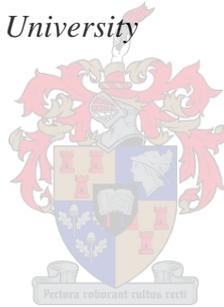


# **SOCIO-SPATIALITIES OF VISUAL ART IN STELLENBOSCH**

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in the Faculty of Geography and Environmental Studies at Stellenbosch*

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## **DECLARATION**

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Vida A. Viljoen

## **SUMMARY**

The social and spatial dimensions of any settlement are widely recognised in the international literature as having been shaped notably by art in some of the so-called cities of art or culture, such as Florence, Venice and other, smaller cultural nodes around the world. Arts resources have an impact on the socio-spatial dimension of a locale in a multitude of ways, and an understanding thereof can be hugely beneficial to a town's development and success. When developed, utilised and protected correctly, the full positive effects of such resources can be achieved to stimulate an inclusive and diverse art town setting. The Western Cape town of Stellenbosch is reputed for its rich arts and cultural heritage, yet there has not been extensive academic research concerning the incidence and effects thereof. Hence, Stellenbosch provides a platform from which to study the socio-spatial influence that visual art brings about in the interplay between art, people and space. Enhanced planning and decision making can then be undertaken for the current and future protection and management of art resources, equipping Stellenbosch to be part of a world that is both a competitive global market and diverse sphere of social constructs and discourses.

The exploration of notions such as commoditisation, the places and spaces of art, formal and informal public art, artwork defacement, and the sense of place brought about by the art in Stellenbosch to obtain an overarching impression of the nature and extent of the influences of art on the socio-spatial dimension was the primary aim of this study. A descriptive overview of the socio-spatialities brought about by art in the so-called art town of Stellenbosch is provided by utilising in-depth interviews in combination with a minor GIS component. This enables an overall view of the public perception of art in Stellenbosch, as well as a visual overview of the distribution of the available art resources, hence providing new attribute and spatial data that can inform future initiatives in the town.

## **KEY WORDS AND PHRASES**

Urban art, art clustering, sense of place, commodification, inclusion, graffiti, public art, city of art, city of culture, Stellenbosch

## OPSOMMING

In die internasionale literatuur word die sosiale en ruimtelike dimensies van 'n nedersetting wyd erken as deur kuns gevorm te wees in sommige sogenaamde stede van kuns of kultuur, soos Florence of Venesië, en ander, kleiner kulturele nodes regoor die wêreld. Kunsbronne het op 'n magdom van maniere 'n impak op die sosio-ruimtelike dimensie van 'n land, en 'n begrip daarvan is uiters voordelig vir 'n dorp se ontwikkeling en sukses. Wanneer dié bronne toepaslik ontwikkel, benut en beskerm word, kan die volle positiewe uitwerking daarvan bereik word om 'n inklusiewe en diverse kunsdorpomgewing te stimuleer. Die Wes-Kaapse dorp Stellenbosch is bekend vir sy ryk kuns- en kulturele erfenis, maar uitgebreide akademiese navorsing oor die voorkoms en gevolge daarvan is nog nie onderneem nie. Stellenbosch bied dus 'n platform waarop die sosio-ruimtelike invloed van visuele kuns in die wisselwerking tussen kuns, mense en die ruimte bestudeer kan word. Verbeterde beplanning en besluitneming kan dan gedoen word vir die huidige en toekomstige beskerming en bestuur van kunsbronne, wat Stellenbosch sal toerus vir 'n wêreld wat beide 'n kompeterende globale mark en diverse terrein van sosiale konstruksie en diskoerse is.

Die ondersoek van begrippe soos kommodifikasie, die plekke en ruimtes van kuns, formele en informele openbare kuns, kunswerkskending, en sin van plek wat deur die kuns in Stellenbosch teweeg gebring word, verskaf 'n oorkoepelende indruk van die aard en omvang van die invloede van kuns op die sosio-ruimtelike dimensie, wat die primêre doel van hierdie studie was. 'n Beskrywende oorsig van die sosio-ruimtelikheid wat deur kuns in die sogenaamde kunsdorp Stellenbosch teweeg gebring word, is verskaf deur gebruik te maak van in-diepte onderhoude in kombinasie met 'n kleiner GIS-komponent. Dit lewer 'n geheelbeeld van die openbare persepsie van kuns op Stellenbosch, sowel as 'n visuele oorsig van die verspreiding van die kunsbronne wat beskikbaar is, wat dus nuwe attribuut- en ruimtelike data verskaf wat toekomstige inisiatiewe op die dorp kan inlig.

## TREFWOORDE EN -FRASES

Stedelike kuns, kungroepering, sin van plek, kommodifikasie, insluiting, graffiti, publieke kuns, stad van kuns, stad van kultuur, Stellenbosch

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## **ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

CCTV	Closed-circuit television
GIS	Geographic information system
GPS	Global positioning system
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SAA	Stellenbosch Arts Association
SANAVA	South African National Association for the Visual Arts
SOI	Sphere of influence
SOST	Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust
STIA	Stellenbosch Tourism and Information Authority
SU	Stellenbosch University
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

## CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND TO STUDY

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Art and culture have, in the past, been documented internationally as having numerous effects on the socio-spatialities of various settlements, most notably perhaps concerning so-called *creative cities* (Smith & Warfield 2008) such as Venice and Florence. However, the presence of and processes surrounding art and culture are highly dynamic and subject to constant change and flux. This constant change and flux, in combination with the fact that the influences of many arts and culture structures on the socio-spatial sphere are intangible, makes the effect a difficult phenomenon to measure. The effects of art and culture permeate many levels of urban life, including the social, spatial, urban and economic spheres (Lazzeretti 2003), and art and culture structures are reciprocally influenced by these spheres of social life. Alongside the measurement of such effects lies classification as another challenging prospect in terms of defining creative-cultural nodes. In explanation, how does one recognise a settlement as a creative city or art town? It is reasoned that the more abundant a settlement's art and culture resources, such as fine art galleries, public art, museums, creative-cultural event spaces, etc., and the greater the demand for art as a cultural commodity, the more likely a locale is to be deemed a creative city or art town (Santagata 2002). Identifying whether a settlement has achieved such a status is considered by many to be invaluable to future planning and development (Evanson & McDonough 2013; Santagata 2002; Smith & Warfield 2008), especially in the tourism sector. Recognising such resources also requires a clear indication of what can be termed as art. Although fine art is defined traditionally as art created for aesthetic purposes<sup>1</sup> (Mortensen 1996) and is considered an overarching term that encompasses many art forms, including printmaking, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, poetry and the like, this research is concerned principally with visual culture (Duncum 2001), and more specifically, fine visual art.<sup>2</sup> But notions surrounding which art objects can be construed as belonging to this category of fine visual art are also problematic; when visual art is formally arranged and displayed in a gallery or as a public art exhibition, for example, it seems clear to a populace that it is art (Alves 2007; Monin & Sayers 2006). When art is displayed without formal demarcation, such as graffiti for example, the public viewer does not always recognise it as visual art or even as a visual phenomenon that has intrinsic value for aesthetic stimulation. Even when formally displayed, there often are viewers who do not perceive it as art, or as art that has value<sup>3</sup> in the socio-spatial environment in which it is situated because art and culture are such subjective phenomena.

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<sup>1</sup> As compared to applied art, which has the merit of practical functionality.

<sup>2</sup> In explanation, this excludes other art forms such as music, literary arts, performance arts, culinary arts, etc., even though they are all fine arts in their own right.

<sup>3</sup> Value is construed as intrinsic, i.e. as contrasted to monetary value.

Artworks, both formal and informal, are more likely to succeed in the public domain if they possess certain qualities that have been recognised by academics in the field over time. These include, but are not limited to, the inclusivity, appropriate location and position, skilful execution, commendable intentions, and so forth of artworks (Alves 2007; Briggs 2012; Faubion 1998, Monin & Sayers 2006; Yates 2001). When artworks do not hold such merits, or when such qualities are negated by deleterious ones, the population is more likely to react adversely, often even through vandalism and defacement of artworks (Monin & Sayers 2006; Yates 2001). Therefore, the interplay between artworks and the public realm can be considered a significant issue that can aid one in evaluating whether or not art fulfils its potential in its particular locale. Through an assessment of the dynamic effects of fine visual art upon its socio-spatial sphere, the town of Stellenbosch, which is known for its rich arts and cultural heritage, is used as a case study to explore the issues iterated above as well as to fill the knowledge lacuna, since the field has not been subjected to much academic research.

## **1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM**

The presence of arts resources has numerous effects on the socio-spatial dimensions of a settlement. When utilised correctly, the full positive effects of such resources can be achieved to stimulate development and vitality. Stellenbosch can be considered such a locale, as it has a substantial number of art and culture resources, and while several initiatives have been demonstrated in the town in the past, including events and formalised public art exhibitions, very little research has been done on discovering the socio-spatialities resulting from these initiatives. Without a greater understanding of the interplay between art, people and space, optimum planning and decision making cannot be realised fully.

## **1.3 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

The primary aim of the research was to explore the nature and scope of fine visual art in the so-called art town of Stellenbosch, and the resulting socio-spatialities. The researcher also aimed to establish the resulting socio-spatialities that fine visual art resources bring about through investigating phenomena such as commodification, revitalisation, inclusion and vandalism and, finally, whether the town can be considered a town of art or town of culture. Two overarching sub-aims were set to achieve the primary aim. First, the spatialities of art in Stellenbosch were identified and cartographically mapped and the results of the analysis were evaluated. This allowed for establishing whether Stellenbosch is a town of art or culture, thereby supporting the idea of developing and protecting it as such. Secondly, a brief overview of art in Stellenbosch and the

factors affecting it, as well as the under-documented public opinion concerning public art in Stellenbosch, is provided.

To achieve the research aims, the set objectives included the following:

- Delivering a brief overview of Stellenbosch
- Presenting a broad overview of national and international literature relating to art and its socio-spatial effects
- Cartographically mapping the spatialities of physical art resources within the study area and conducting spatial and statistical analyses
- Doing a basic land-use survey to determine whether Stellenbosch can be classified as a town of culture or a town of art
- Providing an overview of formal public art exhibitions over the past six years, from 2008 up until and including *Kom Sit Stellenbosch* in 2014.
- Exploring the public perception of the art in Stellenbosch through the use of descriptive data.

## **1.4 METHODOLOGY**

This research attempted to enhance the understanding of said socio-spatialities through collecting thick descriptive data in terms of public opinion and a supplementary land-use survey of art spatialities in Stellenbosch. These provide an overall view of the public perception of art in Stellenbosch, as well as a visual overview of the distribution of available art resources, hence providing new attributes and spatial data that may inform future initiatives in the town.

### **1.4.1 Literature review**

The first step in the research process was to identify existing local and international literature on the topic of art and its impact on the socio-spatial environment. This allowed for the identification of dominant themes in the field and of operational definitions for concepts like cities of art, cities of culture, creative cities, the creative class, fine art, commodification, gentrification and so forth. It also granted the researcher networking opportunities, allowed for the ascertainment of which aspects of the field are under-researched, and provided insights into the successes and failures of the methodologies, tools and models used in previous studies in the field.

### 1.4.2 Cartography

All maps in the study were produced with ESRI™ ArcMap version 10. Existing datasets, such as the most accurate street and building shapefiles of the study area, were obtained from the Centre of Geographical Analysis (CGA), and new shapefiles were created from imported XY data collected in the field by means of a global positioning system (GPS). Datasets were manipulated, analysed and displayed using ESRI™ ArcMap version 10, and the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was employed to analyse the statistical data. Microsoft® Excel® 2010 was also used in the statistical analysis of the data where necessary, and as a basis for importing coordinate sets to be used in the cartographic process with ESRI™ ArcMap version 10, as well as for the creation of tables, charts and figures in this report. This allowed for a comprehensive and combined spatial and statistical analysis of the gathered data. The main goal of the research pertaining to mapping comprised cartographically representing the fine art resources in the study area, along with the results of the analyses run on these datasets such as buffering, an average nearest-neighbour and multi-distance spatial cluster analysis (Ripley's k-function) to identify patterns of clustering.

### 1.4.3 Questionnaire surveys

Interviews by means of questionnaires were deemed the best method to be employed to gain insight into the form of qualitative data that could be derived from the opinions, preferences, attitudes, emotions and behaviours of the research subjects. Direct observation using semi-structured interviews formed a major part of the data collection procedure.

Three non-probability data sampling methods were utilised to select respondents for different purposes. Firstly, convenience or accidental sampling was used to acquire an overview or cross-section of the opinions on art of the general population who were moving through the central business district and who agreed to participate. The researcher collected most of these samples in the streets containing most of the art and culture resources, namely Church, Plein and Dorp Streets. Another slightly more targeted, but still haphazard, sampling method was also used at five formal public artwork sites to enquire about opinions on public art in Stellenbosch. Any passers-by who showed interest in the public artwork at each specific site were asked to participate in the research. By using this sampling method, the opinions of 241 Stellenbosch residents<sup>4</sup> were collected anonymously.

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<sup>4</sup> Members of the public who have lived in Stellenbosch for six years or longer.

Secondly, purposive sampling was applied to selected individuals who were deemed to be particularly knowledgeable concerning the art sphere in Stellenbosch, namely owners and managers of fine art galleries, artists themselves, art students, and members of the town's art and culture tourism board. Twenty-eight gallery owners and managers participated in the study, as well as 19 artists who were identified as living and working in the town. Variables of opinion, behaviour and attributes were thus collected from these participants who had been identified through the purposive sampling procedure as knowledgeable concerning the art world via in-depth interviews. Nine gallery owners and managers were artists themselves, and the total number of respondents interviewed came to 38.

Thirdly, the researcher also made use to a certain extent of quota sampling to select members who would provide the most reliable and representative data and eliminate those who would do otherwise; children, for example, were not deemed to be good candidates to interview concerning the field of art expertise.<sup>5</sup> The researcher set a quota to obtain equal male and female answers from anonymous questionnaires at each site.

These interviews and questionnaires were mostly interviewer-administered in order to directly observe reactions, discourses, facial expressions and so forth that may have been presented to enhance the understanding of psychological and social processes affecting the interviewees. Interviewer-administered interviews and questionnaires also offer countless other benefits: they guarantee competency in understanding the language and terminology used, and therefore allow the researcher to adapt or rephrase the question or offer explanations in novel situations where respondents do not understand the question but need more information to be able to answer it; having all answers written down and analysed by the one researcher also introduced some level of standardisation or uniformity in understanding, as well as legibility, and ensured that the necessary information was obtained, and in the right quantity and quality.

#### **1.4.4 Art land-use survey**

Conducting an art land-use survey was imperative to discover whether Stellenbosch could be classified as a town of art or a town of culture<sup>6</sup> according to what Santagata (2002) defines these to be, as well as whether the town incorporates econ-centric or culture-centric creative city values (Smith & Warfield 2008). The reason for this was that certain cultural resources need to exist in a

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<sup>5</sup> However, the researcher suggests that the role of art for children is a field that holds great potential for valuable research in the future.

<sup>6</sup> This term has been adapted from Santagata (2002), from the idea of a *City of Art* and a *City of Culture* to render it more applicable to the town setting of Stellenbosch.

town for it to be classified as such; for example, a town of culture is one that is capable of creating culture through the constructions and productions of fine artists, writers, musicians, composers and those in other creative fields, in spite of lacking certain physical and historical assets. In contrast, a town of art is a locale that has an abundance of culture and tradition, cathedrals, art galleries, historic monuments, museums, academic institutions, heritage structures and the like. Therefore the land-use survey was informed by these classifications, and the combined data collection, consisting of both primary and secondary sources, resulted in a desktop study merged with a GPS-assisted manual land-use survey on foot. Due to the erratic nature of the artistic and cultural industries, the challenge of overcoming the problem of outdated or absent data was met by supplementing the web-based desktop study with the land-use survey undertaken on foot. The researcher imported and combined the points selected from the desktop study and GPS into a single spreadsheet using Microsoft® Excel® 2010. The arts and culture resources were then cartographically represented using ESRI™ ArcMap version 10.

## **1.5 STUDY AREA**

The town of Stellenbosch is situated in the Cape Winelands District, formerly the Boland District, of the Western Cape province of South Africa. It was the second European settlement in South Africa after the founding of Cape Town to the west through the efforts of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and it is still renowned as the country's oldest town (Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation 2013). Its development can be attributed in part to the endeavours of the Dutch East Indian Company, which envisioned the growth of fruit and vegetables in the fertile valley in order to supply the sea vessels in transit to and from the East Indies (Maxprod 2006; Stellenbosch Connect 2011a; Stellenbosch Museum 2005). As the town grew over time from its formal establishment in 1685, a variety of architectural styles exhibit the different eras of the town's history, specifically Cape Dutch (17th century), Cape Vernacular, Contemporary, Early Victorian, Victorian, Edwardian, Georgian, International, Late Victorian, Modern, Neo-Classical, Post-modern, Post-war and Pre-war architecture, although Cape Dutch and Victorian style buildings remain the most characteristic of Stellenbosch (Fairbridge 1922; Maxprod 2006; Stellenbosch Connect 2011c; Stellenbosch Museum 2005). Colonialists from the Netherlands, France, Germany, and later Britain, settled in Stellenbosch and were encouraged to plant oak trees (Maxprod 2006; Stellenbosch Connect 2011a; Stellenbosch Museum 2005; Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation 2013). Stellenbosch came to be recognised as the Eikestad, meaning the town of oaks (Maxprod 2006; Stellenbosch Connect 2011a; Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation 2013), oak trees having been one of the town's most admired features, even during its initial period of development and growth. When fewer than 3 000 inhabitants comprised its entire populace, writers such as Abraham Rees (1819: s.p.) and James

Backhouse & Charles Tylor (1862) had already made mention of the “large shady oaks, which are almost as old as the place [Stellenbosch] itself”. Approximately 77 476 permanent inhabitants<sup>7</sup> reside in the town of Stellenbosch today (Frith 2011; Statistics South Africa 2011), and according to Statistics South Africa (2011) the Stellenbosch Local Municipality has a total population of 155 733 (Frith 2011; Statistics South Africa 2011). Stellenbosch is considered to be a university town, with a student population of 28 156 registered to attend the renowned Stellenbosch University (SU) in 2013. The university was historically an Afrikaans university that supported the apartheid government, but it has diversified<sup>8</sup> considerably since the 1990s, when former president Nelson Mandela was released from prison (Stellenbosch University 2013b). The diversification of the university has also had an impact on the practices and policies of the university, and one that has received much attention is that of the discussions concerning the university’s language policies. It is currently heralded as a multilingual institution, as Afrikaans and English are both used and developed as academic languages (Stellenbosch University 2013a), but issues surrounding teaching in Afrikaans have been a topic of debate. According to the CWTS Leiden Ranking of 2014, Stellenbosch University is ranked second in South Africa (Centre for Science and Technology Studies 2014).

The countryside surrounding Stellenbosch is also home to a vast number of wine farms and wine cellars (Maxprod 2006; Stellenbosch Connect 2011b; Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation 2013; Stellenbosch Museum 2005), with a clustering of over 150 wineries (Ferreira & Müller 2013) where a multitude of varieties of wines and fine brandies are crafted and sold. Accompanying and complementing by the abundance of wine estates, there are many other creative industries that have flourished in Stellenbosch, including the performance arts, literary arts, culinary arts, as well as visual arts, with 21 art galleries<sup>9</sup> currently situated in the town centre alone. Although recognised for its heritage architecture<sup>10</sup> and other urban aspects, being situated approximately 10 km west of the Jonkershoek Nature Reserve has meant that Stellenbosch has become documented as also being a place discerned as a source of natural splendour that attracts many hikers, nature enthusiasts and the like (Maxprod 2006; Stellenbosch Connect 2011b). The topography of rolling hills, grandiose mountains and the luscious valley, in combination with a Mediterranean climate, has

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<sup>7</sup> Excluding students

<sup>8</sup> At the time of Mandela’s release, 762 black students (as a generic term for blacks, coloureds and Indians) were enrolled at SU, constituting a mere 5,4% of the entire student body. In 2013, this group represented 33,1% of the student body (Stellenbosch University 2013b).

<sup>9</sup> Anton Rupert Museum, Art for All (Art Creations Africa), Art on Church Gallery, Deon Viljoen Fine Art, Dorp Street Gallery, D-Street Gallery, Gallery of University of Stellenbosch, Johan Coetzee Art Gallery, Lourens Art Studio, Makakata Art Gallery, Marzé Botha Art Gallery, Palette Art Gallery, Rembrandt van Rijn Art Gallery @ Libertas Pavia, Sasol Art Museum, Slee Art Gallery, SMAC Art Gallery, Stellenbosch Art Gallery, Stellenbosch University Art Gallery, Stephan Rautenbach Studio Gallery, Teresa Decinti Art Gallery, The Red Teapot Gallery, Vincent da Silva Gallery.

<sup>10</sup> As an example, the renowned architect Carl Otto Hagar designed the *Ou Hoofgebou* (old main building), which exhibits Greek (neoclassical) panache (Maxprod 2006).

accommodated and complemented the development of the town and has attracted an influx of people from diverse cultures (Stellenbosch Connect 2011b; Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation 2013). But no settlement is problem free, and Stellenbosch is no exception. The town faces many socio-spatial and resource challenges, including issues surrounding housing and infrastructure, poverty, rapid urbanisation, inequality, water and sanitation, gentrification and waste management, to name a few (Swilling, Sebitosi & Loots 2012). For example, Jamestown was once an “authentic urban space – an historical rural hamlet (for coloureds)”, but it has been lost to rapid socio-spatial transformation through processes such as unmanaged gentrification (Donaldson & Morkel 2012: 57). Another example is that of Kayamandi, a township suburb of Stellenbosch, which faces numerous poverty and deprivation challenges, including a lack of housing and infrastructure, intensifying water shortages, and health and sanitation concerns – all exacerbated by population growth (Kelly et al. 2012; Thomas 2012).

Although the Greater Stellenbosch region is the wider setting for the study area, it must be noted that only the core of Stellenbosch is considered the formally demarcated study area. The study area of the Stellenbosch core mainly comprises the central business district of the town, where most of the art galleries, public artworks and related facilities, events, industries, organisations and spaces relating to arts and culture are clustered.

## **1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN**

The research process comprised five main steps. First, the researcher formulated the research problem, aims and objectives. Secondly, the literature review was conducted and, thirdly, data collection was undertaken. The fourth step was analysing the collected data, with the fifth and final step being the synthesis and write-up of the results (Figure 1.1). As a starting point, the researcher identified the field that needed to be analysed, namely the field of art and culture in Stellenbosch. As a following step, the researcher began with the formulation of the problem for the identified field, which was that the literature necessary to identify, manage and preserve Stellenbosch as an artistic and cultural hub was found to be lacking. This allowed the basic idea concerning the creation of the primary aim of the study to be created, which was to explore the nature, scope and impacts of art on the urban landscape and its social ramifications. The researcher then commenced with the literature review in order to gain a general but comprehensive understanding of the research already done in the field of art and its urban effectors. The literature review then was used to inform and adapt the problem formulation and primary aim, as well as to establish the objectives of the study with regard to what had been identified as prominent patterns and structures by other researchers. With the objectives clearly defined, the researcher went about designing tools for

primary data collection, such as the questionnaires and interviews. The data collection, which was preceded by this step in the research design, included data collection through the above-mentioned questionnaires and interviews, an art land-use survey, as well as a sampling of the points per GPS for cartographical representation and evaluation. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected, and the literature review process was continuous throughout the project. After the data had been collected, the researcher embarked on the data analysis phase of the project. This included identifying any trends or patterns in the data, although the data analysis chiefly yielded opinion-based, thick data or information that was not intended for use in creating population statements, but rather in obtaining the place-specific perceptions and beliefs of individuals of a multicultural community, each with diverse and subjective judgements concerning the art and culture structures of the town. The statistical components of the data collected were analysed using ESRI™ ArcMap version 10, Microsoft® Excel® 2010, and the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The researcher then began with a synthesis of the findings, whereby data were compiled, merged and explicated in writing. A conclusion was then drawn on the situation in Stellenbosch in terms of its arts resources, both tangible and intangible. Recommendations were made during the final phase of the research process, and these were informed by the continuous literature review and data analysis undertaken throughout the project.



## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

There are many different conceptions of art as a phenomenon that influences all aspects of socio-spatial settings. The presence of art has been perceived to have profound impacts on the way in which urban spaces are designed, imagined and operationalised. In some places, the characteristics and effects of art have affected the urban surroundings so deeply that their very classification has rested on the incidence of art and their associated amenities, networks and events. These places are referred to as creative cities (Smith & Warfield 2008) or cities of art or culture (Santagata 2002) and, on a smaller scale, as creative towns or towns of art or culture. Although it is easy to comprehend the idea of what an art or creative city might be, finding an operational definition in the academic literature has proven to be quite challenging. In their article titled *The Creative City: A Matter of Values*, Smith & Warfield (2008) explain that the definition of a creative city is dependent on which type of orientation the city follows. Smith & Warfield distinguish between two types of creative city orientations and their associated values: the culture-centric and econ-centric orientations (see Table 2.1). By making use of this categorisation, many of the most renowned creative cities and towns can be viewed as encompassing both culture- and econ-centric orientations that complement each other and aid in their further development and continued success. Overall, creative cities can be defined as those with the ability to constantly create, foster and further artistic and other creative-cultural processes (Smith & Warfield 2008).

Table 2.1: Value orientations and means to achieve the creative city

<i>Creative city orientations</i> →	<i>Culture-centric</i>	<i>Econ-centric</i>
Creative city values	Central value = arts, culture, community wellbeing, access and inclusion	Central value = urban economic sustainability and wellbeing through creative initiative/industries
Definition of the creative city	Place of diverse and inclusive arts and culture	Place of economic innovation, creative talent and creative industries

Source: Smith & Warfield (2008: 3)

Another helpful description is one suggested by Santagata (2002), who draws a further distinction between a city of culture and a city of art. The city of culture is one that is capable of creating culture, almost synonymous with the concept of creative cities, through the constructions and productions of fine artists, writers, musicians, composers and those in other creative fields, but it lacks a plethora of physical and historical assets. In contrast, a city of art, such as Venice or

Florence, is a locale that has an abundance of culture and tradition, cathedrals, art galleries, historic monuments, museums, academic institutions, heritage structures and the like. These *Cities of Art* are more “inclined to show [themselves] to both tourists and residents” (Santagata 2002: 19). In combining Santagata’s (2002) conceptions with those of Smith & Warfield (2008) one can define a locale as being either a city of art or a city of culture, and as having either culture- or econ-centric value orientations.

In this literature review, the scope and nature of scholarly works documenting socio-spatial effects of art are discussed. In relation to the product (art as merchandise, commodity), the place (art as a vehicle for gentrification and its influences on space and place), and the way identity and sense of place are shaped and created by art in particular are discussed via the attitudes of people who are affected by art in creative areas.<sup>11</sup> Art in the public realm is also explored in three ways. The first is formalised public art and how it forms part of daily life and how it can be approached for greater influence. The second is the mostly informal public art sphere, which is often wrongly perceived as graffiti vandalism, and finally, the notions surrounding the destruction or defacement of public artworks and the processes that influence the incidence of such behaviour are discussed. The notion of ‘art’ as referred to in the text in this chapter is interchangeable with the term ‘fine art’, and while it is recognised that architecture, performance arts, culinary arts, literary arts, etc. are also art forms, they do not comprise the focus of the study and are only applicable to the land-use survey in Chapter 5.

## 2.2 THE PRODUCTS OF ART: COMMODIFICATION AND AUTHENTICITY

“If on arriving at Trude I had not read the city’s name written in big letters, I would have thought I was landing at the same airport from which I had taken off. The downtown streets displayed the same goods, packages, signs that had not changed at all... The world is covered by a sole Trude, which does not begin and does not end. Only the name of the airport changes.”

(Calvino 1974:102)

Works of art oftentimes create highly dynamic markets that attract tourists and local residents alike. The artists and creative persons across all creative-cultural fields who produce such products for the arts and culture market are referred to as the creative class (Florida 2002). The members of this so-named creative class are capable of earning a livelihood with their artistic talents and skills in terms of producing these desirable products, as well as being able to create a space in which their works are appropriately displayed to generate visibility and prominence. Many artists pursue the task of catering specifically to the needs of the consumer of art pieces, and this often has led to the

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<sup>11</sup> Such as creative cites, art cities/towns, cities of culture/art (Santagata 2002; Smith & Warfield 2008).

commodification of art, which is seen by some as a degeneration of creativity and quality, as the driver for manufacture is the financial benefits only. This section explores the variable facets surrounding commoditisation and authenticity in traditional and contemporary art, as proposed by the various authors in the reviewed literature.

Chibnik (2006) explores the ways in which traditional arts have grown into a valuable commodity that is desired by many international art gallery proprietors and museum curators in the present mass tourism era. However, the work of only a select few of many makers of indigenous and tourist art has been considered to be fine art that it is able to achieve a viable profit for survival, as these pieces are often made by incredibly poor and underprivileged people of the third and fourth world. This means that the “art for art’s sake” viewpoint can hardly be adopted, and often the regard for “experimentation, originality” and authenticity is sacrificed, and only the value of a piece as a commodity that can be sold is considered (Chibnik 2006: 492).

The location greatly influences the art, and also the type of tourist, and so art is essentially shaped by the identity of the place in which it is situated. Plattner (1996: 50) has observed that pieces considered to be fine art are often prized on two conflicting (but often inseparable) approval classifications, namely “art-historical connoisseurship” and significance as a commodity, both shaped by the spatial and physical surroundings. Chibnik (2006: 494) suggests from this that impoverished artists are mostly thus not “heroic individualists”, but rather persons whose work is dependent on the set of institutional limitations.

Revilla & Dodd (2003) also studied the impact of tourism on traditional and ethnic art, specifically the effects on Talavera pottery. As is the case in numerous tourist trips, many vacationers advocate the purchase of traditional art pieces, as they provide gifts for friends, associates and family back at home, as well as items for themselves. Among the various tourist undertakings, shopping is seen as being of the utmost importance (Goeldner, Ritchie & McIntosh 2000) in today’s mass tourism culture. As a strategy to make a tourist terminus more attractive by meeting this need to spend, commoditisation often leads to the formation of “pseudo-culture” (Revilla & Dodd 2003: 95) or “fake art” (Bendix 1989: 132), which holds no cultural or heritage significance or value to the locals of the area except as a commodity that can be sold. As the commoditisation and commercialisation of artworks increase, it is held that this will only encourage profligacy and undermine genuineness (Errington 1998). To safeguard genuineness in art, it is often suggested that it must be made without being a means to a financially rewarding end; however, to imagine art as being uninfluenced by pecuniary motives and the global market is often considered idealisation and “the fantasy of white men” (Hoerig 2003; Lazzarotti 2003; Maruyama, Yen & Stronza 2008: 460).

Other researchers are of the opinion that it is not always the case or a certainty that a loss of authenticity occurs, as the social factors under which art is perceived (by both consumers and producers of art pieces) vary from place to place (Chhabra, Healy & Sills 2003). Grünewald (2002) proposes that the alterations and modifications to traditional art to please tourists are not necessarily injuries to authenticity, but rather are pragmatic deviations that construct new meanings and values, since legitimacy is a subjective concept.

There are many conflicting notions surrounding tourism or commodity art, and one of the aims of this research was to identify whether Stellenbosch exhibits any of the phenomena observed above, or whether it perhaps produces different tendencies to those in the existing literature. In any case, it is evident that amplified commercial prospects will always produce social transformation (Richter 1978).

### **2.3 THE PLACE AND SPACE OF ART**

“The tale of Paducah is emblematic of a larger story in which the arts, and artists, have come to be seen as catalysts for the revitalization of American cities.”

(Strom 2010: 367)

As noted by Russo & Van der Borg (2010), the links and interactions between urban development and art are both complex and dynamic. In recent times, art and culture have regained much of their former status of being heralded as valuable for a city, rather than simply focusing on concrete economic indicators and material wealth (Russo & Van der Borg 2010). With the hyper-mobile creative class and symbolic mediators becoming more sought after by cities, such locales must become and preserve the places and spaces that nurture and attract such individuals and groups. But the sudden integration of artistic resources into an established city or town structure without thorough planning and foresight comes with many potential problems: Orbaşlı (2000) expresses concern about the superficiality of some post-industrial historic urban landscapes in which artistic resources may appear haphazard and a settlement may warp its current sense of place completely.

Culture-based renewal and revitalisation thus far have informed policymakers and urban planners alike in their efforts to create and control urban space (Russo & Van der Borg 2010). An example of this is the attempt to alter the spatial concentration of settlements with innovative artistic infrastructure (Comunian 2011) in often destitute outlying areas (Bain 2004). This aids rejuvenation as well as diffusion and dispersion away from overcrowded centres. This process of architectural

renovation of low-quality housing and the addition of new cultural amenities through the influx of economic capital by commercial investors and new, affluent residents is referred to as gentrification (Brown-Saracino 2013; Zukin 1987; Zukin & Kosta 2004), and art and culture have been instrumental in gentrifying a range of areas across the world, including South Africa. A definition of gentrification in another context is provided by Ley (2003: 2527): “Gentrification involves the transition of inner-city neighbourhoods from a status of relative poverty and limited property investment to a state of commodification and reinvestment”.

Many forms of improvement can be generated through the presence of art and culture amenities and their networks, including the establishment of employment opportunities and stability (Comunian 2011; Grodach et al. 2014; Markusen & Schrock 2009). Museums housing artistic artefacts<sup>12</sup> and art galleries that are created to cater to visitor expectations are often generators of such locational enhancement, as they provide concrete environs of many natures and dimensions, sources of orientation information and light, and numerous approaches and devices aimed at facilitating participation and “stimulating interest and engagement” (Goulding 2000: 261). This visitor-oriented strategy creates sensations that people actively seek out in their travels, as Zukin & Kosta (2004) noted in the case of the East Village,<sup>13</sup> where masses of rare and strange shops, petite inns, diners and cafés, performance spaces and art galleries are clustered. Pio (2008), too, has noted how regions and small towns (and the case of Somerset East<sup>14</sup> in particular) profit from tourism in the town. She points out, however, that sole dependence on the tourism sector can be an undesirable situation, as instabilities and off-peak seasons can have adverse repercussions for the settlement.

While the “hard” physical factors of cities have been the focus of most studies in the past (Russo & Van der Borg 2010), the focus recently has shifted towards more perceptual, “soft” factors such as eye-catching, built-up milieus, energetic artistic scenes, and an appropriate atmosphere constructed by the built environment (Bontje et al. 2011: 85; Helbrecht 2004). This shift of focus has enabled researchers to establish how a “cultural enclave that is stable, diverse, and broad-minded” (Zukin & Kosta 2004: 102), as well as art facilities and public exhibitions, appeal to the creative class (Florida 2002) and often trigger regeneration and concomitant gentrification (Cameron & Coaffee 2005).

The site itself is deemed to be a vital aspect of development in towns and cities due to the propensity of businesses to “cluster [together] in agglomerations” (Florida 2003: 4), which increases fecund and prolific advantage. Bontje et al. (2011) agree with this statement and add that

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<sup>12</sup> The researcher holds art galleries and museums in the same esteem, as they are both places that display art for visitor preference.

<sup>13</sup> Lower Manhattan, USA.

<sup>14</sup> Eastern Cape Province, South Africa.

companies that operate within the same kind of industry are establishing structures in which both rivalry and collaboration are evident. ‘Spill-over’ effects may be one of the main reasons why it may be perceived to be advantageous to occupy the same place.

Both particular and diverse art practices can be seen as among the many facets of the rekindling and revitalisation of the urban environment (Chion 2009). This diversity and abundance of unique particularities has played a central role, not only in shaping the lives of people living in art cities, but also in attracting the initiators of early stages of gentrification and revitalisation in the first place (Comunian 2011; Drake 2003): those with more non-conformist and non-traditional lifestyles, for example avant-garde artists (Florida 2003; Ley 1986; Zukin 1987; Zukin & Kosta 2004).

This section has illustrated how the space and place, which include location, infrastructure and spatial and physical elements, can be influenced by the manifestation and incidence of arts and culture networks and amenities, as well as by the very people who participate in this industry. Thus the art, the artist, and the art spaces can be considered an essential part of the gentrification and revitalisation process and, as Cameron & Coaffee (2005) have identified, they have even played a major role in the dominant models of the field (Mercer 2006).

## 2.4 SENSE OF PLACE AND PSYCHOSOCIAL EFFECTS OF ART

“As an all-encompassing keyword, ‘identity’ has become indispensable to social scientists for its ability to imply both lasting distinctiveness (individuality) and absolute sameness (similarity).”  
(Bain 2004:419-420)

In the past, the concept of identity has often been used with an air of patriotism within the nationalistic viewpoint of constructing a sense of unanimity, oneness and nationhood. In many rural-based and traditional communities, this sense of community is considered the favourable disposition to possess. More recently, and due to the growing creative class (Florida 2002: xiii), the view of identity has been changing to one synonymous with the notion of individuality, uniqueness and inimitability. The presence of amenities related to art is at the forefront of shaping the identities and sense of place of both the residents in and visitors to art cities and towns. Consumers are interested in buying works of fine art to take home and to take pride in and, in a sense, to advertise their experiences, tastes and, in some cases, even to be a showcase of their capabilities and achievements in market settings. According to Newman & McLean (2006), pieces like this represent an extension of the self; it is a part of ‘who you are’. This does not apply to the consumers of art products only. Lee (1993) notes that this personal preference also has an influence on the owners of art shops insofar as which pieces to display, how they are displayed and which are

rejected. The values embedded in the artwork chosen are seen as a window into philosophies related to the self: aesthetic preferences, values and concepts that are personal, goals and ideals, to name a few. However, it is not just the sense of self that is influenced by the presence of art, but also the sense of place and how perceptions, conceptions, connotations and reputations thereof are constructed through art (Drake 2003).

Ley (2003) scrutinised the dynamic and symbiotic relationships between art, aestheticisation and the locational scenarios in which they were found. He noted that many of the places<sup>15</sup> prospering due to creative industries exhibited a sundry and broad-minded population of artists (Florida 2003; Zukin 1987; Zukin & Kosta 2004). Pull factors generated by the perceptions of place must somehow be known nationally and internationally to create this ‘flocking together’. The common belief is that places are ‘discovered’ by individuals, who then spread their views of the place to other like-minded individuals, until it becomes popular amongst enough persons to create an artistic society or “creative class” (Florida 2002: xiii) in that area. Although there are obvious economic, social, physical and spatial advantages for the places in question in having this creative industry presence (Comunian 2011), the view is not always held that it is the “places which need the artists, but that it is the artists who need these places” (Ley 2003: 2528). This conception is akin to the fairly new urban model which has received considerable attention in the twenty-first century, namely that of *innovation districts* (Grodach et al. 2014). These are comprised of economic, physical, and networking assets which are integrated and in close proximity to one another. The rationale is that this promotes demographic diversity and hence innovative individuals (Drake 2003), yet in their study Grodach et al. (2014) postulates that this alone does not guarantee the formation of artistic clusters as it is often generalised to do. While all these factors do contribute and promote the development of such clusters, the authors instead stipulate the importance of the local context (Drake 2003). The development of a robust and resilient sense of place is frequently seen as one of the most empowering processes in a community (McHenry 2011), but the members thereof must be oriented towards the same goals and achievements otherwise simply having the structures in place will not automatically assume the form of an artistic cluster (Grodach et al. 2014).

While (2003: 251) has devoted a paper to how the “(hi)story” of art is moulded by different places by specifying the international occurrences thereof. One example is London as a cultural capital and the mutable state of it as such. While (2003) attempts to divulge the means by which ciphers and images of particular places are emblazoned in both the construction and consumption of cultural wares and, in turn, how the use of cultural commodities plays a role in the advertising and elevation

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<sup>15</sup> “San Francisco, Seattle, Boston, New York, Minneapolis, Chicago, Paris, Dublin and, yes, Toronto” (Ley 2003: 2527)

of the status of places themselves. In the case of London, it delivered networks, associations and amenities, all of which led to creating a successful art scene, namely the avant-garde movement. While (2003: 252) feels that although art, in theory, can be made “anywhere”, the multifaceted and intricate interfaces between a range of “art-world actors” and the artists themselves are highly interdependent. The author also makes mention of cultural spill-overs that create and keep imaginative and artistic bonds between communities, increasing the likelihood of creating these necessary services, networks and connections. There also seems to be proof that imaginative panache and enrichment are created through synergy with other cultural fields, such as how the complementation of urban landscapes can enhance the significance and implications of art in specific places (While 2003).

Regarding the “perceptions of place, ethnicity and identity”, Schnell (2003: 5) investigated the Swedish consciousness present in Lindsborg.<sup>16</sup> This study shows how many Americans are exchanging their homogenised, nationalist lifestyles for more “local, place-based identities” (Entrikin 1991; Schnell 2003: 24). The traditional past of art is used for modern ends to create just such a local individuality (Schnell 2003). Ironically, by creating unique places that are attractive to tourists for acquiring works of art, the commodification and mass production of generic art pieces have become commonplace, leading to a loss of diversity. This loss of multiplicity, however, is more commonly viewed as a process that takes place in craft markets and other ethnic art establishments, and less so in high-priced contemporary gallery and westernised settings.

Minty’s (2006) paper on post-apartheid public art in Cape Town<sup>17</sup> has demonstrated that commonalities<sup>18</sup> can be interpreted in a multitude of ways, and that art has become an outlet for recognising those many meanings. Identity is created and personalised, even though the subject matter is the same: ‘PTO’ created a sequence of witty, mocking, contemptuous and humorous engagements with the past in relation to particular cenotaphs and monuments, or made use of them to produce innovative and fresh narratives about the city of Cape Town (Minty 2006). McIntyre (2009: 161) articulates this notion beautifully: “Art is something that is like reading – it’s imagination. You interpret what you see and (what) you get from what you see, it’s personal to you.” Montgomery (1998) also holds this notion that public art is a creator of a positive sense of place in high regard, as it improves the quality and value of the manufactured setting. Even if just through aestheticising everyday life it is considered and enhanced nonetheless (Montgomery 1998). Tribe (2008) exhibits the same sentiments and proposes that artworks should be seen as texts

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<sup>16</sup> In the United States of America.

<sup>17</sup> In the Western Cape province, South Africa.

<sup>18</sup> In a community, shared circumstances

embedded with meaning, and that the same processes that are used to interpret meaning from literature, such as content and discourse analysis, can it be used to interpret works of art.

Experiencing and relating to art permeates all aspects of the self deeply, including educating or culturally informing oneself. A study by McIntyre (2009) suggests that an area in which one can become immersed and absorb first-hand erudition from being in the vicinity of ethnically significant, local entities is one aspect considered desirable to tourists. The co-formation and co-creation of information, skills and talents via these interactions between tourists (as they are both influenced by and have influences on places) and residents is the most desirable situation when dealing with creative tourism (Richards 2011).

According to Wynne (1998) and Bourdieu (1984), the symbolic values concerning consumption activities allow people to satiate their increasing need to classify and define themselves in terms of their material possessions. According to Bain (2004), it is apparent that social beings are both moulded and mould themselves in and through the physical, tangible spaces of their environment, as well as those that are subjective and imaginary. Perhaps one of the most well-known introductions of art into the lives of residents by altering this physical, tangible space is the placement of both permanent and temporary public art exhibitions. By making art public, it also becomes, in a sense, a possession of each individual who belongs to the public and who may interact with it. In other words, public art defines an individual and his or her experiences with it because it belongs to them, as expressed by Wynne (1998) and Bourdieu (1984). Therefore public art can influence the sense of place and sense of self through personal relatedness experienced by the public. It is these dynamic relationships between psychosocial experiences, sense of place and art that are not yet fully understood and require greater exploration to discover all facets and factors, and their interplay, so as to be able to better inform policies, planning and decision making in the future.

## **2.5 FORMALISED PUBLIC ART: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES**

“The public needs art – and it is the responsibility of a 'self-proclaimed artist' to realize that the public needs art, and not to make bourgeois art for a few and ignore the masses.”

(Keith Haring, journal entry, 14 October 1978)

Since the 1980s there has been a rapid expansion of public art phenomena and, as many specialists in different fields of study came to recognise the inherent benefits and challenges posed thereby, so also geographers sought to critically evaluate such creative processes as vehicles for urban renewal and development (Zebracki 2011). However, most geographers approached it using the same frame

of reference as the manufacturers and organisers thereof, “yet, the fundamental purpose of public art is shaped by its publics, which comprise a multifaceted audience” (Zebracki 2011: 303). These manufacturers and organisers include artists, town planners, government councils and other institutions that generally have the power and wealth to undertake such projects. That a narrow view that focuses only on the agendas of institutions and private individuals is lacking in its critical exploration and description of its most valuable role players, the public, the visitor and the visual consumer, has only been acknowledged and sufficiently documented in the academic literature in more recent times (Monin & Sayers 2006; Zebracki 2011).

The term ‘public art’ can refer to a number of distinct types of art, including land art, graffiti, murals, monuments and so forth. One fundamental principle, however, is inherent in all of them, and indeed in any culture or heritage structures: these structures find themselves firmly located in the shared space of the public realm. It is here where, as Kaden (2012: 244) asserts, “everything – from language to politics; from art to nature; from technology to the earth; from the past to our hopes for the future – belongs irreducibly to all of us”. As discussed in Section 2.2, this public space and the authenticity of art shared by all individuals in a community often is regarded as progressively becoming more endangered, as all activities and the significance of community and traditional life are transformed into a consumer commodity, which only furthers agendas for profit and a display of dominant financial allegiances and private ownership under neoliberal capitalism, much to the dismay of the excluded persons and groups, who belong to the “equally free and general public” (Kaden 2012: 244; Monin & Sayers 2006; Mouffe 1992; Sennett 1976). But is it possible to accommodate all individuals and groups in multicultural cities with various values and ideologies equally so as to achieve total inclusion? Before exploring the notion further, however, it is necessary to define and expound on the concept of public space.

Alves (2007: 1248) defines public space as “shared space used by citizens as a whole, available to everyone whereby no one in particular may be allowed to usurp it”. This definition acknowledges the importance of inclusion, and this is particularly difficult (if not impossible) to determine, because the subjective viewers involve such a diverse group; it is a critical error to think of any population or community as a homogenous group, as it rather should be approached as a collective of unique individuals sharing a common history and/or space. Even tourists from thousands of kilometres away visiting a new destination are sharing a moment in time and space with the locals of the area, although the culture and traditions of their origin may be vastly different. Therefore it is an immensely challenging task for any locale’s management officials to create and preserve space that meets all the needs of the various users of public space. It similarly is crucial that the qualities of public space be recognised and maximised to the benefit of the urban and psycho-social realms:

- Public spaces are meeting places of various forms, sizes and natures, and all act as zones of decompression in the urban network.
- Public spaces are part of the design scheme for urban settings, and are discursive topographies which provide consistency and coherence, thus also serving as a visible and tangible tool in shaping the competitiveness of a city or town, which can lead to both greater local and foreign investment.
- Because public spaces mediate social interaction, the ability exists for them to promote social cohesion and provide a freely accessible space where collective motifs can be expressed (Alves 2007).

When considering even the handful of above-mentioned possible qualities only, one can already conceive that public space plays a vital role in assimilation, integration, and development in the urban setting. Alves (2007) asserts that this important role must be realised in order to escape a dire situation that faces public urban space today, one in which the representational and symbolic nature historically constructed in public spaces no longer functions to signify the imagined movements flowing through them; the liquidity of urban structures and their flows (Monin & Sayers 2006). Alves (2007: 1248) states:

According to the Dialogue Collective Public Space: New Perspectives, organized by the Universal Forum of Cultures, Barcelona 2004, the progressive weakening of public space has two underlying causes: the weakening of the political dimension of the city and the fact that the very notion of shared urban life is going through a profound crisis.

Public art situated in the shared space is a truly unique phenomenon in the present-day world. Firstly, simply because it is art, which is inherently aesthetic, and is most successful when it can meet the most basic aim of evoking an emotion from the viewer. Secondly, by placing artworks in the public sphere, the audience is wide-ranging because everyone can experience it. The idiosyncrasy lies in the reaction of the community now confronted with a public artwork: is it met with acceptance and praise, or with rejection and outrage? Having the wisdom and insights required to tailor public artworks distinctly to the specific community in which it to be installed, has proved across the literature to be the only pragmatic path to positive realisation of such projects for inclusion to be effectively achieved. The roles which public spaces fulfil in society may be further enhanced with elements such as art, potentially leading to the revitalisation and development of urban areas when applied correctly (Alves 2007; Briggs 2012; Monin & Sayers 2006). Art may be used in a range of urban applications, such as supplementing the functionality of certain settings; creating new connotations for reclaimed and gained territories; improving areas known to be problematic (e.g. because of crime); aiding in navigation; venerating and emphasising the natural, built or intangible cultural heritage; neutralising negative situations and defusing tensions in the

community; giving a voice to subversive dialogues existing in a society; and encouraging a distinct sense of place that nurtures inclusion and understanding (Alves 2007; Briggs 2012). Otherwise public artworks will alienate individuals and groups who may, as Monin & Sayers (2006: 122) suggest, feel like “sycophantic worshippers, pawns in a power hierarchy”, while the artworks exist in a different, perfect real space dreamed up by individuals at the top of a hierarchy (Faubion 1998, Monin & Sayers 2006). The irony of the matter, they continue, is that this is what those who feel excluded have traded their free natural heritage for and have even subsidised this corporate edifice with their taxes, even when officials only had the best intentions when planning and installing public art pieces (Monin & Sayers 2006). Though artworks accumulated by those with a genuine love and deep appreciation for art is often used by policy makers and corporations for public exhibitions, the artistic valuation of those selecting art may be narrowly defined by their personal ambitions associated with their socio-cultural existence (Bourdieu 1984; Lazzeretti 2003; Monin & Sayers 2006; Wu 2002). Which artworks are to be selected for use in a public art exhibition should ideally be a collaborative process, with the community, the artists, curators, and the various local officials and businesspeople (be it local government, town planners, tourism boards, etc.) all working towards a common goal in which inclusion of all is inherent. However, the process more often than not follows a top-down approach in which a single council or committee undertakes the public art project, though with the best intentions, and residents again, recognise that their spaces are lost and the replacements are reminders of the glorified presence of the sponsors within and throughout the city (Monin & Sayers 2006).

The appropriate artwork alone, however, by no means insinuates that appropriateness the only requirement that needs to be met for successful public art installations; the location of the artworks are also crucial to the success of any public art project and may well lead to the downright failure thereof, even if the artworks chosen are widely accepted by the community. Yates (2001) suggests, for example, that works may be located in a private building or other area to which public access is limited, or it may, in addition to its location be displayed in awkward positions, in poor lighting, or where visibility may be otherwise restricted. This hinders enjoyment and full appreciation of artworks, as is the case of the Sky Casino in Auckland, New Zealand, but, as Yates (2001) has pointed out some artworks may purposefully have been concealed in some manner due to the controversial images depicted. However is there any point in selecting and exhibiting artworks in a public space if they are not meant to be visible? This would mean that it is not inclusive art, and therefore is already flawed in one dimension by being chosen for such an exhibition.

To take it one step further from the geospatial component (location) and the attribute component (i.e. the art itself), it seems that public art can never be completely free of the possibility that the

temporal flow of events following the installation of a public artwork may result in an undesired, even adverse path to that which was anticipated. There may well be a crisis within as internal and unsolvable domain as the psycho-social or socio-urban sphere, and the situation could mimic that proposed by Welsch: “where everything is beautiful, nothing is beautiful any more” (in Inkipin 1997: 121). To explicate, he was referring to the idea that continuous enjoyment ultimately leads to indifference to the stimulation. Monin & Sayers (2006: 126) go so far as to suggest that the roles between art and viewers have inverted, that art then is “to be the subverter, not the subverted”. For art to fulfil such a role would be a tragic irony; the very thing which exists to be gazed upon and admired, would never be valued aesthetically to its fullest.

One must also take into consideration that the location and the artwork itself has even greater affectability that underlies the physical space and objects and their basic connotations, namely the intent behind the project. As stated above, projects may be implemented with the best of intentions, and the artworks may be suitable for the situation or be rebelled against. However, not all motives for public art displays are as pure as they appear, as Monin & Sayers (2006: 124) articulate in their case study of the Vero Centre in New Zealand; an art-collecting partner of the firm involved in the public art project admitted in an interview that the motivation fuelling the introduction of art into the foyer of the centre was “purely economic”. Those with the power and privilege that enable them to fund and implement public art exhibitions and their selected works therefore may not always have the intention of cognitively and visually appealing to the diverse multitude of viewers, but rather use this as a mechanism of attracting investment and other economic benefits.

Such underlying motives furthermore may not even be in the interest of the relevant companies, but may simply represent individual endeavours which only serve to strengthen and exhibit personal goals and values. Again in the case of the New Zealand, Monin & Sayers (2006: 124) quote an advisor from the City Art Gallery who was consulted by the architect and developer early in the project. When questioned about a certain public artwork called *The Wall*, he remarked:

That was nothing to do with the committee. That was entirely Y’s little pet project really. But to me, in fact to be honest I think it is a bit trite, and I don’t think there should have been art works near it ... it is not an art work at all. It’s just some interesting quotations... Effectively they are intellectual décor. It is not the work of art; it is the work of decoration. Graffiti?

When ulterior motives dominate the selection, production and implementation of public artworks, artistic merit may be elusive or even completely absent, especially for those who can recognise the exclusive marketing/financial effort in which marginalisation is commonplace and tensions art are created and felt (Monin & Sayers 2006). When art no longer serves the public, or is met with apathy from its viewers, it loses its basic function of relating to the community and adding value to its

occupied space and place. But the quote above does more than just unveil this possibility; it also brings us firmly onto the next topic of discussion: Graffiti and its complex role in society.

## 2.6 INFORMAL PUBLIC ART (GRAFFITI): ART OR VANDALISM?

“More people are out than usual, so I spray the sky fast. Eyes ahead and behind. Looking for cops. Looking for anyone I don't want to be here. Paint sails and the things that kick in my head scream from can to brick. See this, see this. See me emptied onto a wall.”

(Crowley 2010:3)

A conceptualisation of the term graffiti is necessary before delving into the notions surrounding graffiti. *Graffiare*, from which the term ‘graffiti’ originated, is an Italian word which, translated into English, is “to scratch” (Castleman 1984; Spocter 2004). Inherent in this word is an already disdaining idea; one that sees graffiti as something which harms, scratches, marks or grazes, something which takes away from or destroys some object which has already been built up by another’s efforts. In reality, the graffiti pervading the urban landscape are not ‘scratchings’ in their traditional sense only, but employ a multitude of visual media, which include traditional art mediums such as aerosol paints (spray-paint), both permanent and non-permanent markers, a variety of other paints (Spocter 2004), as well as many others which may be better suited for the particular surface being worked on. In modern times, however, with technology more freely available and techniques being more refined, graffiti have taken many new (and old) forms that are being utilised in a novel way to intrigue, inspire and even shock the public. These include making use of sticker and stencil graffiti, audio-visual projection, street installations, wheat pasting<sup>19</sup> and other poster art, and even art intervention wherein an interaction between a previously existing piece of art, audience, or space is created and accentuated. The existence of graffiti often aims to deliver social commentary, and can help communities strengthen their sense of identity if produced and managed correctly (Austin 2001, 2010; Ferrel 1996, 2001; Macdonald 2003; Miller 2002).

Graffiti may exist in a variety of types, and most can be viewed as belonging to three commonly recognised criteria, namely: tags, throw-ups, and pieces. These three categories are considered to be hierarchical in nature, i.e. they show a progression in skill and strategy. Tags refer to the graffiti one commonly sees scrawled as an identity, i.e. nicknames, pseudonyms, initials, names, etc. (Spocter 2004, Woodward 1999). This has been deemed to be the most abundant type of graffiti according to Alonso (1998), and this may be due to the fact that it is also considered the most practical as it very basic and can be completed rapidly and effortlessly (Ley & Cybriwsky 1974; Spocter 2004). As the skill of the graffiti artist improves, tags may become more aesthetically appealing, more creative,

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<sup>19</sup> Wheat paste is also referred to as ‘Marxist glue’ among some graffiti artists, due to the political messages they were used to promote (Zyklon B 2013, Pers com).

more complex, and/or require more ‘bravery’ to complete without detection as these factors might increase the time taken to create a work of graffiti (Spocter 2004). Many tags promote anonymity by adopting specific styles which are hard to decipher (Spocter 2004) while others outwardly strive for legibility, often to some extent in the pursuit of fame or recognition, even if it is only by a pseudonym name. Pseudonym or not, when graffiti artists wish to promote their work and attach it to a name, their graffiti legacy may become widely recognised and even sought after. This seems to be similar to the case of Banksy, who may arguably be one of the most renowned graffiti artists in the world. However, only Banksy’s autograph is usually done as a tag, and the other two types of graffiti need to be clarified before more can be said about his work.

Throw-ups, being the second on the hierarchical tier and thus referring to both the skill and courage of the graffiti artist, occur when tags gain an additional aspect, that of bi- or two-dimensionality (Spocter 2004). In explanation, tags exhibiting only one dimension (length) are reclassified as throw-ups when they gain the characteristic of a second dimension (width), though both still exist on the same plane. Because throw-ups require more time to be put up, they are often found in definitive clustering patterns, when particular areas have been identified as either posing less of a threat for detection or offering a convenient manner of escape if the former is unavoidable (Spocter 2004).

The third rank which a graffiti artist may achieve (again as both the complexity of a work and amount of daring increases) is one in which ‘masterpieces’ are created, shortened to and known as “pieces”, and often consisting of a mixture of words and images (Spocter 2004). Because pieces are so intricate and complex in nature, even when the artist possesses a great amount of skill, it may require hours of planning and painting to complete (Spocter 2004), depending on factors such as the medium the graffiti artist is using, the nature of the surface worked on, the size of the piece, and so on. Previous studies have affirmed that many such laboriously created pieces have been commissioned rather than done illegally (Spocter 2004), which is of mutual benefit to both the artist and commissioner. For example, a shop owner who has had his building decorated with an attractive graffiti piece will appeal to more customers aesthetically, the graffiti artist may not charge as much as commercial painters, and it has the ability to transform the building into a “one-of-a-kind” attraction with a unique, non-replicable work of art on its walls. In such a scenario the graffiti artist is benefiting at the same time, because such an artist may receive a form of income; there is no fear being arrested or fined for the work (so more time and even greater care can be taken in piece creation), and because they can display their work openly where it can be viewed by as many people as possible (serving as advertisement for both the artist and his skill as well as the shop itself. This reasoning whereby maximum exposure is one of the major objectives to be achieved,

showcasing both an artist's talent and the message the artwork aims to convey, can be seen as pervasive throughout most adeptly done graffiti and those with a deeper meaning, as well as those simply seeking recognition for their pseudonym image (Zyklon B 2013, Pers com). Trains therefore often are suitable targets for graffiti – the work is then moved throughout an entire city or suburb system where it passes under the gaze of thousands of people (Gordon 2013, Pers com).

Graffiti art has many negative connotations related to vandalism and harmful social behaviour in the minds of most people today. However, graffiti also has the capacity to exhibit and encourage sustainable development approaches to decision making to serve the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of diverse communities. Art is often displayed as graffiti precisely because the content is controversial. It may, for example, show disagreement with current situations through a visual medium, or it may go against the dominant values and ideologies of a community or government, but the messages in graffiti frequently actually encourage critical thinking. However, before venturing further into graffiti and vandalism, the notion of each should be explored and explicated.

Graffiti art, as Austin (2010: 33) noted, is neither “simply graffiti” nor “simply art, but rather has emerged as a fresh approach to the production of visual culture which surpasses both categories individually. Graffiti art progressed away from the neo-dada and pop art forms of modern and postmodern paintings which are traditionally found in a gallery setting, and instead took the next dialectic step out onto to streets (Austin 2010). The buildings and structures once represented on the canvasses have now become canvasses themselves (Austin 2010) without the restrictions and limitations inherent in the formalised galleries where artworks are carefully chosen by curators and which all fit under a single theme; with graffiti everyone has an equal opportunity to display their work, and it can fall under any theme important to the individual. Of course these are not the only limitations that are avoided, and graffiti have associated restrictions of their own. In most cities and towns graffiti is discouraged and seen simply as vandalism, and there may even be specific legislature in place to prohibit people from attempting and continuing their production thereof. Yet, even in the face of being arrested and charged for putting up graffiti, a countless number of people continue to do so. They may feel the need to get their art out there, where no other gallery will give them the chance, or they may feel that the message which is visually communicated through the artwork is important to be put out in the open. Of course there are individuals who are not putting up graffiti for artistic merit, deeper meaning in the content, or any other serious motivation except for the sole purpose of vandalism, which is the next term to be explored in this subsection.

Many graffiti artists and scholars argue that there is a distinct and defining difference between ‘graffiti artists’ and ‘graffiti vandals’. Several scholars have expounded graffiti as either ‘art’,

‘vandalism’ or both, including approaches in sociology that describe it as a “youth subculture”, and/or within the discipline of history (as “urban cultural history”) (Austin 2001; Austin 2010: 34; Castleman 1984; Ferrel 1996, 2001; Miller 2002; Macdonald 2003). Many of the policy makers in the urban realm, however, have found these approaches to be impractical and inadequate since they detract from their own favoured agenda and framework in which graffiti art is viewed and endorsed as a problematic phenomenon in the urban sphere and that challenges the city and state (Austin 2010). When graffiti suits the ideals of vandalism without having artistic merit or a profounder meaning, it becomes increasingly difficult to establish rules and laws which will exclude the one while including the other, though their purposes may be in entirety dissimilar. This, in part, is the reason behind most discerning views that surround graffiti in general, but on occasion it is the content itself that is protested against. Depicting imagery of a detestable or graphic nature in the public sphere, such as nudity, gore, and/or other themes not suitable for general public viewing can have a deleterious effect on individuals and communities. This is because communities are not homogenous groups; they are a conglomeration of many individuals each with different views and experiences, ranging across all ages and ethnicities. Graffiti artwork depicting scenes of extreme nudity or even of a pornographic nature, for example, should preferably be kept out of the public sphere because not only those who are competent to understand and appreciate such work will be exposed to it: this, for example, is not the material we want young children to gaze upon. It is the responsibility of the graffiti artist to use discretion in undertaking a successful and sustainable process with graffiti artworks by choosing both the content and site of the artwork carefully so as to achieve the end goal of the project without causing psychological or any other type of harm or distress in those who might view it. Authorities may be less hesitant to remove a piece of graffiti if it has recognisable value and does not pose a threat to the psychological health and wellbeing of others; if the imagery depicted communicates an important message, does not contain images of an explicit nature, has artistic value, and is situated in a good, novel or otherwise ‘acceptable’ location, there might be less cause for removal, and it may even be openly recognised and praised in the society. If graffiti follows an ideal that is artistic, creative and meaningful, it is considered ‘graffiti art’, which is often poorly interpreted and understood as vandalism.

However, ‘graffiti vandalism’ situated at the opposite end of the spectrum unfortunately is just as prevalent in the public sphere today. All graffiti in general is still considered to be in direct violation of property law, and thus is deemed the concern of municipal officials who, through policing and surveillance, have an obligation to monitor and rectify the situation on these grounds (Austin 2010). Graffiti vandalism often presents little or no artistic value, and often exists with the sole purpose of defacing property such as buildings, monuments, signs, streets, and even other artworks. Although it may be a visual phenomenon with artistic merit of its own, graffiti vandalism often undermines

the artistic merit of other artworks and exists for the main, if not sole, purpose of defacement or despoilment. One way of minimising the incidence of graffiti vandalism is through careful and conscientious city design. Ward (1973) observed the power of architectural designers and the like to impede the impacts of vandalism, such as by utilising designs which transform one behaviour into another which is considered less harmful or even constructive; by innovatively and strategically placing public artworks to minimise harm to them; through community action, education and training; enhanced safety and detection techniques; and through design aspects which can curtail the impetus and opportunities for graffiti vandalism. Ward (1973) also suggested other actions which could have the ability to reduce the effects of graffiti art, one of which is legislation. He argues that many other forms of ‘vandalism’ that already exist in the world are legitimised, though these damage the environment non-criminally, and he portrays motorists, industry and government as prime examples (Ward 1973).

In one way or another, graffiti art (as defined and contrasted with graffiti vandalism) has the potential to enrich and supplement modern-day urban life (Ward 1973) and, even when the content is unconventional, provides a break in the constant flow of unexamined norms and conventions which link urban visual culture and the prevailing social directive (Austin 2010). Attempts have been made to move away from the concept of vandalism as ‘meaningless’ violence and to regard it as a force which has shown itself to have both expressive and instrumental value (Ward 1973). If graffiti and the associated arts in the streets are taken seriously, a whole new ‘art city’ becomes possible, whereby artworks are not limited to hanging canvases behind barriers and walls, where every person can be an artist, and where multicultural ideologies can be expressed safely and confidently.

## **2.7 VIOLENCE AGAINST ART: DEFACEMENT AND DESTRUCTION**

“Wherever there is something beautiful fashioned by the hand of man or God, there will be those who are blind to it and who wish for nothing more than the cheap thrill of destroying it.”

(De Villiers 2013, Pers com)

Artworks, whether they assume formalised or informal positions in the public sphere, have the ability to be appealing, enchanting, and/or fascinating. On the other hand, they also have the ability to evoke an opposite reaction when the artwork is so disaffecting, estranging, shocking, or upsetting that some people feel the need to evade or even destroy it, both on a physical and psychological front (Gamboni 1997; Rosolato 1974). Iconoclasm has demonstrated this throughout history, and has not been better exemplified than in the dispute which shook the Byzantine Empire for more than a century. Artworks may also in some cases be constituent, in part, of both positive and negative

characteristics, as they can take the form of an endless variety of amalgamations and combinations. In all of these roles art can be commoditised, given ownership, collected, ordered and organised, and still be art. According to some, no matter which role it fulfils or exactly what that art can be classified as, any work, exhibition or initiative related to art that defies domineering and oppressive institutions and phenomena (even when they have been socially constructed or accepted through convention) should be celebrated for its diversity, inimitability, uniqueness and the ability to provoke people into “seeing differently” (Monin & Sayers 2006: 126; Zyklon B 2013, Pers com). This view holds that even if one is negatively affected psychologically to a serious degree through exposure to an artwork, the resultant anxiety, apprehension, self-loathing, depression or any other harmful associated state of mind is better than feeling nothing; human beings are emotional creatures, and only if an artwork can cause one to feel something, or anything, will it have achieved its real purpose; otherwise it is merely decoration (Zyklon B 2013, Pers com). With this frame of mind there is no acceptable reason to deface or destroy an artwork as it is doing what it was meant to, even if the viewer is outraged and shocked by what has been witnessed. Whether this notion is the sole reason to discourage the destruction of artworks is debatable, as many other more moral obligations seem to exist, such as is put forward by some sources concerning that one has the social responsibility to consider the creations of others, and therefore should not deface anything that another person has laboured on and put care and effort into.

However, several studies have shown that, as with the idea of ‘art for art’s sake’, the defacement of artworks often purely involves destruction for the sake of destruction (Gamboni 1997; Goldstein 1996; Rosolato 1974; Ward 1973). In other words, many members of the public are not revolting against the artwork for any specific reason apart from that the opportunity simply arose in which defacement could take place. Vandalism has also been shown in international literature to be more commonplace where there are large youth populations, especially students; where artworks are easily accessible and fragile; and where little authority is present (Demore, Fisher & Baron 1996; Gamboni 1997; Rosolato 1974; Ward 1973). As stated in the previous section, one way of minimising the incidence of graffiti vandalism is through careful and conscientious city design, in utilising designs which transform one behaviour into another which is considered less harmful or even constructive; by placing public artworks innovatively and strategically to minimise harm to them; through community action, education and training; enhanced safety and detection techniques; and through design aspects which can curtail the impetus and opportunities for graffiti vandalism (Ward 1973).

In any circumstance, the societal costs of violence against public art is immense, on both a practical level, in terms of the fiscal and logistical losses invested into rectifying such damage (Demore,

Fisher & Baron 1996), and on a psycho-social level where the artwork no longer functions as a revitalising agent in its urban environment. Studies dealing in depth with the problem of vandalism have been limited in scope and quantity, but are vital insofar as improved strategies which reduce vandalism have to be developed which may result in better outcomes than the punitive deterrence methods which have failed in the past.

## **2.8 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has demonstrated that art as product, though a necessity especially for tourism and as a livelihood for artists, is in danger of becoming overly commodified and an incurred loss of authenticity may ensue. In terms of the place and space of art, the literature has revealed that arts- and culture-based renewal and gentrification can be realised through the optimum placement and use thereof in urban settings. The literature review also yielded the notion that it is not only the concrete, physical spaces and places which are both shapers of and shaped by art resources, but also the intangible psychosocial effects and facets such as sense of place. Formalised as well as informal public art was also seen as instigators of the dynamic interplays between people, space, and art. The defacement of art, mostly public pieces that are exposed to greater levels of risk, was briefly discussed for its insights into societal phenomena revolving around art.

These main fields concerning art and culture in the urban sphere have been identified in the literature that was consulted. The hope is to explore and further the understanding of these notions in the setting of an Art Town for each of the respective (and additional) fields mentioned above within the case study of Stellenbosch.

## CHAPTER 3: THE SPATIALITY OF ART IN STELLENBOSCH CORE

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Geographers often show a preference for working with more concrete, acculturated concepts which can be operationalised, such as location, landscape, environment, and region, rather than the perceivably more abstract concepts of space and spatiality (Merriman et al. 2012). However, it is exactly the diverse and heterogeneous nature of space and spatiality that offers great potential for functionality – as simultaneously being intangible and tangible, shaped and shaping, imagined and realised, relative and absolute. In his 1974 work *The Production of Space*, renowned philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1991: 26) claimed:

[Social] space is a [social] product... the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power; yet that, as such, ... escapes in part from those who would make use of it.

Many factors influence the particular spaces and places in which people live, and bring about the complex socio-spatialities that Lefebvre describes. In the case of creative and artistic hubs, such factors, as illustrated in the previous chapter, range from interactions with art as a commoditised product of consumption; the locations and spaces occupied by art resources; pull and push factors which influence tourism;<sup>20</sup> levels of inclusion; and the like. All of these have had major repercussions on different spaces, places and their inhabitants, and it was the goal of this research to distinguish whether a similar situation exists in Stellenbosch. This could only be realised through mapping the spatialities of the town, and this chapter discusses the findings derived from such mapping. All observable art spaces and places were mapped, including formally erected public art, art galleries, museums displaying art artefacts, art event spaces, art studios, and art institutions or tuition. Mapping is perhaps one of the most significant practices in spatiality studies today, both because of its direct applicability and the ability to demonstrate connections between cartographic and narrative discourse (Tally 2013), specifically the promising prospects of arts (and culture) mapping which have been acknowledged of late. According to the London Cultural Profile Report of the Canadian Urban Institute (Evanson & McDonough 2013), it can be used to:

- Strengthen culture to build economic prosperity through the identification of [artistic and] cultural talent, occupations and businesses.
- Create a strong base of information that supports evidence-based decision making.
- Illustrate the presence of [arts and] cultural resources in the community.

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<sup>20</sup> Specifically whether or not the same appeal is generated in Stellenbosch as is that described by Pio (2008) in the East Village, and whether the available services, networks and institutional capacities create a successful art scene which shapes the socio-spatial front.

- Establish an [artistic and] cultural lens with which to view other policies and plans.
- Present information visually in ways that are easy to understand and have a strong impact.
- Establish a group of partners in government and civil society committed to planning for cultural vitality.
- Present the opportunity to support the cultural sector by giving residents and visitors access to information about cultural activity.

Also discussed briefly in this chapter are the art-world actors or main role players in Stellenbosch who possess the level of influence to be the intangible shapers of socio-spatialities in the context of Stellenbosch.

### **3.2 MAPPING THE SPATIALITY OF ART IN THE STELLENBOSCH CORE**

Because of the diverse nature of art, creating a complete map of all relevant art-world people, places and organisations in an area is a near impossible task. The map is only able to capture one moment in time as art-world resources are constantly evolving in terms of location, number and function, and a holistic view of the change and dynamic processes driving these changes can only be achieved through an evaluation of spatiotemporalities, which lies beyond the scope of this study.

A total of 52 fine art resources were identified in the Stellenbosch core. Figure 3.1 below illustrates the distribution of these fine art resources identified in the Stellenbosch core. Most resources were found to be clustered around Church Street, where most other creative-cultural and tourism resources in Stellenbosch are situated. To show the proximity of fine art resources to others, the geoprocessing task of buffering was applied at variable distances. The map in Figure 3.2 displays these buffers at 15 m, 25 m, 50 m, 75 m, and 100 m around each resource point, with warmer colours indicating higher proximity to others. This allows one to visualise hotspots, as polygons of one colour show a concentration of these points. The figure shows that many of the points are in very close proximity to each other in streets like Church, Drostdy, lower Ryneveld and Andringa where many of the 15-m and 25-m buffers overlap to form corridors. Figure 3.3 illustrates the kind of resources that these are. All resources that were identified were categorised into fine art studio spaces, fine art galleries, fine art organisations, fine art tuition, museums housing art artefacts, permanent public artworks, venues which host art events, and shops selling local or handmade products<sup>21</sup> with some fine art pieces. More points are displayed in this figure due to the overlapping of points in multi-purpose buildings. A business might, for example, be both a fine art gallery as well as a studio, so points for each of the two categories would be displayed at that location.

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<sup>21</sup> Largely crafts and textiles, which do not fall under the category of fine visual art.







Stellenbosch fits the profile of a town of art<sup>22</sup>, with a surplus of physical and historical assets encompassing academic institutions (such as the University of Stellenbosch (US) and various other colleges and institutes), museums (for example the Anton Rupert Art Museum and the like), churches (such as the *Kruiskerk* and *Moederkerk*), heritage structures (e.g. Victorian architecture) and, of course, art galleries, all of which are popular tourist attractions. However, the notion for Stellenbosch to also be considered a town of culture is palpable, as the locations of some intangible resources such as fine art organisations have been mapped. Santagata's (2002) definitions of a town of culture and town of art seem to be mutually exclusive terms, as a town of culture is said to lack physical resources. Hence, a new classification – a hybrid of the two concepts – was inserted to accommodate both (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Indicators of Stellenbosch as town of art and town of culture

<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Stellenbosch as town of art</i>	<i>Stellenbosch as town of culture</i>	<i>Stellenbosch as hybrid of town of art and culture</i>
Occupational & Intangible Resources			
Creative-cultural occupations & businesses		x	x
Creative-cultural organisations		x	x
Creative-cultural individuals (artists, writers, musicians, etc.)		x	x
Historical & Physical Resources			
Churches/Cathedrals	x		x
Art galleries	x		x
Monuments	x		x
Museums	x		x
Academic institutions	x		x
Heritage Structures	x		x

Source: Adapted from Santagata (2002)

This chapter has thus far documented the existence of and physical access points to intangible assets such as arts organisations for a town of culture, as well as the physical resources that comprise a town of art. Hence Stellenbosch can be classified as a hybrid of the two, in other words a town of

<sup>22</sup> According to Santagata's standards (2002).

art and culture. The next chapter, however, will deal in greater depth with the other intangible resources such as art occupations and individuals.

The Average Nearest Neighbour tool in ESRI™ ArcMap 10 was run and yielded the following results: The expected mean distance<sup>23</sup> was 60.37048 meters, while the observed mean distance was 39.865858 meters. The nearest neighbour ratio obtained was thus 0.660354, which shows that the points exhibit clustering<sup>24</sup>. The z-score obtained was -4.685540, indicating there is less than 1% likelihood that this clustered pattern could be the result of random chance. This is reflected in the tiny p-value of 0.000003, which made it possible to reject the null hypothesis<sup>25</sup> (Figure 3.4).

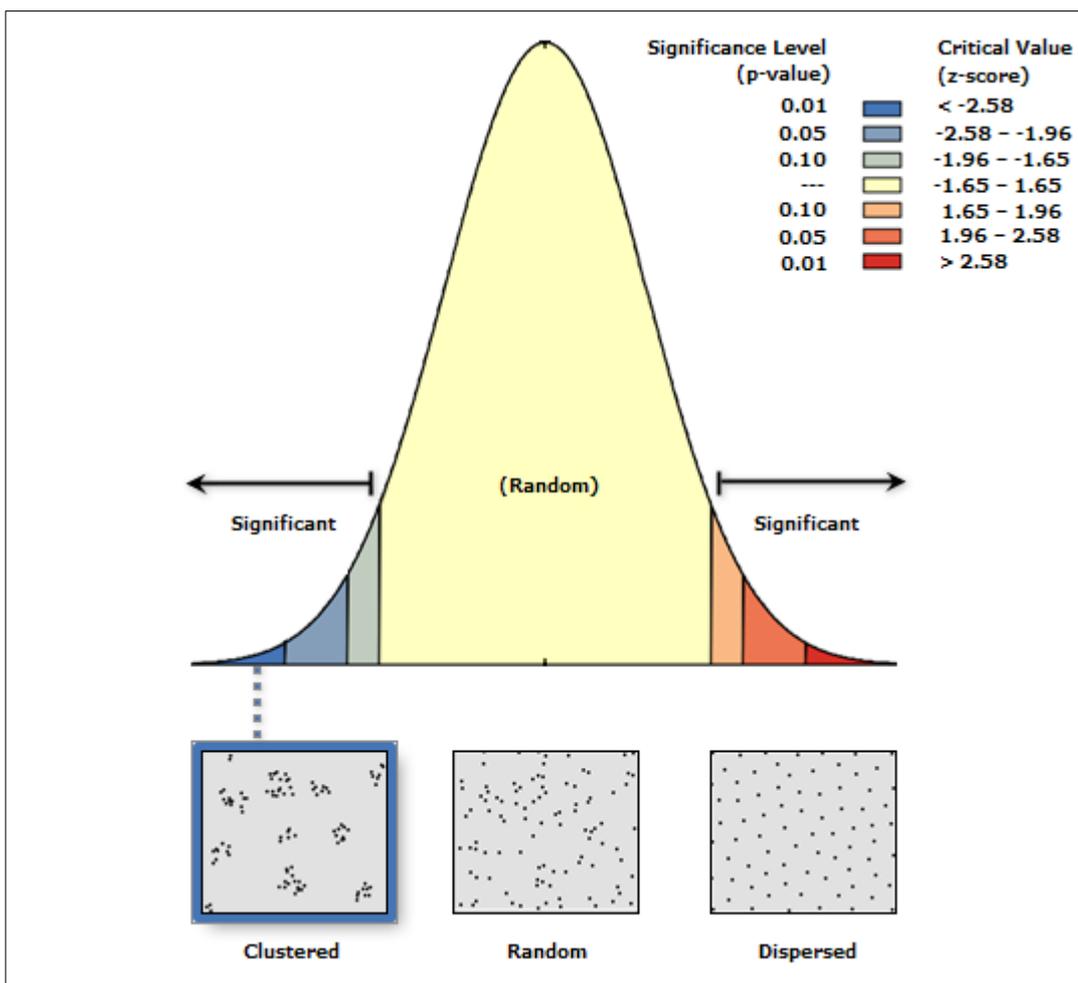


Figure 3.4: Average nearest neighbour summary for Stellenbosch core

<sup>23</sup> The expected distance is the average distance between neighbours in a hypothetical random distribution (ESRI ArcMap 1995).

<sup>24</sup> If the index is less than 1, the pattern exhibits clustering; if the index is greater than 1, the trend is toward dispersion or competition (ESRI ArcMap 1995).

<sup>25</sup> For the Average Nearest Neighbour statistic, the null hypothesis states that features are randomly distributed (ESRI ArcMap 1995)

A multi-distance spatial cluster analysis (Ripley's k-function) was also performed on the data and the graphic produced is shown in Figure 3.5. The expected K value was lower than the observed K value for Stellenbosch art resources across all distance bands, indicating that the distribution statistically is more clustered than random.

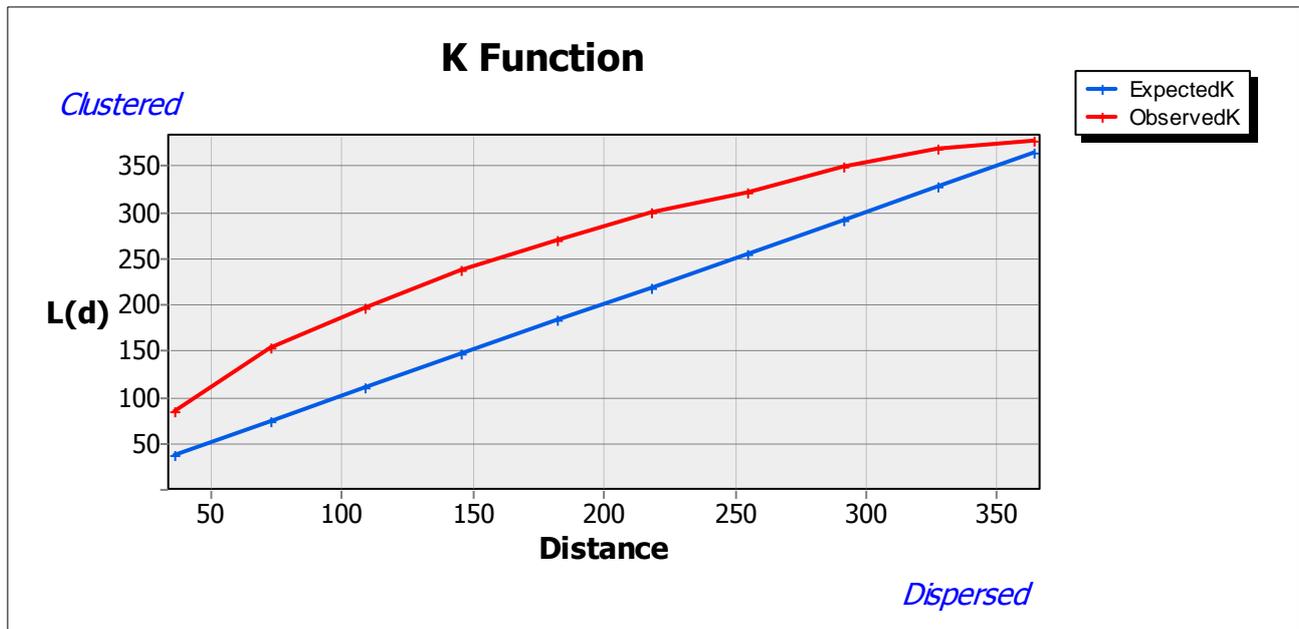


Figure 3.5: Results of Ripley's k-function analysis on Stellenbosch core

One suggestion as to why this statistically significant spatial pattern of clustering is exhibited in Stellenbosch is the propensity of creative businesses, including those who deal with fine art, to cluster (Bontje et al. 2011; Florida 2003). Creative businesses do this due to several advantages, including positive spill-over effects and increasing productive advantage.

### 3.3 MAIN ROLE PLAYERS

Much of the spatialities of art in Stellenbosch, as in any locale, rest on the main role players operating in the area. These interact with the art world in Stellenbosch in a multitude of ways and operate on the interpersonal level, the organisational and the institutional levels which shape the landscape. The non-gallery role players identified belong to the private, non-governmental, and municipal sectors, and the following were deemed to be the most pivotal art-world actors in the Stellenbosch core:

- PJ Olivier Art Centre
- Rembrandt Art Foundation

- Rupert Art Foundation
- Sasol Art Museum
- Stellenbosch 360
- Stellenbosch Arts Association (SAA)
- Stellenbosch Municipality
- Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust (SOST)
- Stellenbosch University

The PJ Olivier Art Centre is an affiliated organisation of the South African National Association for the Visual Arts (SANAVA) and plays an integral role in the Stellenbosch community in terms of art education. It also grants the community access to many of Stellenbosch's fine artists and fine art educators. They organise and host multiple art initiatives and events in the town, especially for youth.

Another affiliated branch of SANAVA operating in Stellenbosch, the Rembrandt Art Foundation, is one of two foundations operating in Stellenbosch. Situated in the Rembrandt van Rijn Art Gallery at the historic Libertas Parva building, it houses historical local art.<sup>26</sup> The second foundation is the Rupert Art Foundation, which is similarly situated in a gallery and museum building, the Rupert Art Museum. Both foundations play a pivotal role by initiating, supporting, and introducing art projects and collections as well as the preservation thereof in and around Stellenbosch. They support various organisations with art-driven initiatives and projects while trying to foster appreciation of fine visual art through their own initiatives and projects.

The Sasol Art Museum, like the Rupert and Rembrandt van Rijn galleries, safeguards one of Stellenbosch's permanent art collections, that which belongs to the Stellenbosch University. Temporary exhibitions by local and international artists are also regularly hosted by them and they collaborate with organisations to offer support.

Stellenbosch 360, another main role player in Stellenbosch, is the new tourism and branding initiative which was launched in 2011 by the Stellenbosch Tourism and Information Authority (STIA). The art and heritage of the town is promoted extensively through them, and marketed to a wider international audience. Art events, initiatives, and projects are promoted through them to uphold the national and international reputation of Stellenbosch as a destination of art and culture. The physical environment of Stellenbosch as an art and culture space is also preserved and

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<sup>26</sup> Such as works by Pierneef, Anton van Wouw and Irma Stern, to name a few.

developed as part of their strategy to uphold this reputation. They also play an integral role in the networking of the Stellenbosch art-world, by building reciprocally advantageous strategic, operational and thematic partnerships with stakeholders<sup>27</sup>. Stellenbosch 360 also actively assists and encourages art and culture stakeholders in adopting more effective and sustainable marketing, funding, and service delivery practices. Management, research, development, and stakeholder relations while providing tourists with information on art and culture thus is the main role of Stellenbosch 360 in the Stellenbosch art world.

The Stellenbosch Arts Association (SAA) founded recently is another role player in Stellenbosch. It is promoted by Stellenbosch 360. Founded in 2006, the SAA is a branch of SANAVA and accommodates the needs not only of artists but of all interested in visual art. A non-profit organisation, they further the visual art scene in Stellenbosch in a multitude of ways, including providing access to and hosting talks and excursions centred on visual art, members' art exhibitions, art tuition, and holiday programmes for youth. They aim to promote all forms of visual art and the appreciation thereof across all Stellenbosch communities through these initiatives and to make art part of everyday life in the town. They frequently collaborate with other role players in the visual arts in Stellenbosch, mainly the Sasol Art Museum where they are situated, and the PJ Olivier Art Centre, for events such as the annual members' exhibition.

The Stellenbosch Municipality also plays a focal role in the visual art scene in the town. Apart from the direct influence of policy, they approve and guide many private and public art initiatives, including the Dylan Lewis *Shapeshifting* exhibition, the *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II* group exhibition of 2012, and Strijdom van der Merwe's Nelson Mandela statue situated outside the Town Hall. The municipal team orientates itself around building diversity and inclusivity, through the support of several local art and culture structures such as museums and galleries, as well as involvement in art events and festivals. The municipality also facilitates funding for art and culture projects, events and initiatives, and supports and works closely with organisations such as the Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust (SOST).

The Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust is a non-profit organisation operating in Stellenbosch, and is centred around public art initiatives in the town. The trust was set up to create a repository for the funds needed by sponsorship to host the *20 Stellenbosch: South African Sculpture of the Last Two Decades* exhibition of 2011-2012, and it has been instrumental in the organisation and

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<sup>27</sup> Attractions, accommodation providers, conferences, businesses and educational institutions.

management of public art exhibitions<sup>28</sup> since. The most recent, the *Kom Sit Stellenbosch* functional art exhibition, began in 2014 and was oriented around the theme of the World Design Capital Cape Town: “Live Design. Transform Life”. The SOST also secures funding from financial stakeholders for various other art initiatives, such as KickstART, which is the educational outreach arm of the SOST. It is sponsored by Deloitte and is a programme that actively engages with high school learners with regard to career options in the creative industries. There are annual workshops for all the high schools in the Stellenbosch community and the trust has a bursary structure in place, through which winners get full support – art school classes, all materials, a meal at the Art Café, private transport to and from class, a mentor, and any career/psychological support that is needed at the Stellenbosch University Psychology Clinic.

Stellenbosch University is the final visual arts role player identified in the study. The University also has major influence on the art tableau in the town. The Visual Arts Department offers art tuition and plays host and organiser to multiple art events<sup>29</sup> and exhibitions. Many artists live and work in and through this department, and through the educational role played it is also creating new artists with tertiary preparedness. Many other initiatives within the university which focus on visual art are developed across multiple departments. The university, for example, coordinates, organises and manages one of the three most prominent national art festivals in South Africa, the US Woodfees. Another is that of the Stellenbosch University Centre for Inclusivity. Although the centre is not formally oriented around art and culture in the town, they do further the art scene of Stellenbosch by coordinating formalised art exhibitions, the most recent being *Dear Mr Mandela; Dear Mrs Parks: Children’s Letters; Global Lessons; and Freedom XX: 20 Pieces of Democracy* at the Sasol Art Museum, which were on show until 31 December 2014. They also actively promote diverse and inclusive art initiatives in the media such as the *Visual Art for Critical Citizenship* exhibition of August 2014, which involved collaboration between the Visual Communication and Design students and the community of Ida’s Valley, a former coloured neighbourhood of Stellenbosch.

All information on the above role players was gathered via online sources such as their respective websites, as well via telephonic and email conversations with prominent or knowledgeable individuals within the associations. Artists and gallery owners were also identified as focal role-

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<sup>28</sup> Since the Trust’s inception in 2011, they have organised and managed three public art exhibitions: *20 Stellenbosch: Two decades of South African Sculpture* (2011-2012), *Metalwork: Public art in Stellenbosch II* (2013), and *Kom Sit Stellenbosch* (2014). Maps of each public art exhibition can be found in the appendices.

<sup>29</sup> Such as Last Thursdays Stellenbosch, an after-hours art walk initiative which promotes art appreciation in the town.

playing individuals,<sup>30</sup> and their input was obtained and is explored in the next chapter, Chapter 4. All role players, including artists, organisations, communities, trusts, policy makers, the government, tourism boards, planners, curators, project managers, and the like must collaborate to ensure that the public, as most important consumer (Zebracki 2011), is served to the best measure possible.

### 3.4 CONCLUSION

As in the findings by While (2003), visual art structures and organisations have undoubtedly played a major role in shaping the socio-spatial dimensions of the Stellenbosch core as social, cultural and (quasi-)material productions. The value of art in the public realm needs to be consciously recognised and arts and culture can foster a reputable sense of place through structures and initiatives such as public art exhibitions, events, and the like, which is invaluable to Stellenbosch's international and local status as an art town destination. Stellenbosch has shown itself to conform to the notions of an art town and town of culture, at least in physicality, and the next chapter will evaluate the more abstract, intangible field of this notion: exploring the personal opinions of Stellenbosch as an art town of artists, art businessmen, and the general public to discover whether it can be further classified as a hybrid town of both art and culture. It is increasingly acknowledged that art and culture are as valuable as concrete economic indicators (Russo & Van der Borg 2010). As more creatively orientated cityscapes emerge, it will be imperative for studies like this to inspect the many interactions, connections and effects that art plays in socially constructing a place and its spatiality. It is As Russo & Van der Borg (2010) noted, the interactions between art and urban space are highly dynamic, but the supporting structures in the form of the role players do posit that a cultural enclave existing in Stellenbosch to an extent appeals to the creative class (Florida 2002; Zukin & Kosta 2004). Continued involvement across all levels of organisation and action from main role players in the Stellenbosch art world is integral to the continued and future success and development in the visual art field. As iterated, the maps provide only a snapshot of the art resources in Stellenbosch, and the on-going process of updating the maps and data in combination with a longitudinal study in the field is needed to gain insight into spatiotemporalities which can further enhance understanding, decision making and planning.

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<sup>30</sup> In contrast to groups or institutionalised bodies of non-gallery entities

## CHAPTER 4: OPINIONS ON STELLENBOSCH AS AN ART TOWN

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

As seen in the previous chapter in the mapping of art places and spaces in the core of Stellenbosch, the spatialities exhibited by art is distinctly patterned into clusters of art resources, but insight into the lived experience of individuals moving through and living in these spaces and places is needed to understand the intangible effects of and opinions on fine visual art in Stellenbosch. In this chapter, the focus turns to five aspects of the opinions on Stellenbosch being an art town. First, the survey results of visual art as an occupation and a business and, second, whether Stellenbosch is considered an art town are explored. Third, public opinion on formalised art and, fourth, informal public art are then discussed. Fifth, vandalism and art in Stellenbosch is explored. These data were gathered with the use of questionnaire-led interviews.

### 4.2 ART GALLERIES AND ARTISTS IN STELLENBOSCH

#### 4.2.1 Survey results: Businesses

Twenty-eight art galleries<sup>31</sup> were visited to collect information on art from a business perspective in Stellenbosch (Appendix A). Respondents either were an owner or a manager of gallery, and questionnaires were used as guidelines for structured interviews. An example of the questionnaires that were used can be viewed in Appendix B.

Commercial art galleries were discovered to play varying roles and functions in the town, and a typology was created to differentiate between the types of galleries identified. Six different gallery types were identified (Table 4.1). First, businesses exist which only deal in crafts<sup>32</sup> and which lack fine art products such as sculpture and paintings; a business such as R & J African Arts & Crafts in Church Street is an example of such. Second, shops which sell mostly crafts and other art products but which have some fine art pieces were identified, for example the Old Art From Africa shop in Church Street. Third were pop-up galleries which are temporary venues exhibiting artworks, which have been represented multiple times in Stellenbosch. The most recent of these pop-up shows was the *Maneki Pop-Up* at Slee Gallery in April 2014, and in the same month the 5 Ryneveld Restaurant

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<sup>31</sup> These include private-, public- and artist-owned spaces

<sup>32</sup> The shops which sell only crafts and lack fine art products were excluded from the study, but were included in the typology for illustrative purposes

hosted a pop-up exhibition by Aidon Westcott for the Last Thursdays Stellenbosch art initiative. Earlier in the year, in January 2014, another a pop-up exhibition was hosted at the Oude Libertas Gallery in collaboration with the Stellenbosch Wine Festival.<sup>33</sup> The fourth type of gallery that was identified mostly sell the work of upcoming or emerging artists, although a few works of established artists are also sold. In reverse, the fifth type identified was those which leaned more towards exhibiting established artists with a few works by emerging artists. The sixth and final type of gallery to be identified included those focussed solely on dealing with investment art, such as the works of Clare Menck, Lionel Smit, Anton Smit, Strijdom van der Merwe, and the like.

Non-profit galleries were also identified in the Stellenbosch core, being those that display art but do not sell the works. These included art museums and non-profit art galleries, as well as academic institutions which display fine art. Although the representatives of such academic institutions (such as the PJ Olivier Art School and Stellenbosch University Visual Arts Department) were not interviewed for opinions relating to this section on art businesses, the art museums and non-profit galleries were included due to the representatives' knowledge of the Stellenbosch art market. These non-profit organisations identified in the Stellenbosch core include the Sasol Art Museum (mostly non-profit, but holding occasional exhibitions when art may be purchased), the Stellenbosch University Gallery (displaying art of graduates and students, not for sale through gallery), the Anton Rupert Art Museum, and the Rembrandt van Rijn Gallery.

Table 4.1: Typology of galleries in Stellenbosch

<b>Commercial</b>	<i>Craft shops</i>	<i>Art &amp; craft shop</i>	<i>Pop-up gallery</i>	<i>Mostly emerging artists exhibited (with some established artists)</i>	<i>Mostly established artists exhibited (with some emerging artists)</i>	<i>Aiming mostly at exhibiting investment artists</i>
<b>Non-profit</b>	<i>Art museums (e.g. Sasol Art Museum and Gallery), non-profit fine art galleries (e.g. Stellenbosch University Gallery), academic institutions displaying art &amp; teaching (e.g. PJ Olivier, SU Visual Arts Department)</i>					
	Increase in value & quality 					

Art galleries in Stellenbosch were discovered to be both established and new. Most galleries have been in business for approximately two years. Several are in the process of becoming or are already established galleries, ranging from 6 to 35 years. One gallery had only opened eight months before

<sup>33</sup> The first pop-up for 2014 was at the Clos Malverne wine estate which hosted the *A Void in the Landscape* exhibition, which continued from October 2013 until 5 January 2014.

the interview. Most galleries were also found to be renting their spaces, while only a few owned them.

Galleries were found to deal in all varieties of fine visual art. Sculpture, painting and print work was sold alone or in combination across all galleries. Galleries chose the medium and content of art works displayed on the premise that the particular features exhibited in them give the work a competitive market advantage. Multiple galleries selling paintings mentioned that the work of South African masters, often historic, draws most attention from customers. Other galleries iterated that contemporary paintings drew most attention, especially those representing South African landscapes, wildlife, and indigenous people. Certain galleries dealing in sculpture iterated that bronzes of South African wildlife had become especially popular in recent times following the Shapeshifting public art exhibition of Dylan Lewis's work in 2008-2010. In a sense with African art now being a commodity, a similar situation exists as that noted in Schnell's (2003) study, namely the use of traditional South African images for modern (and often monetary) ends.

A range of answers emerged when respondents were asked why they chose to locate their gallery in Stellenbosch rather elsewhere. Many of the owners stated that it was because they lived in Stellenbosch prior to making the decision and therefore decided to open the gallery in their hometown. One of these owners stated that they have lived in the town for more than 25 years. Several owners commented on the aesthetic allure which the town offers, and one owner affectionately remarked: "It is the most beautiful town in SA." Others delivered comments on the various roles assumed by the town which place galleries in an advantageous position for business: "The town has energy – one very good street which is pedestrian friendly, and one which 100% of tourists walk through. The university also plays a huge role in bringing customers – parents of students shop here." Multiple respondents commented on Stellenbosch as a tourist destination, and that it places them at competitive advantage in the national and international art markets. This aligns with the study conducted by Pio (2008) in which it is stated that the clustered arts and culture<sup>34</sup> resources are able to attract high tourist numbers. But Pio (2008) warned against the danger of over-dependence on the tourist market against which Stellenbosch must be safeguarded. One owner stated that "high net income residents and visitors" provided the main motivation for locating in Stellenbosch. While this is economically beneficial to the town, it also hints of exclusivity, with only the affluent populace able to afford purchasing art. From these results Stellenbosch apparently conforms to Florida's (2002) notion that a locale has to be able to attract those working in creative industries and the creative class in general. Stellenbosch caters for these business owners, at least in

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<sup>34</sup> Amongst others such as creative-cultural industries, boutique shops, and so forth

location and with physical space. Respondents stated that their next choice for opening another art gallery in other places would be others reputable for arts, culture and tourism, and included Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Franschhoek, and Amsterdam. A few respondents stated that, given the opportunity, they would choose Stellenbosch again.

Gallery owners iterated various reasons for locating their gallery at each respective location within Stellenbosch. Answers relating to the high potential customer footfall emerged again. More than half of the owners mentioned that the location was chosen on the merit of providing the best exposure to the range of potential visitors. One owner indicated that the location for the gallery was chosen because it is a “prime spot for tourist attraction”. Other respondents opened the galleries simply because the particular location was available. All respondents indicated that the current location of their business positively impacts their market success and the ability to sell their art pieces. Two respondents stated that being in close proximity to other galleries was their main reason for choosing their respective locations, and this clustering of similar businesses for market advantage was also documented in a study by Florida (2003). This may be due to the spill-over effect as one of the two respondents stated “All the tourists know that art and culture places are here, so if they go into the restaurant or gallery next door they might come into my place next because they are paired so well.” In contrast, the competition alongside this complementation of galleries, as was stated by Bontje et al. (2011), was also evident, as 13 of the 28 respondents mentioned that too many galleries are situated in the town centre. A couple of respondents mentioned that their business was negatively impacted by some other situational aspects of their particular location, with comments such as “good location, but no parking!”, and “too many students nearby”.

Works from both well-known and upcoming artists are sold widely across galleries, while several deal specifically in the one or the other. Seventeen galleries indicated that they deal in work from both emerging and upcoming artists; four stated that they deal with upcoming artists only, while seven iterated they deal solely with work by established artists. Two galleries mentioned that they also sell art from outsider artists.<sup>35</sup> Galleries which deal in works by both upcoming and established artist were asked which were more popular with visitors and customers, and more than half of them (17 of 28) stated that works by renowned artists receive more attention. While these results indicate that Stellenbosch is open-minded, stable, and diverse to an extent in including different types of art and artists (which, according to Zukin & Kosta (2004), appeals to the creative class), the situation does seem to be lacking in equal representation of each. This could lead to a sense of exclusivity

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<sup>35</sup> Outsider art here refers to the term attributed to art critic Roger Cardinal.

and elitism in the sector and was often postulated as a deterrent by artists interviewed. One respondent who is a gallery manager as well as an artist stated: “It’s so ironic, I see myself as an upcoming artist and I regularly sell my works to private and corporate clients, yet I don’t have the reputation to exhibit in the very space I visit every day.” Respondents were asked to indicate which percentage of works in their gallery had been produced locally or internationally. Work sold in galleries was stated to be mostly locally produced (South Africa), with the average percentage of local artworks comprising 90% of the galleries’ stock. Eight per cent was ascribed to being produced internationally outside Africa, while only 2% of artworks on average originated internationally from within Africa.

Respondents were found to market their business extensively to ensure success, and to actively promote their gallery and events. Publishing in the local media such as newspapers and marketing online was the most common strategies employed to market the work and the business. The Art Times Magazine and Facebook were specifically mentioned by multiple respondents. A number of respondents stated that the physical position of their gallery was an advertisement in itself, and that word-of-mouth is very important in the town for becoming a reputable establishment. “Often it’s not about who sees my website or reads the paper, it’s about who in the town has seen it or been there, and talks about it” was one respondent’s opinion on the feasibility of formalised and active marketing initiatives in advertising. A number of galleries also mentioned that they make use of brochures distributed at various other locales,<sup>36</sup> as well as at their own site.

While a number of gallery owners stated that they run the business without any assistance, most galleries were found to have employees in various roles. Table 4.2 below shows the number of people employed by the galleries surveyed in Stellenbosch (excluding gallery owners themselves). As iterated in the previous chapter, the highly diverse and ever-changing nature of the art industry means that this is only a snapshot of art gallery employees in the town in one moment of time, namely April 2013. Regardless, this is similar to the findings in study by Markusen & Schrock (2009) which suggested that employment opportunities provide one of the many forms of improvement to be gained by a locale through the arts sector. As stated, a number of gallery owners iterated that they manage the gallery on their own, whereas some gallery owners stated that they employ as many as four people. However, most galleries making use of assistants on average employed one or two people. Either way, this survey showed that 57 employment opportunities have been generated by the art market in Stellenbosch.

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<sup>36</sup> Such as at the Visitor and Tourist Information Centre, at other galleries, at museums, at restaurants and at boutique shops.

Table 4.2: Number of persons employed in various assistance roles in art businesses

	<i>Admin</i>	<i>Ancillary/Support</i>	<i>Technical</i>	<i>Specialist</i>	<i>Total</i>
Full time	6	5	0	6	17
Part time	7	3	4	8	22
Short-term contract	9	6	3	0	18

(n = 28)

The most important opportunity for making sales was typically<sup>37</sup> alleged by respondents to arise through casual daytime visits by locals and tourists. Nine respondents indicated that exhibition openings were most important to them, and the remaining four specified special viewings to be the best opportunity for making sales. One owner stated that special viewings are not requested frequently, but when they are, it is often highly rewarding as “you’re 99% sure they’ll buy”. The prices for artworks across all galleries surveyed ranged between R500 minimum and R600 000 maximum per artwork. This situation exists because artworks generally are expensive (approximately R5 000 per piece on average in the lower range of prices, while average high-range prices were approximately R100 000). When a special viewing is requested it therefore is because there already is high interest in buying artworks, which increases the likelihood of a sale. Main customers at the galleries were reported as mostly being tourists, with more than half of the respondents stating so. Seven respondents stated that locals were their main customers, and five specified that locals and tourists were purchasing art equally from their business. This again reiterates results obtained by Pio (2008), who reported that arts clusters are attractive to tourists but to be so largely dependent on tourism which could be affected by unforeseen external forces creates an undesirable situation.

Respondents were asked to state whether they have noticed a significant decline or increase in revenue over the past two years (2011-2013). The results are displayed in Table 4.3. Respondent suggestions for why they believed their revenue has increased ranged through a number of factors such as the 2010 Soccer World Cup event which boosted South Africa’s global reputation; moving to a new location with greater visibility; learning art market “etiquette” over time and gaining knowledge concerning best practice; and building a reputation with clientele over time.

<sup>37</sup> Fifteen of total respondents (53.57%).

Respondents who indicated that they experienced a decline in revenue largely attributed this to the fact that the market is affected by the global recession which has led to downturn in the sector. “We are selling non-essential goods in an economy that is suffering both locally and overseas” was one explanation. Regardless of this, 100 per cent of the respondents stated that their business adds value to Stellenbosch as an art town. A few respondents made note of the revitalising nature of the galleries in town, and one said “all the galleries and restaurants here attract upper-class and high-income visitors, so the buildings and businesses are frequently given face-lifts because they won’t want to come to a run-down area”. It must be imperative for physical and spatial changes brought about by such revitalisation<sup>38</sup> to adhere to the styles and practices which enhance and preserve Stellenbosch’s sense of place (Orbaşlı 2000). This is situated firmly within the reach of planners and policy makers as culture-based revitalisation has in the past been documented as informing such changes (Russo & Van der Borg 2010).

Table 4.3: Manager/owner answers on revenue change over last two years

<i>Increase</i>	<i>Decline</i>	<i>No change</i>
8	11	9

(n = 28)

Challenges and constraints faced by galleries in Stellenbosch were disclosed as market downturn, high rental costs, poor levels of professionalism among artists and galleries, lack of capital, too much competition, dirty surroundings, the homeless hindering customers, concealed entrances, and inadequate space.

In conclusion, many different types of galleries or spaces have been recorded in the core of Stellenbosch, and were seen to be exhibiting many different styles of art works. Stellenbosch seems to be a prime location for art businesses, and the town is gaining a reputation as such nationally and internationally. The art business in the form of galleries and art shops has a valuable contribution to make to Stellenbosch in being attractions for visitors and locals, though an air of exclusivity pervading much of the art world with regard to purchasing power and limited opportunities<sup>39</sup> to exhibit has been detected. Stellenbosch apparently conforms to Florida’s (2002) notion that a locale must be able to attract those working in creative industries and the creative class in general. However, the businesses in Stellenbosch must be continually evaluated by those participating in the

<sup>38</sup> Or any gentrification where applicable

<sup>39</sup> For emerging/upcoming and outsider artists; renowned artists are more likely to receive space in galleries

industry to ensure that the sense of place of the town is reserved through the products and physical exteriors of the place, as suggested by Orbaşlı (2002). Stellenbosch caters for these business owners at least in location and with physical space, as well as for local artists whose work can be exhibited.

#### 4.2.2 Survey results: Artists

Nineteen visual artists were approached and interviewed to gain insight into art as an occupation. Both established and emerging artists agreed to participate anonymously, and one outsider artist was also interviewed. Questionnaires used to guide the interview process can be viewed in Appendix C. The demographic profile of the artists who participated is as follows: Eleven male and eight female artists were interviewed. Five artists were between 31 and 40 years of age, four were between 41 and 50 years, eight were between 51 and 60, and two were over 61. Most artists interviewed held a tertiary or post-graduate degree, while only two respondents stating that they had achieved matric level or less. Ten of the degree holders who were interviewed had completed a postgraduate degree. All artists stated that they had received training/education in art, and while most held a diploma, bachelor's or master's degree in fine art, two explained that their art education/training was at high school level. The artists of Stellenbosch in this sense are representative of what Florida (2002) indicates as a general feature of the creative class. All artists interviewed were permanent residents of Stellenbosch at the current time, although the duration of their residency varied across respondents. These results are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Duration of artists' current residency in Stellenbosch

<i>Years as resident of Stellenbosch</i>	<i>Number of artists</i>
0-5 years	5
6-10 years	6
11-15 years	2
15-20 years	1
21-30 years	3
>30 years	2

(n = 19)

Artists were asked why they have chosen to live and work in Stellenbosch. Several artists explained that they had been students at the Stellenbosch University, and decided to stay after completing their respective degrees, while others have been Stellenbosch residents for their entire lives and have no intention to leave. Some respondents mentioned that they chose to live in the town for a number of reasons which help them secure work as fine artists, for instance that they had developed relationships and contacts with prominent figures; that Stellenbosch is a nationally and internationally renowned tourist town; that they receive great exposure in their location; that Stellenbosch is considered diverse with many different artists,<sup>40</sup> and so forth. Respondents made particular mention of the sizable number of artists in the town, and how beneficial transferral of knowledge from one artist to the other is and how it enhances their sense of place, which was also recorded by Richards (2011) in his study. Additional reasons provided by respondents were that they are drawn to the aesthetic appeal of the town,<sup>41</sup> or that they have family/friends/a spouse in Stellenbosch and hence have a personal connection or relationship with the town.<sup>42</sup> One respondent stated, “I love its quirky but authentic character – it’s full of little boutiques, galleries, and coffee shops – just lovely.” The opinions concerning Stellenbosch as a preferred location demonstrates that the town attracts more individuals of the creative class, which is a good indicator of increased growth and health of a creative locale, as Florida (2002) noted in his own studies.

Artists asserted that the presence of Stellenbosch University had both positive and negative effects on their personal experience of art in the town. Positive influences mostly were attributed specifically to the visual arts department of the university. Six of the ten respondents who spoke of the university’s positive effects, stated that the department was responsible for initiatives that reached, interested, and often involved, them as artists in Stellenbosch. The university had provided the platform for becoming professional artists to some through tuition, by making their facilities and other resources available to them, and by hosting art events. The institution’s reputation in fine art was also mentioned by two respondents as having positive effects; “university is well known for its art, so I wanted to study [t]here and build a name for myself” and “the university draws talented people and encourage[s] artistic talent”. The university was also said to have positive effects because of the students who attend, as their parents are often consumers of the art. Six respondents stated that the university impacted them negatively. Most of these responses ascribed the negative effects to the actions of students at the university. “They get drunk and break the art in town”, and “they drink and smoke and are generally obnoxious – no respect for us or our customers.” One

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<sup>40</sup> Which “signifies that there are great opportunities for all kinds of artists”.

<sup>41</sup> Through responses such as “beautiful old town” and “the town’s history and town itself with its Dutch architecture”.

<sup>42</sup> One respondent stated that it was her late husband’s birthplace, and she “wanted to be close to him”, so friends/family are still considered the main motivator behind her choice.

respondent stated “they are the sole reason why tourists won’t come back”. One negative effect was also accredited explicitly to the university’s visual arts department, as one artist held that it “has a feel of alienation about it, you have to be part of their exclusive group to become something good – know the right people and that will get you exposure, it’s not about the art itself anymore”. Three respondents said that they experienced no positive or negative effect from the university’s presence.

Figure 4.1 shows that just over one quarter of artists consider themselves to be well-known artists. Most however, considered themselves to be upcoming artists. Equal opportunities were thus stated as limited, and that a more inclusive and representative attitude in the sector should be adopted to enhance development in both the social and spatial dimensions of the town. Some upcoming artists also stated that their relationship with the gallery system has been of little or no engagement and, in some instances, has even been hostile. Due to the limited prospects for exhibiting in renowned galleries, many artists do not produce art as a primary occupation and have to seek other additional employment. In contradiction to this, respondents who regarded themselves to be renowned stated that making art has provided a successful livelihood once they had become established, and art became their principal means of generating an income.

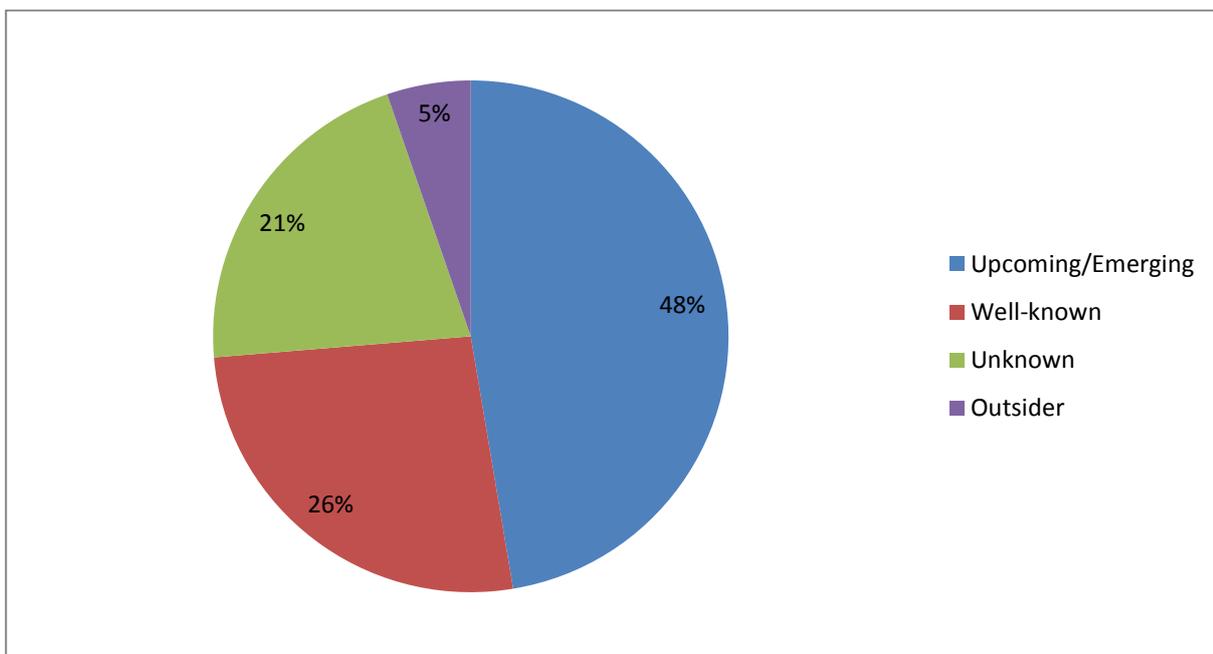


Figure 4.1: Types of artists that respondents consider themselves to be (n = 19)

Most of the interviewed respondents stated that they believe that Stellenbosch caters for their needs as artists, in terms of being a good location from which to conduct and obtain work as an artist. Having the most suitable target population and the right location with the best exposure was stated to be the best position for artists to be in. A few respondents, however, identified issues concerning

a lack of services and amenities for artists in Stellenbosch. These issues included “increasingly high rent for facilities”, “too few events for upcoming or fresh artists to participate in, nor is there a platform for them to at least join together”, and what was mentioned especially was the lack of shops stocking art supplies. Several respondents explained that they need to travel to Cape Town for art supplies. One respondent stated that Stellenbosch both fulfils and denies many of their needs as artists. “There are no galleries/associations/club owners that really cater for outsider ideals and aesthetics. But it does provide me so-called ‘public’ space to draw from/on, but this would be true for any town, not just Stellenbosch. Either way it is not really conducive to nurturing the types of art practices/styles/attitudes I wish to partake in.” This notion is in direct conflict with the ideal broad-minded, stable, and diverse cultural enclave which will serve existing and attract future members of the creative class (Zukin & Kosta 2004). Two of the artists mentioned that the development of the arts sector is often ignored to focus on what is “really important”, like issues of health and education. These results indicate that Stellenbosch often does not cater for the artists attracted to the town, which is detrimental to the increased health and growth of a creative city or town (Florida 2002).

All the respondents indicated that marketing their work was crucial to success as an artist. All renowned artists and a few upcoming artists stated that they gain exposure through exhibiting at galleries. Advertising online, via brochures, word of mouth and by networking are the most popular forms of advertising used by artists in Stellenbosch. One respondent also explained that artists additionally make use of an agent. The most important contexts for selling artwork were through commissions. The well-known artists, however, identified local and international galleries as the most important. This is mainly due to gains in reputation, “even when the profit made off a show is not that big”. Artists stated that it is challenging, in general, to have their works displayed in art galleries and at dealerships, but that it becomes less so once a solid reputation has been built (“which can take 15 years or more” Anonymous). Several artists also mentioned that they have home studios from which they exhibit and sell some pieces. The target market for most artists consisted of tourists, although a substantial portion of the artists’ main clientele was comprised of the local general public. Corporates were also regarded as important clients for artists in Stellenbosch, but the main target of artists regardless of any target market was stated to be the very wealthy or high income earners. Upper middle-income earners were also seen as target consumers but hardly any of the artists indicated that they target middle-income and low-income earners. Even so, numerous artists stated that they only earn enough to survive, while only two reported that making art procures viable profits. It is not surprising that these two responses came from artists who do not earn any other form of income. For the majority of artists, however, a livelihood from

the sale of art was deemed too difficult to acquire due to limited opportunities to sell and too much competition.

Many artists indicated that they do not employ other people for administrative, technical, or specialist assistance, because they are not able to always afford to do so. A few additional employment opportunities are created by the artists of Stellenbosch, however, as six of the artists who were interviewed do employ such assistants, but the number of employees for any artist never exceeded one assistant. This finding, as in the case of galleries in Stellenbosch, similarly acknowledges employment opportunities as an improvement resulting from the presence of art resources, namely artists, in the town (Markusen & Schrock 2009). Table 4.5 shows that more artists perceive financial hardship as being on the increase and becoming a pattern as such. A substantial number<sup>43</sup> of artists believe that the overall revenue generated from their work has been in decline over the past two years. Reasons put forward by interviewees for why this situation may exist mainly identified the global economic downturn as a major factor which, in combination with selling luxury items which not everyone needs or can afford, makes visual art as occupation increasingly difficult to maintain. One respondent stated that “art also takes a back seat to sports events and the like; some potential clients like major companies rather invest in that than art”.

Table 4.5: Artists’ answers regarding changes in revenue over last two years

<i>Increase</i>	<i>Decline</i>	<i>No change</i>
5	13	1

(n = 19)

Respondents identified various initiatives which have noteworthy impacts on the development of the visual arts sector, in both Stellenbosch and South Africa as a whole. These included local biennale events; the Johannesburg Art Fair; corporate art competitions and awards; the US Woodfees; artist-run projects; residency; and international exchange programmes. Surprisingly, only one of the interviewed artists made mention of non-profit arts development organisations, which evidently play a role in the development of the sector., Some opportunities therefore are available for participation by artists, and are notable for potentially boosting one’s reputation nationally.

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<sup>43</sup> 68% of interviewees

The interviewed artists generally stated that they have been professional artists for six to ten years, while a few indicated that they have been working as artists for less than five years. All established artists have been pursuing visual art as a profession for more than 15 years, with many of them having practised for 21 years or more thus far. The business structure through which artists conduct their work was predominantly identified as self-employed sole traders or as self-employed with no formal legal status as artist. Only one artist mentioned operating through a closed corporation structure.

The artists of Stellenbosch have shown themselves to be ingrained in the local, national, and international art world through their participation in multiple shows, exhibitions, events and initiatives over the past five years. From the interviews, artists were recognised as:

- Participating in group shows at major and smaller galleries locally and nationally,<sup>44</sup>
- Participating in group shows at galleries/institutions outside South Africa,<sup>45</sup>
- Participating in exhibitions at community arts centres, festivals, or similar events,<sup>46</sup>
- Having work commissioned or purchased by private individuals,
- Having their work commissioned or purchased by public galleries, organisations and institutions,
- Having work commissioned or purchased by private companies or corporate collections,
- Having their artwork reviewed in a book or published in a professional journal,
- Having works requested for inclusion on internet sites,
- Winning awards and competitions as artists,<sup>47</sup> and
- Participating in international residencies.<sup>48</sup>

This shows that Stellenbosch art talent is in high demand both nationally and internationally, and hence is of international standard. By studying the list above one can recognise that artists in Stellenbosch have attained multiple achievements, but it must be noted that many of these are attributed to established artists. Upcoming and other artists who were interviewed principally indicated that they partook in achievements on a more local scale, mainly through private purchases

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<sup>44</sup> Respondents mentioned Stellenbosch, Cape Town, and Johannesburg, Paarl, Somerset West, Oudtshoorn, and Pretoria.

<sup>45</sup> Respondents mentioned Sweden, Sydney, Berlin, Moscow, New York, Amsterdam, Norway, the UK, and Hong Kong, to name a few.

<sup>46</sup> Such as the Woburn ArtBeat Exhibition, the Klein Karoo National Arts Festival, the US Wordfees, and the like.

<sup>47</sup> Including the renowned Kanna Awards,

<sup>48</sup> Sweden, London, and Berlin were mentioned.

of their work by individuals/companies/corporate collections; participating in group shows at South African galleries; and participating in exhibitions at festivals.

Regardless of these successes, most artists stipulated that commodification in the art sector is commonplace, and that moving away from this trend in Stellenbosch will accentuate its reputation as an art town that is authentic and unique. Several respondents stated that many artists adopt commodified styles because this is what appeals to tourists and what, at the end of the day, sells. The commodification of “African art particularly is rife in Stellenbosch: In every gallery, on every wall – it’s all African wildlife, African people, African landscapes, but none of it is ‘really’ African”. Another respondent stated: “Making a living out of art isn’t easy, but artists must believe in themselves and develop their own style.” To some artists, the trend of commodification and exclusivity go hand in hand: “Everyone’s still pushing the same touristified upper-middle-class tastes and values, no matter the style [or] medium. We need to see real, engaging art in Stellenbosch, enough of this pseudo-African stuff.” When evaluating the town’s status on a basis of Smith & Warfield’s (2008) value orientations, this posits that Stellenbosch is more econ-centric than culture-centric. Yet all artists interviewed considered the art they produce to add value to Stellenbosch as an art town, all for various reasons. While most artists mentioned that their work makes Stellenbosch a more desirable destination for visitors, some artists made mention of the themes and mediums they work with, and how it resonates with Stellenbosch’s sense of place: “My landscapes are painted with a palette knife, and the textures and colours represents our vineyard and café scenes of Stellenbosch, so visitors can take the feel of Stellenbosch home with them.” Others were more concerned with the intrinsic value of art to reach the viewer: “All I care about is affecting individuals or groups of people directly by creating a heightened state of awareness in them, that in turn creates images that can be injected into their lives or the lives of others.”

In conclusion, the artists in Stellenbosch have been seen as vital to the continued success of the art sector through creating culture and the dissemination of artistic products. Although many features of the town appeal to the creative community, it must negate the effects of those who deter creative individuals from the space, market, locale, or associated events and initiatives (Florida 2002). Artist subsidies may positively impact the situation, for example, through providing space for artists in return for community development initiatives. If this is adopted, it may lead to revitalisation and gentrification of Stellenbosch areas (Brown-Saracino 2013; Cameron & Coaffee 2005), although it must be consciously planned and monitored so as not to detract from the neighbourhood’s sense of place. More inclusive opportunities and supportive platforms seem to be highly sought after by upcoming and outsider artists.

### 4.3 OPINIONS ON STELLENBOSCH AS ART TOWN

All respondents<sup>49</sup> who participated in this study were asked to stipulate whether they are of the opinion that Stellenbosch could be considered an art town. The data revealed that most participants in the study perceived Stellenbosch to be an art town, mostly due to the abundance of art collections and galleries within the town, and this notion was compounded as numerous galleries were identified within the limited the Stellenbosch core. Famous art collections were held in high esteem by artists and gallery owners as contributing to the sense of an art town, and one can view this sense of pride as a part of their identity and the sense of place created through artistic processes and phenomena within Stellenbosch. Participants also stated that these collections are regarded as distinctive in Stellenbosch as art town, because of the variety of artists and styles, as well as the presence of other creative individuals such as writers, musicians, and performers. A host of other creative institutions, such as “museums, concert halls and cultural heritage” (Wagner 2012, Pers com), was mentioned with reference to enhancing the status of Stellenbosch as a town of art and culture. Annual art exhibitions were also indicated as a pull factor attracting local, national and international tourists, and this influx, specifically with regard to art, was considered by some to suggest that Stellenbosch is perceived as an art town. Gallery owners mentioned that they have heard from tourists both local and overseas that Stellenbosch is a prime destination to visit for art. Others perceived it as an art town because of the many internationally known and famous artists (such as Irma Stern, Maggie Laubser<sup>50</sup> and Pierneef) who are represented in Stellenbosch in places such as the Rupert Museum and Rembrandt van Rijn Gallery.

Former art students from the University of Stellenbosch affirmed that the visual arts department has played a pivotal role in forming their perceptions that Stellenbosch is an art town, through having promoted the role and prominence of local art and art events and thus providing valuable exposure. “Education and appreciation for art go hand in hand for me” (Schnelter 2012, Pers com) was one participant’s view on this subject. As art has been demonstrated to fulfil a returned educational role, it has also often been considered in the sector to have a “revitalising influence” on the spatial and social structures within Stellenbosch. The influence of the University of Stellenbosch has had an impact on people’s experience of art, for most the presence of the institution gave an “air of

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<sup>49</sup> This refers to all persons interviewed and who completed questionnaires anonymously – visual artists (19), gallery owners/managers (28), the general public (241) – and all those who did not participate anonymously (personal communications).

<sup>50</sup> Maggie Laubser was a Stellenbosch local – she attended Bloemhof Seminary in Stellenbosch where she was introduced to the art of drawing and she had her first solo exhibition in Stellenbosch.

sophistication”, which also drew more urbane customers with greater spending power. In contrast to this, some participants felt the presence of the University of Stellenbosch affected the art sector negatively, as vandalism and depreciation in the value of art and its meaning has been exhibited by students, “which makes this a town of pervasive unappreciation more than a town of art”. Although a plethora of creative processes have placed a focus on the art scene in Stellenbosch, many participants also expressed the opinion that commercialism and consumerism often dominates the market, distracting from the sense that Stellenbosch is an art town. This was one of the main motivations put forward by participants for not perceiving Stellenbosch as an art town, and it was stated that the presence of commercial art galleries and other corporate initiatives simply does not necessarily imply that it is an art town: “For me, it needs to emanate authenticity and uniqueness, not commercial agendas.” This demonstrates the importance of a sense of place which transcends the physical existence of particular amenities, and this is shaped by the intangible processes and interactions between them and society. As Lee (1993) noted in his study, the artworks<sup>51</sup> chosen for display<sup>52</sup> by shops influence the sense of place and identity of the spaces and people with whom they interact, and in the case of Stellenbosch this must be orientated around protecting and promoting authenticity. Over time, the atmosphere and process of Stellenbosch is assimilated and internalised by residents and visitors (Newman & McLean 2006), and a positive image should be promoted.

Some respondents suggested that Stellenbosch is more of a heritage town than an art town, due to the focus of art initiatives on profitability rather than “*art for art’s sake*” while there is a lot of “*heritage for heritage’s sake*”. Some respondents are under the impression that adopting commodification for profit has led to a reduction in the diversity of art styles and authenticity. This is tied to the tourism industry, as many tourists seek out commodified pieces to take home, and Viljoen (2012, Pers com) stated that, to him, Stellenbosch seemed to be “more a tourist destination with surrounding winelands as the biggest attraction”. Art plays a complementary role only, if this view is adopted, by “luring” tourists into the town while they are in transit to the next “big attraction” (Viljoen 2012, Pers com). Art, in many cases, has led to the revitalisation of destitute areas which do not usually receive much tourist attention, as art attractions entice tourists to visit parts of the town which do not receive much notice. Revitalisation has been shown to be achievable especially through the use of public art – thereby bringing financial reward and potential investment which will improve the market for the art sector, and visually stimulating revitalisation and gentrification (Goulding 2000; Monin & Sayers 2006; Zebracki 2011). For example, shop fronts are

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<sup>51</sup> Which are imbued with hidden values which individuals can experience (Lee 1993)

<sup>52</sup> As well as those rejected and how they are displayed

decorated to be more competitive and stimulating, and buildings are receiving ‘face lifts’ so as to draw the attention of potential new customers. The notion that Stellenbosch is an art town also seems to be growing as one participant stated that five galleries had opened in the year preceding the interview.

The rich and diverse art and culture environment of Stellenbosch was noted by many artists as their prime reason for working and living in the town. Art in a multitude of styles, mediums, techniques with varying themes and subject matter are presented in the galleries. Artists stated that their work includes drawing, photography, video animation, painting, jewellery design, sculpting, multimedia, weaving, and pottery, using a multitude of mediums ranging from oils, bronze, garbage, watercolour, and so forth.

Galleries however often do not accept many of these creative works as they do not all have high commercial value, and the requirement for businesses to succeed is the marketability of a product. Many galleries therefore exhibit what conforms to market demands, with most of the art comprising commodified African work, such as recognised 20th- and 21st-century South African paintings and sculpture, contemporary designs, landscapes, wildlife and portraiture of indigenous people. Although representative of the South African cultural landscape, this has a negative effect on diversity in fine art galleries as they all exhibit work in the same styles, themes, and often even mediums. However, it is commodification of art products for the targeted tourist market which has proven to reap the greatest financial rewards for galleries and artists, and very few galleries focus on exhibiting commodities and do not really enhance the creativity within the sector. This compares with Florida (2002) findings that revealed that the striving is for sameness, largely, and less frequently for uniqueness, for success in the art market. Some traditional pieces in galleries can even be viewed as commoditised to the extent that some indigenous crafts and artworks (which are sought after by tourists) which would usually be created by local indigenous people are now being copied by artists exhibiting in galleries, rather than communities themselves, which undermines genuineness and detracts from the notion that Stellenbosch is an authentic art town. It may also negatively impact the identities of those experiencing or working in the sector; Bain (2004) noted that social beings are moulded by objects such as art products as well as by physical space. She does, however, also mention that it is a two-way process; that social beings are also moulders of these objects and spaces (Bain 2004). Hence attracting an open-minded creative class (Florida 2003; Zukin 1987; Zukin & Kosta 2004) with many “heroic individualists”, as Chibnik (2006: 494) calls them, will enhance the production of unique and novel artworks that deviate from conformity to market demands.

Artists gave various reasons for producing the art pieces they do, and the creation of a product to sell was mentioned by most as a driver kept in mind during the conception and construction processes. This echoes what has been found in international literature (Bourdieu 1984; Wynne 1998), in which art products are commodities which need to appeal to tourists since individuals are increasingly defining themselves based on their material possessions, but that sense of place and authenticity must be maintained. The artwork becomes the concrete platform between the artists' intentions and the visitors' experiences and interpretations thereof, so that the artworks are imbued with values (Lee 1993) that may or may not be externally obvious. Even if the artwork succeeds in presenting some kind of clearly recognisable interpretation, commonalities may always be perceived differently due to the personal experiences of individuals, as mentioned in the study by Minty (2006) which acknowledges the heterogeneous nature of communities (McIntyre 2009). In addition to art being sellable, participating artists also revealed that passion, their perceived skill level, educational context and having the resources to engage in specific creative processes played an important role in the motivation for producing certain pieces. Participants were unanimous in asserting that Stellenbosch provided such resources and amenities, but only basic<sup>53</sup> and often low quality materials. Respondents stated that they have to travel to Cape Town, the Somerset Mall, or order online to obtain specialist and/or quality materials such as fine oil paints, high quality canvasses, high quality clay of the desired grain, specialist paint brushes and pencils, china markers, and so forth.

Stellenbosch does cater for the needs of the artists in other ways, for instance by providing spaces for them to work in (both public and private). One respondent stated that the position of their "sculpture studio and gallery in Stellenbosch is wonderful, bringing encounters with tourists from all over the world" (Anonymous 2012, Pers com). Others, however, were less satisfied with the state of providing for artists in Stellenbosch; there have not been enough events and similar opportunities in which upcoming artists could participate, and galleries do not cater for "outsider" (Van Staden 2012, Pers com) ideals and aesthetics, while "an elitist air rather than a nurturing atmosphere" is often distasteful and discouraging to artists. Equal opportunities are thus limited, and a more inclusive and representative attitude in the sector may enhance development in both social and spatial dimensions. Some upcoming artists also stated that the gallery system facilitated little or no engagement, and in some instances the relationship was even hostile. Due to the limited prospects for exhibiting in renowned galleries, many artists do not produce art as their primary

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<sup>53</sup> Paints such as "gouache, acrylic, and oil, but then they are low quality"; "mass-produced canvasses made out of cheap material"; and the like.

occupation and have to seek additional employment. Respondents who considered themselves as renowned stated that making art was a successful strategy for earning a livelihood once they were established, and art became their principal means of income generation. Nonetheless, it is not only artists who are excluded from opportunities in Stellenbosch. Because the target markets for most galleries are high-income earners, the general public, especially low-income local people, cannot participate equally in the Stellenbosch art scene, and this can have a detrimental effect on a town's sense of place as an art town which is also inclusive and diverse. When evaluating the town's status on a basis of Smith & Warfield's (2008) value orientations, this posits that Stellenbosch is more econ-centric than culture-centric. This situation develops where a town is one of economic innovation, creative talent, and creative industries, yet lacks some of the so-called communal fabric which binds it all together. As was stated in the literature review, McHenry (2011) noted in his study that the local community feels empowered by the presence of a robust and resilient sense of place, which in this study alludes to Stellenbosch as diverse and open-minded art town. When this is achieved, it becomes a pull factor for more creative individuals (Florida 2003; Zukin 1987; Zukin & Kosta 2004), which, in turn, allows for stimulation within the town and enhances Stellenbosch's reputation nationally and internationally as an art town (Florida 2002).

## **4.4 FORMALISED PUBLIC ART IN STELLENBOSCH**

### **4.4.1 Introduction**

In Stellenbosch, a large variety of fine art has been exhibited in the public art sphere, including land art (e.g. the work of Strijdom van der Merwe), murals (e.g. *They don't make them like they used to* by Mary Sibande), monuments (e.g. the statue of Doctor Danie Craven and his dog, or that of JS Marais: *Ons Weldoener*), and sculptures (e.g. the *Shapeshifting* exhibition by Dylan Lewis). As with many of Stellenbosch's heritage buildings and indeed most of its architecture, which is considered an art form in itself, the inherent value of such cultural resources lies in accessibility and inclusivity. This is due to its situational position in the public eye where it can be gazed upon and hopefully is appreciated by all – where both local and tourist, rich and homeless, young and old can find meaning, delight in or even disdain public artworks as it 'belongs' to everyone. The greatest challenge facing public art, however, is whether it will be appreciated and accepted by the public; whether it can and will convey its intended meaning or be met with apathy or even condescension from viewers. In the past, as discussed in Chapter 2.4, public art has frequently been subjected to bias, whether on the part on the commissioning institution or individual, or even of the artist. Public artworks must achieve harmonious assimilation into the urban sphere, and have a duty to cater for

or appeal to a multicultural public (Monin & Sayers 2006; Zebracki 2011), and if public interests and values are not recognised or acknowledged and are perceived to be undermined, tension that arises and becomes overwhelming in an opposing groups may result in revolt (Monin & Sayers 2006). Developing public art that will please the totality of an entire multicultural community that consists of starkly differing individuals is often perceived to be an impossible task (Bourdieu 1984; Wu 2002). This paper also sought to explore whether it is at all an achievable outcome for public art.

The past six years have been especially eventful in terms of public art in Stellenbosch, with the mounting of four unique and distinctive exhibitions which included both solo and group art initiatives. In 2008, Stellenbosch local artist Strijdom van der Merwe set the scene for contemporary public art exhibitions with his display of trees in the historic Dorp Street wrapped in red fabric. From the end of that year until 2010 another Stellenbosch resident, Dylan Lewis, exhibited his bronze sculptures of the animal forms throughout the town. The following year, in 2011, another public art exhibition, *20 Stellenbosch: Two decades of South African sculpture*, a contemporary group exhibition, was launched. This was to some degree an extension of *20 NIROX: South African sculpture of the last two decades* which was hosted in Gauteng. Within a year after the end of *20 Stellenbosch* in 2012, a new public art exhibition initiative was already under way for 2013. The curatorial statement for this exhibition, which was named *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II*, indicated that such public art initiatives are vital so as to democratise art and aestheticise everyday life (Offringa 2013) in Stellenbosch, South Africa, and indeed in the world, as some individuals seem to be anxious or apathetic about visiting art centres, galleries or museums. Now, in 2014, *Kom Sit Stellenbosch* is the new functional art project which orients itself with the World Design Capital Cape Town theme of 'Live Design. Transform Life'.

The focus of this section is to determine the public opinion on and preference for public art exhibitions in Stellenbosch since 2008. Two-hundred and forty-one members of the general public were interviewed at the sites of selected public artworks. The questionnaires which guided the interviews are included in Appendix D. Opinions on current and past exhibitions were collected to gain insight into public art in Stellenbosch by focussing on two things. Firstly, an overview of past public art exhibitions in the town is given, and secondly, the successes and failures of the current public art exhibition, *Kom Sit Stellenbosch*, is discussed.

#### 4.4.2 Public art exhibitions in Stellenbosch: 2008 – 2013

The aim in this section is to provide a general overview of each of the six public art exhibitions and the personal opinions concerning these exhibitions disclosed by respondents since the start of the formalised public art movement in Stellenbosch in 2008. The researcher also wanted to establish which traits or characteristics made these works appealing to the public, so respondents were asked to motivate why they had chosen a specific work or exhibition as their favourite. The researcher does not claim to have full comprehension of the preferences of the general public in relation to public art, but merely aimed to provide an overview of the range of answers collected from individuals. The limited time of the study, as well as the nature of the thick, descriptive data placed restrictions on the scope of the research. Much is still necessary to be evaluated before a more accurate impression can be formed, and the researcher sees this as a lacuna in knowledge that can be addressed in future academic work. Figure 4.2 shows the formalised public art exhibitions of the past six years which respondents identified as the most memorable, meaningful or personally most appreciated works. The exhibitions used in the study were those listed by 20 residents during an initial pilot survey, in which an open-ended question inquired which art exhibitions had been the most meaningful or memorable for respondents personally. The 241 respondents in the present study were interviewed at the applicable selected sites and the following data emerged: 54% of the respondents mentioned *Shapeshifting* by Dylan Lewis as most memorable to them personally; 17% indicated that the oak trees of Dorp Street wrapped in red cloth by Strijdom van der Merwe was their favourite; 14% selected *Water for Life* by Strijdom van der Merwe; 8% mentioned *20 Stellenbosch: Two decades of South African Sculpture* or individual works from this exhibition hosted by the NIROX Foundation, which was a showcase of works by 23 participating artists, as most meaningful; a further 7% chose *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II*, or selected works from it, which was presented by the Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust, and which was headed by Andi Norton as project manager and curated by Dirkie Offringa with 12 participating artists; and one respondent (0.41%) stated that the prints of work by Portchie which are displayed in the Eikestad Mall were preferred.

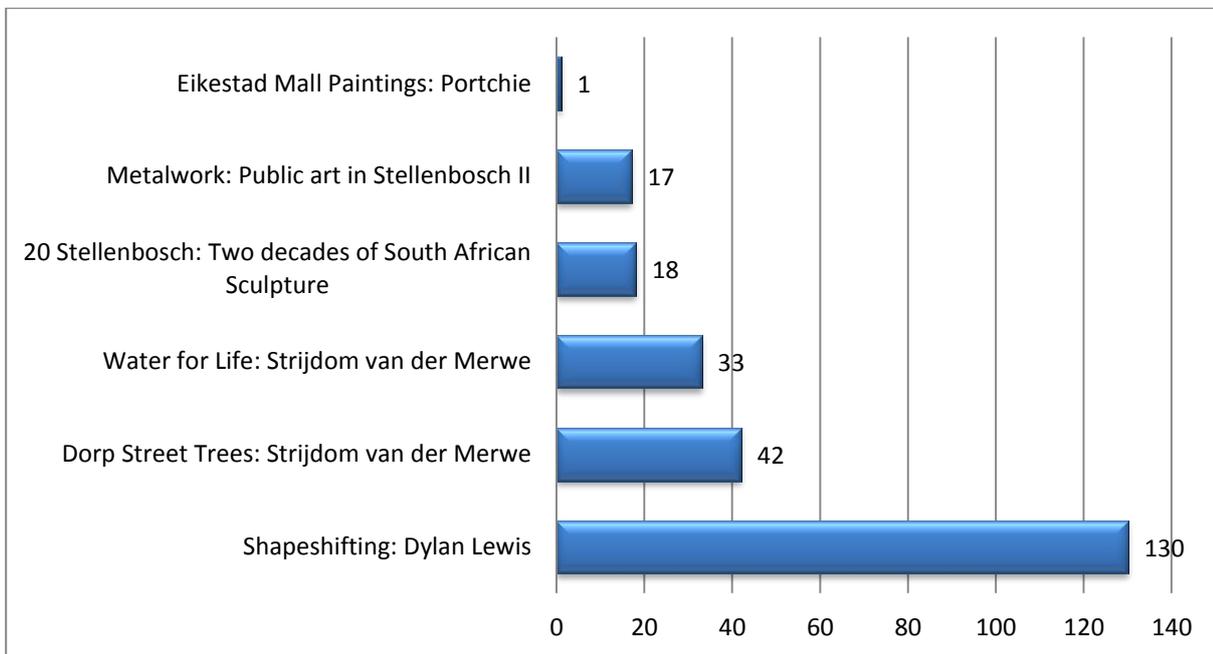


Figure 4.2: Respondent-identified formalised public art exhibitions which were stated to be most-liked (n = 241)

The following subsections deal with each of the above-mentioned public art exhibitions and the survey results collected from the 241 members of the general public. As Zebracki (2011) stated in his study, the most important facet of any public artwork concerns how the public perceives it and that it must appeal to them.

#### 4.4.2.1 Land art in Stellenbosch: *Dorp street wrapped trees* and *Water for Life*

As noted above, land art is one of the art genres which have been represented in Stellenbosch, especially through the works of Strijdom van der Merwe. His works are often constructed from the resources and materials found at the site of the artwork, including driftwood, flower petals, sticks, leaves, sand and stone, which he arranges in geometric forms as a contrast to the organic settings and materials. Manufactured or purchased materials such as coloured fabric, steel, and wood is also included in a large body of his work and, while abstract in nature, many of them are representations of stylised forms in the natural environment. The notion surrounding land art focuses on what is termed *process art* (Van der Merwe 2013, Pers com) in which less emphasis is placed on the finished product than the actual process of creating the artwork. In other words the physical act of associating, collecting, arranging, organising, collating, assembling, patterning, and furthermore the initial instigation of actions and ensuing processes are the main goal and most valuable portion of the artwork rather than the *objet d'art* itself (Van der Merwe 2013, Pers com). The moment of the

culmination of the process is documented (photographed) and a unique experience is captured, because that moment will not come again.

One of the benefits of producing land art, and which has frequently been seen in conservation art projects in the past, has always been its ability to be viewed as a vector for communicating ideas and conveying concepts as it can be situated in the very setting one wishes to represent, making the message more comprehensible to the greater public. As was stated by Alves (2007), such discursive topographies are created through a combination of space and art, both in the public eye. Such effects were achieved several times in the last six years through Van der Merwe's public art exhibitions, and the following showcases two such instances where this was achieved, beginning with the above-mentioned material-clad trees in Dorp Street. This, being one of his most well-known works, was produced in 2008 by wrapping 393 trees in eight kilometres of red fabric (Figure 4.3).

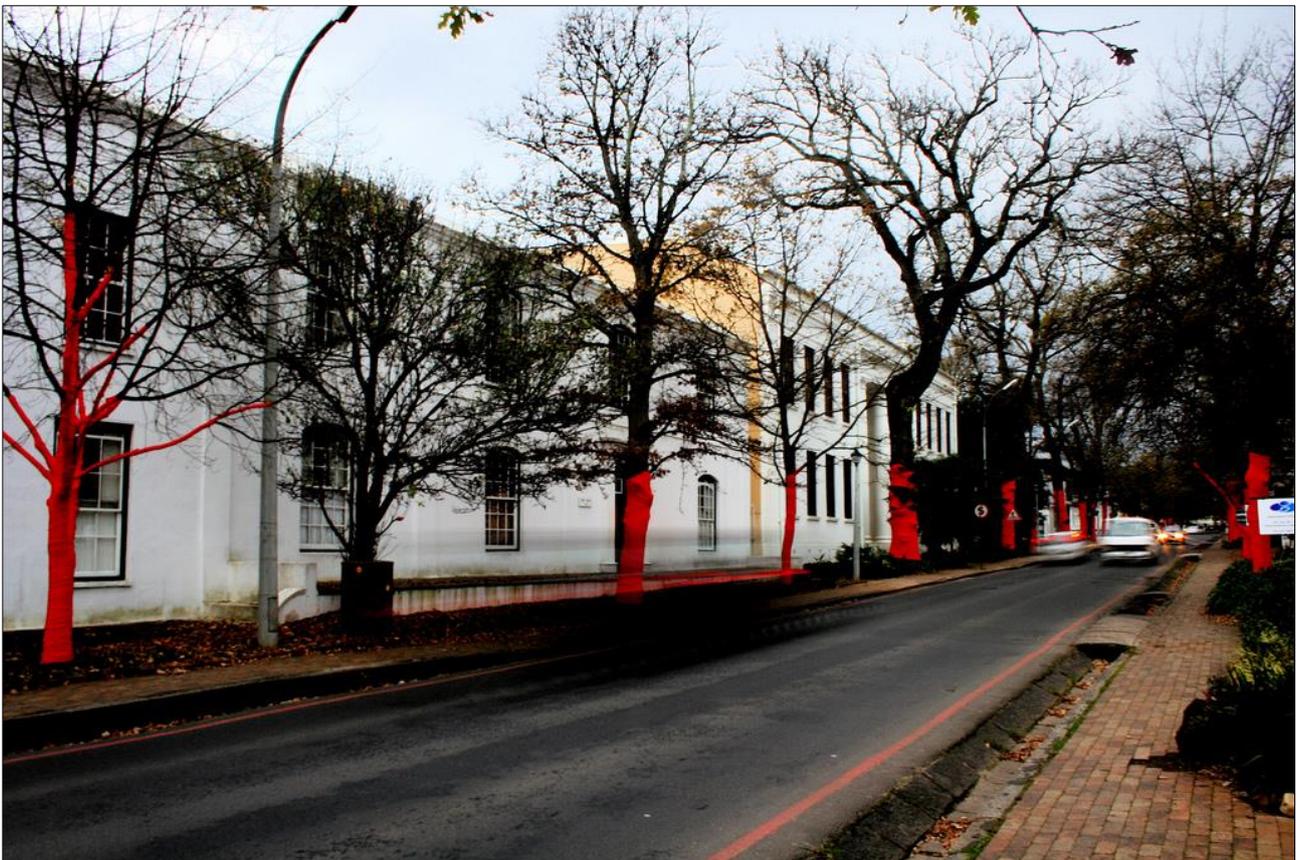


Figure 4.3: Strijdom van der Merwe's fabric-clad historic trees on Dorp Street. Source: André-Pierre du Plessis

This was a forerunner of contemporary public art initiatives in Stellenbosch. The trees in Dorp Street were adorned with this colourful and thought-provoking display for the winter month of July

The cloth, Van der Merwe (2013, Pers com) stated, was used to produce stark visual contrasts to the dark, bare trees and white buildings. This contrast also highlighted the many differing shapes and sizes of the trees, as they are often seen only as copies of one another (Van der Merwe 2013, Pers com). This work served several purposes to the public, including raising awareness of both natural and heritage conservation as many of the old oak trees in Stellenbosch are considered heritage features (Jordaan 2013, Pers com; De Villiers 2013, Pers com); improving community wellbeing by donating the cloth to welfare organisations (Van der Merwe 2013, Pers com); and simply existing as an aesthetically pleasing or visually stimulating occurrence (Van der Merwe 2013, Pers com; De Villiers 2013, Pers com). According to the *Eikestadnuus* newspaper, the fabric-clad trees also reaped major economic benefits, as the work attracted many visitors and ultimately as much as five million South African Rand in revenue to the town (Retief 2011). Some of these purposes were revealed to be just surface impressions of a range of underlying motivations and messages which allow greater understanding and appreciation of the work. After insightful data collection through communication with the artist himself, the researcher discovered that there were processes and communicated ideas that may have gone largely unnoticed by the general public, if at all discerned by a few individuals. It was speculated that very few, if any, members of the general public were able to decipher the meaning and motivation surrounding the wrapped trees, because not one respondent mentioned such information in the anonymous questionnaires, when prompted to try to explicate the meaning of the work in their own terms. Van der Merwe (2013, Pers com) explained that he was focusing on two aspects of the state of the trees in Dorp Street in planning and implementing the installation. The first was the fact that the trees are purposely kept alive due to their foreign origin, as these oak trees are not indigenous to the area and were brought and planted here by the early European settlers. This has meant that they have to be routinely injected and otherwise treated with antibiotics and additional chemicals to fend off the variety of indigenous pests and diseases against which they have no natural defence. Secondly, it alluded to their often unnoticed dimensions, which, he stated as a land artist, was, and still is, a highly influential aspect of his formation of ideas and opinions on how to transform the setting or how it communicates to him artistically. Van der Merwe (2013, Pers com) also indicated that it was also intentionally set up for a winter month, July, in which the town has a low number of visitors and residents on the streets, with the hope that it would attract people to Stellenbosch and its businesses. As mentioned above, it could well be stated from the amount of revenue generated that that this aim was duly achieved.

Another of his most impressive installations followed two years after his tree-wrapping project. In 2010, Strijdom van der Merwe presented a temporary installation titled *Water for Life* in

collaboration with project manager Jan Odendaal during the University of Stellenbosch *Woordfees*, which is an annual event held in Stellenbosch. Since the year 2000, when approximately 1 000 visitors attended, the festival has grown into one of the most popular art festivals in South Africa that is now attended by approximately 101 000 visitors,<sup>54</sup> and which won the first kykNET Fiesta prize and title as the most popular art festival in 2011. He inflated more than 700 blue weather balloons for his installation and proceeded to have students and learners from Stellenbosch write messages, phrases and words which relate to saving water and its value as a precious resource on them with permanent markers. The weather balloons were tied to rocks on the riverbed of the Eerste River using ribbons, giving to some the impression of “bubbles or drops of water” (Jordaan 2013, Pers com) on the actual water of the river, making what they represented even clearer in an effort to communicate the importance of clean water, clean rivers, and clean environments. Van der Merwe (2013, Pers com) explained that, although his intention with the exhibition was an environmental one and he was happy to hear that some were able to draw this from his work, his intention was slightly different. According to him, the theory that water has memory has been explored for some time now in the scientific field, specifically in research headed by Dr Masaru Emoto. Dr Emoto suggested that water has memory; that it is able to ‘absorb’ and retain messages or intentions through its encounters with the world around it. Hence, Van der Merwe (2013, Pers com) stated, that, by writing messages about saving water and its importance in general on balloons which were then placed on the water, he tried to recreate this interaction in which these positive messages would be ‘transferred’ to the water and stored as if in the water’s memory, hoping to influence the water in a good way if not for pure re-creation of the process he finds fascinating. The environmental art exhibit drew much attention and excitement from spectators and those involved alike, and some interviewees stated that they perceived it as an added communicative strategy that all 700 plus balloons were destroyed by the very next day, creating the blunt contrast that enabled people to recognise just how rapidly the implied “water” could vanish or become unusable (De Villiers 2013, Pers com; Jordaan 2013, Pers com; Retief 2011). Van der Merwe (2013, Pers com) explained that it was no strategy of theirs to have the balloons destroyed, and that he actually intended the exhibit to stay up for one week before removing the balloons. While Van der Merwe (2013, Pers com) alluded to the fact that it was no doing of theirs, he expressed the thought that it could have been the result of vandalism or natural causes, but is under a much stronger impression that it involved an intentional dismantling and removal process as hardly any of the balloons were found in catchment areas downstream. The artist suggested that, if the balloons had burst due to natural causes, the balloons would have remained tied to the rocks or would at least have been

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<sup>54</sup> Calculated from number of visitors per visit per participating venue in 2013

found farther downstream as the current moved, but he, due to the lack thereof, speculated it to be vandalism.

#### 4.4.2.1.1 Opinions regarding preference for *Dorp Street wrapped trees*

Through the data collection phase, it was established that Strijdom van der Merwe has created a strong presence for land art in Stellenbosch, and has allowed the genre to deliver indispensable commentary on urban, social and natural processes within the landscape. Of the 241 answers to an open-ended question enquiring which public artwork or exhibition from the last six years was personally considered the most-liked and for what reason, 17% of respondents who completed the anonymous questionnaires specified and ranked the wrapped oak trees in historic Dorp Street by Strijdom van der Merwe as the most meaningful or preferred installation for them. A variety of motives emerged from each of the 42 respondents in relation to what they appreciate or value most concerning the wrapped oak trees of Dorp Street. Figure 4.4 illustrates the motivations presented by the public in anonymous questionnaires. This was obtained by means of entering the data as string values into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) program, and reclassification into the following overarching themes revealed from each answer:

- Appreciation for the visual aesthetics surrounding artworks
- Sense of place and/or patriotic motivations concerning the idea that individuals take pride specifically in the Stellenbosch locale and products
- Work was done by established or renowned artists held in high esteem by respondents as motivation for appreciation of the work
- The preferred medium or art type that was employed which respondents enjoy as most valuable to them in appreciating the work
- The promotion of values or ideologies which the respondents support or with which they agree with as a main motivation
- The ability to reach the public and communicate valuable insights to or inspire meaningful interpretations in them.

One respondent stipulated their motivations to be private, and this was classified as ‘other’.

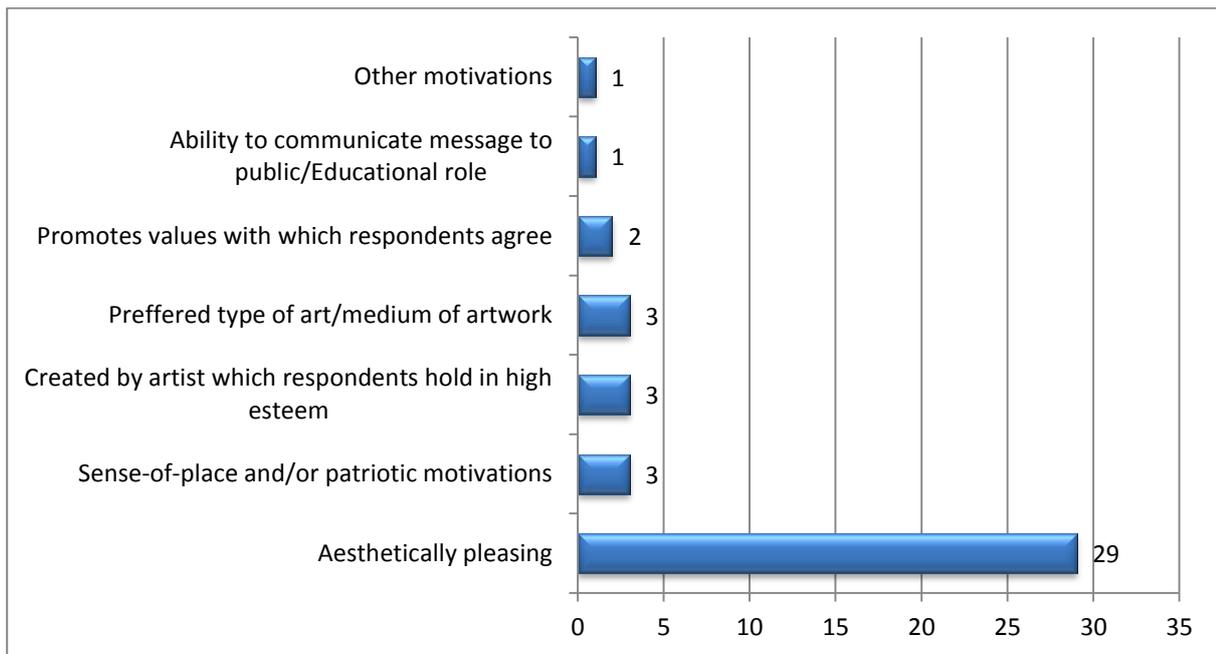


Figure 4.4: Reasons why *Dorp Street Wrapped Trees* by Strijdom van der Merwe was most-liked (n = 42)

The greatest response from the questionnaires proved to be in favour of aesthetics, i.e. how attractive or beautiful something is considered to be according to personal taste. More specifically, aesthetically pleasing phenomena are those which elicit an emotional response in the perceiver of such a particular sensory stimulus. Just below 70 percent (69%) of the respondents stated that they enjoyed the *Dorp Street Wrapped Trees* because they considered it to be beautiful and attractive. As one respondent delightfully put it, “by pleasing my eye, my heart and my mind were pleased also”. While this forms one of the most basic (yet necessary) functions served by art, that is, to be aesthetically pleasing and visually stimulating (Bontje et al. 2011; Goulding 2000; Helbrecht 2004) this finding unfortunately suggests that the general public is almost “blind” (De Villiers 2013, Pers com), so to say, to the meanings embedded in public art. In a town where public art such as Strijdom van der Merwe’s work, which is carefully planned and executed and which is conceptually very strong, it is a pity that such a small number of respondents were able to view it as more than something that is simply “pretty”, as one respondent put it. This result was to an extent linked to the idea that “education and appreciation for art go hand in hand” (Schnelzer 2012, Pers com). What is meant is that, if one is not specifically trained to interpret art in a certain way, and that goes not only for art in itself, but also it is possible to be just as specifically lacking in any one of the various art types and mediums, and even exposure to the concept in question is almost certainly required to be able to have a firm understanding of an artwork’s intended or secondary symbolism. Hence,

because many in the general public did not receive special education pertaining to the interpretation of visual arts, and specifically, in this case, the interpretation of land art, it is theorised that most of the respondents did not recognise any underlying meanings in the wrapping of the oak trees other than as decorations or visually pleasing phenomena. Figure 4.4 shows that three of the respondents (7%) who stated that the *Dorp Street Wrapped Trees* was their preferred artwork stated that it was most meaningful to them as the historic street and trees were seen as inseparable from their own sense of place regarding Stellenbosch. According to one respondent, adorning the trees of Dorp Street, “was like placing the trademark features of Stellenbosch on a pedestal, which made me feel even more proud of the town”. This seems to accord with Montgomery’s (1998) suggestion that public art is seen to enhance and shape the sense of place of a town like Stellenbosch. This patriotic stance was further revealed when some respondents simultaneously commented on the conservation of the trees, as they were not commenting on flora or heritage conservation in general, but rather on the specific conservation of these in Stellenbosch (often compassionately even referred to as “our Stellenbosch” by a respondent in the questionnaires).

However, two respondents (5%) did state that the message of conservation as an aspect was something they felt to be an important issue regardless of location, and that they orient themselves to be in agreement with or appreciative of such values. Although it initially was thought that 8% of respondents felt this way rather than 5%, it was later established that 3% of the respondents actually had slightly different motivations, although the message of conservation remained a common denominator in the answers of both. The result thus was split and the remaining 3% was classified into a new category of respondents who held that the conservation message was important nonetheless, but that the very act of communicating that message was a tremendous achievement to be recognised and receive appraisal. One respondent stated “if it could make others feel something, and teach because they can feel that way, it is a very good thing”. The respondents also pointed out several facets of the work that especially aided this communicative function; for some it seemed to be enhanced by the extremely simple nature of the work, while others responded to the location or positioning of the artwork, and others focused on the colour of the fabric, all of which made it easier for the respondent to comprehend. However, whether this underlying conceptual resource signifying teaching is regularly accessed by publics<sup>55</sup> or just by this specific individual is hard to say as so many were focused on the aesthetic qualities of the artwork. One participant wrote: “It seemed to me the trees were bleeding, and I immediately felt a sense of compassion for them! Very few artworks have been able to make me understand or even feel anything like that before.” The

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<sup>55</sup> It is important to note here that the ‘publics’ referred to in the research text refers to individual members of the general public, and can be seen to be synonymous with the term ‘respondents’ or ‘participants’. This term was adopted from Zebracki (2011), as used in his research on public art perceptions.

quality of being able to inform or educate the public may in some cases be even more important than the message itself, according to Jordaan (2013), as an artwork may be the most meaningful work on earth but if no-one can interpret it so as to be able to benefit from it or appreciate it for its true worth, it essentially remains worthless to the public.

Those respondents who hold the artist, Strijdom van der Merwe, in high esteem were three of the 42 individuals. His reputation as a land artist of stature was repeated in some of the responses and accounted for the 7% of respondents who indicated that it was him specifically and his character as revealed in his work that attracted them. Most of the responses were in line with statements such as “Strijdom is my favourite artist”. Some unexpected answers relating to preference for the artist and his work also emerged. These, rather than the internalised form of this recurring answer, expressed an external form of motivation – individuals based their answers on the opinions of others. One statement was “My art friends all love his work”, while another surprisingly honest answer was “I think he is the most famous artist, everyone likes his work so I like it too.” Even though these responses were limited to a few examples only in the data, they were still classified as being meaningful to the viewer in the sense of having a high regard for the artist; whether it was because of their own sentiments or the opinions of others, the fame of an artist may be viewed as an insight into how power and influence have an effect on individual preference.

Another type of response considered to be similar to the previous motivation was that some respondents did not focus on the artist at all, but on the type of art or medium used. Another seven per cent made statements pertaining to the medium and the land art genre, including statements such as “I am a fashion design student so the material really spoke to me” and “I [love] land art” respectively. For clarity, the researcher interpreted the latter statement in this fashion as the respondent had drawn a heart on the questionnaire, and “I ♥ land art” was thus edited as “I [love] land art” for the purposes of this report. In an interview with De Villiers (2013, Pers com) on the matter she said that her appreciation of the land art genre was indeed what drew her to Strijdom’s work, and she elaborated that it might be even more so added to the fact that she is a fine arts student at the University of Stellenbosch where land art formed part of the academic syllabus in her first year.

#### 4.4.2.1.2 Opinions regarding positive qualities of *Water for Life*

As stated in this chapter, Strijdom van der Merwe presented an installation titled *Water for Life*, in collaboration with project manager Jan Odendaal during the University of Stellenbosch Woordfees

of 2010. Fourteen per cent of the participants responded that the *Water for Life* exhibition was the most impressive for them. The reclassification of string answers related to the enquiry grouped answers into three categories: Sense-of-place motivations: Aesthetically driven motivations; and meaningful concepts and/or values promoted with which respondents agree.

Many of the respondents were motivated by being school learners who had participated in the *Water for Life* installation. This is not surprising as students and learners from Stellenbosch wrote messages, phrases and words which were related to the value of water for life on the weather balloons of the installation. Figure 4.5 shows that the majority of the 33 respondents who stated that *Water for Life* was their preferred public art exhibition, were attracted by the important messages surrounding water which were promoted by the artwork. Many of the learners and students apparently had actively participated in the creation of the artwork itself and they were able to be influenced by the concept underlying the artwork, rather than being objective viewers with a lack of knowledge necessary for meaningful interpretation. This critically, or interpretation orientated view from respondents is seen as a success for public art that is preferable to being valued only for being simply aesthetically pleasing. Similar results have been hailed in the past as a success for public art (Zebracki 2011) and public space in general (Alves 2007). Instead of just being visually pleasing,<sup>56</sup> socio-spatial revitalisation is instigated on more levels (Alves 2007; Briggs 2012; Monin & Sayers 2006).



Figure 4.5: Reasons why *Water for Life* by Strijdom van der Merwe was most-liked (n = 33)

<sup>56</sup> Which, according to some, is not necessarily always a bad thing (Van der Merwe 2013, Pers com)

Being aesthetically pleasing, however, did inform the choice of 27% of the 33 responses, which included answers such as “it looked nice”. The other 6% made up the third and final category identified in the data as sense-of-place motivations. All in all, answers across all categories ranged from statements such as “the school took us all to write on balloons to send good messages to the water about saving it”, and “it teaches kids about how precious water is”, to “I like that it was on the *Eerste* River, it’s my favourite place”. This also alludes to what Alves (2007) noted as public space and art serving as a pull factor for a place of decompression from city life.

#### 4.4.2.2 Public sculpture in Stellenbosch: *Shapeshifting*

Another public art exhibition which has had a notable influence on Stellenbosch was *Shapeshifting* by Dylan Lewis. He is a world-renowned sculptor representing the wildlife that once inhabited the Southern African landscape, specifically those that inhabited the area of Stellenbosch and its surrounds before urbanisation. Lewis dedicated twelve years of his life to the animal form alone before committing to the representation of the human figure (Pardus Fine Art 2010). *Shapeshifting* was a showcase of this progression from one form to the other, and he strategically had the animal sculptures arranged throughout the town of Stellenbosch to culminate at the Anton Rupert Art Museum with his hominid sculptures (Pardus Fine Art 2010). A large proportion of these animal sculptures were of African predatory cats such as lions and cheetahs. A map of the exhibition is presented in Figure 4.6. Lewis has exhibited widely both nationally and internationally.



The concept behind the *Shapeshifting* exhibition had been extensively researched and developed by Dylan Lewis and he spent over a decade exploring the idea and completing the production of these artworks. The specific setting of Stellenbosch, however, was as essential to the formulation and execution of his concepts as the final art pieces which he strived to produce themselves. In his thought processes he valued the cultural hub of Stellenbosch for the richness it offers the landscape and people within it today. With its flourishing dining and wine production industry, its stately historic oak trees, and even the longest row of conserved historic buildings in South Africa, Stellenbosch is indeed viewed by many to be a cultural core in the Western Cape (De Villiers 2013, Pers com; Jordaan 2013, Pers com; Pardus Fine Art 2010). Stellenbosch, the second oldest town in South Africa, nowadays is renowned for its architectural heritage, but it was once occupied by a different set of riches in the landscape where these buildings and industries now stand erected. The very location of Stellenbosch at another point in time was a completely natural landscape covered in *renosterbos*, an indigenous plant type endemic to the South African region, and was populated by an abundance of wild animal species including the iconic big five of rhinoceros, lion, buffalo, elephant and leopard, as well as other *felidae* such as the cheetah. It was this contrast, the present with a rich capital heritage juxtaposed against the purely natural state of the environment of the past, which informed the thought processes leading to the creation of Dylan Lewis' *Shapeshifting* exhibition (Pardus Fine Art 2010). His animal works were meant to portray the fact that there once were not sculptures of these wild animals only, but that they were present in living flesh and blood at the very same place. To honour both the forms and spirits of these majestic, but now extinct,<sup>57</sup> animals through the timeless medium of bronze, Dylan Lewis placed a selection of them throughout Stellenbosch to be valued side-by-side with the urban marvels of the modern, man-made age (Pardus Fine Art 2010). The final human form was an extension of the artistic concept, and shows how it has all ended with man at the final frontier; and it is up to each individual to evaluate whether this has been a worthwhile trade-off: a pristine environmental setting versus an innovative urban centre of civil society (Pardus Fine Art 2010).

The *Shapeshifting* exhibition demonstrated again, as with Strijdom van der Merwe's works, that public art serves a multitude of purposes in the public domain. These include raising awareness of the conservation and preservation of both natural and built landscapes, creating awareness of Stellenbosch's history before the arrival of the colonialists, and of course, simply being aesthetically pleasing in adorning the town with skilfully executed sculptures (De Villiers 2013, Pers com). But this also had another latent function which was only revealed upon personal interaction with the works themselves (De Villiers 2013, Pers com). As one explored the so-called

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<sup>57</sup> Meaning extinct in Stellenbosch, not extinct as a species.

‘sculpture tour’, one could observe that a different cell phone number was displayed on a plaque mounted on each of the 19 sculptures. By phoning the number, one was provided with information about the specific sculpture being viewed, as well as general information pertaining to the sculptor himself. As mentioned in the previous subsection on land art, visual art initiatives have the opportunity of being more than just art. Dylan Lewis, in some regard, did the same by trying to draw attention to the imperative notion of wildlife conservation, and also employed a donation-based initiative in order to tangibly contribute to the cause. All profits generated from phoning the cell phone number were donated to the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), an intercontinental NGO (non-governmental organisation) concerned with issues of research, conservation, preservation, and restoration of the natural environment (Pardus Fine Art 2010).

Dylan Lewis also employed another means of realising a social responsibility initiative in destitute or underprivileged communities, as such communities often have many talents that can be employed by a town for the upliftment of both the town and members of the community themselves, but which largely go unrecognised by the general public. Disadvantaged communities from Jamestown, Tennantville, Ida’s Valley and Kayamandi house a multitude of skilled and creative craftsmen, and Dylan Lewis wanted to make use of their unique talents and thus employed them to work at the foundries where the casting and metalwork takes place, to produce work of a standard on par with international benchmarks (Pardus Fine Art 2010). Inclusion was promoted by attempting to foster a sense of pride, empowerment, and identity in the participating employees, of which some values were hopefully transferred to the wider community. By showing the disadvantaged individuals and communities that they have worth and a very distinguishable, recognisable role to play in the Stellenbosch art world, Dylan Lewis instilled a redefined sense of place and meaning in them (Anonymous 2013, Pers com). In contrast to all the despondent influences which apartheid and segregation in general had on the coloured and black communities, Lewis concerned himself with them as valuable individuals in Stellenbosch, and it was hoped that they would therefore be more likely to internalise, celebrate, support, and create awareness of the exhibition and its motives, as previous studies have indicated to be possible through inclusion (Alves 2007; Bain 2004; Faubion 1998; Monin & Sayers 2006; Zebracki 2011).

#### 4.4.2.2.1 Opinions regarding positive qualities of the *Shapeshifting Sculpture Tour*

From the data that were collected it was evident that Dylan Lewis fostered a specific style which is widely recognised and meaningful for locals and foreigners alike through introducing the sculptural works of the *Shapeshifting* exhibition to the Stellenbosch setting. It has been fundamental in

creating conversations surrounding the trade-off of a pristine natural environment for an urbanised one. The majority<sup>58</sup> of respondents who referred to his exhibition stated that the *Shapeshifting* sculpture tour was considered by them personally to provide their most memorable, meaningful or favoured public art experience. Respondents were required to indicate which characteristics, stimuli, or other features were most significant in their appreciation of the wildlife bronzes throughout town. Figure 4.7 presents the motivations expressed by the public in the anonymous questionnaires. The process followed to derive the various categories displayed in Figure 4.7 was the same as with the previous section concerning the wrapped oak trees of Dorp Street. The following categories emerged:

- Aesthetically pleasing
- Values or ideologies which the respondents support or with which they agree
- Preferred medium or art type
- Renowned artists held in high esteem by respondents
- Sense-of-place and/or patriotic motivations
- Educational role

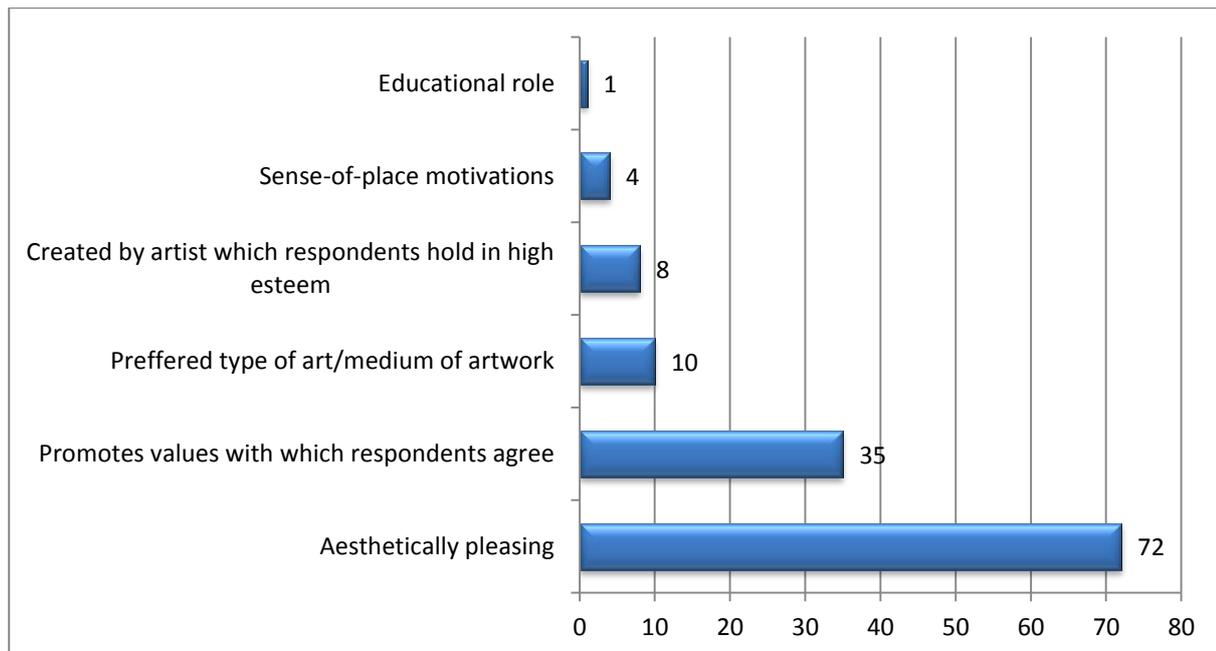


Figure 4.7: Reasons why *Shapeshifting* by Dylan Lewis was most-liked (n = 130)

The data collected were analysed by the researcher and it was clear that Dylan Lewis has built an immense reputation both locally and internationally for Stellenbosch sculptors, and he has

<sup>58</sup> 54 per cent of the total of 241 respondents.

especially gained more from the success of the *Shapeshifting* sculpture tour exhibition. As mentioned in the previous section about Strijdom van der Merwe's work, Dylan Lewis has also successfully created a platform that has allowed meaningful interpretations, insights and valuable conversations surrounding urbanisation, trade-offs, natural conservation and related topics to take place in the Stellenbosch setting. As stated previously in this subsection, more than half (53.94%) of the total 241 answers of respondents reporting which public artwork or exhibition from the past six years was considered most memorable, meaningful or preferable, and for what reason they thought the public artworks were meaningful or valuable, specified and ranked Dylan Lewis' *Shapeshifting* exhibition as being most impressive for them personally. Some of the same categories established from the analysis of the previous thick, descriptive data revolving around Strijdom van der Merwe's work emerged from the analysis of the *Shapeshifting* exhibition, and the results are displayed in Figure 4.7 and are explicated as follows.

The results show that the motivations behind preference for *Shapeshifting* were overwhelmingly in favour of aesthetic value (55%). Respondents commented on how "nice", "good-looking", "attractive" and "majestic" the sculptures were. This seems to be the main in the interpretation of artwork, even though information on the meaning behind the artworks was available on site. Because this group of respondents also constituted a large portion of the total population of 241 (30%), it immediately indicates that a large proportion of the population does not engage with artworks on a level where meaning means more than being aesthetically pleasing.

More than a quarter of all answers, however, were purely concerned with the values or ideologies surrounding the concepts behind *Shapeshifting*, rather than with the work being linked to sense of place motivations regarding action or ideas involving Stellenbosch. This 27% of answers mainly indicated concern with conservation of the natural environment, regardless of whether it took place in Stellenbosch or elsewhere, hence the values needing to be upheld were what made an impression on people rather than the place. In the previous subsection the researcher motivated separating the sense of place- and locality-orientated answers from purely conservational (in this case) or other ideal- or value-driven responses. Answers such as "to save nature is the most important thing we can teach people", "I like that he wants to help animals" and "I think donating to the WWF is such a great idea, even if we can't save the ones gone already, maybe we can help save other animals in other countries, maybe even from extinction" were all considered as having purely conservational motives underlying each response. Because the group of respondents who made such comments was considered quite a large proportion of the overall sample population (15%), and because many of them in general seemed to have knowledge of the donation platform and conservation status of

the animals depicted, it was speculated that the active engagement by many of the respondents with the *Shapeshifting* sculpture tour as an interface for such interactions enhanced the effectiveness of the public artwork meaningfulness to the publics who engaged with the work. Because the interaction with the sculptures gave insight into the conceptual processes and symbolism behind what is represented by the sculptures, Dylan Lewis almost ‘forced’ the public to find a deeper meaning beyond being aesthetically pleasing, which could suggest why a greater number of respondents (27%) were appreciative of the message behind *Shapeshifting* than it was for the Dorp Street wrapped oak trees by Strijdom van der Merwe (5%). Van der Merwe’s *Water for Life* exhibition also involved direct interaction with (and the creation of) the artwork and this may be seen as further compound evidence of efficacy which comes from interaction with a specific artwork that makes it valuable and memorable. In explanation, those lacking knowledge which may have enhanced understanding, and hence also an enhanced appreciation (on the premise that “education and appreciation of art go hand in hand” (Schnelzer 2012, Pers com)) were confronted with the underlying themes of conservation and the like upon utilising the cell phone platform and receiving the information first hand; in the gaze of the voyeur, this lent greater meaning to the works. This premise holds that much of the potential meaning that an artwork may hold for a viewer may ‘get lost in translation’, meaning that, the specific viewer who has no knowledge of the concept in question, let alone a theoretical basis from which to begin to interpret or meaningfully make sense of such an artwork (or even an art form or art medium) is unable to respond otherwise than with “beautiful” or “majestic”. Hence, the fact that a large number of respondents (15%) had some knowledge of the theme of environmental conservation and the cell phone-based donation platform, the effect of providing active engagement with the *Shapeshifting* exhibition could have been a factor in its success.

Quite a number of respondents suggested that the greatest quality of the artwork was the medium used, or that they found the type of art appealing. These were very much centred around the sculptured art form, as one respondent stated that it was the “raw”, realistic portrayal of the wildlife in the sculptures which would help people really visualise and engage with the works; another answer was that, with sculpture, “it’s like they’re really there, in flesh and blood, that you can touch, you know”. These respondents (8%) were intrigued by the technique of bronze sculpture utilised by Dylan Lewis, and, of course, by his execution thereof.

Six per cent of respondents who preferred the *Shapeshifting* exhibition motivated that Dylan Lewis’s renown was what appealed to them. Statements such as “Dylan Lewis is my favourite sculptor” and “he is an investment artist” abounded in this category. Some respondents again made

statements that revealed they based their opinions on those of others, for example one young lady said “well he’s my dad’s favourite sculptor”. Then again, whether because of their own sentiments or the opinions of others, the fame of an artist may provide insight into how power and influence have an effect on individual preference. It was noted from the data analysis that the majority of respondents who revealed sentiments relating to the status of the artist in question, were over 45 years of age. Only one quarter of the responses given in this category were given by those under 45 years of age, and the youngest age was stated as 34. This gives further insight into the market or consumer preference patterns; the older generation seems to be more likely to favour traditional art types such as sculpture, as well as conservative, or objective subject matter, and South African (and Stellenbosch) wildlife. However, this may also suggest exclusivity, as a similar result may be obtained if those over 45 years of age were the only group with adequate buying power to acquire Lewis’ art products.

Only three per cent of the respondents who were asked what about the *Shapeshifting* exhibition they perceived to be most striking or important to them personally gave answers which were linked to sense of place, identity and other patriotic motivations specifically linked to the locale. Because Dylan Lewis aimed to represent the specific Stellenbosch setting at an earlier time, when wild animals were the main, if not only, inhabitants of the area where the town now lies, many of those who picked up this vital information related to the sculpture tour’s concept stated that it made the town seem more special to them, or it made them “even more proud to know Stellenbosch was once a great icon in the natural world, and today it is a great icon for the cultural and social world”, and this sentiment was almost exemplified in the sculpture tour exhibition which started with the natural - the animal form sculptures - and which culminated with society – Lewis’ human form sculptures. Answers ranged from “it makes me love Stellenbosch even more”, to “it made me want to show everyone how special this town of ours is”, and one respondent even said that

...it’s our duty to show everyone how [valuable] Stellenbosch’s nature is, otherwise we are going to walk the same path! We [no longer have] lions, buffalo and cheetahs, if we keep doing this, one day we [will no longer] have *fynbos* or frogs or trees or anything. Is that what we want for Stellenbosch?

As unlikely as this concern may seem to become a reality with all the endemic from the landscape, the concept of conservation is highly important as the elimination of species can indeed pose a very real threat that may be realised with enough pressure from human stressors on the environment. The Western Cape, and thus Stellenbosch, in part, is home to the smallest of the six floral kingdoms found worldwide, namely the Cape Floral Kingdom (Robinson 2012). Even though it comprises only 0.06% of the earth’s surface, more than 9 000 varying plant species are found within it (Robinson 2012). Almost 70% of these species are endemic to the Western Cape alone, and

Stellenbosch is reputed to have the highest density of endemic species in South Africa (0.05 unique species per square kilometre) (Robinson 2012). With this incredible level of biodiversity, the conservation and preservation of the natural environment in Stellenbosch should be an imperative in decision making surrounding policy, planning, and developmental goals in and around the town.

One respondent also commented on the educational role of the *Shapeshifting* exhibition as one of the defining features of the works, and one primary school teacher explained that she had taken her students to a selection of these sculptures and had them make use of the platform which gave information about the sculpture, so as to teach them about conservation and charity in a “fun and interactive” way. Again, as with those who held the values perpetuated by the *Shapeshifting* sculpture tour in high esteem, it became obvious from responses in this category that the defining feature that aided in this educational role was the interactive nature of the work that was enabled by the cell phone platform. And as noted previously, this quality of being able to inform or educate the public may in some cases be even more important than the message itself, as, according to Jordaan (2013, Pers com), an artwork may be the most meaningful work on earth but if no-one can interpret it so as to be able to benefit from it or appreciate it for its true worth, it is essentially worthless to the public apart from its generated aesthetic appeal.

#### 4.4.2.3 Public contemporary group sculpture exhibitions in Stellenbosch: *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture*

A new public sculpture show, namely *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture* was ushered in in 2011, the year following Dylan Lewis’ *Shapeshifting* sculpture tour exhibition. This was co-curated by Lester Adams and Andrew Lampbrecht and was headed by Andi Norton as the project manager. *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture* to some degree was an extension of *20 NIROX: South African Sculpture of the Last Two Decades*, a contemporary group exhibition assembled in Gauteng in 2010 (Lampbrecht 2012, Pers com). This initiative by the NIROX Foundation offered a selection of specifically chosen sculptures dating from the approximate time of Nelson Mandela’s release from prison up until and including the hosting of the Soccer World Cup in 2010 (Lampbrecht 2012, Pers com). The presentation of these works was also in part considered part of an assessment process to establish an overview and to gain insight into sculptural works created throughout the past 20 years of South African history since the end of apartheid (Lampbrecht 2012, Pers com). Andrew Lampbrecht (2012) indicated that special attention was also given to the fact that the team had expressly set out to include artists who were significant in their respective fields of three-dimensional artistry, but frequently were not included in major

contemporary group exhibitions. This inclusive approach also aimed to give acknowledgement to the achievements of the rural artists of the area, as well as “to consider performance within a sculptural context, and to challenge assumptions about the scope and depth of local sculpture” (Lampbrecht 2012, Pers com). For the success of the extension of this *20 NIROX* show through *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture*, the team in charge of the initiative aimed to build on the fruitful and positive outcomes achieved before while simultaneously intending to diminish some of the difficulties which emerged and were encountered during the previous show (Lampbrecht 2012, Pers com). The core of the curatorial framework used for *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture* was nearly identical to that used in *20 NIROX*, and most of the artists who participated in the previous show, as well as some additional artists who were unable to be part of *20 NIROX*, were incorporated. Some works that were different to those which the original artists of the previous show had used were also put on display to better suit the needs of the exhibition and to address logistical, environmental and availability issues (Lampbrecht 2012, Pers com). All in all, 23 artists<sup>59</sup> participated in the *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture* public art exhibition.

For *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture*, 35 sculptures were erected at selected locations throughout the town. A map is presented in Figure 4.8 at the end of this subsection. Some of these site-specific locations were indoor settings at the request of the artist or due to the type and nature of each artwork in question (Lampbrecht 2012, Pers com). In his curatorial statement, Lampbrecht (2012, Pers com) stated that this posed a challenge as each work was to be evaluated by onlookers in isolation, rather than in a similar context in unison with any other work. Therefore it was necessary for each artwork to be both evaluated by spectators for each sculpture’s unique, site-specific location as well as to be recognisable as an appropriate part of the rest of the public art exhibition. The first of these was achieved by carefully selecting each sculpture’s location for it to be meaningful and almost harmonious with its site. To address the second, Lampbrecht (2012, Pers com) motivated in his statement that they needed people who ‘stumble across’ one or more of the artworks to be able to become aware of the fact that it belonged to a larger set of works which were pieced together. Lampbrecht (2012, Pers com) continued that this was realised in part by using easily-identifiable advertising and a distinguishable branding technique by supplementing the viewer with visual cues alluding to the existence of the other artworks. The sculptures were paired with hardcopy material which contained information on and a map of the exhibition, and

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<sup>59</sup> Sanel Aggenbach, Deborah Bell, Kevin Brand, Barend de Wet, Kay Hassan, Dylan Lewis, Colin Maswangani, Joachim Schönfeldt, Willem Strijdom, Angus Taylor, Edoardo Villa, Beezy Bailey, David Brown, Guy du Toit, Anton Karstel, Samson Mudzunga, Philip Rhikotso, Rina Stutzer, Herman van Nazareth, Wayne Barker, Sue Pam Grant, Ntuli Pikita, Doreen Southwood, Strijdom van der Merwe, Sandile Zulu, Willem Boshoff, Jackson Hlungwani, Mary Sibande, Andries Botha, Egon Tania, Noria Mabasa, and Jacques Coetzer.

each work was given the same type of name stand with information pertaining to the artwork at the site. This provided a platform through which interaction with the works could take place and also spur on the viewer who has “stumbled upon” (Lampbrecht 2012, Pers com) the work to continue to view the rest of the works as well. It was also made imperative for *20 Stellenbosch* to run in unison with a comprehensive educational programme as the large learner population in and around Stellenbosch provided an opportunity to reach and inform a wide youth audience (Lampbrecht 2012, Pers com), but this only came into fruition in 2013 under the name of KickstART, under the Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust (SOST).

Works were selected on the basis of creating a showcase of the accomplishments of South African sculptors of the last twenty years, and Lampbrecht (2012, Pers com) motivated in his curatorial statement that, although the artworks were not united under a theme, the aim was still to relationally link some of them through parallels and similarities between them in their relative positions throughout the town and in the order of the route laid out for the exhibition. Lampbrecht (2012, Pers com) aimed to show the differences and likenesses, not only of the artworks in question, but also those between the individual artists, each from a different context and separated by varying educational, temporal and spatial backgrounds. In *20 NIROX*, this transpired almost by chance as “themes such as domesticity, the absurd & the banal, and the nature of ‘humanness’ seemed to emerge in distinct ways time and again and allowed for leaps and linkages of seemingly disparate works”, Lampbrecht (2012, Pers com) said. Lampbrecht (2012, Pers com) took note and made use of these coincidental linkages in *20 NIROX* to better inform *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture* and succeed in creating a sense of unity and cohesion between all works within the new setting.

*20 Stellenbosch* intended to showcase the achievements of South African sculptors during the past two decades, but Lampbrecht (2012, Pers com) stated that such a goal could never be fully attained in reality because of logistical and other limitations, such as the space available and the number of participating artists that could never be truly representative of the whole South African artist population; the exhibition could thus only be seen as a sample of this population rather than a comprehensive survey. Nevertheless, like *20 NIROX*, the aim of *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture* was to do “justice to the richness, technical innovation, creativity and challenges seen in local sculpture” and to “remind the viewers and passers-by, that South African fine art, and sculpture in particular, can be unexpected, thought provoking, moving and beautiful” (Lampbrecht 2012, Pers com). As co-curator of the exhibition, Andrew Lampbrecht (2012), also stressed the importance of public art in having the potential to enrich daily life, to participate and

gain insight into a creative process between the work and the viewer. The successes associated with and strategies used to achieve an aestheticised and enhanced environment whilst simultaneously stimulating deeper interest on the part of publics have been proven in various studies (Bontje et al. 2011; Goulding 2000; Helbrecht 2004) and should be considered for the art in Stellenbosch.

Unfortunately the 20 *Stellenbosch* exhibition endured a substantial amount of vandalism, predominantly by students (Norton 2014, Pers com; Offringa 2013). Amongst the damage suffered was Dylan Lewis' *Male Trans-Figure II*; the *Pumpkin Hut* by Anton Karstel; *Boom, boud, etc.*; and *Ja-Nee* by Barend de Wet, *The Construction of Deconstruction* by Rina Stutzer; Angus Taylor's *Grounded* series; and Sue Pam Grant's *Swimmer No. 5*. With vandalism proving to be a big concern for public art, the curators and organisers planned to address this in adopting a preventative approach for the following public art exhibition, *Metalwork*.



#### 4.4.2.3.1 Opinions regarding positive qualities of *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture*

A total of 18 respondents (7% of the total 241) stated that their preferred artworks or exhibition as a whole had been *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture*. Responses were grouped into four categories: the aesthetic appeal of the artworks; sense of place-related motivation; a preferred medium or art type; and ‘other’ (Figure 4.9).

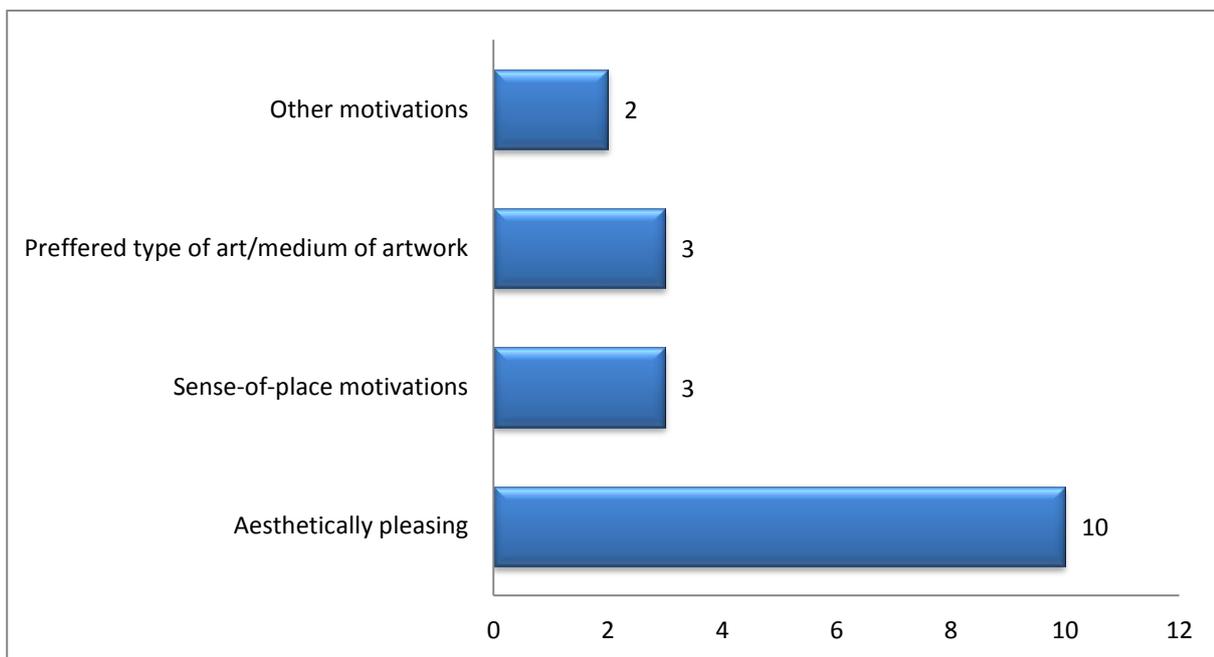


Figure 4.9: Reasons why *20 Stellenbosch* was most-liked (n = 18)

The majority of respondents, 10 of the 18 (55%), who considered *20 Stellenbosch* as their exhibition of choice over the last six years indicated that it was the aesthetic appeal of the works which most impressed them. Respondents in this category used words such as “beautiful” and “nice to look at” to describe what they enjoyed about the works. Three respondents stated that it was the art form which most appealed to them, while another three stated that it was a patriotic, sense of place-related feeling which drew them to *20 Stellenbosch*. The latter made comments revealing pride in the local artistry which South Africa has to offer, and one respondent in particular mentioned that it made him “proud of Stellenbosch” specifically.

#### 4.4.2.4 Public contemporary group sculpture exhibitions in Stellenbosch: *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II*

Within a year of the end of *20 Stellenbosch* in 2012, a new public art exhibition initiative was under way in 2013. The curatorial statement of the *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II* exhibition indicated that such public art initiatives are vital in Stellenbosch, in South Africa, and indeed in the world to democratise art and aestheticise everyday life, as some individuals seem to be anxious or apathetic about visiting art centres, galleries or museums (Offringa 2013).

Following the successes of Dylan Lewis' *Shapeshifting* sculpture tour and *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture*, the Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust (SOST) aimed to build on the accomplishments of these outdoor sculpture exhibitions in Stellenbosch. In collaboration with Stellenbosch Municipality, the SOST arranged for selected sculptural works to be displayed throughout the town of Stellenbosch during 2013 (Offringa 2013). The SOST also strove for the ideals of inclusion and accessibility, by using both emerging and established local artists, and by placing the works in carefully selected, though unexpected, locations that allowed the viewers to perceive the location and artwork in novel ways, both in isolation and in a relational manner with one another. It was also considered imperative of *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II* to foster publics' awareness of the interactions and relationships between fine art, the public spaces of daily life, and architecture (Offringa 2013). Both art and heritage are seen as valuable resources in the historic town of Stellenbosch and it is hoped that making these features commonplace throughout the public realm will develop wider public appreciation of these resources by raising awareness thereof (Offringa 2013). This brings us back to the fact that many people would not consider entering a formalised building containing art (such as an art gallery or museum) but when it is in the public sphere it 'belongs to everybody', i.e. it can be viewed by anybody who would otherwise not have been confronted with an artwork if it were behind walls. It also helps the town by publicly branding Stellenbosch as an art destination for both locals and tourists, and these form part of the orientations pursued by and to which both Stellenbosch 360 and the Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust are aligned to (Offringa 2013). Stellenbosch 360 is an innovative, holistic destination brand for Stellenbosch formed under the Stellenbosch Tourism and Information Authority (STIA) in cooperation with key role players in 2011, and its aim is to provide opportunities for tourism, business and other areas of interest.

As with *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture*, the *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II* exhibition artworks did not adhere to any specific theme, but as the name suggests,

there was a specification that all works were to be constructed of metal. Offringa (2013) made it clear in her curatorial statement that such open-air installations and exhibitions do not by default have to be themed. It rather has to document the skilful execution and creativity which South African sculptors are capable of exhibiting and how these can be used (in conjunction with the location) to deliver social commentary and create awareness surrounding other contemporary issues.

Making use of only 12 locally sourced participating artists,<sup>60</sup> *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II* was considerably smaller than the previous public sculpture exhibition which had over 20 participating artists. However it was suggested that the medium of metal or steel may have introduced restrictive implications for the show (Offringa 2013), including limiting the number of artists. This medium was selected for a number of practical reasons, however, including the metal's robust and durable nature which, it was hoped, would diminish the incidence and success of attempts at vandalism, therefore a larger number of works was considered a secondary objective to their survivability in a town where theft and defacement is a common occurrence (Offringa 2013). "Until we have grasped the psychology of vandalism and found ways to educate potential vandals," Offringa (2013, s.p.) iterated in the exhibition's curatorial statement, "we will do everything in our power to prevent damage and theft, and we put our trust in the cooperation of the community and the assistance of our stakeholders to allow these outdoor art projects to succeed". The geographic demarcation of the boundaries encompassed a smaller area than that of the previous exhibition, and the *Metalwork* exhibition was concentrated in central Stellenbosch, unlike *20 Stellenbosch* which extended as far as Van Ryn's Brandy Distillery, The House of JC le Roux (Devon Valley Road), Idas Valley and the Kayamandi Tourism Corridor. Extending an exhibition to such, often destitute, outlying areas was regarded by Bain (2004) as bringing about revitalisation. While the physical locations of *20 Stellenbosch* is shown in Figure 4.8, a map of *Metalwork* can be seen in Figure 4.10. Although not as far reaching physically, the intensive, concentrated layout of the exhibition ensured that all works were easily accessible on foot, and this allowed for the facilitation of guided walkabouts for learners from the schools in the area, as well as for the interested public in general (Offringa 2013). The target population for the tours was thus any interested parties who desired more information on the sculptures throughout the town (Offringa 2013). Local volunteers from Stellenbosch were trained as guides for the show under the Stellenbosch Arts Association, and tour bookings were received and processed by the Stellenbosch Tourism Information Association (STIA).

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<sup>60</sup> Anton Smit, David Jones, Strijdom van der Merwe, Willie Bester, Dylan Lewis, Gordon Froud, Uwe Pfaff, Pitika Ntuli, Ian Redelingshuys, Jaco Sieberhagen, Marco Cianfanelli and Lionel Smit all participated in the event, and the show received a good reception from the public.



The aim of the Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust (SOST) was to create a thought provoking and engaging art experience, and for viewers to experience the sublimity, creativity, and passion-driven works produced by contemporary South African artists (Offringa 2013) through their interaction with the sculptures. The curator of *Metalwork* in her curatorial statement stressed that, to achieve the ideal of an outdoor public art exhibition held on an annual basis, the support of all sectors, public, private and corporate, is a necessity (Offringa 2013).

As one can never fully predict the result of any public art exhibition, precisely because every community is heterogeneous and composed of individuals with differing opinions and preferences, the Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust (SOST) placed their trust in the benevolence and goodwill of the public to refrain from committing theft or damaging to any of the works. “We see public art as having the power to energise and transform the spaces where we live, work and play into more welcoming environments”, Offringa stated (2013: s.p.) and the hope was for the public to recognise these qualities intrinsic in public art that have the ability to enrich and enhance everyday life and the sense of place and pride of the viewers. One might go so far as to say this is akin to eugenics, which Ellen Richards (1910: vii) spoke of as “the betterment of living conditions, through conscious endeavour, for the purpose of securing efficient human beings”. Although usually applied to disease prevention and other health issues, Richards (1910: vii) states that “the individual must estimate properly the value of this knowledge in its application to daily life, in order to secure efficiency and the greatest happiness for himself and for the community” and public art, it is suggested, holds value of a nature that can result in better quality of life, especially when combined with educational initiatives. Offringa (2013) stated that none of the works were subject to significant damage and no works were stolen, which was one of the SOST’s main concerns.

#### 4.4.2.4.1 Opinions regarding positive qualities of *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II*

In responding to the question about which public artwork or exhibition from the past six years was preferred by them personally, 17 of the 241 respondents (7%) indicated that *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II* or works belonging to it was their choice. Responses were grouped into four categories: the aesthetic appeal of the artworks; sense of place-related motivation; a preferred medium or art type; and a renowned artist. Figure 4.11 below presents the opinions of respondents relating to *Metalwork*.

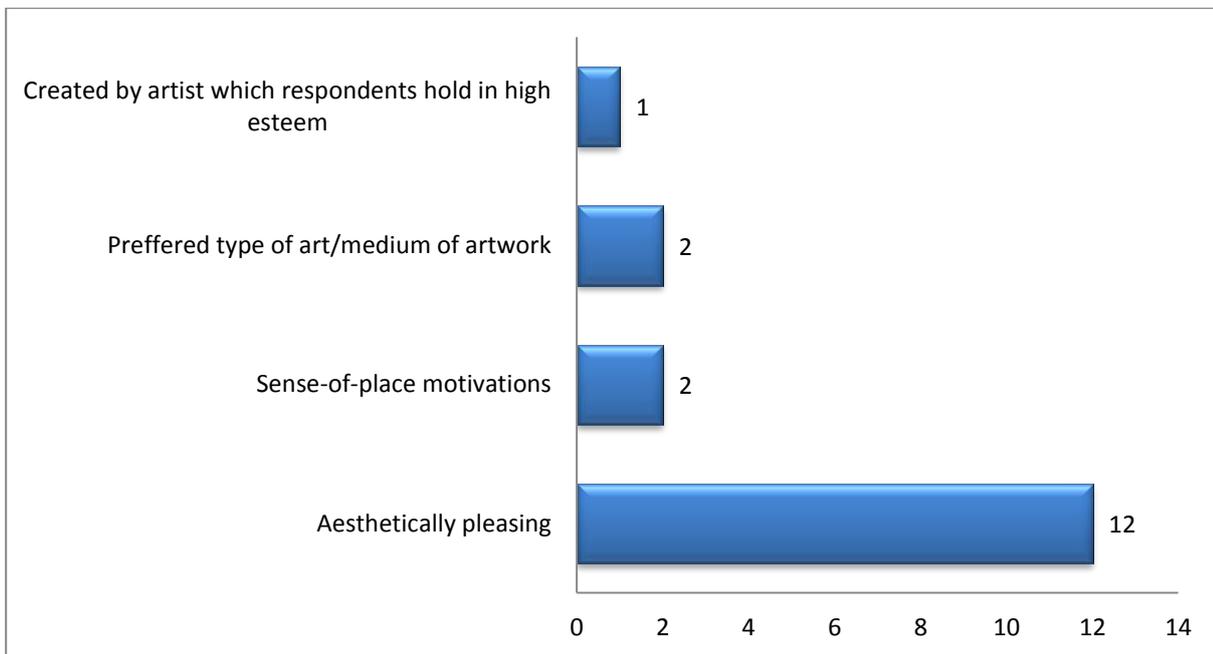


Figure 4.11: Reasons why *Metalwork* was most-liked (n = 17)

Of these seventeen respondents, 12 (70%) expressed interests pertaining to the visually pleasing nature of the works. Because there was no specifically defined theme throughout the exhibition, the expectation was that public opinion would exclude appreciation of promoted values, but rather that the work would be appreciated for different aspects, which were revealed to be sense-of-place and pride statements by two respondents, and another two who said that it was the metal sculptures as art type which they preferred. One respondent stated that Jaco Sieberhagen, one of the participating artists, was one of his favourite artists so they preferred his work titled *The Way*.

#### 4.4.2.5 Public painting in Stellenbosch

Jan Hendrik Viljoen, a local Stellenbosch painter and sculptor working under the name Portchie, has built an immense reputation for himself as a commercial artist in the town since moving there in 1995. “He is one of those artists, you know, like Dylan Lewis, everybody knows who Portchie is” (Jordaan 2013). He currently runs the Red Teapot Gallery on the corner of Andringa and Church Street with his wife. This gallery houses a large number of his works, but his works can be found in many privatised locations throughout town, including corporate spaces such as offices, as well as in personal collections. But some of his work is also situated in the public eye. The works referred to are situated in the town shopping centre, the Eikestad Mall, and consist of two large prints hung on a wall on the first floor of the building. Here hundreds of visitors pass by his works on a daily basis

and he is reported by some<sup>61</sup> to arguably to be the most successful South African contemporary artist as he paints more than 800 pieces a year, each of which is sold. Portchie fully embraces the commercial nature of his works and focuses on large-scale production but never with disregard for the enjoyment of creating each work, or creating “pieces of happiness” as he calls it (Viljoen 2013, Pers com). He describes his works as “a celebration of life which he hopes to share with others” (Portchie 2003). His personal philosophy is “do good while you can, because you might not come this way again” (Portchie 2003; Viljoen 2013, Pers com). His jovial demeanour is evident throughout his works as he tries to express the concepts of joy and happiness with his unique, colourful painting technique (Portchie 2003; Viljoen 2013). He believes that one is able to do these concepts justice with vivid colour. He says that life is what you make of it, and one holds in their hands a palette, and it is up to the individual to decide whether they want to paint with vivid colours or if one wants pales and greys – hence choosing to paint with happiness or the opposite thereof (Viljoen 2013, Pers com). It is for these reasons, amongst others, that his trademark use of simple and colourful symbolism has defined his painting technique, showing blue trees, happy people, simple living, and so forth. “My trees in my landscapes,” Portchie stated, “I always do with shades of blue, because I believe the air filters through the trees and the sky is still blue. As much blue trees, it should nevertheless later rub off on them. I love working with people who do simple things in paintings, as people who read or cycling or skipping.” (Portchie 2013; Viljoen 2013, Pers com). These form part of what Portchie considers universal themes; his art has no specific socially defined boundaries and his works transcend notions of language, race, or economic status (Viljoen 2013, Pers com). Therefore it is as appealing to those from overseas, for example the United States, Germany and elsewhere, as it is to South Africans, because it is not difficult to understand or appreciate (Viljoen 2013, Pers com). Perhaps this is why Portchie has been successful as a contemporary artist in Stellenbosch today, because it appeals explicitly to the sense of feeling good, or joy or happiness, and it has specifically used aesthetics as a medium for these concepts. He nevertheless tries to encourage aspiring and newcomer artists to find their unique niche in the art market, as he has, by trying to do good and being original in the expression thereof. “There is no right and wrong in art. The secret lies in the originality of it” (Portchie 2013).

Portchie’s work, however, has been criticised by some as “generic” and for the “mass production style of conducting his work – he is more of a commercial artist than a fine artist” (Anonymous 2012, Pers com; De Villiers 2013, Pers com; Forster 2013, Pers com; Jordaan 2013, Pers com). This mass production may well be the driver behind his success; this is how he is able to produce 800 paintings per year (De Villiers 2013, Pers com). Mass-produced works are often deemed as

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<sup>61</sup> (Portchie 2003; Van der Westhuizen 2013)

revealing a loss of authenticity – “transforming something which is inherently personal into something produced solely for the consumption by ignorant masses – that’s just making pseudo-art” (Anonymous 2012, Pers com). While Portchie knows there is a demand for his work and considers himself a business-orientated individual, he also states that his main intention is to share the joy coupled with his work (Viljoen 2013, Pers com).

#### 4.4.2.5.1 Opinions regarding positive qualities of *Eikestad Mall Paintings*

One of the 241 respondents mentioned that their favourite public artwork over the past six years in Stellenbosch has been the prints of Portchie’s paintings in the revamped Eikestad Mall. The respondent motivated that she was working in the mall itself. She explained that coming to and being at work causes some sense of drudgery and other negative sensations associated with being at work, such as performance anxiety and stress, and these negative emotions are dissipated to an extent by looking at Portchie’s work. “The people look so happy and relaxed... and the bright colours just make it so beautiful to look at, having something nice to look at brightens my day”, this respondent stated. Hence one can see the importance of aestheticising daily life, and how individuals can gain happiness from not only engaging with but simply from viewing of public artworks such as Portchie’s Eikestad Mall paintings. The importance of the work itself, however, does not exist or operate in isolation, and the case with this respondent also demonstrates the significance of the location selected for each public artwork. Only if a public artwork is situated at a suitable location which will increase its efficacy and audience reach, will it be in a position to hold value for publics.

#### 4.4.3 Public art in Stellenbosch 2014: *Kom Sit/Come Sit/Hlala Phantsi*

In the previous section an overview was given of the public art exhibitions from 2008 until 2013. This section turns to the public art initiative of 2014: *Kom Sit/Come Sit/Hlala Phantsi*. Also referred to as *Kom Sit Stellenbosch*, the public art initiative was aimed at accessible and interactive art (Norton 2014, Pers com). Following on the successes of the *Metalwork* exhibition, this third project of the Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust (SOST) included both established and emerging artists, as well as a range of others that included school learners and the graffiti artist, Mak1One (Norton 2014, Pers com). Twenty-four concrete benches were transformed using various mediums and techniques, and strategically placed at 10 sites throughout Stellenbosch (see map in Figure 4.13). *Kom Sit* is centred around applied arts blending function and aesthetics to add value for the people of Stellenbosch (Norton 2014, Pers com). It was also driven by social responsibility initiatives, as

some of the benches were transformed as community projects. One bench, named *It's all coming together*, was fashioned by craftsmen<sup>62</sup> from Stellenbosch 360 using various crafts. Another bench was the canvas for school learners in Stellenbosch's previously disadvantaged communities. The SOST's educational outreach programme awarded all-encompassing Deloitte KickstART bursaries in 2013, and the awardees from Stellenbosch high schools were given the opportunity to create their own bench. Aptly named *Our Town, Stellenbosch*, the bench documents and is a reflection of the communities and the diversity of the town. Andi Norton, SOST trustee and project manager of public art exhibitions in Stellenbosch, said in her statement that artists were asked to make functional objects beautiful, but to focus on the social value as something not only improving the environment, but also the quality of life of the people of Stellenbosch. Two of the functional artworks *You can sit under my umbrella* by Marieke Prinsloo-Rowe and *Kom Praat – The Travelling Baboon* by Wilma Cruise were noticed to receive much attention from the public (Norton 2014, Pers com). Both *You can sit under my umbrella* and *The Travelling Baboon* have been seen as props for countless photos and have been adorned with various articles of clothing – “I've seen him [the baboon] in a motorcycle helmet, sunglasses, numerous hats... and with many kids monkeying around him” stated one of the respondents in the anonymous questionnaires. The sculpture by Marieke Prinsloo-Rowe unfortunately received some negative attention in the form of vandalism (see Figure 4.12 below) where it is located in front of the Stellenbosch University (SU) Art Gallery in Dorp Street. Thankfully it was soon restored with ease, and Norton (2014, Pers com)



Figure 4.12: Vandalism on the *You can sit under my umbrella* artwork

stated that crime and vandalism is always a concern for public art, though *Metalwork* was particularly successful in negating this with durability. The perpetrator of the vandalistic act stated that his intention was not to deface the artwork, but that he rather was trying to deliver social commentary on Stellenbosch being “too white” (Anonymous 2014, Pers com). He stated that he also made black markings on the historic slave house in Dorp Street to further draw attention to this matter, in explanation that Stellenbosch “does not truly represent the previously disadvantaged communities who call it home”. He continued, “but it's also more than that, it's a statement against those racist idiots donning this blackface thing in Stellenbosch lately – I want people to see this and realise that maybe they are just as ignorant. Or maybe, who knows, they will see the irony and have a good laugh, either way, my job is done” (Anonymous 2014, Pers com).

<sup>62</sup> They are part of the Centre for Entrepreneurship of Stellenbosch360.



To obtain an overview of the public perceptions surrounding the exhibition, the 241 respondents were interviewed at three selected artwork sites.<sup>63</sup> Appendix D contains an example of the questionnaire used to guide the interviews. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had a positive feeling about the artwork and site, and whether they believed these were well matched. Opinions on positive and negative aspects of the artwork and site were also collected via open-ended questions. The demographics of respondents encountered at the sites ranged greatly – young and old, rich and poor, local and tourist alike were interviewed after being observed to be viewing the artwork.

#### 4.4.3.1 Site 1: *I have to go see a man about a horse*

The bench by Adriaan Diedericks, titled *I have to go see a man about a horse*, was at the first site for interviewing members of the public (Figure 4.14).



Figure 4.14: *I have to go see a man about a horse* by Adriaan Diedericks

The opinions of 76 respondents viewing the artwork were collected where it is situated at the corner of Drostdy Road and Plein Street (number nine in Figure 4.13). A summary of the responses is presented in Figure 4.15. In relation to the artwork itself, most respondents stated that their feelings

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<sup>63</sup>*I have to go see a man about a horse* by Adriaan Diedericks (corner of Drostdy Road and Plein Street); *You can sit under my umbrella* by Marieke Prinsloo-Rowe (corner of Bird and Dorp Street); and *Kom Praat – The Travelling Baboon* by Wilma Cruise (Corner of Andringa and Church Street).

about it were positive. The site of the artwork, however, was mostly regarded with neutrality. Regardless of this, the majority still considered the artwork and site to be well matched.

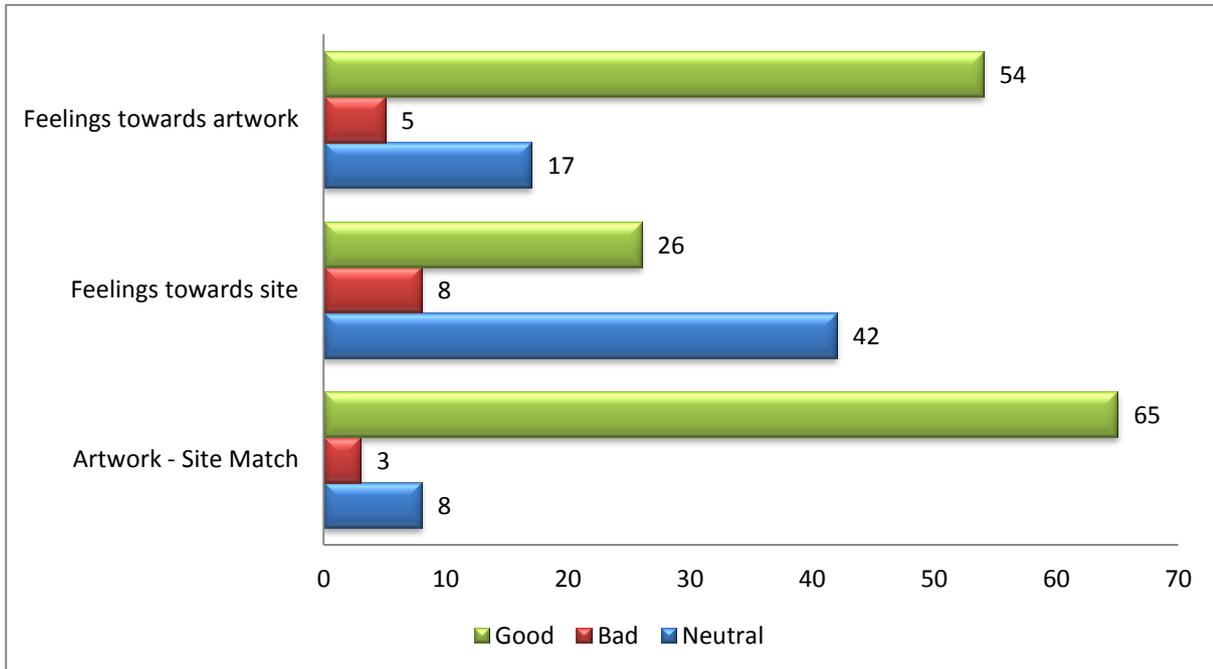


Figure 4.15: Summary of respondent opinions of Site 1 (n = 76)

Respondents stated they had positive feelings about the artwork for a number of reasons. Again, most answers could be classified into definitive categories which included:

- Aesthetically pleasing
- Friends with or admirers of the artist
- Humorous content
- Positive about medium used
- Enriches environment
- Patriotic or pride motivations

Figure 4.16 shows the distribution of these responses, and it is clear that aesthetic appreciation dominated the responses.

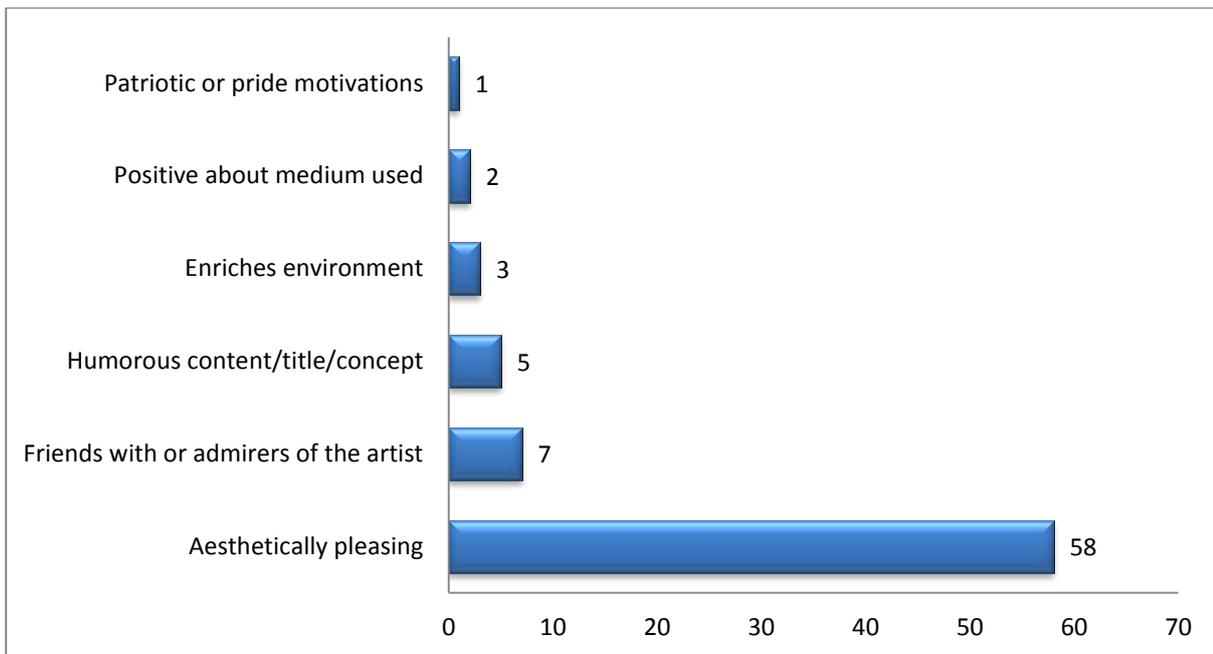


Figure 4.16: Summary of motivations for valuation of *I have to go see a man about a horse* (n = 76)

Although respondents were generally positive about the artwork, five individuals stated that they did not enjoy the artwork. These respondents gave reasons such as that it was “poorly executed”, that “it has nothing to do with Stellenbosch”, and “not my taste”.

Respondents seemed to be impartial about the site compared to the artwork, with the majority of respondents stating that they had neutral feelings about it. Nevertheless, just over a third of respondents were positive with regard to the site, and the following reasons for their attitude emerged from their statements:

- Next to other art/culture structures (*Moederkerk*, Village Museum buildings, Lourens Art Gallery, more *Kom Sit* benches)
- Situated on busy streets of town
- Corner used to maximise visibility
- Aesthetics (“Nice view from here”)

Negative reactions to the site were also recorded, such as “it’s too open and exposed – in the sun”, and “it’s not a nice location compared to the other benches, no nice walkway or flooring, just gravel”. Another respondent stated that “although it is great for tourist exposure, this site doesn’t feel safe like the other benches because it is on the fringe of the exhibition and away from shops, I don’t think I would visit here at night.”

Despite the criticism of the site and artwork independently, the majority of respondents considered the artwork and site to be well matched. A few, however, regarded the match as something which could be improved upon: “If it was somewhere where there was more grass, I think the horses would be happier”. One respondent also commented: “It looks like it was just plonked down here on the sidewalk, it doesn’t fit in with where it is.”

#### 4.4.3.2 Site 2: *You can sit under my umbrella*

The bench by Marieke Prinsloo-Rowe, titled *You can sit under my umbrella*, was the second site for interviewing members of the general public (Figure 4.17).



Figure 4.17: *You can sit under my umbrella* by Marieke Prinsloo-Rowe

Eighty-eight responses were collected in relation to the artwork and site separately, as well as opinions of suitability when matched. The location of the artwork can be seen above as number four in Figure 4.13, on the corner of Dorp and Bird Streets. It is situated in front of the Stellenbosch University Art Gallery, which is also a renowned heritage structure in the town. A summary of the number of responses per attitude displayed towards the artwork, site and their matching is seen in Figure 4.18.

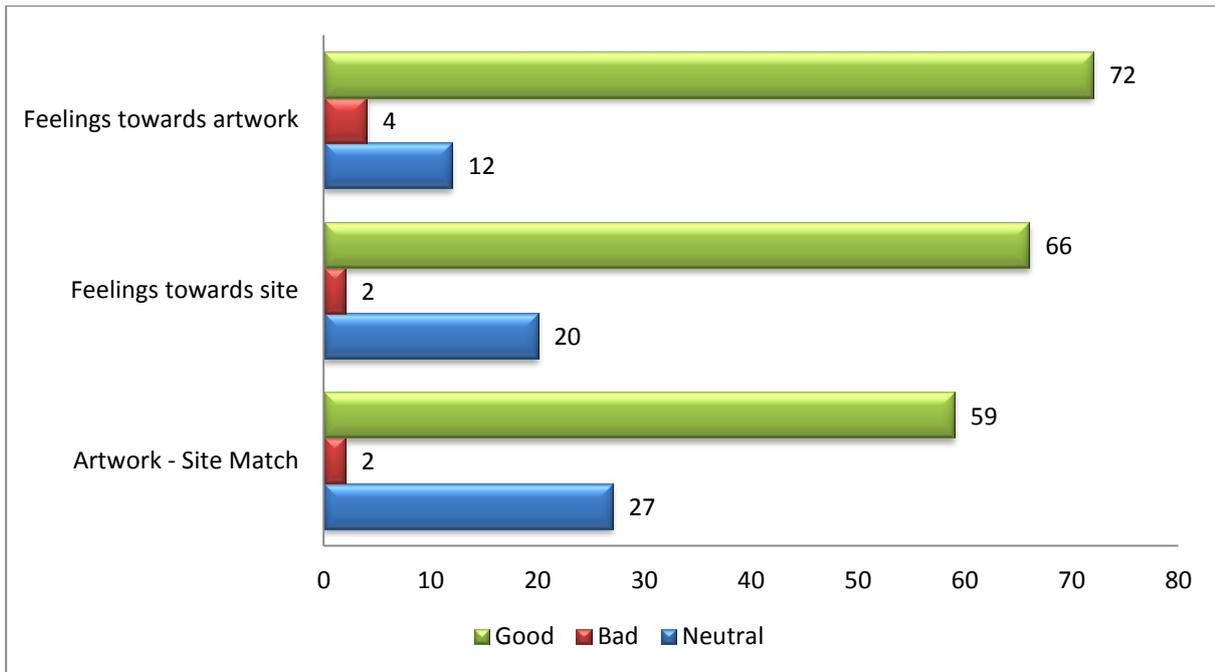


Figure 4.18: Summary of respondent opinions of Site 2 (n = 88)

Just over 80% of respondents expressed positivity regarding the artwork. Various answers emerged when respondents were asked about positive aspects of the artwork. These answers were reclassified into the following groupings:

- Aesthetically pleasing
- Renowned artist's work
- Preferred technique (sculpture)
- Positive about medium used
- Skilful execution of artwork
- Valuable message/meaning behind work

Figure 4.19 presents the distribution of answers given. Aesthetics again was the primary motivator for creating positive feelings about the artwork.

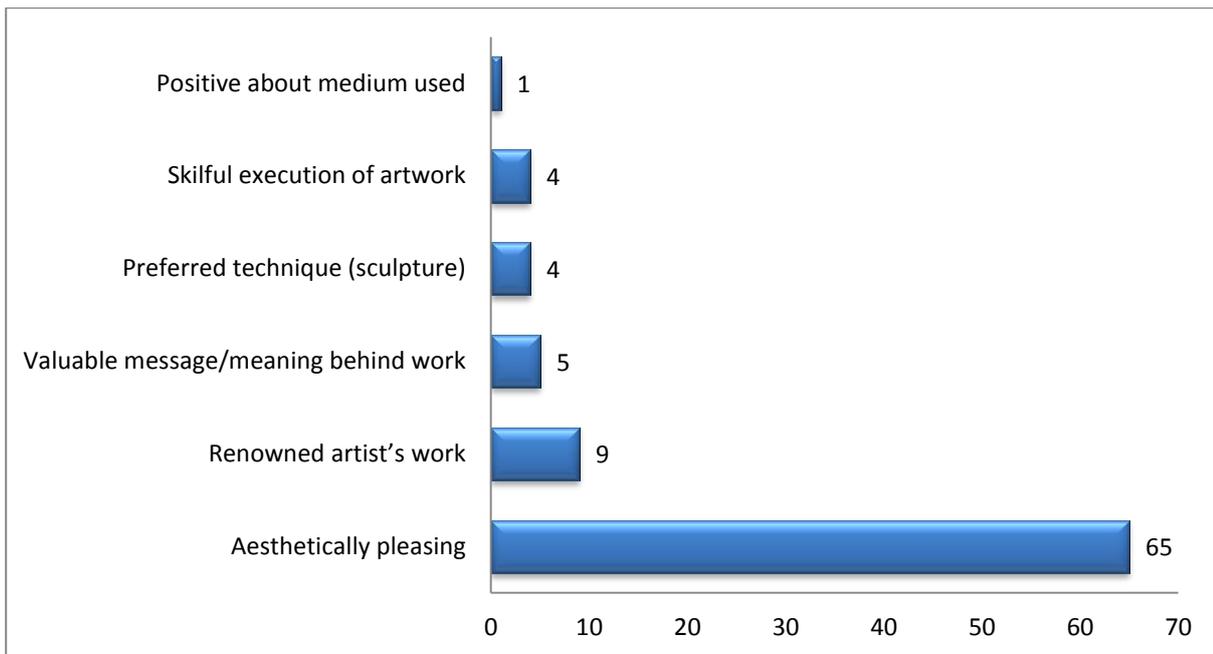


Figure 4.19: Summary of motivations behind valuation of *You can sit under my umbrella* (n = 88)

While the vast majority of the respondents were optimistic about the artwork, a few individuals felt differently. Those who were neutral stated reasons such as “it’s just another sculpture, nothing special”. The respondents who markedly exhibited negative feelings towards the work felt so for various reasons, including one gentleman who stated: “It’s just a generic, pleasing artwork – just there for easy viewing if you could call it that – if it doesn’t make you think it can’t be good art.” However, some respondents did manage to draw meaning from the artwork because they were under the impression that it does make one think: “It has an important message of community and being neighbourly, it makes you think about what you can give and share, even when you have nothing, a kind gesture can change someone’s life.” Other negative responses expressed by respondents were about the artwork not satisfying personal preferences, such as “I would’ve liked it if it was bronze”.

With regard to the site of the artwork in question, respondents were generally positive with 75% of responses being in its favour. While most of the respondents made positive statements concerning the location being in front of the US Art Gallery, the full extent of the list of reasons are as follows:

- Aesthetic appeal of site (specific mention of oak trees, historic Dorp Street, architecture)
- Relative position to other art/culture structures (in front of US Art Gallery, close to restaurants & hotels)
- Good site for visibility (busy streets of Dorp & Bird)

- Site is clean and well maintained
- Site is illuminated well at night

There were, however, some negative comments concerning the site of the artwork. One respondent stated:

I know the point is that her umbrella can shelter from the elements, but a person like me can't fit under her umbrella too, so like yesterday when it was raining it is too open to enjoy it, even though it is lovely to see her in the rain you can't interact when the weather is bad.

Another stated that it is located "too close to one of the busiest streets in town, which makes me very, very nervous as a mother because I want them to see the art but have to keep such close tabs on them".

Concerning whether the site and artwork were well matched, two thirds of respondents were of the opinion that they were. "She is perfect in front of the gallery, it looks like a ballet student was walking home and took a moment to rest and admire the day under the comfort of her own shade", was one respondent's opinion. Another stated: "It's beautiful seeing the white sculpture contrasted against the dark sidewalk and but at the same time a reflection of the striking white building behind it." And while just under a third of respondents were neutral with regard to site and artwork matching, a few respondents stipulated that, in their opinion, it was a not a suitable match. One respondent's reasoning was that "there is nothing that makes her fit in to this place; it doesn't have anything to do with the gallery or the street or anything... and what's she looking at? Not the gallery, if anything... it would be nice if we could see the link between her and the surroundings". Another respondent stated that "she has her back to the gallery, good for people driving by, but not if you want to go in [US the gallery], then it feels like a prop turning its back on you".

#### 4.4.3.3 Site 3: *Kom Praat – The Travelling Baboon*

The sculpture by Wilma Cruise is on the corner of Andringa and Church Streets. This was the third and final site from which interviews were conducted with the general public (Figure 4.20). It is marked as number six in Figure 4.13, and is situated adjacent to the Red Teapot Gallery.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Fine art gallery owned by Portchie (Jan Hendrik Viljoen), a renowned Stellenbosch artist



Figure 4.20: *Kom Praat – The Travelling Baboon* by Wilma Cruise

Individuals were asked about their opinions concerning the artwork *Kom Praat* itself, as well as of the site at which the artwork is located. Seventy-seven respondents were interviewed. Figure 4.21 illustrates the number of people who expressed positive, neutral, or negative feelings towards *The Travelling Baboon*, the site, and their compatibility with one another.

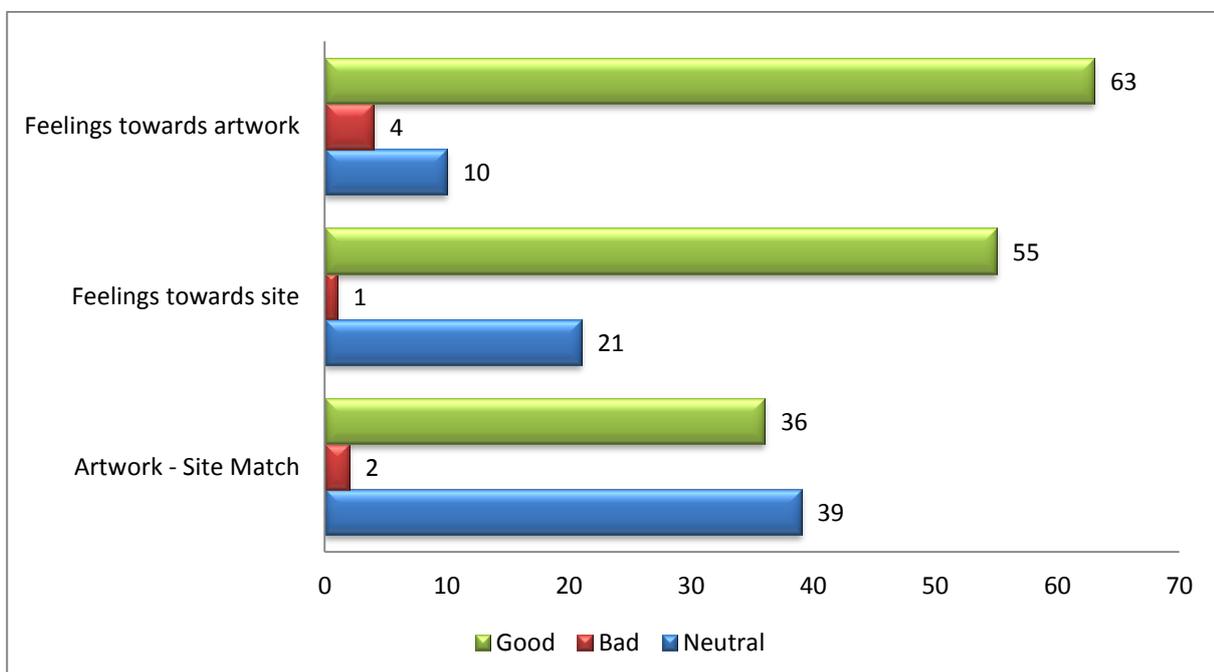


Figure 4.21: Summary of respondent opinions of Site 3 (n = 77)

Again, just over 80% of respondents indicated a positive attitude towards the artwork itself. The appreciated qualities which people mentioned as influencing this positive stance included:

- Aesthetically pleasing
- Witty and humorous message/meaning behind work
- Preferred technique (sculpture)
- Renowned artist's work
- Skilfully done

The *Travelling Baboon* was widely met with positivity and energy, markedly more so than was anticipated at the other two sites. Although speculation is difficult, it might be because it is situated in the very centre of the Stellenbosch core, where most other art resources are located (see Figure 3.2) and where most creative-cultural industries<sup>65</sup> are practised and the area, in experiencing more footfall, may be more energised. Figure 4.22 shows the number of respondents who indicated each of the motivations above, and aesthetics were noted to be the most prevalent response type.

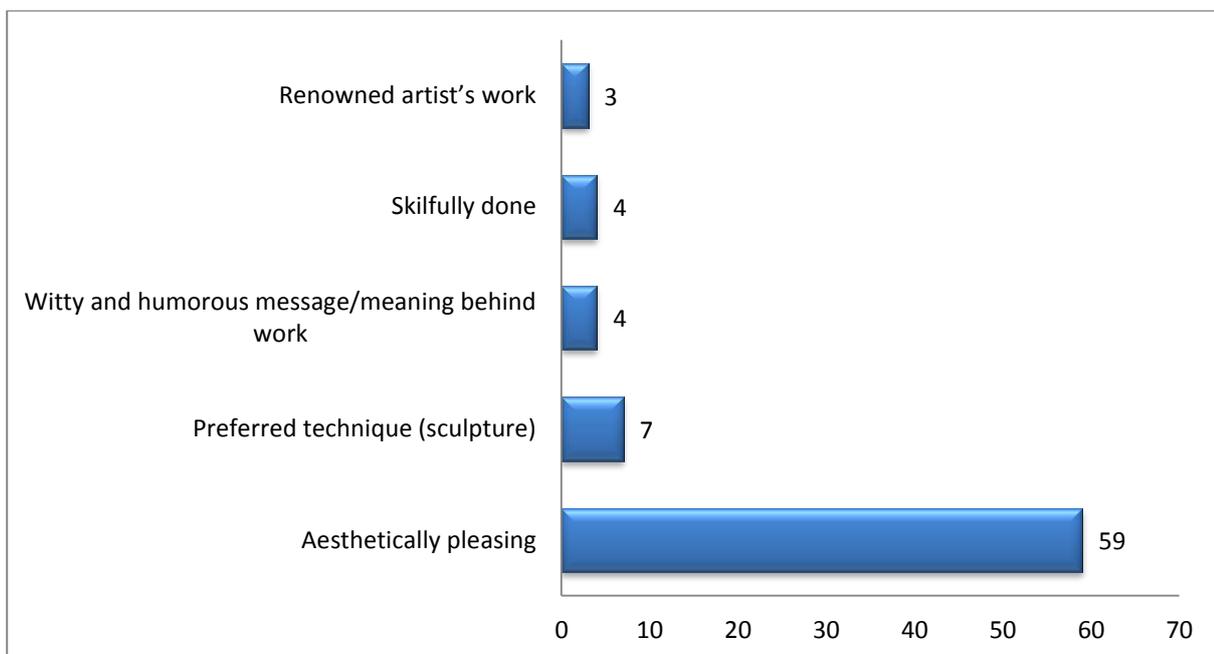


Figure 4.22: Summary of motivations behind valuation of *The Travelling Baboon* (n = 77)

<sup>65</sup> Restaurants, art galleries, boutique shops, etc.

Statements such as these further the notion that a totally inclusive and accepted public art exhibition does not exist; it always is a subjective experience and personal preference will guarantee that someone will always be dismayed by any work praised by others (Bourdieu 1984; Monin & Sayers 2006; Wu 2002).

#### 4.4.4 Conclusion

As previously stated, this chapter has provided a general overview of each of the six public art exhibitions disclosed by respondents to the open-ended question about which formalised public artworks, exhibitions, or installations presented since the start of the formalised public art movement in Stellenbosch in 2008 were preferred by them personally. The researcher also wanted to establish which traits or characteristics made these works appealing to the public, and respondents were therefore requested to motivate why they had chosen that specific work or exhibition as their favourite. What the data have revealed in terms of these goals was that six public art exhibitions were mentioned by respondents. Five of these six (excluding Portchie's Eikestad Mall paintings) were formalised, focused outdoor public art exhibitions which took place annually from the formal commencement of public art initiatives in Stellenbosch in 2008. Six main categories of answer types as well as some secondary answer types which occurred in isolation emerged to address the second part of the goal of gaining some sense of art preferences and choices.

In review, the six public art exhibitions<sup>66</sup> examined were the *Wrapped trees of Dorp Street* and *Water for Life* by Strijdom van der Merwe, the *Shapeshifting* sculpture tour by Dylan Lewis, the *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture* and the *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II* contemporary group artist exhibitions arranged by the Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust (SOST), and Portchie's paintings in the Eikestad Mall. The SOST was been involved with three of these major outdoor sculpture projects, beginning with *20 Stellenbosch*, and plays an invaluable role in shaping public art in the town. The *Kom Sit* exhibition was found to be largely successful in improving and aestheticising everyday life in Stellenbosch, as the majority of respondents were positive about the artworks and their placement. The seven exhibitions each had its own shortcomings as well as successes, but it is difficult to establish how far reaching these were and whether the range of reasons explored covers the general sentiment of the public. One of the certainties across findings was that the general public at least came across as being aware of public art in Stellenbosch, as only five respondents had admitted that they did not know of any public art

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<sup>66</sup> Disclosed by respondents in pilot surveys preceding the official data collection

which was displayed in Stellenbosch over the past six years, and most respondents were at least able to recognise an inherent value in the public artworks while only four respondents indicated being apathetic towards art initiatives. However, the fact that public opinion concerning public art was mostly aesthetic-orientated has created the unfortunate impression of the situation in Stellenbosch, that is, one that suggests that the public fails to recognise that art has a deeper meaning. It was also noted that information pertaining to the artists and artworks was available at each respective site and event (Norton 2014, Pers com), which most respondents may not have read or remembered if they attached no meaning other than aesthetics to the works and exhibitions. It would seem, and it would be quite unfortunate if it is true, that most of the respondents did not place much (if any) importance on interpreting art in the town. However, while public art exhibitions and initiatives are still on-going in Stellenbosch in 2014, with the current *Kom Sit Stellenbosch* functional art outdoor exhibition, and the 2014 World Design Capital projects, inquiry into the successes and failures of these after their conclusion may provide a worthwhile starting point for future development and decision making, especially for ever-growing engagement and interaction with the public.

With the results above, it is noted that public art serves many socio-spatial functions and offers various forms of improvement in Stellenbosch, such as attracting visitors, enhancing sense of place, aestheticising and improving spaces, stimulating interest, encouraging revitalisation, educating, empowering, providing employment opportunities and so forth, which have been similarly recognised in other studies (Alves 2007; Bain 2004; Bontje et al. 2011; Florida 2003; Goulding 2000; Helbrecht 2004; Markusen & Schrock 2009; Pio 2008). Positive spill-over effects may also be felt in the Stellenbosch economy directly due to public art initiatives, the most pertinent example of the last six years being that of Strijdom van der Merwe's fabric-clad trees, which attracted many visitors and ultimately as much as five million South African Rand in revenue to the town (Retief 2011). It is as Lee (1993) has recognised in his study: Values are embedded in the public artworks of Stellenbosch and are open for interpretation by the voyeurs who pass by them, but this interpretation is directly influenced by aspects such as personal preference. Studies in the past (Kaden 2012; Monin & Sayers 2006; Mouffe 1992; Sennet 1976; Zebracki 2011) have indicated that inclusion is vital to a successful public art exhibition, since it irreducibly belongs to every individual who encounters it. This rings only half true for the case of the public art exhibitions of Stellenbosch, as many social responsibility public art initiatives have included local communities in the production or returns from the initiatives, yet the overall administration often is still purely arranged and applied by organisations, institutions, and private individuals and investors. This

situation is similar to that noted by Monin & Sayers (2006) in their own study, which reports that some members of the public are dismayed by the work because it holds no relation or significance to them. As Kaden (2012) would say, the works do not feel like they ‘belong’ to the individuals viewing them. While the previous Section 4.2 recognised the need for upcoming, emerging and outsider artists to be more included in public and private exhibitions and opportunities, more needs to be done to also involve the viewers in public<sup>67</sup> art exhibitions and initiatives. This is because it is the very lives of these publics (as Zebracki (2011) calls them) which are touched by public art, and their experiences thereof thus are the most important to consider if one is to discover whether public art is valuable and meaningful as such (Zebracki 2011). And while the public art exhibitions in Stellenbosch have been arranged under the careful watch of organisations such as the SOST (being a very positive situation in many regards<sup>68</sup>) which encourages public engagement with the artworks, more can be done to evaluate if and how the successes thereof permeate through the socio-spatialities of Stellenbosch to add value thereto as an art town. All role-players, including artists, organisations, communities, trusts, policy makers, the government, tourism boards, planners, curators, project managers, and the like, must collaborate to ensure that the public is served to the best measure possible.

Again, the researcher would like to repeat that all these notions are all merely surface impressions and it is impossible to know what each individual of a population’s preference or sentiments surrounding public art and art in general is. The researcher does not claim to make population statements or to have full comprehension of the preferences of the general public in relation to public art, but merely aimed to provide an overview of the range of answers collected from very different individuals. The limited time and scope of the study only allowed for certain enquiries and analyses to take place and very much is still necessary to be evaluated before a more accurate impression can be gained. The researcher sees this as a knowledge gap which can be addressed in future academic work.

#### **4.5 INFORMAL PUBLIC ART (GRAFFITI) IN STELLENBOSCH**

As was pointed out in the literature review of Chapter 2, graffiti art is recognised as being distinctly separate from the notion of graffiti vandalism in several ways. It has been shown to have the potential to enhance and enrich daily socio-spatial life in the same way that formalised public

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<sup>67</sup> As well as private

<sup>68</sup> Provides a professional platform for funding, planning, administration, management, decommissioning, and so forth between all involved parties (upcoming & established artists, municipality, financial providers, town planners, etc.)

artworks are able to do. In contrast to formal public art exhibitions, because there is no curator or authority in charge to regulate graffiti as an art form, the artist has the freedom to choose any subject matter they wish. This is oftentimes expressed in unconventional and even shocking imagery, and this side of art – outsider art – is often omitted from formal art settings such as art galleries and public exhibitions. This, however, is seen as a success for art by some, as even when the content is alternative it still provides a break in the constant flow of unexamined norms and conventions which link urban visual culture and the prevailing social directive (Austin 2010). The general consensus among three graffiti artists interviewed was expressed to be that authorities are not against graffiti because it is obscene – on the contrary it may be very beautiful to look at –, but it is the ideas behind the works which are promoted that they want repressed (Gordon 2013, Pers com; Zyklon B 2013, Pers com; Forster 2013, Pers com). The very act of doing unsolicited graffiti art is a threat to authority in itself, because it may inspire other people to ignore laws such as the graffiti by-law (Gordon 2013, Pers com; Zyklon B 2013, Pers com), and “this is not even touching what is in the picture itself yet” (Zyklon B 2013, Pers com). “But of course mature content in the public sphere is always dangerous”, stated Forster (2013), “because you think you’re doing them a favour by getting them to ‘wake up’, but in reality some people were perhaps not meant to ‘wake up’ when ignorance clearly makes for a happier population”. Mature content does also include obscene images in some cases and, as stated, may be dangerous because the individual viewing it may suffer some kind of emotional trauma to some extent. Children, for example, are sensitive to content with violence or strong language displayed graphically.

It’s like a big concert where the artists is in charge of not only doing the show, but also choosing the stage, lighting and other technical work... the stuff done by curators and organisers of the art world... so it’s up to the artist to choose the best place to put it and how visible to make it so that the right kind of person will see it and understand it... you don’t want to offend or hurt anybody, just reach them, make them see things differently. (Forster 2013)

And to be able to “see things differently” it is vital that people can understand and appreciate a work of graffiti art for it to be recognisably valuable to the public, and until graffiti art is seen as something other than vandalism, people will only start taking it seriously as art which can improve daily life (McLean 2014, Pers com; Prinsloo 2014, Pers com). If graffiti and the associated arts within the streets can be taken seriously, a entirely different ‘art town’ becomes a possibility; where artworks are not restricted to hanging canvases behind barriers and on walls, where each individual has the opportunity to be an artist, and where multicultural, unique and unconventional ideologies can be expressed safely and confidently.

The survey results revealed that the researcher recorded more than 300 unique incidences of new graffiti in central Stellenbosch over the course of seventeen months. They were noted to be changing constantly, however, as some were immediately removed, while others have remained for years without concern to the authorities or institutional staff implicated in each setting. Because of the rapid, constantly changing nature<sup>69</sup> and number of graffiti artworks, and because such an abundance of point data was collected, trying to produce a valid, reliable cartographic representation of all the data was not viable. Of the total of 338 incidences of graffiti recorded, all three types of commonly recognised graffiti criteria were found, namely tags, throw-ups, and pieces. To reiterate for clarity, tags are one dimensional works such as signatures and other writing, throw-ups are two-dimensional works of this kind, and masterpieces or simply pieces are defined as a mixture of words and images done as a complex artwork (Spoceter 2004). Of the 338 works, 288 (85%) were recorded as tags, 41 (12%) were recorded as throw-ups, and 9 (3%) were recorded as pieces, as illustrated in Figure 4.23.

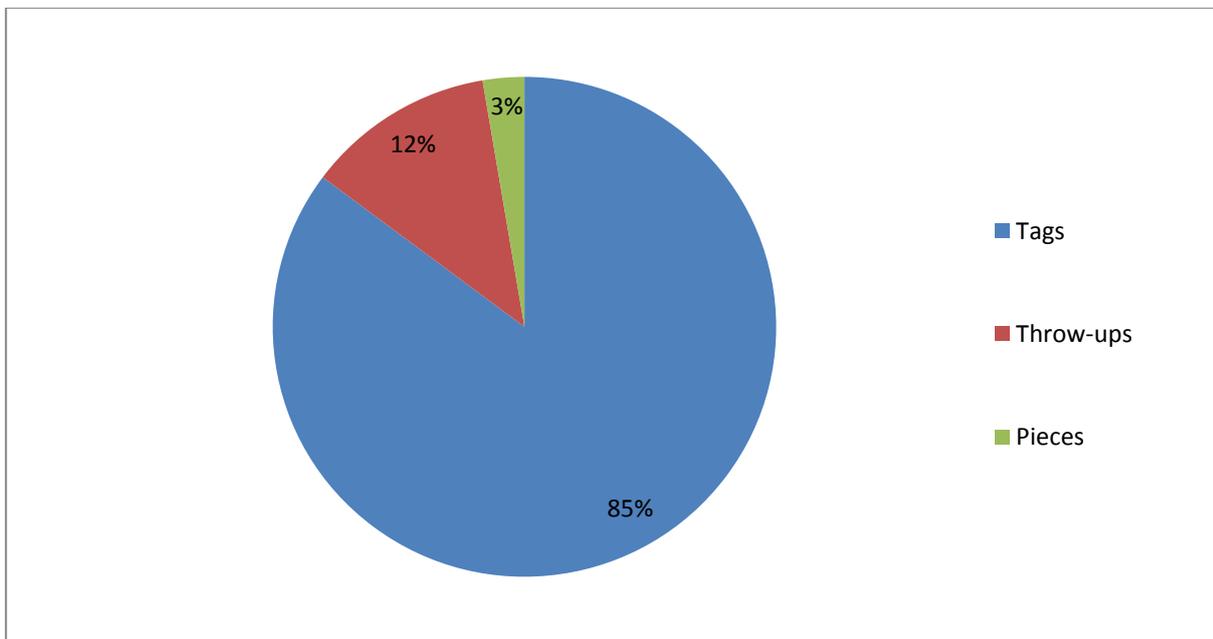


Figure 4.23: Distribution of tags, throw-ups and pieces in Stellenbosch (n = 338)

This finding appears to be in accord with what is indicated in Alonso's (1998) study, that tags are the most frequently found type of graffiti. Because they are easy to create, and because so many of

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<sup>69</sup> E.g.: Some artworks degrade quickly due to environmental exposure; many graffiti artists place their work over existing pieces; because there is no management/authority some pieces become 'communal where passers-by are constantly adding to them or vandalising them by scratching, etc.; artworks are constantly being removed due to their illegal status

these tags were found to be located in social spaces such as bars and clubs frequently occupied by members of Stellenbosch's large student population, this abundance of tags may more likely largely be the work of students. Many tags observed outdoors in the public sphere were deemed to be graffiti vandalism, however, rather than graffiti art, as many of them held little or no artistic value, or were created with the sole purpose of defacing property such as buildings, trees, monuments, signs, and even other artworks, among others.

The throw-ups that were found were mostly positioned in more obscure locations which offer a reduced chance of detection, and included spaces such as dimly lit areas, around certain walls, next to vegetation, and so forth, because they take more time to be created than tags. The clustering which Spocter (2004) observed in his study in a Cape Town suburb was also found to be a common feature of the throw-ups in Stellenbosch. They were often seen grouped in twos or threes and one electricity building had six throw-ups together. This demonstrates that graffiti artists used the successes of their predecessors to identify locations which offered relative safety for taking time to create such a work. The researcher expected pieces that were identified to be in even more secretive locations because of the complexity of the work and the time needed to complete it, but a contrary finding emerged instead; many of the pieces were placed very boldly, in the open, on the white walls of some of the town's most renowned buildings such as the old church heritage building (now transformed into the University of Stellenbosch's Art Gallery) in historic Dorp Street. Because pieces are so intricate and complex in nature, depending on factors such as the medium the graffiti artist is using, the nature of the surface they are working on, the size of the piece, and so on, it may require hours of planning and painting to complete one, even when the artist possesses a great amount of skill (Spocter 2004). The researcher enquired from the owners and management of piece locations to establish that they were not commissioned works, and none of them were. Hence, the pieces found in the study were done on the graffiti artists' own accord, and at the risk of being prosecuted for doing so. Yet, even in the face of being arrested and charged for putting up graffiti, they may have felt the need to get their art 'out there', where no other gallery will give them the chance. On the other hand they may indeed feel that it is the message which is visually communicated through the artwork which is important to be put out in the open. None of the pieces evaluated contained any identifiable explicit content, and some delivered frank social commentary on topics such as technological interaction replacing human interaction, and some were akin to those images utilised in protest movements such as the work by Banksy. Some pieces were not removed for some months, perhaps because authorities may be less hesitant to remove a piece of graffiti if it has recognisable value and does not pose a threat to the mental health and wellbeing of

others. Therefore, if graffiti follows an ideal that is artistic, creative and meaningful, it may be likely to be considered as graffiti art, rather than as graffiti vandalism. However, because all graffiti in general is still considered to be in direct violation of property law, it is deemed the concern of the municipal officials who through policing and surveillance have a commitment to survey and rectify circumstances as they exist on these grounds (Austin 2010).

Of the 241 questionnaires answered for the portion of the research focusing on public art, 66% motivated that graffiti art has the potential to enrich daily life, even if only by aestheticising it. Respondents were asked whether graffiti was art or vandalism. Respondents were also supplemented with examples of tags, throw-ups and pieces, and were asked to rank them on a basis of artistic merit. Most agreed that pieces held the most artistic merit (92%), which was followed by throw-ups (7%). Lastly, two respondents ranked tags as having most merit. The example images shown to respondents are presented in Figure 4.24, Figure 4.25 and Figure 4.26.



Figure 4.24: Graffiti tag in Bird Street, Stellenbosch



Figure 4.25: A graffiti throw-up between Du Toit Street and Bird Street, Stellenbosch



Figure 4.26: A graffiti piece in Cape Town<sup>70</sup>

Respondents were then asked which type of works they most preferred to see, and again the result was in favour of pieces, which 85% (Figure 4.27) stated was their favourite of the three types. Throw-ups were appreciated second-most by 13% of respondents, and tags were ranked third as they were preferred by the remaining 2% of respondents.

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<sup>70</sup> This image of a graffiti piece from Cape Town was used for illustrative purposes only – it was used as an example image for graffiti pieces in the questionnaire survey as a prime example of such, which was lacking in Stellenbosch at the time

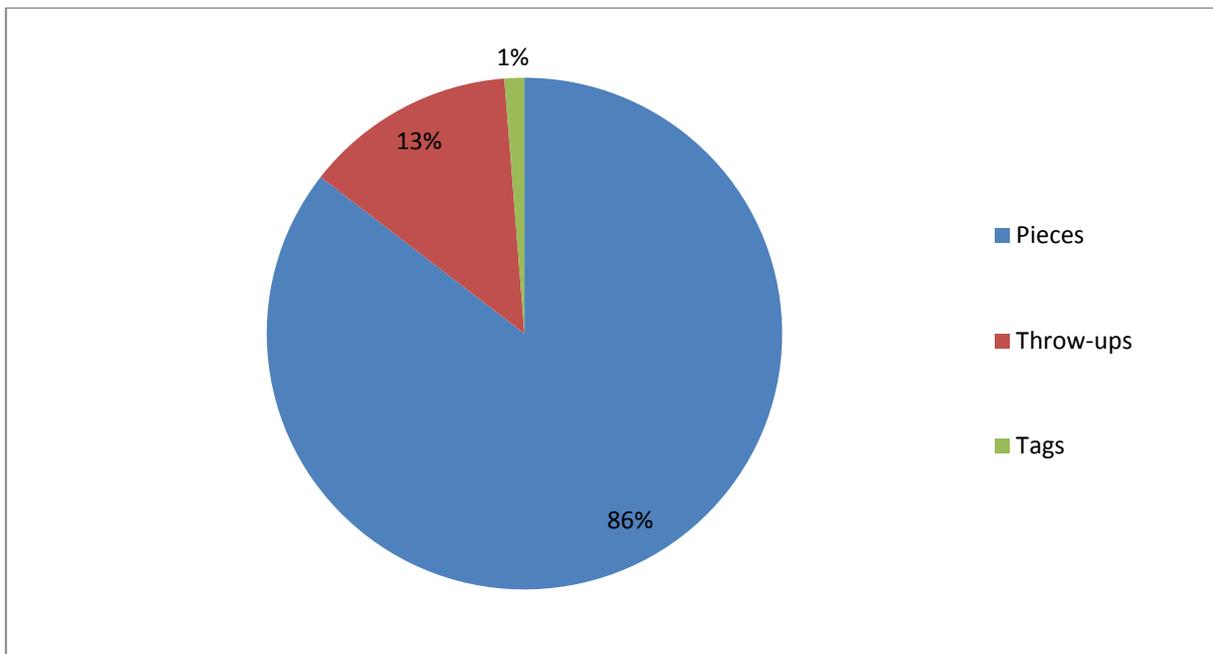


Figure 4.27: Preferred graffiti art types in Stellenbosch (n = 241)

In comparing them, the preceding figures disclose an interesting situation. The type of graffiti art more likely be deemed valuable by viewers is the least abundant, while those graffiti art types suggested by respondents as having less artistic merit and are enjoyed less are more prevalent. Perhaps this negative correlation explains why so many individuals (34%) do not believe that graffiti artworks may have inherent value which could uplift or have a positive effect in public spaces and on the individuals operating and moving around in such spaces.

According to a number of the established graffiti artists in Stellenbosch (Prinsloo 2014, Pers com; Zyklon B 2013, Pers com; Forster 2013, Pers com), the number of graffiti piece and throw-up incident have decreased over the past eight years. Comments about this included the following:

I grew up in Stellenbosch and there used to be new graffiti everywhere, done by students and communities, groups... now there are very few who go out on a regular basis to keep it alive, who are still dedicated to it the way they were. (Prinsloo 2014, Pers com)

When enquired why they believe this is so, a number of opinions were given.

We used to be maybe 20 who would go out over a month and always practice or put something important up, a lot of the times together so you have an extra pair of eyes and ears... that was almost nine years ago. (Prinsloo 2014, Pers com)

Zyklon B (2013, Pers com) suggested, "Maybe everyone grew up; found jobs, got sucked into the system unquestioningly, and just stayed there while we were looking for new ways to inspire people

to evaluate and be critical of the world they live in”, while Forster (2013, Pers com) put forward another thought-provoking possibility: “Some pieces are getting better and better, even when they are becoming fewer.” He continued, “Maybe they are getting better because they now have to compete with all the public art.”

While it is true that art and culture has always had a flourishing presence in Stellenbosch, especially with the number of visual art and other arts and culture resources and the large student population, it similarly is a possibility that the directed, formalised public art exhibitions which started in 2008 have been making up for the need felt by many to have art in their public space and daily lives. What is suggested is that the niche for art in the public realm perhaps was realised by many publics who had artistic skill and motivation, which resulted in numerous and constant graffiti art pieces and throw-ups being created, and when formalised public art filled that niche to some extent, the incidences of graffiti decreased accordingly (Forster 2013, Pers com; Prinsloo 2014, Pers com). There is a saying that “the city needs art to be beautiful, and nature needs nothing,” (Zyklon B 2013, Pers com), “when there wasn’t art in Stellenbosch, people like us made it beautiful and shared our skills, passions, concerns, messages... while the galleries hoarded theirs behind closed doors and where the messages don’t always matter”. Some of the graffiti artists stated having graffiti art replaced by only formalised public art, is also dangerous. They stressed that, while public art “decorates” the town, there are not very many work that encourage the public to think critically or differently about the important issues of the world. Zyklon B (2013, Pers com) commented:

No one went out there and made a statue that makes people aware of or even want to find out about, say, the Nkandla report. We saw what happened with *The Spear*, and they want to keep artists, and free expression to help others think, very much suppressed and out of public view.

From this section it has been demonstrated that some people do recognise some intrinsic worth in graffiti art, while others do not. Though tags are the most frequently occurring graffiti type, they often have little or no artistic merit and/or the ability to be meaningful to the public. The pieces in Stellenbosch, although of high in quality both conceptually and visually, are few and far between and will need to be supported in a way that does not violate property laws for it to be of benefit to publics. The suggestion in a brain-storming session was that two possibilities for this may be possible without much intervention and resources, but both consist of giving space to graffiti artists. These include firstly, to encourage the corporate, private and public sectors to commission artists to use their buildings, as previous studies have indicated that many such laboriously created pieces which have been commissioned rather than done illegally (Spocster 2004), is of benefit to both the

artist and commissioner. For example, an art gallery owner who has his structure adorned with an attractive graffiti piece will appeal to clientele aesthetically; the graffiti artist may not charge as much as commercial painters; and the work has the ability to convert the structure into an inimitable attraction with a unique, non-replicable work of art on its walls. At the same time In such a scenario the graffiti artist may benefit simultaneously because of receiving a form of income; not having to fear being arrested or fined for their work (thereby being able to take more time and even greater care in piece creation); and because the work is openly displayed where it can be viewed by as many people as possible (and serve as an advertisement for both the artist and his skill as well as the gallery or shop). The second possible solution would be to create a new space for graffiti art; for example erecting walls or other structures which are publicly owned in public spaces, where graffiti artists, again, can invest more time and effort into the creation of a valuable art piece without the fear of being arrested or fined. A niche in Stellenbosch which has not been filled is a space for skateboarders who are also regularly prosecuted for what authorities deem to be vandalism, so perhaps establishing an initiative that would create a platform for both skateboarders and graffiti artists (e.g. a small, outdoors skate 'park' which can be utilised by skateboarders and walls/surfaces in and around the park to be utilised by graffiti artists. From what the researcher has gathered, the graffiti located in Stellenbosch is still considered a very complex phenomenon which might never be understood fully until meticulously monitored, recorded and evaluated, and this will only be possible through working in cooperation with the town's authorities and municipality, as finding their locations as well as knowledge of whether it has been or is scheduled for removal is vital.

#### **4.6 VANDALISM AND ART IN STELLENBOSCH**

Public art, formal and informal alike, has always been subject to defacement. Vandalism has been noted to be a considerable phenomenon which has affected art in Stellenbosch in the past, due to the presence of a large number of art structures in the public eye created and arranged through the efforts of art students, artists and organisations. As instrumental as the student population of Stellenbosch is in fostering the creation and success of many public art projects, respondents have also stated that students often also are responsible for vandalism and theft of art in Stellenbosch (De Villiers 2013, Pers com; Jordaan 2013, Pers com; Forster 2013, Pers com; Norton 2014, Pers com). According to Jordaan (2013, Pers com), a fine art student whose outdoor sculpture was damaged by students (Figure 4.28).

“The students get drunk in town, and if they come across your artwork on the way home there’s nothing stopping them from doing what they want to your sculpture.” He elaborated, saying “They started kicking it and pushing it, and eventually even rammed it with a car until it broke down into the road, and when they realised it was too heavy to steal they just started jumping on it and kicking it and left it lying there.”

This seems to be the case for most incidents of vandalism involving public art in Stellenbosch, that is to say that students are responsible for most instances of vandalism, and that they deface these works spontaneously rather than because they are outraged or shocked viewers who are reacting negatively to artworks and want to express their disdain by vandalising the work.



Figure 4.28: Art student’s sculpture which was vandalised

The literature comments that, even when reacting to something that is offensive to an individual, one always has the moral duty to respect the creations of others and the time and effort that an artist has dedicated to the work (Austin 2010; Monin & Sayers 2006; Zyklon B 2013). Yet, this has not been the attitude of vandals among the Stellenbosch public, who have exhibited little consideration for the arts and culture in the town in many prominent past instances (De Villiers 2013, Pers com;

Forster 2013, Pers com; Jordaan 2013, Pers com; Norton 2014, Pers com). Table 4.6 summarises the findings relating to incidents of vandalism involving public art in Stellenbosch in chronological order over the past six years.

Table 4.6: Cases of vandalism involving public art in Stellenbosch

<i>Artist name &amp; artwork</i>	<i>Damage detail</i>	<i>Outcomes</i>
<i>Dorp street wrapped trees</i> by Strijdom van der Merwe	Red cloth stolen off multiple trees throughout duration of exhibition	Resolved – Van der Merwe surveyed trees with missing cloth at 4 a.m. each morning and replaced what was missing
<i>Water for Life</i> by Strijdom van der Merwe	Weather balloons popped	No resolution – once gone installation was not replaced, cleanup of balloons collected downstream
<i>Striding Lion</i> by Dylan Lewis	Gold stripe spray-painted across its side	Resolved – paint removed
<i>Male Trans-Figure II</i> by Dylan Lewis	Varnish used to deface work	Resolved – varnish removed
<i>Pumpkin Hut</i> by Anton Karstel	Cement figure was broken into pieces, and suffered continual vandalism thereafter	Removed – after continued vandalism and irreparable damage
<i>Boom, boud, etc. and Ja-Nee</i> by Barend de Wet	Bent out of shape, broken, some pieces stolen	Removed – Irreparable
<i>The Construction of Deconstruction</i> by Rina Stutzer	Knocked over multiple times	Eventually moved indoors
<i>Grounded I</i> by Angus Taylor	Plate removed then broken in half	Removed – Irreparable
<i>Swimmer No. 5</i> by Sue Pam Grant	Broken off above the feet and ankles before being stolen	Retrieved and removed – sculpture's remaining feet and base have been removed too
<i>I want to be free</i> by Uwe Pfaff	Bent over	Resolved – bent upright again
<i>Gradex Project – The male figure</i> by Jordaan	Destroyed	Removed
<i>You can sit under my umbrella</i> by Marieke Prinsloo-Rowe	Face blackened with charcoal	Resolved – Charcoal was removed easily

Vandalism is no new phenomenon in Stellenbosch. All formalised public art exhibitions mentioned in this study so far have been subject to vandalism of one form or another. Strijdom van der

Merwe's *Wrapped trees of Dorp Street* constantly had their red fabric stolen, and Van der Merwe stated that he inspected the trees for theft every morning before sunrise, and replaced those with missing cloth. His *Water for Life* installation was also vandalised as the inflated weather balloons were popped overnight. Dylan Lewis's *Striding Lion* in front of the Ou Hoofgebou on the Stellenbosch University campus, had a gold stripe spray-painted across its side. *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture* was one of the recent public art exhibitions which endured numerous incidents of vandalism. Amongst the works damaged was Dylan Lewis' *Male Trans-Figure II* which was situated in front of the JS Gericke Library on the University of Stellenbosch campus (number 11 in Figure 4.8) (Krige 2011). Varnish was used to deface the work (Krige 2011). The cement figure *Pumpkin Hut* by Anton Karstel, which was located in front of the Conservatorium (see number 12 in Figure 4.8) also on campus en route from the *Male Trans-Figure II* artwork, was also broken into pieces (Krige 2011) and was later removed due to continued vandalism. Barend de Wet's work titled *Boom, boud, etc.* was also vandalised: his sculpture involved the Afrikaans words *Ja-Nee*, which was bent out of shape. Andi Norton, Project manager for *20 Stellenbosch* suspected that someone was caught in the act of stealing it, leaving it mangled (Krige 2011; Norton 2014, Pers com). Almost halfway into the exhibition, Rina Stutzer's work, *The Construction of Deconstruction* (see number 8 in Figure 4.8), was also subject to defacement through being knocked over. Because it was anchored so deeply into the ground, definite intent was exhibited in its defacement as a number of people and their combined and considerable efforts to excavate it and knock it over had to be involved, stated Norton (Krige 2011; Koyana 2012; Norton 2014, Pers com). *The Construction of Deconstruction* suffered the same fate four times over during the exhibition, and was eventually removed from the site due to the continued vandalism (Koyana 2012). Renowned artist Angus Taylor had two pieces on the exhibition, aptly titled *Grounded I* and *Grounded II*, which consisted of rammed earth which took more than three months to construct, and were located in Plein Street in front of the town hall (Koyana 2012) (see Figure 4.8, number 7). In mid-March 2012, on the 14<sup>th</sup>, one of these statues came under fire from vandals, and closed-circuit television (CCTV) footage of the incident revealed a group of young men who shook the statue and removed its plate before breaking it in half (Koyana 2012). Later in the same month, further attempts of vandalism targeting Taylor's statues allegedly occurred, even after a sign encouraging the public to help bring the perpetrators to justice and offering a cash reward for information had been installed at the site following the first damage. CCTV footage again revealed that a group of three male students who attended the University of Stellenbosch approached the remnants of the statue and tried to push it over at 22h46 that evening (Damon 2012). According to the senior director of Communications and Liaison, Mr Mohamed Shaikh, a preliminary

investigation which was led by Stellenbosch University proved that the students touched the artwork, but no damage was done (Damon 2012). No case could be brought against the students, because of this attempt at vandalism had failed. This resulted in much commentary by the public in social media such as the *20 Stellenbosch* Facebook page, urging that the students should be punished for their attempts, even when no physical damage was incurred. Because the artwork was not clearly damaged, “a case cannot be laid against the students, and the students cannot be arrested” stated Shaikh (Damon 2012). Project manager Andi Norton expressed her disdain over this situation: “Anyone who damages public property or attempts to do so should be punished accordingly” (Damon 2012).

Another artwork that received a lot of attention due to vandalism during the *20 Stellenbosch* exhibition was Sue Pam Grant’s *Swimmer No. 5*, which was broken off above the feet and ankles before being stolen by a student during the night of 12 September 2012. Its disappearance from behind a fence at the Stellenbosch Botanical Gardens had been a mystery for quite some time before the parents of the student discovered the missing sculpture in their lavatory (Kamaldien 2012). The parents saw to it that the sculpture was returned to the Stellenbosch gallery representing the artist and actress Grant, and agreed to pay the fine of R60 000, while the work was set for permanent destruction. Project manager Norton stated that they owed their gratitude to the parents for coming forward, as many do not feel obliged to do so (Kamaldien 2012; Norton 2014, Pers com). Number 14 in Figure 4.8 indicates where *Swimmer No. 5* had been installed before the feet and base were also removed. With many of his fellow artists’ works suffering the same fate as his own in becoming targets of vandalism, Angus Taylor commented to a news source: “A lot of artists’ work has had to be removed. It is so unfortunate that a few bad characters can spoil a movement. The artwork is there to create dialogue and is open to anyone’s interpretation” (Koyana 2012: *s.p.*). Project manager Andi Norton shared the same sentiments and stated, “We wanted to establish Stellenbosch as a place where anyone could have access to art and sculptures. What a shame that a couple of vandals are ruining the experience for everyone” (Krieger 2011: *s.p.*).

In response to the rampant vandalism which hit *20 Stellenbosch: Two Decades of South African Sculpture*, curator Dirkie Offringa (2013, *s.p.*) in the exhibition’s curatorial statement announced “we will do everything in our power to prevent damage and theft, and we put our trust in the cooperation of the community and the assistance of our stakeholders to allow these outdoor art projects to succeed”. Offringa’s solution to this challenge was to create an all-metal exhibition and hoped that robust and durable nature of metal would diminish the incidence and success of

vandalism (Offringa 2013). This appropriately-named exhibition, *Metalwork: Public Art in Stellenbosch II* therefore almost became a second take on *20 Stellenbosch*, and, having considered and utilised the lessons learned from the previous exhibition, was mounted with great success as very little notable vandalism occurred while much more was anticipated (Norton 2014, Pers com). Only one count of vandalism was observed, namely that Uwe Pfaff's *I want to be free* (number 7 in Figure 4.10) was bent over. The current art exhibition, *Kom Sit Stellenbosch*, has also seen one recorded instance of vandalism – the blackening of the face of *You can sit under my umbrella* by Marieke Prinsloo-Rowe, which was easily removed (Norton 2014, Pers com). It seems that, with the student population and what has been revealed concerning vandalism in Stellenbosch, according to interviewees and the public in general, artworks often are subject to vandalism simply because they present an opportunity for vandalism and not because they espouse any ideology or cause that an attacker may oppose. As noted in the literature review, large youth populations, and especially students, pose the threat of damage to outdoor artworks. Combined with alcohol intake and a politically charged environment, this threat is enlarged, as it is when security is limited and the artworks are frail and easily accessible to the public. The continued success of public art in Stellenbosch lies therein that future exhibitions follow the initiative of the *Metalwork* exhibition with attempts to counter such threats where possible.

#### 4.7 CONCLUSION

Insight into the lived experience of individuals moving through and living in the art spaces and places of Stellenbosch was investigated to understand the intangible effects of and opinions on fine visual art in Stellenbosch. The majority of respondents considered Stellenbosch to be an art town, as the presence of art facilities, spaces, organisations and individuals are at the disposal of residents and visitors. Art in the public realm has also been shown to have numerous effects on the spatial and social dimensions of Stellenbosch, regardless of whether it is formalised or informal (graffiti). Vandalism has also been demonstrated as a problem which pervades the art world in Stellenbosch, against which art must be safeguarded as far as possible. Some effects of vandalism have been successfully negated in Stellenbosch in the past, most notably through the initiatives of the *Metalwork* exhibition. As stated, Stellenbosch has shown itself to be considered as a town of art by a majority of respondents as well as in adhering to the physical assets<sup>71</sup> required in by Santagata's (2002) conception thereof. From this chapter it is also clear that Stellenbosch is constantly in the process of creating culture through the creative works of artistically inclined persons such as fine

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<sup>71</sup> Seen in Chapter 3 on mapping spatialities of art in Stellenbosch.

artists. By this measure Stellenbosch can also be considered what Santagata refers to as a city or town of culture. Due to the mutual exclusivity of the concepts of town of art and town of culture, a new classification was established and hence Stellenbosch is seen as a hybrid town – a mixture of the two. Locales which have identifiable features of both a town of art and town of culture have typically in the past shown themselves to be instrumental in attracting more individuals who belong to the creative community as well as stimulating further development in this sector (Florida 2002; Santagata 2002; Smith & Warfield 2008). It is clear that the interactions between art and urban space are highly dynamic, as Russo & Van der Borg (2010) have postulated that. The next chapter will evaluate whether Stellenbosch, with the mapping of extra facets, can be formally regarded as a town of art and culture.

## **CHAPTER 5: CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The following sections recapitulate the research problem and main insights obtained from the study, as well as recommendations for future research on the socio-spatialities resulting from fine art resources.

### **5.1 RECAPITULATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM**

Arts resources impact the socio-spatial dimension of a locale in a multitude of ways, and an understanding thereof can be hugely beneficial to a town's development and success (Bain 2004; Bontje et al. 2011; Brown-Saracino 2013; Orbaşlı 2000; Russo & Van der Borg 2010). When utilised correctly, the full positive effects of such resources can be achieved to stimulate development and vitality. Stellenbosch can be considered such a locale with a substantial quantity of art resources, and while in the past several initiatives including events and formalised public art exhibitions have been demonstrated in the town, very little research has been done on discovering the socio-spatialities resulting from these. Without a greater understanding of the interplay between art, people, and space, optimum planning and decision making cannot be fully realised. As noted by Russo & Van der Borg (2010), enhancing and informing the practices informing the management, development and preservation of art resources is instrumental for future planning and decision making. By exploring, documenting and mapping the socio-spatialities of art in Stellenbosch, an overview is given of the number and diverse nature of physical and intangible arts resources and the people who encounter them. Thus, the primary aim embedded in the research problem was to explore the nature and scope of fine visual art via studying the socio-spatialities of the so-called art town of Stellenbosch.

The research problem is ingrained with several important concerns for Stellenbosch. Firstly, the existent lacuna in research regarding the town's inherent value for its numerous art resources inhibit the optimal development and planning which has been demonstrated in international literature. With this as a starting point for investigation into and further growth of the arts sector, fine art in Stellenbosch can be seen as potentially stimulating development of the social, spatial, and economic dimensions both locally, regionally and internationally. Secondly, as has been emphasised continually in the literature that was studied, fine art resources must be oriented around social cohesion more than any fiscal end (Hoerig 2003; Maruyama, Yen & Stronza 2008; McHenry 2011; Zebracki 2011), and hence collaboration with and approval from any community affected by art

resources will bring about the most desirable results, including deterring vandalism (Alves 2007; Faubion 1998; Monin & Sayers 2006; Zebracki 2011). Fine art in South Africa is gaining a reputation as becoming more commodified for tourist consumption, and hence the authenticity of artworks in Stellenbosch needs to be safeguarded to develop and retain a reputation of diversity, uniqueness, and one with a stable sense of place (Bendix 1989; Errington 1998; Revilla & Dodd 2003). This also serves to draw in further artistic talent from other locales in South Africa and internationally (Florida 2003; Zukin 1987; Zukin & Kosta 2004).

Despite the proven significance of studying, developing and preserving fine art resources as stipulated above, relatively little academic research has been conducted thereon in South Africa. It was thus deemed imperative to provide an overview of the socio-spatialities resultant from fine art in Stellenbosch, as a setting regarded as having multiple such resources. Under the primary aim, two overarching sub-aims were set to achieve this:

- Identifying and cartographically mapping the spatialities of art in Stellenbosch and evaluating analysis results, which allow for establishing whether Stellenbosch is a town of art or culture, exemplifying the notion in favour of developing and protecting it as such
- Providing a brief overview of art in Stellenbosch and the factors affecting it, as well as the under-documented public opinion on public art in Stellenbosch

Further research into the socio-spatial effects of fine art resources is thus of crucial importance, not only if Stellenbosch is to play a productive role in the global art sector, but also on a local scale as an art town competing with others as well as larger cities of art and culture for local and international investment.

## **5.2 SYNOPSIS OF RESEARCH RESULTS**

In closure, the findings of the study yielded a number of general insights into the socio-spatialities of art in Stellenbosch. The following subsections summarises the main results obtained from the study in terms of the research aims.

### 5.2.1 Mapped spatialities of fine art resources

Fifty-two fine art resources were identified in the core of Stellenbosch, and in mapping the spatialities thereof it was clear that they exhibit a definite clustering pattern,<sup>72</sup> especially in the areas occupied by other creative-cultural and arts industries. The distribution of these resources, their proximity to others, and the resource categories are illustrated in Figure 3.1, Figure 3.2, and Figure 3.3 respectively. The resource categories that have been identified were categorised into fine art studio spaces, fine art galleries, fine art organisations, fine art tuition, museums housing art artefacts, permanent public artworks, venues which host art events, and shops selling local or handmade products with some fine art pieces.

The physical art resources in the town were also found to be in accord with Santagata's (2002) notion of a town of art (Table 3.1), as it houses multiple churches, art galleries, monuments, museums, academic institutions and heritage structures. However, Stellenbosch also seems to conform to the notion of a town of culture, with the ability to create culture with artists and other creatives. Santagata (2002) poses a town of art and a town of culture as mutually exclusive terms, hence, a third category was introduced, which contains the indicators of both. Stellenbosch as a hybrid town of art and culture is thus a more suitable terminology for the indicators present in Stellenbosch. A continued effort into indexing such art resources is recommended to identify which areas are lacking or contain a surplus, amongst other insights which could be gained from visually studying their spatialities.

A number of role players in the Stellenbosch art world who are able to provide insights into the situation, and need to become and remain involved in all levels of art development were also identified. Organisations such as the Stellenbosch Outdoor Sculpture Trust (SOST) and the like play an integral role in shaping the spatialities of art. The presence of such organisations also in part fulfils the view of Stellenbosch not only as a town of art, but also as one of culture. To iterate, community-cultural organisations present one of the indicators of a so-called town of culture (Santagata 2002). According to the new categorisation explicated above, this allows for Stellenbosch to be considered a hybrid town of art and culture.

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<sup>72</sup> Determined from results of Average Nearest Neighbour tool and a multi-distance spatial cluster analysis (Ripley's k-function) using ESRI™ ArcMap 10

Due to the constantly changing nature and number of fine art resources, mapping the spatialities thereof in Stellenbosch has proven to be challenging, but necessary so as to provide a number of functions to the town. It was challenging in the sense that mapping said spatialities only provides a momentary illustration of the resources available, which rapidly begins to change in extent and nature with the passage of time. Nevertheless, the benefits of mapping outweigh this concern through providing a strong base of information as a starting point for evidence-based decision making. A needs assessment can be performed to recognise areas for future development. Through the identification of art resources, mapping also provides the opportunity to build economic prosperity from this in the future. Considering the spatiality of resources visually and making it easily comprehensible and simple, also allows for all publics, role players, policies and planning to be informed swiftly. A continued effort into the identification, mapping, and analyses pertaining to the spatialities of art resources in Stellenbosch is thus crucial for the establishment of a robust and resilient database that can bring about the above-mentioned benefits.

### **5.2.1 Opinions on Stellenbosch as an art town**

The opinions of those deemed to be affected by art in Stellenbosch were collected to gain a better understanding of the nature of the town's art world. In the professional and business sector of art, these included artists and owners/managers of fine art galleries. In the public sector, the respondents were members of the general public who have been residing in Stellenbosch for at least six years prior to the study.

#### **5.2.1.1 Art as business and livelihood: professional artists and art businesses**

As noted above, artists and representatives from art gallery were interviewed to ascertain their opinions and information pertaining to the art world in Stellenbosch. For both types of respondents interviewed in this regard, Stellenbosch seems to represent a competitive market that receives some national and international appraisal as a prime location from which to conduct business. A high incidence of tourists and affluent locals has led to the Stellenbosch core becoming a desired arts and culture hub. The town thus also contains intangible pull factors, mostly realised in the expertise of the local and international art market, as well as the skill and talent of the artists living and working there. By Santagata's (2002) standards, suggests that another indicator of a town of culture is present in Stellenbosch, namely artistic and creative-cultural businesses, occupations, and individuals. Through the interactions of these within the town's setting, new art and culture is

constantly being created, which allows for Stellenbosch to be seen as a town of culture with the physical structures of a town of art. According to the new classification devised, these indicators make Stellenbosch a hybrid town of art and culture. From the interviews with respondents with art livelihoods, it was gathered, however, that Stellenbosch can be highly exclusive, with established artists only seeming to operate with ease. And while upcoming artists are markedly recognised and included in a number of ways through art initiatives and business ventures, their successes and new opportunities are limited. Outsider artists were found to have a noticeably different set of circumstances, with their input frequently being rejected by market initiatives. So, while Stellenbosch is unquestionably diverse in the range of art techniques, mediums, styles and intentions, situations like these decrease the sense thereof as an inclusive town. When evaluating the town's status on a basis of Smith & Warfield's (2008) value orientations, this posits that Stellenbosch is more econ-centric than culture-centric. As a town of economic innovation, creative talent, and creative industries, it lacks the so-called communal fabric which binds it all together. Planning and action to make the central values more culture-orientated are advised, and can be achieved through directed efforts to improve and increase arts, culture, community wellbeing, access and inclusion. In promoting a culture-centric environment, econ-centric development usually follows. While some saw it worthwhile to pursue the mentality of unanimity and sameness in art,<sup>73</sup> others demonstrated that uniqueness and authenticity should be the main driving forces behind art creation in Stellenbosch; otherwise the town could rapidly lose its inimitable sense of place which people travel so far to experience.

Artists from all sectors (including fine artists, performance artists, writers, musicians and the like) also need to cooperate with local and indigenous communities to establish grassroots basis projects, as well as a platform for new and upcoming artists where they can join and communicate to work together in participating in, and hosting, events and similar opportunities (such as art spaces conducive to creating art, etc.). This can counter the exclusive atmosphere which some elitist spaces in Stellenbosch often seem to portray. As most of the artists interviewed considered themselves to be outsiders or upcoming artists within the market, such an inclusive and participatory platform or similar strategy from which to gain access to opportunities within the sector will greatly benefit most artists and stimulate creative processes within the town. Hiring local residents to complete ancillary/support tasks, be it administrative, technical or specialist tasks can also help in strengthening people's identities, and creating employment and development opportunities for destitute communities. Furthermore, the author recommends that educational workshops and similar

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<sup>73</sup> For example, the conformity in creating pieces of African wildlife, landscapes and people as a tourist commodity

initiatives that deal with issues in the art sector could prove to have positive outcomes in Stellenbosch, by enhancing authenticity, appreciation, diversity, inclusion and development, in preservation of the perceived notion of being a valuable town of art and culture for both tourists and locals alike.

#### 5.2.1.2 Formalised public art in Stellenbosch

Inclusion and community involvement in Stellenbosch is seen to be more prevalent in public art initiatives than in private gallery settings and the like. Each of the public art exhibitions since 2008 has had some social responsibility component. Whether it was the donation of resources to poorer communities and deserving initiatives or community participation in the design and creation of publicly displayed artworks, these all fostered inclusion and a greater sense of place, identity, and empowerment. As Kaden (2012) noted in her research, public space belongs to everyone, and inclusion in such projects insure a greater chance of success. In terms of identity and sense of place, the Stellenbosch art sector has simultaneously produced states of patriotism, pride and appreciation, yet at the same time has had an alienating effect on others. From the study, public art in Stellenbosch has been seen to have numerous effects on the spaces in which art works are situated, as well as on the people who encounter it. While the majority of respondents have considered this an enrichment of their daily lives, others were completely apathetic to its presence. Also, while so many did show appreciation for the public art, most of this appreciation was attributed to aesthetic pleasure. The unfortunate finding is that the public by and large apparently does not interpret art; they view it as something that only has value in its appearance. A greater understanding of public perception and preference of public art is needed to optimally cater to the needs of individuals passing by for them to have a more meaningful experience. Enhanced engagement with the local population to enhance awareness of public art initiatives is recommended, though it is challenging to determine the means by which this will be achievable. Wider and more effective advertising and marketing strategies may be a good starting point, as well as increased opportunities for communities – especially youth – to learn to appreciate art through workshops. While youth educational outreach programmes such as KickstART are operating in Stellenbosch, more can be done to engage with a greater number of students and learners. For example, excursions during which learners have to complete worksheets which deal with the deeper meanings of art works in public art exhibitions may enforce engagement and, hopefully, enhance appreciation. Worksheets such as were used with relative success in the past would be a good starting point for new

approaches. The *Metalwork* exhibition used such worksheets which reportedly were successful in stimulating interpretation and engagement, whilst instilling a sense of deeper meaning and appreciation for the artworks. These worksheets can be viewed online at <http://www.metalworkstellenbosch.co.za/worksheets.html>. Public artworks must also achieve harmonious assimilation into the urban sphere, and have a duty to cater for or appeal to a multicultural public; if the interests and values of such a public are not recognised or acknowledged and are perceived to be undermined, an opposing groups may revolt against a work if tensions become overwhelming .

### 5.2.1.3 Informal public art in Stellenbosch

While it makes good sense to promote a sense of appreciation of and engagement with formalised public art exhibitions, it is more difficult to foster this attitude towards graffiti. Even when informal public art (graffiti) has been recognised as serving multiple roles for passers-by – especially when executed skilfully and meaningfully – some people remain reluctant to view it as something which holds great potential for adding value to everyday life for local people and visitors to an area. Graffiti art in any form (unless formalised – commissioned by shop owners, etc.) is currently in direct violation of property law, and municipal officials have the duty to act against it. Unfortunately pieces which demonstrate high quality both visually and conceptually are scarce in Stellenbosch, and will need to be supported in a way which does not violate property laws for it to be of any benefit to the public. Two possibilities for this may exist without much intervention and resources, but both require that graffiti artists are allowed space: encouraging the corporate, private and public sectors to commission artists to use their buildings may yield some success, as previous studies have indicated this to be of mutual benefit to both the artist and commissioner in the first place. Second, creating new spaces specifically for graffiti art will allow artists to express themselves without fear of prosecution. Creating new spaces will also allow graffiti to be paired with other initiatives that may be lacking spaces and/or platforms, a case in point being skateboarding in Stellenbosch.<sup>74</sup> Through these two initiatives, graffiti artists will not only empowered but will also be stimulated to produce their best work: pieces not constrained by any time limits or fear of prosecution. From what the researcher has gathered, the graffiti located in Stellenbosch is still considered a very complex phenomenon which might not be understood fully

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<sup>74</sup> It has been noted that a niche in Stellenbosch which has not been filled is a space for skateboarders who are also regularly prosecuted for what authorities deem to be vandalism, so perhaps establishing an initiative that would create a platform for both skateboarders and graffiti artists (e.g. a small, outdoors skate ‘park’ which can be utilised by skateboarders and walls/surfaces in and around the park to be utilised by graffiti artists)

until meticulously monitored, recorded and evaluated, and this will only be possible in cooperation with the town's authorities and municipality, as finding the locations of graffiti as well as knowledge of whether it has been or is scheduled for removal is vital.

#### 5.2.1.1 Art vandalism in Stellenbosch

From investigating the defacement, destruction and theft of public artworks and the opinions that were gathered, it was established that fragile artworks with absent security were more likely to be vandalised. The strategic placement and use of resistant materials for artworks in the public domain has negated some effects of vandalism, and should be adopted for future exhibitions. Most, if not all, vandalism of public artworks have been stated to be the work of students from Stellenbosch University. This is in a stark contrast to the general notion that the university has a positive effect on Stellenbosch as an art town, and students have been reported as a nuisance in multiple ways by many respondents.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps running public art appreciation initiatives or events in cooperation with Stellenbosch University would be able to foster a sense of respect for the art of the town. Only through education can the appreciation that has been absent be instilled, and it will have a greater effect if all students participate, that is to say, if it would be compulsory rather than optional, with most participants being those not already interested in art. Perhaps a compulsory event with a public art-orientated message or motivator could be a feature of such an approach – a suggestion would be distributing maps of the current public art exhibition and providing a reward for completion or participation by groups of students.

Although some publics could recognise and displayed a finer appreciation for the roles played by public art in Stellenbosch, the majority overwhelmingly based their appreciation for any public artwork on its value in being aesthetically pleasing. In contrast to decoration, which is easily reapplied when removed, art holds deeper meaning and when this can be recognised by individuals it is less likely to be vandalised and will hold greater potential for adding value to everyday life for the local community of an area. One thing is certain, regardless of whom the vandals are, vandalism should be curbed at all costs because the latent damage far exceeds that of the physical destruction of artworks. What is meant by latent damage is the devastating effect such actions have on the sense of place and other intangible effects experienced by the local community, visitors and would-be visitors. Stellenbosch will risk losing its reputation as a town that appreciates, fosters, and protects arts and culture, and this will deter tourists as well as participating artists from wanting to be part of

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<sup>75</sup> Such as through vandalism when intoxicated, and being generally disruptive

public art initiatives in Stellenbosch. Such a situation, especially when denounced by a renowned individual in the art world, although perhaps not directly a criticism of Stellenbosch itself, might dissuade those who hold an artist in high esteem from entertaining a positive view of art in Stellenbosch.

#### 5.2.1.2 Overview: Stellenbosch as art town

In closure, one can conclude that the processes surrounding art within Stellenbosch are highly situational and context-specific. Continued success and betterment after failure will only be achievable with proper management and planning. For this, Stellenbosch needs to be scoped and evaluated for evidence of creating, disseminating, validating, and supporting art as a facet of everyday life. The results of this study pertaining to what has been exhibited in Stellenbosch as well as literature on the subject have shown that attention needs to be given to art spaces and facilities, art activities and industries, and support via art organisations, tuition and communities should be improved. Development of the arts and culture dimension not only furthers the notion of Stellenbosch as an art town, but could also influence other aspects in the town such as economic growth, education, public safety, civic engagement, and health and wellbeing. Measuring the successes of art phenomena, however, especially those intangible in nature, is often seen as being one of the greatest challenges faced by the sector., Easily accessible and measurable annually recurrent phenomena as indicators of a healthy art town were therefore identified as focus points for future research.

### 5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

With the renewed emphasis on the importance of the socio-spatialities of art in any locale, continued research within the field is essential for optimum planning and decision making in the future., A list of recommendations was therefore compiled around annually recurrent phenomena which are quantitatively measurable and quite easily accessible and may be seen as indicators of a healthy art town. Four areas were recognised as focal points for future research. First, the presence of art-related opportunities in which to participate must be available. Second, support structures need to be in place to sustain and improve the art initiatives in Stellenbosch. Third, the active participation of local artists (and visitors) in such initiatives has to be facilitated. And fourth, the preservation of physical, and often historical, art structures and heritage in Stellenbosch would be imperative. These encompass the following structures which are recommended to be measured and introduced, where lacking, in terms of providing support to art in the town:

- First, attention needs to be devoted to research into the opportunities available for participation. This includes art-related community organisations in all forms, namely commercial, non-profit, non-governmental, governmental and public organisations. Art-related tuition opportunities must be identified and monitored at primary, secondary and tertiary level. Retail art spaces and facilities including art supply shops and art galleries also promote and provide opportunities for participation. Similarly, spaces which could host arts events such as parks, community centres and any other public space should be available for use to these ends. The development of new – and improvement of existing – art events and festivals also serve as opportunities for participation across all sectors, private, public, corporate and civil alike. The media also plays an important role and research needs to be undertaken into media outlets with a focus on art, in both hardcopy (print) and electronic sources.
- Second, support structures need to be researched to ensure that art is developed and preserved appropriately for Stellenbosch to retain its sense of place while returning maximum socio-spatial benefits. Policies focused on art advancement offer one such support structure, and they need to be comprehensible and easily accessible to the public. The integration of art with other policy areas such as education, sports and recreation, community development, and so forth, will also expand the reach and impact of support for the arts. Foundations and public funding in support of art comprise non-profit, non-governmental, public, governmental and commercial grants and other funding, and can substantially aid the sector, as has been exhibited in Stellenbosch's past. Volunteering and private investment in art and art initiatives also offer valuable support, as does the presence of skilled and knowledgeable individuals such as artists and art experts. Finally, information centres and the information they disseminate should be evaluated to ensure that information is readily available to local people and visitors.
- Third, only when active participation across all sectors and individuals exists and is directed and innovative can Stellenbosch benefit fully as an art town. Hence, research into this will allow for the ascertainment of the levels of participation and engagement with art. This includes the expert and amateur creation of art, by emerging, upcoming, outsider, and non-professional artists. However, community creation of art is just as imperative as that of individual artists, through cooperative and collective art formation. Education in art also

stimulates active engagement, as has been demonstrated by the KickstART initiative in Stellenbosch, especially at primary and secondary school level but also within communities. In a similar stream, extramural art programmes and workshops need to be evaluated or instated, particularly after hours at schools and in local communities. Active engagement by the audience of art and art initiatives must also form part of the research, as was done in this study in terms of publics' opinions on public art. There must also be a demand for art products, and hence the consumption of art products is another indicator which would be relatively accessible for research. Finally, monitoring discourses and discussions on art can inform researchers as to the nature and perceptions thereof. Within the public sphere this is obtainable via word of mouth, social media such as Facebook and Twitter, online and printed journals, magazines and newspapers.

- Fourth and finally, research and funding must be invested in the preservation of existing physical art resources. Indexing, evaluating, preserving and developing these inherent assets in Stellenbosch would be vital for furthering its reputation as town of art and culture. This includes art collections in museums, galleries or private collections. Also incorporated are many of the host structures as art heritage, such as fine art galleries, museums, and sense of place-enhancing architectural ventures. Institutions such as the Stellenbosch University and art schools also provide many services which are invaluable to the town, such as permeating art knowledge throughout the community. Existing resources such as monuments and public artworks, which include memorials, sculptures and murals available to the public must be monitored. Lastly, living and working spaces for artists such as studios and apartments need to be evaluated and, if necessary, subsidised in return for art-directed community development initiatives.

These four areas and their associated indicators can be seen in Table 5.1 in a tabulated form that is easy to consult.

Table 5.1: Art town indicators for future research

<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Examples/Suggestions</i>
<b><i>Opportunities for participation</i></b>	
Art-related community organisations in all forms	Commercial, non-profit, non-governmental, governmental and public organisations
Art-related tuition opportunities	Primary, secondary and tertiary level education in art
Retail art spaces and facilities	Art supply shops, art galleries
Spaces which host arts and culture events	Parks, community centres, public space
Art events and festivals	Woordfees, community-upliftment events, parades, residencies, competitions
Media outlets with a focus on art	Both hardcopy (print) and electronic
<b><i>Support structures</i></b>	
Policies focused on art advancement	Clear and understandable art policies available to the public
Integration of art with other policy areas	Education, sports and recreation, community development
Foundation and public funding in support of art	Non-profit, non-governmental, public, governmental and commercial grants and other funding
Volunteering and private investment in art	Private investors, volunteers for art initiatives
Skilled and knowledgeable individuals	Artists, art experts
Information centres	Information pertaining to art in a town should be readily available to locals and visitors
<b><i>Active participation</i></b>	
Expert and amateur creation of art	Emerging, upcoming, outsider, and non-professional artists
Community creation of art	Cooperative and collective art creation
Education in art	Especially at primary and secondary school level, but also within communities (non-institutional), KickstART
Extramural art programmes and workshops	After-hours at schools, in communities
Participation of publics	Audience needs to engage with art

Consumption of art products	Must be a demand for art products which is fulfilled by art in the town
Discourses and discussions about art	In the public sphere via word of mouth, social media such as Facebook and Twitter, online and printed journals, magazines and newspapers
<i>Preservation of existing physical resources</i>	
Art collections	In museums, galleries, private collections
Art heritage	Fine art galleries and museums, sense-of-place-enhancing architecture
Institutions	The facilities and services offered by institutions such as art schools, the university
Monuments/permanent public art	Monuments, memorials, sculptures, murals available to public
Living and working spaces for artists	Studios, apartments

These areas of research must not be evaluated in Stellenbosch only, but also in other towns and cities in South Africa and internationally. Practices must also be performed in the most empirically-proven sustainable manner possible in any given situation, to ensure their continued success and development. Informed, optimal planning and decision making will increase the likelihood of improving the socio-spatialities of art, as well as other dimensions such as sustainable economic growth and community development. More inquiry into local, national, and international research which has been conducted in the field may yield informative and comparable knowledge which can be applied to Stellenbosch. As one of the few studies which has explored the socio-spatialities of art on a local level, this study forms a starting point for the research that is required to further enhance the understanding of art and the need for the preservation, development, and appreciation thereof locally and globally.

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**APPENDICES**

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## APPENDIX A

List of participating art galleries and shops (some of which have since closed or been relocated)

1. Art on 5
2. Art on Church Gallery
3. Deon Viljoen Fine Art
4. Dorp Street Gallery
5. Dylan Lewis Art Gallery
6. Flambé Fine Art Gallery
7. Johan Coetzee Art Gallery
8. Kaap Contemporary
9. Local Works Arts and Crafts
10. Lourens Art Studio
11. Makakata Art Gallery
12. Marzé Botha Art Gallery
13. Nice Stuff
14. Old Art From Africa
15. Ornament
16. Palette Art Gallery
17. Red Teapot
18. Rembrandt van Rijn Art Gallery
19. Sasol Art Gallery
20. Slee Art Gallery
21. SMAC Art Gallery
22. Stellenbosch Art Gallery
23. Stellenbosch University Art Gallery
24. Stephan Rautenbach Studio Gallery
25. Teresa Decinti Art Gallery
26. The Cameo
27. The Red Teapot Gallery
28. Vincent Da Silva Gallery



**7. How is your work marketed?**

Don't advertise	
Media	
Website/Internet	
Word of mouth	
Agent	
Public	
Brochures	
Gallery/physical Position	
Networks	
Other: Specify	

**8. What kind of premises does your business operate from?**

Home workshop/studio/office (rented)	
Home workshop/studio/office (owned)	
Studio away from home (rented)	
Studio away from home (owned)	
Currently have no premises	
Other: specify	

**9. Do you employ other people for administrative, ancillary or support, technical or specialist assistance?**

	Admin	Ancillary/Support	Technical	Specialist	Total
Full time					
Part time					
Short-term contract					

**10. What is the currently the minimum and maximum price for an artwork in your gallery?**

Minimum	
Maximum	

**11. What do you consider to be the most important opportunity for making sales?**

Exhibition openings	
Casual daytime visitors	
Special viewings	
Other: Specify	

**12. What commission and associated costs do you generally charge for the sale of art?**

1 – 10%	
11 – 20%	
21 – 30%	
31 – 40 %	
41 – 50%	
51 – 60%	
61 – 70%	
71% or more	
No commission	

**13. Have you noticed a significant decline or increase in revenue over the past 2 years?**

No Change  Increase  Decline

**13.1. Why do you think this is so?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**14. How would you characterise the market for your business?**

Healthy, growing	
Gradual improvement	
Stagnant	
In decline	
In sharp decline	
Other: Specify	

**15. What do you consider to be constraints/challenges faced as a galleryist?**

Insufficient/inadequate space	
Physical location of gallery	
Too much competition	
Poor levels of professionalism among artists	
Market downturn	
Other: Specify	

**16. Have you noticed a change or trends in the types and styles of art in the last 10 years? Please describe and explain this trend:**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**17. In your opinion, does the art you deal with add value to Stellenbosch as an Art Town?**

Yes  No

**17.1. Please motivate your answer above:**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**18. Do you think there are too many art galleries in Stellenbosch?**

Too Many  Not Enough  Right Number

**19. Who are your main customers?**

Tourists  Locals  Unknown  Other: Specify

**20. Please feel free to give any additional comments:**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX C

### Questionnaire for artists

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ARTISTS**  
 Art, for the purpose of this questionnaire, is defined as fine arts done in traditional visual art styles such as painting or sculpture. Performance arts and architecture are thus not the type of art considered for this questionnaire.

**Section A: Personal Information**

1. What is your age group?  

<30	
31-40	
41-50	
51-60	
>61	

2. What is your gender?  
 Male  Female

3. What level of education have you obtained?  
 Secondary (Matric) and less  Tertiary (Degree or Diploma)  Post-Graduate

4. Have you received any education or training pertaining to art?  
 Yes  No

4.1 If yes, what?

5. How long have you lived in Stellenbosch?

**Section B: Perceptions of Stellenbosch as Art Town**

1. Do you perceive Stellenbosch to be an Art Town?  
 Yes  No

1.1 Please motivate your answer above:

2. Why have you chosen to live and work in Stellenbosch?

3. How do you think can art play a role in the revitalisation of an urban area?

4. Has the university presence had any effect on your art experience or desire to experience art in Stellenbosch? Was this influence:  
 Positive  No effect  Negative

**Section C: Art and art as occupation**

1. What type of artist do you consider yourself to be?  
 Upcoming  Well-Known  Unknown  Other: Specify

2. What kind of art do you do?

2.1 Why this preference?  

Sells well	
Available resources	
Passion	
Skills	
Education context	
Other: Specify	

3. How many hours do you normally spend on your creative works?  
 Per week  Per day

4. Does Stellenbosch cater to your needs as an artist?  
 Yes  No

4.1 Please motivate your answer above:

5. How is your work marketed?  

Don't advertise	
Media	
Website/Internet	
Word of mouth	
Agent	
Public	
Brochures	
Gallery/Physical Position	
Networks	
Other: Specify	

**6. What is the most important context for selling your work?**

From my home/studio	
At markets/festivals	
Through local galleries	
Through international galleries	
Through commissions	
Via websites	
Other: Specify	

**7. Who are your main clients?**

Tourists	<input type="checkbox"/>	Corporates	<input type="checkbox"/>	General public	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other: Specify	<input type="checkbox"/>
----------	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

**8. What commission and associated costs are you generally charged on the sale of your work by galleries, dealers and other intermediaries?**

1 – 10%	<input type="checkbox"/>
11 – 20%	<input type="checkbox"/>
21 – 30%	<input type="checkbox"/>
31 – 40 %	<input type="checkbox"/>
41 – 50%	<input type="checkbox"/>
51 – 60%	<input type="checkbox"/>
61 – 70%	<input type="checkbox"/>
71% or more	<input type="checkbox"/>
No commission	<input type="checkbox"/>

**9. How would you characterise your relationship with the gallery system?**

Agreement	<input type="checkbox"/>
One gallery	<input type="checkbox"/>
Variety of galleries	<input type="checkbox"/>
Little/no engagement	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other: Specify	<input type="checkbox"/>

**10. How difficult is it to have your works displayed at art galleries and dealerships? Please motivate your answer:**

<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>

**11. How difficult is it to obtain art materials and supplies?**

<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>

**12. Is the creation of art mainly a hobby or source of income?**

Hobby	<input type="checkbox"/>	Income	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------

**13. Is art your primary occupation?**

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

**14. Which type of consumer is mainly targeted by your work?**

Low-income earners	<input type="checkbox"/>
Middle-income earners	<input type="checkbox"/>
Upper-middle-income earners	<input type="checkbox"/>
High-income earners	<input type="checkbox"/>
The very wealthy	<input type="checkbox"/>

**15. Is the sale of art a successful livelihood effort, in monetary terms?**

No, dealerships keep large percentage of profits	<input type="checkbox"/>
No, opportunities to sell are limited	<input type="checkbox"/>
No, too much competition	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yes, enough to survive	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yes, it procures viable profits	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other: Specify	<input type="checkbox"/>

**16. What is the average amount you receive for an artwork?**

R50 001 – R100 000	<input type="checkbox"/>
R20 001 – R50 000	<input type="checkbox"/>
R5001 – R20 000	<input type="checkbox"/>
R1000 – R5000	<input type="checkbox"/>
Less than R1000	<input type="checkbox"/>

**17. On average, what is your annual income?**

R250 000+	<input type="checkbox"/>
R200 000 – R249 999	<input type="checkbox"/>
R150 000 – R199 999	<input type="checkbox"/>
R100 000 – R 149 999	<input type="checkbox"/>
R50 000 – R 99 999	<input type="checkbox"/>
R1 – R49 999	<input type="checkbox"/>

**18. How would you characterise the market for your work?**

Healthy, growing	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gradual improvement	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stagnant	<input type="checkbox"/>
In decline	<input type="checkbox"/>
In sharp decline	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other: Specify	<input type="checkbox"/>

**19. Which of the following initiatives do you think plays the most significant role in the development of the sector?**

Local Biennale events	<input type="checkbox"/>
Johannesburg Art Fair	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local arts festivals	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local art markets (eg arts in the park)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Corporate art competitions and awards	<input type="checkbox"/>
Non-profit arts development organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>
Artist-run projects/exhibition spaces	<input type="checkbox"/>
Residency and international exchange programs	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other: Specify	<input type="checkbox"/>

**20. Do you employ other people for administrative, technical or specialist assistance?**

	Admin	Technical	Specialist	Total
Full time				
Part time				
Short-term contract				

**21. What kind of premises do you conduct your work as a visual artist from?**

Home workshop/studio/office (rented)	
Home workshop/studio/office (owned)	
Studio away from home (rented)	
Studio away from home (owned)	
Currently have no premises	
Other: specify	

**21. For how long have you been working as a visual artist?**

5 years or less	
6 – 10 years	
11 – 20 years	
21 years or more	

**22. How would you describe the business structure that you conduct your work as an artist through?**

Self-employed, no formal legal status	
Self-employed sole trader	
Cooperative	
Partnership	
Closed corporation	
PTY/ltd	
Section 21 company	
Other: Specify	

**23. Have you done any of the following in the last 5 years? Where?**

Had a solo show at a major gallery (public or commercial)	
Had a solo show at a smaller gallery (public or commercial)	
Had a solo show at an institution/gallery outside South Africa	
Participated in a group show at a major gallery	
Participated in a group show at a smaller gallery	
Participated in exhibition at community arts centre, festival or similar	
Participated in a group show at gallery/institution outside South Africa	
Had work commissioned or purchased by a public gallery, organisation or institute	
Had work commissioned or purchased by a private company or corporate collection	
Had work commissioned or purchased by a private individual	
Had artwork reviewed in a book or published in a professional journal	
Had a work or works selected for inclusion on an internet site	
Won an award or competition as artist	
Participated in a residency	
Other: Specify	

**24. Do you feel like your art adds value to Stellenbosch as an art town or to people's lives?**

Yes  No

**24.1 Please motivate your answer above:**


**25. Have you noticed a significant decline or increase in revenue over the past 2 years?**

No Change  Increase  Decline

**26. Have you noticed any trends/changes in the type of art products?**


**27. Please feel free to give any additional comments:**


## APPENDIX D

### Questionnaire on public artworks (formal & informal) for visitors

Art, for the purpose of this questionnaire, is defined as fine arts done in traditional visual art styles such as painting or sculpture. Performance arts, literary arts and the like and are thus not the type of art considered for this questionnaire.

**Section A: Personal Information of Local Residents**

- Where do you live?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- How long have you been living in Stellenbosch?(must be  $\neq$  > 6yrs to continue interview)  
\_\_\_\_\_
- What is your age group?  

<30	
31-40	
41-50	
51-60	
>61	
- What is your gender?  
 Male  Female
- What level of education have you obtained?  

Secondary (Matric) and less	Tertiary (Degree or Diploma)	Post-Graduate
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**Section B: Opinions on Public Art**

- Do you perceive Stellenbosch to be an Art Town?  
 Yes  No
- Please state whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:  

<i>I have a positive feeling about this artwork.</i>	Agree	Disagree	Neutral
<i>I have a positive feeling about this site.</i>			
<i>The artwork and site are well matched.</i>			
- What would you consider positive aspects of this artwork?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- What would you consider negative aspects of this artwork?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- Which public art exhibition in Stellenbosch has been your favourite since 2008?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Dorp Street trees	Shapeshifting	Water for Life
20 Stellenbosch	Metalwork	Porchie Prints

5.1 Please motivate your answer above:  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**Section C: Opinions on Graffiti**  
 Please study the images on the following page. The first is a tag, the second a throw-up, and third a piece.

- Do see this graffiti as art or vandalism?  
 Art  Vandalism
- Which of the three images would you say has the most artistic merit?  

Tags	Throw-ups	Pieces
------	-----------	--------
- Which of the three graffiti types would you most like to encounter in public spaces?  

Tags	Throw-ups	Pieces
------	-----------	--------
- Do you think graffiti art has the potential to enrich daily life through such encounters and otherwise?  
 Yes  No
- Do you think graffiti art has the potential to enrich daily life through such encounters?  
 Yes  No

