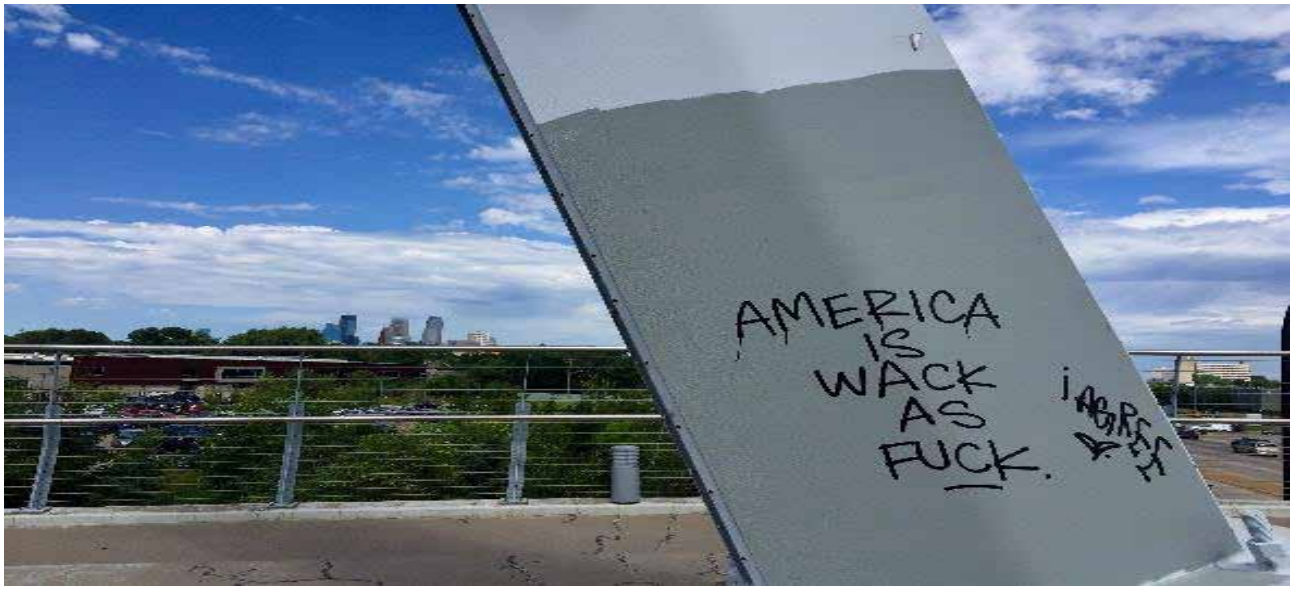

Fig.4- "America Is Wack As Fuck - I Agree," *George Floyd & Anti-Racist Street Art*, accessed October 28, 2020, https://georgefloydstreetart.omeka.net/items/show/1180.This work was documented on July 16, 2020 on the Martin Olav Saboo Bridge in Minneapolis, MN. Unlike plywood-based works, there is no way to physically remove this work from its original context.

multiple times and sometimes concealed by new messages and paintings. Second, many works appeared on surfaces such as pavement, stone, glass, and fixed signs, and were therefore unsuitable for collection. Instead, we created an archive with images and metadata to provide open access to the art for anyone with an internet connection. As for physical preservation, other groups stepped up to the challenge.

In the Twin Cities, this tremendous production of plywood art is unprecedented. These protest messages need to be preserved and amplified. Yet there are no equivalent examples for us to look back on for guidance on how to preserve and tell the stories shown on the boards. Who should take care of the art? Who gets a say in what happens? Community members rose to address these needs and questions, and we will highlight some of this work here. A note about wording: we will refer to the art on plywood panels as "the boards," and "community" refers specifically to the Black community in the Twin Cities.

One example of physical preservation comes from Save the Boards and Memorialize the Movement, two groups that combined to become Save the Boards to Memorialize the Movement, or StB2MtM. Spearheaded by Leesa Kelly and Kenda Zellner-Smith, StB2MtM is determined to keep the boards in the hands of the communities that created them. This includes preventing both the sale of boards by business owners and the collection of boards by any traditionally white-centric institutions, such as prominent art museums.[5] [6] StB2MtM isn't excluding potential partnerships with local institutions, though. It is working with the Black-owned Minnesota African American Heritage Museum and Gallery to exhibit some of the boards in 2021.[7]

5 - Gotlieb, Nate. "Preserving the murals made during the uprising." *Southwest Journal*. July 1, 2020. https://www.southwestjournal.com/news/2020/06/preserving-the-murals-made-during-the-uprising/

6 - Deena Zaru and Arielle Mitropoulos, "As Black Lives Matter murals are disposed of or defaced, Minneapolis activists launch effort to preserve the art," *ABC News*, August 9, 2020, https://abcnews.go.com/US/black-lives-matter-murals-disposed-defaced-minneapolis-activists/story?id=71788741

7 - *Memorialize the Movement*, accessed November 4, 2020, https://sites.google.com/view/memorializethemovement/home.

Fig-5 Xena Goldman; Cadex Herrera; Greta McLain with Maria Javier; Niko Alexander; Pablo Helm Hernandez; Rachel Breen, "George Floyd Mural (defaced)," *George Floyd & Anti-Racist Street Art*, accessed November 4, 2020, https://georgefloydstreetart.omeka.net/items/show/1594.

Organizations like StB2MtM seeking to preserve plywood panels face many challenges. Sometimes business owners want the boards removed quickly with little notice. The logistical challenges of organizing removal and storage are high. Documentation of works in context is often not possible. Plywood breaks down and some works are defaced. Additionally, Minnesota's winters are freezing and wet, with temperature changes that could ruin any art, let alone plywood boards. All these challenges can be overwhelming for any group, especially non-profits with few resources. Unfortunately, this mural has been defaced twice as of November 4, 2020. This second defacement reads "Fuck Walz Commies & Satan." It refers to Governor Walz of Minnesota, likely due to measures he instated surrounding Covid-19. George Floyd's eyes have also been blackened out.

Grassroots efforts and groups that center BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, & People of Color) often lack external support from other institutions, adequate budgets and fundraising, and have trouble finding volunteers to engage in long-term transformative work. The fight for change is never-ending and volunteers and activists receive little immediate compensation. This can lead to a lack of continued investment and emotional strength regarding anti-racism efforts. What will happen to the preserved boards in the future? From what we have observed, the vast array of suggestions can be broken down into two main categories: repurposing, and public installation. Some have proposed repurposing the art for public use: turning them into picnic tables, benches, or little libraries.[8]

8 - SAVETHEBOARDS, @savetheboards_mpls, August 17, 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/CD__-dxnFUG/

Fig 6 & Fig 7- SAVETHEBOARDS, @ savetheboards_mpls, September 8, 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/CE4msQ4HvJW/; DAESK, ""We" Painted Panel," *George Floyd & Anti-Racist Street Art*, accessed November 3, 2020, https://georgefloydstreetart.omeka.net/items/show/1047. These boards in Minneapolis, MN were defaced in early September.

This rejects the traditional preservation approach preferred by most collectors, specifically museums. Collecting institutions prefer to maintain the object's state of being at the time of collection and don't consider reshaping it for another use. This proposal also puts the art front-and-center in the community; making it accessible and tangibly useful, rather than in storage or behind a "Do Not Touch" sign. It ensures the community will have continued access to the art. There will be inevitable wear and tear, and likely vandalism, but it keeps the narrative of the art in the community's hands.

The second proposal is for permanent or semi-permanent installation. With the art in the hands of those who created it and have the most intimate relationship with it, it is less likely to be displayed out of context. StB2MtM is collaborating with the Minnesota African American Heritage Museum and Gallery to ensure that Black Minnesotans control the exhibit and narrative. Luckily, traditionally colonialist institutions in the Twin Cities have stated they will not be looking to collect any of the boards.[9]

What does the future hold for the Twin Cities' protest art? The initiative taken by community members with vision and drive is key to making sure the momentum is not lost. As collectors small and large work to preserve these freeze frames of conflict and strife, particular detail should be focused on preserving the variety of voices and pieces sparked in the wake of the revolution-from the hopeful to the cynical critiques.

The conversation of who controls the narrative is ongoing. Keeping the art in the hands of the community prevents the further whitewashing of history. In the future, BIPOC communities having full control of the art created in and by their communities means they can use the art as tools for civic engagement, calling for institutional reform and accountability. This is the next step to lasting change.

9 - Gotlieb, Nate, "Preserving the murals made during the uprising," *Southwest Journal*, July 1, 2020, https://www.southwestjournal.com/news/2020/06/preserving-the-murals-made-during-the-uprising/

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Alla Myzelev in Conversation with Marine Tanguy on Commercial Public Art and Art Agency

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Marine Tanguy
Founder and CEO of MTArt Agency

Abstract
An advocate for urban artists since a young age, Marine Tanguy launched MTArt Agency in 2015. MTArt is the first talent agency for visual artists worldwide. MTArt Agency was behind the largest public art painting in the world: the project of Saype in Paris supported by 30 companies including the Eiffel Tower and the Guardian Media Group.

AM

While you represent an artist talent agency, you are probably privy to so many conversations about public art. Perhaps let us start by explaining what MTArt is? What MTR does and how did you come to do what you do?

MT

MTArt agency is a talent agency to start with, which means that it represents what we believe to be winning aspiring artists. We are a creative agency as well that integrates the arts in different environments. And in terms of how I got there so I was asked to be the Gallery director of the Outsiders Gallery in London when I was 21. And so I was in London, and then two years later was approached by an investor to open and mount Gallery in LA so it is very much what you do with the states where you have an investment visa. And, you know, you get covered on financially but then you have to do all the sweat equity, which is you basically kind of put the business together and, and all the contacts and everything. When I had the business in Los Angeles, I was very fortunate to be exposed to the top talent agencies that were kind of running the place because obviously LA is very much run by the talent agencies, and there is one man that had an enormous impact on the way I think about things. He is Michael Ovitz. We started CAA talent agency, so CAA, UTA and William Morris are the three biggest agencies in the world. I was lucky to be there at age 23 and to get to regularly meet him. It was like informal mentoring. I was able to get to have constant access into his mind and understand how he had basically built that talent agency. That truly fascinated me because I struggled with a galley model that I thought was a shop. It was a luxury shop to buy or to sell art, but it is creative in its approach to art. I love that with the talent agency, it could be really strategic and you can support talented artists.

AM

This is a very unusual start for a gallery manager. How did you reconcile your dissatisfaction with the gallery model with the interest in the talent agency?

MT

I had to leave that partnership and start my own company, which is almost five years ago now. I build the first agency into the art space. My thinking really was quite interesting, I think. I took three cultural exposures that I had, which is French, the UK, and the States. As you know, the French are pretty socialist. So there is that angle to MTArt by the very fact that we integrate the arts into all environments for our artists, by the very fact that we build them up, not just in the luxury context, and that we have, open application process and selection committee that we've used fairly. That is actually the ethics of more of a left-wing way of thinking, which I think is interesting because this is being merged with a marketing and commercial heavy side of things, which is very Los Angeles and Hollywood in that sense. This we again merge with the way how in the UK we are running a business.

So I think that is kind of what we put together, and that was very much at the heart of my value system because I love art and very lucky now to be surrounded by it. I'm also aware that I couldn't just be purely on the luxury side. I have to make sure my artists have an impact through arts, which is how MTArt became the first B Corporation certification and is certified as ethical versus tenable, which is very rare for this sector. Art in the urban public space was one of the first things that make an impact because it pays for my talents so it makes sure my talents are okay. It makes sure the urgencies, and access to the arts. It also respects the idea that art integrates itself with our environment. We use resources that are existing and enhance them. So, it felt very aligned with all the values that the business had at heart.

AM

I am fascinated with the combination of the socialist approach and the business approach. Because the main criticism of the arts, especially public art is that it does use so much of taxpayers' money.

MT

Many people see public art as a charitable thing to do but not as a business venture. For me, you had to enter the business side because it had to be a key element. So, we looked into the economics and how we can prove the impact that art has and justify it economically so that we can integrate it businesswise. Our expertise is based on that economic study. We believe in all those values of public art, but we also make sure that from a cost perspective, the impact is measured. We can prove that art is impactful. So this is part of the company's approach. We have always supported artists who had a very strong social subject and that goes back to one of your questions. We have not supported artists who are decorative but I have nothing against that. It just goes back to our philosophy at the start of the business. We always consider how we can use the artists in a promotion or marketing end of things, towards the content that may be stuck in academia so the urgencies could be reduced. That way, we could enlarge the engagement in the arts, and I think this is why it is a really interesting business to lead. I am thinking of one of my artists, Saype. He has invented a material that is biodegradable to conduct large public art paintings and avoid harming the environment. He could maintain a conversation with academics but meanwhile, we have a very commercial strategy applied to her carrier. So the two public and private streams feel really aligned, and they are at the heart of the business that we lead.

AM

Could you talk about the process of applying for the artists? What does the artist do? They have to submit the application I imagine and then what happens when they are accepted?

MT

We get about 250 applications a month. That is basically artists applying to get into the agency. We have a selection committee that assesses aspects such as innovative techniques. That is what we assessed with Saype. So innovation is a very big thing. And then we also look at the social message to how they committed. You cannot just say, I care about x you have to demonstrate that you have been

Saype, Beyond Walls, 2019.

advocating for this, and you have had a small impact on what you advocating for. And then we look at the personality and that's I think what changes the way we think about the applicant's art. We really think in terms of people and talents- what creates success is the way someone leaves their carrier. We are not expecting someone to have business cards ready but we are expecting a level of drive and ambition.

So in total, we look for drive and ambition. There is obviously a caveat that we can put on the fact that they are artists but we have a firm belief that there is a type of personality event like athletes or musicians that can get you there. Because of the projects that we do at scale, it is necessary to pick these personalities because it is very challenging to lead them. Once we have put that person on and we think that is heaven, we issue a contract. It is for three years minimum. It gives you, financial support every month to pay for your cost. We also look at the resources of people behind you to accelerate you in terms of PR, public art projects, works with partners, and digital partnerships. So we look at basically how can we get you there. They all definitely differences between our artists. Some of them will never do public collaborations because their profiles are not suitable. Some are much more suited to the collector side of things and public art but there will still be a strategy that will be basically tailored and applied. And then once the strategy is applied, basically we just strive to measure. When the strategy is being tailored, then it is being implemented with a team behind it. It is basically just we try to obtain as many objectives as we set for ourselves, basically.

AM

Do you have goals in mind when you sign an artist, where you would expect them to do X in three years?

MT

The objectives will change of course. For example, when Saype joined the agency he said, his goal was to do the largest public painting in the world that is biodegradable and we did it in six months. Some artists have a very fixed idea of what they want to achieve. I think of Saype, he is incredibly achieving in terms of the public art side. If I think of David Aiu Servan-Schreiber, he will be, high- achieving in terms of collectors and the art world; some of them are delighted. Clement is much more like the UN type of ambassador and again more on the social side. And if I think of Ania Catherine and Dejha Ti they are better on brand partnerships like the one they just did at the Serpentine Gallery with the brand Mithridate.

So success varies, but for us, success is needed obviously because we put a lot of resources behind them. And we can't renew their contracts without that but I think the variation and wishes for success are different.

AM

Could you think of a couple of artists that you represent whose work So, can you maybe think of at least maybe a couple of artists that you represent hope for the future and raising awareness.

MT

We are always defined personally as a funder, as someone that is a pragmatic optimist. This is certainly the way we look at artists. The way to think about it is that the artists basically strive for change or progressive change or kind of triggering a change in people. And the way that is triggered is through a pragmatic optimism. Right now, there is a big project that we just got where we specifically asked, in light of the crisis to respond to the idea of pragmatic optimism. Silver Lining is a public art project by our artist duo Ania Catherine and Dejha Ti and the esteemed poet Greta Bellamacina located within the world-renowned neighbourhood of St James's, found nestled between Haymarket and Piccadilly within the City of Westminster. Project organizers have taken the side of saying, you know, art will be that trigger. Hope will be generated and hope obviously changes things but we do not have provocative artists. Our artists make you think basically and then it is up to your hope to change things. I think that our public art projects represent a fight for something that is almost impossible but our artists accomplish it. And in this sense, it becomes more like hope that if you put enough work ethic and enough community support into it then it could actually result in something positive.

AM

Did you ever have anyone who was controversial in your roster of artists who you had to defend in the public eye or received a lot of criticism?

MT

I am not sure if it was controversial in the sense that you mean but there are definitely comments. For example, when and I signed that the first AI artists we got quite a lot of weird, texts and comments and social media, from the AI community will felt that, you know, they were challenging things in a way that was not pleasing to that community. So there are instances when it happens. The thing, no one whether as a team or of employees or me as a founder, or my art is here to be liked; everyone is working to be respected. So, we understand that some things that we say may not be something that you like. That is why I think we are not controversial, we are more on the challenging side where we will challenge you, but we will not provide you or we will not be controversial for the sake of it. We can only instill a challenge and I think with that, you cannot get everyone to agree with you or like you. But I think we have rarely been in a place where people don't respect artists. People respond, comment, or feel triggered or challenged. Some of the artists are so passionate about the subject that not everyone agrees with them. But I don't think that's the point and I think that our role as an agency to get people behind them, that may not be agreeing politically with them but will be agreeing in terms of the long term ideas. For instance, I think of Saype. For his latest project, we were able to put the Financial Times next to the Guardian next to big Corporation companies. I think the Financial Times and The Guardian think about the issue the same way. It is important to get everyone who cares about the topic in one bed. We do not look at it politically, we look at it in terms of

Saype, Beyond Walls, 2019.

who can add value to that topic. I think that is the reason why I wouldn't consider the artists controversial. I would view art as controversial when it is political or provocative. Our artists are challenging you and not telling you what you want to hear. They put forward a well-thought idea that will take time to resolve and we include you in that conversation.

AM

For your artists do you help them with space and execution of the project or mainly with the PR?

MT

Completely depends on the project. We are aligned in wanting to make things happen. We are constantly acquiring contacts to help us make it happen. Ultimately, what I do is a network and the strengths of MTArt are that it has a very strong network and community of people that basically help. But when it comes to project like this is really the key thing is to have that network and make sure that artists get the right authorization, permits, or financial help. Whether you sell artwork or integrate art into projects or collaboration, it is done through the network. If my artist already has a contract we add more and initiate a conversation on what is needed. And we strive to do better than that but sometimes we get the project and permit and sometimes you do not. So we are recruiting for that. For example, just last week I had an artist, who had a really tough time with the confinement due to COVID 19 and decided not to sign the contract. So the level of HR is really heavy. You can manage if you love the job and you love people. My clients and my talents are demanding, but once you love the job, it doesn't feel demanding it feels normal because everyone cares about the best outcome. In the case of that artist, many people would not want to be woken up with an email like this or having to deal with it on Sunday afternoon. And so I think it is a demanding job if you think it is a job, but it's not demanding if it is integrated into your life.

AM

This is how as an academic I approach my job; it never starts at nine and ends at five. It is integrated into my life. I think of it as a lifestyle. Perhaps in the art agency, you attract more business-oriented people.

MT

Most people are looking at it as a job, and I think also the art world attracts a lot of egos and our job does not have to do with the ego. So if one of the artists has difficulties, I do not have an ego and if my clients have difficulties, I have again no place for it. For example, many people in the artwork would not be able to resolve thinks with that artist. We were backing down and putting no ego on the table to make it work. This is not the way I was taught to work in that sector, it is not the power dynamics that we was taught.

AM

What is the most important thing for MTArt?

MT

Fairness is really at the heart of our business model, for example, you should be able to apply to every opportunity within the arts and know the criteria by which you are reviewed. We want the most inspiring artist and we are not going to accept everyone but what we are saying that there is a lack of talent diversity and clarity on how it applied in the sector. And talent diversity can only happen if you are conscious of the bias and you are therefore line up the criteria and making the application process open. We are saying we love talent, we want the best talent, not the ones who can afford to be here or have connections to be here; just purely the most talented. I personally find it very interesting to explore the economics of creating fairness. B corps entire ethos is about doing economics for good. We are using economics to do something that I think is more socially fair. So I think I will always be in between the social benefit and economic benefit because once you have the economics on your side you can, you are able to put money behind people in a really good way. It is an understanding of how economics and social can serve together. I am really interested in the relationship between public art and economics since it is not the relationship that you will expect will work out.

AM

Probably for these reasons you have no competition yet because there are very few people like you who understands both the art market and economics of art. People are unwilling to take the ego out, combine the expertise in both fields, and create something new.

MT

I think that is the important thing and that is why I think we have been very successful. In the arts now, there is the charity sector and commercial galleries but it needs something in between. Like, socially enterprising way of thinking about arts, so they can attract more finances from outside into the sector. MTArt will always be in that in-between space.

AM

Yes, that is what makes your agency unique and interesting.

Ania Catherine, Dejha Ti and Greta Bellamacina, Silver Lining, 2020