



## **Public Entertainment, Graffiti and Street Art: Fostering the Creative Abilities of Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine Youth**

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Please note: The Youth Minister's Round Table of Young Territorians is an independent advisory council. The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Office of Youth Affairs or the Northern Territory Government.

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## Glossary of Terms

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Bomb (and bombing) | A term used to describe prolific painting of a graffiti or street artist attempting to cover multiple surfaces in a specific area with their work.   |
| Buff               | The removal or coverage of graffiti and street art on any surface.   |
| Cans               | Spray cans utilised by graffiti and street artists to create aerosol art.  |
| Cap (and capping)  | A process wherein one graffiti or street artist paints over the work of another subsequently erasing the original artwork.   |
| Character          | A cartoon figure/s (usually, but not necessarily) drawn from comic books, television, movies or popular culture to add humour or emphasis to a piece. In some pieces, the character takes the place of a letter in the word.                       |
| Graf               | An abbreviation of the term graffiti.  |
| Mural              | A large-scale piece of graffiti or street art that uniformly covers the entirety of a surface (that is, top to bottom of a wall). Murals are normally designed around a certain theme and can involve one or more characters as well as lettering. |
| Piece              | Short for 'masterpiece', used to describe a more complex graffiti painting. In general a piece is expected to have more detail than the common tag and in general utilises at least three different colours.                                       |
| Tags (and tagging) | A graffiti or street artist's logo, usually a pseudonym, that is their personal signature. Tagging is considered the most basic and common form of graffiti.   |
| Throw-up           | Words or names painted with an outline and filled with different colours or no colours at all. Throw-ups take more time and skill to create than tags but are still done quickly and simply, usually using no more than two to three colours.      |

## List of Acronyms

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| ABC       | Australian Broadcasting Corporation   |
| AIC       | Australian Institute of Criminology   |
| CBD       | Central Business District   |
| CDU       | Charles Darwin University   |
| CoP       | City of Palmerston  |
| DCA       | Darwin Community Arts   |
| DCC       | Darwin City Council   |
| DHF       | Department of Health and Families   |
| GTF       | Graffiti Task Force   |
| KTC       | Katherine Town Council  |
| NSW       | New South Wales   |
| NT        | Northern Territory  |
| NTG       | Northern Territory Government   |
| NT Police | Northern Territory Police   |
| OYA       | Office of Youth Affairs   |
| PAET      | Public Arts and Entertainment Team  |
| PWC       | Power and Water Corporation   |
| SSPR      | School for Social and Policy Research   |
| TAFE      | Technical and Further Education   |
| TSB       | Traffic Signal Box  |
| YRT       | Youth Round Table (Northern Territory Youth Minister's Round Table of Young Territorians) |

## Executive Summary and Recommendations

The prevalence of illegal and legal graffiti, 'tagging' and street art on public and private property is evident to all who visit our communities in the Northern Territory (NT). The increase in proliferation of graffiti and street art by young people in the NT on public and private property is cause for much concern for local police, council and government. It has also proven to be very expensive to manage with Darwin City Council (DCC) reportedly spending more than \$600,000 in 2008<sup>i</sup> in its attempt to 'Wipe Out Graffiti'<sup>ii</sup>. The 'Wipe Out Graffiti' program, coordinated in collaboration by DCC, City of Palmerston (CoP) and the NT Police, has been by far the largest and most effective strategy undertaken in the NT to combat the rise in graffiti. However the program focuses on

*Graffiti vandalism (as) a significant community problem that is costly to remedy and leads to community perceptions of neglect and disorder,<sup>ii</sup>*

which does not account for or recognise the otherwise creative, aesthetic and artistic merits to various forms of graffiti and street art.

In automatically associating 'graffiti' with 'vandalism' and defining it as a 'problem', this program creates a derogatory framework for managing graffiti. Such strategies also refuse graffiti a place as public art, defined as works designed and created by artists that feature or are located in public spaces, both indoors and outdoors. The only difference is that works of 'public art' are sanctioned through funding whereas more often than not works of 'graffiti art' are not. The defining link between the two—which raises the legitimacy of graffiti as a form of public art—is that both are accessible to the general public and have been designed and executed by artists<sup>iii</sup>. As with pieces found in galleries and museums, members of the public may not like the work on individual aesthetic grounds, but illegality alone is insufficient to define graffiti as 'not art'.

For all intents and purposes the issues of graffiti and street art are now inherently associated with the criminal act of vandalism<sup>iv</sup> which has led to many negative and simplistic views within the community on this complex and misunderstood subculture. The establishment in 2008 of the NT Graffiti Task Force (GTF)<sup>v</sup>, a unit of the NT Police directly assigned to manage, investigate and prosecute crimes associated with illegal graffiti, also highlights the significance of the issue as a number of youth are being brought into the criminal justice system for perpetrating what they fundamentally perceive as their art.

This project aimed to foster the creative abilities of Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine's youth by investigating the grounds for a public art scheme wherein young artists are able to apply to legitimately decorate public spaces. Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine regions were chosen as members of PAET live in these communities. Such a scheme would need to incorporate different street art forms including painting, stencilling and aerosol art and would be modelled on programs already in place in other major cities renowned for their public art such as Brisbane<sup>vi</sup> and Melbourne<sup>vii</sup>. Over the course of the year the PAET of the 2009 Youth Minister's Round Table of Young Territorians (also known as Youth Round Table (YRT)) have researched existing graffiti management strategies by consulting with council, government, NT Police and other key stakeholders (see Appendix I – Project stakeholders). We have also gauged public opinion about graffiti and street art through community perception surveys and one-to-one interviews with policy and regulation personnel as well as a young local graffiti artist (See Appendix J – Details of interviewees).

The data gathered from this research and consultation process led the PAET to develop the following recommendations:

1. The designation by Northern Territory Government (NTG) and local councils in Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine of more legal spaces for graffiti and street art. Possible legal sites include laneways, vacant buildings, bus stops, public toilet blocks and the side walls of publicly (government) owned buildings.
2. Current and new legal spaces to be maintained to avoid capping and provide more and renewed space for new work.
3. The establishment of a Territory-wide permit scheme, based on the Brisbane ArtForce scheme that allows artists of all kinds of backgrounds to legally apply to local councils to paint street art or murals (including graffiti) on designated sites. Local councils will need to negotiate with the NTG, Power and Water Corporation and private businesses as to which non-council sites would be included in the scheme. The NTG should provide financial support to local councils to allow them to set up the permit scheme.
4. The creation of a public art register that details the location of legal sites accessible to graffiti and street artists in the major metropolitan areas of the Northern Territory: Darwin, Palmerston, Katherine, Tennant Creek, Nhulunbuy and Alice Springs. Such a portfolio should be promoted as a part of the Northern Territory's urban tourism circuit, distributed through tourist information offices, websites and brochures.

5. A higher level of support and funding from the NTG for arts organisations that facilitate the creation and promotion of various forms of public art including legitimate graffiti and street art, such as Darwin Community Arts.
6. Direct consultation between graffiti and street artists and organisations (government and non-government) assigned with the task of developing graffiti management programs as well as the incorporation of graffiti and street art design in relevant youth service planning committees and workshops.
7. Establishment of a trainee program for young aspiring graffiti and street artists run by more experienced mentors from various artistic backgrounds with a focus on the educational and legal avenues available for young aspiring artists. This will provide employment, artistic skills and development opportunities for both trainees and participating artistic mentors.

# 1. Introduction

The Public Arts and Entertainment Team (PEAT) members of the 2009 Youth Round Table (YRT) aimed, through project research conducted over the course of 2009 to:

- gauge public opinion about graffiti and street art issues
- research diversionary strategies such as legal walls, permit schemes, rapid removal and architectural design strategies for minimising vandalism
- propose an effective graffiti management strategy that is appropriate for Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine areas
- increase recognition and development of graffiti and street art as a legitimate art medium for young people to express themselves.

Ever since the first forms of graffiti were published, a debate has been raging about whether it is a legitimate art form, or unsightly vandalism and damage to private and public property. Community members are often legitimately angry when vandals deface their homes, public places and open space and it is clear that an effective approach to graffiti management must incorporate removal of offensive and unwanted graffiti. However, the current zero tolerance policy<sup>viii</sup> is self-defeating. Many young graffiti artists feel marginalised by the criminalisation of their artwork and in response, rebel against the authorities, thus perpetuating more illegal tagging and graffiti.

A key problem is that there are very few legal options for young street artists or graffitiists. Other than the few skate parks and abandoned buildings designated as legal spots that are already smothered in tags, throw-ups, pieces and characters, there are few avenues for artists to display their work and gain the notoriety and prowess they desire without committing illegal acts of vandalism. To transit from amateur to proficient practitioner in any medium, practice, exposure to advanced techniques and knowledge of the medium is required. The graffitiists in question struggle to gain this proficiency in the Northern Territory given the zero tolerance approach to their craft. The result is a costly and inefficient regime that aggravates the issues it is meant to overcome.

## 1.1 This project

This project researched effective diversionary strategies in which youth can legally express and display their artwork publicly to combat the negative public perceptions surrounding graffiti, street art and tagging. The benefits of these diversionary strategies have flow-on effects in educating young graffiti artists, improving community understanding and perceptions, improving the aesthetics of community spaces, deterring illegal graffiti and preventing animosity between artists' crews owing from 'capping' (when one artist purposely sprays over the work of another) each other due to lack of available space.

*Once you start marking your territory it's just like dogs. If anyone else comes along and pisses on your spot, covering your mark, you gotta get back at them and go over it.*

Ryan Medlicott, Darwin graffiti artist and creator of cover artwork, interviewed by PAET (03/10/09), (see Appendix J – Details of interviewees).

The recent demolition of a popular graffiti site known as 'the ruins', located on a vacant block of land next to the Homemaker Village in Darwin, highlights both the significant lack of space and disregard of the sparse spaces that are available for public artwork in Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine. The availability of such spaces, or lack thereof, is one of the main reasons for youth to vandalise (or as they see it, decorate) public and private property that has not been designated as a legal graffiti or street art site. If more legal sites are shut down it is likely that we will see an increase in the proliferation of graffiti and street art on illegal sites and again, reduced artistic capacity.

This report was assembled based on the YRT members' concern over the rise in graffiti proliferation in their communities and consequent management strategies undertaken by local governing bodies. More specifically, the five members of the PAET, who represent regions of Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine, were concerned with the repercussions for youth of strategies such as NT Police zero tolerance of graffiti<sup>viii</sup>. PAET members are familiar with local artists in our areas, some of whom are directly involved in graffiti and street art, and are concerned that these important stakeholders do not have their views and opinions on the issues that affect them properly accounted for. Furthermore, they risk attracting criminal records for activities that could be channelled into creative pursuits and talents.

## 1.2 How graffiti is currently understood and managed

In Darwin and Palmerston, statistical data on graffiti is primarily collected through Darwin City Council (DCC) and City of Palmerston (CoP) through a reporting phone line, Graffiti Taskforce photos, and the transport authority bus shelter clean up team<sup>ix</sup>. The Power and Water Corporation (PWC) of the NT only clean up graffiti on their property when a complaint is reported to them<sup>x</sup>. Sometime local councils will undertake to paint over PWC power boxes at the same time as a bus shelter is being repainted due to graffiti.

The NT Graffiti Management workshop identified the extent of the ‘problem of graffiti’ as being less of a problem than in other states, but one that is emerging<sup>i</sup>. Senior Constable Sally Zylstra, Coordinator of the NT Police Graffiti Taskforce, listed the handful of legal spaces available to graffitiists and said the closure of two of these legal spaces could lead to a proliferation of more illegal graffiti. In Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine graffiti is primarily located on public transport property (such as bus shelters), urban shopping centres, fences, in laneways and on property of PWC such as power boxes.

The Office of Youth Affairs (OYA) within the Northern Territory Government (NTG) Department of Health and Families (DHF) defines youth as people aged between 12 and 25 years<sup>xi</sup> which ties in with the general profile of a NT Graffiti artist as being in their teens or young adult years. Some youth delve into the world of graffiti and street art not necessarily because of its artistic merits but because of boredom or thrill-seeking.<sup>xii</sup> However we believe that to develop their artistic prowess, young graffiti and street artists need to have legal opportunities to channel their energies towards. It is only through the practical application of their skills that graffitiists can progress from crafting amateur tags to more skilful works such as murals. Whilst rapid response and removal of graffiti acts as a deterrent and regulation is needed to penalise criminal activity and prevent youth from committing vandalism, other deterrent strategies that contribute to the artistic potential can not only deter graffiti vandalism but affect the development of young people’s skills and contribution to community aesthetics.

*A young person who first becomes involved in Graf because it is a risk taking behaviour, i.e., crime may then realise that it is a way of gaining a sense of recognition (fame) and therefore belonging (fellowship) and finally after they mature come to view their activities as a legitimate art form and make genuine attempts to elevate their activities and skills into more mainstream pursuits.<sup>xiii</sup>*

Over the course of the year, it was evident that various government and community organisations had undertaken different strategies in order to divert youth from proliferating graffiti vandalism towards more legitimate artistic avenues. Some of these include NT Police Youth Diversion group, Darwin Community Arts (DCA) and DCC who were approached for interviews as part of research for this project (see also Section 3.4).

### 1.3 Our approach and definitions

For the purposes of this report, graffiti is defined by Encarta Dictionary as images or lettering printed in any manner on walls or other surfaces in public places<sup>xiv</sup> and has existed for hundreds of years serving as a literal record of people, significant events, as artistic expression or merely a signature. In modern times, graffiti practitioners use spray paint, markers and stencils for their material as evidenced by the many spray painted tags ornamenting walls around Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine.

According to a report compiled by the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) on Preventing Graffiti and Vandalism:

*Graffiti can also be more attractive than what it allegedly defaces. Most of us have had a laugh out of graffiti at some point, and many dreary hoardings have been enlivened by illegal murals... Neither is all vandalism antisocial in nature. A great deal – estimates run as high as three-quarters – is opportunistic in character; that is, it results from poor design which cannot handle the demands of wear and tear placed on it; it is caused by people adapting their environment to make it work better; or it can simply be caused by kids being kids. With opportunistic vandalism, the offender might have had no intention of causing damage, but the result is viewed by others as vandalism.<sup>xv</sup>*

Such notions led the PAET to design and conduct the ‘Graffiti and Street Art – What Do You Think?’ community perception survey (see Appendix A – Community Perception Survey) among members of the general public from a wide range of backgrounds in order to investigate their perceptions of street art and graffiti.

Lastly, investigation of inter-state graffiti management policies such as the case study of the Brisbane City Council’s ‘Art Force scheme’ contributed to our research and ultimately provided the foundation for our recommendations to government.

## 2. Research Methodology

A number of activities were undertaken by PEAT members of the YRT over the course of the year to generate both qualitative and quantitative data on the issues and to build the team's skills to manage the project.

### 2.1 Australian Research Council Cultural Research Network Outreach Program

As part of this program, Professor Stephanie Hemelryk Donald from the University of Sydney was asked by the School for Social and Policy Research at Charles Darwin University (CDU) to facilitate mentoring workshops from 1-2 May 2009 with individuals or groups conducting research to help them clarify their means, methods and desired outcomes.

*The objective is to facilitate the development of innovative collaborative research projects in the general areas of media and cultural technologies, cultural literacy, cultural histories and geographies, and cultural identities.<sup>xvi</sup>*

Elise Moo and Felicity Wardle of PAET were selected to participate in a session with Professor Donald after sending in an application (see Appendix F – Application for Cultural Research Network Outreach Program). The session helped clarify the research design and methods used in the project.

### 2.2 Community Perception Survey

After multiple drafts and tests the PAET survey entitled 'Graffiti and Street Art – What Do You Think?' was approved by OYA and the team collated a total of 68 responses. The surveys were aimed at Territorians from a wide range of backgrounds. Surveys were distributed and collected by team members along with a project information sheet (see Appendix D – Project Information Sheet). The survey was also available online and attracted media attention resulting in a DHF Media Release (see Appendix G – DHF 'Survey on graffiti tagged by NT Youth' media release) and Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) News online article (see Appendix H – ABC News Online article 'Graffiti Survey to feed into Government policy') which promoted the PAET cause.

The survey was intended to gauge the range of community perceptions and opinions about graffiti and street art as well as to test the understanding of the general public of the complexities of graffiti culture.

### 2.3 Graffiti Management Workshop

A one day workshop was coordinated and hosted by the Community and Justice Policy unit of the Department of Justice on Wednesday, 24 June 2009 with participation from various organisations including NT Police, the Department of Justice (including Correctional Services), Department of Education and Training, Department of Planning and Infrastructure, CoP, DCC, Local Government Association of the Northern Territory, Telstra, PWC and OYA. Three members of the YRT PAET attended: Elise Moo, Felicity Wardle and Sarah Lyons. ***It should be noted here that there were no representatives of the graffiti or arts communities in attendance at the workshop.***

The workshop's main aim was to develop a draft Graffiti Management NT Action Plan that provides a coordinated approach to graffiti management in the Northern Territory across all layers of government, the private sector and non-government organisations.

A draft of the action plan was released subsequent to the workshop and a brief was drawn up by PAET (see Appendix E – Brief to 2009 Youth Round Table on NT Graffiti Management Action Plan) for review and comment by the remainder of YRT representatives.

### 2.4 Interviews with Policy and Regulation Personnel

In order to research Graffiti and Street Art management strategies already being implemented in the NT the PAET sent request letters (see Appendix B – Request letter for interviews) to various organisations in Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine.

Subsequent interviews were conducted with DCA and Arts NT following a set interview protocol (see Appendix C – Interview protocol). The results of these interviews informed our knowledge of the current strategies in graffiti management in Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine.

Also, a young Darwin local graffiti artist volunteered to be interviewed by PAET due to his concern that actual graffiti artists are seldom if ever consulted about legislation and policies where they are the main subjects.

### 3. Research Findings

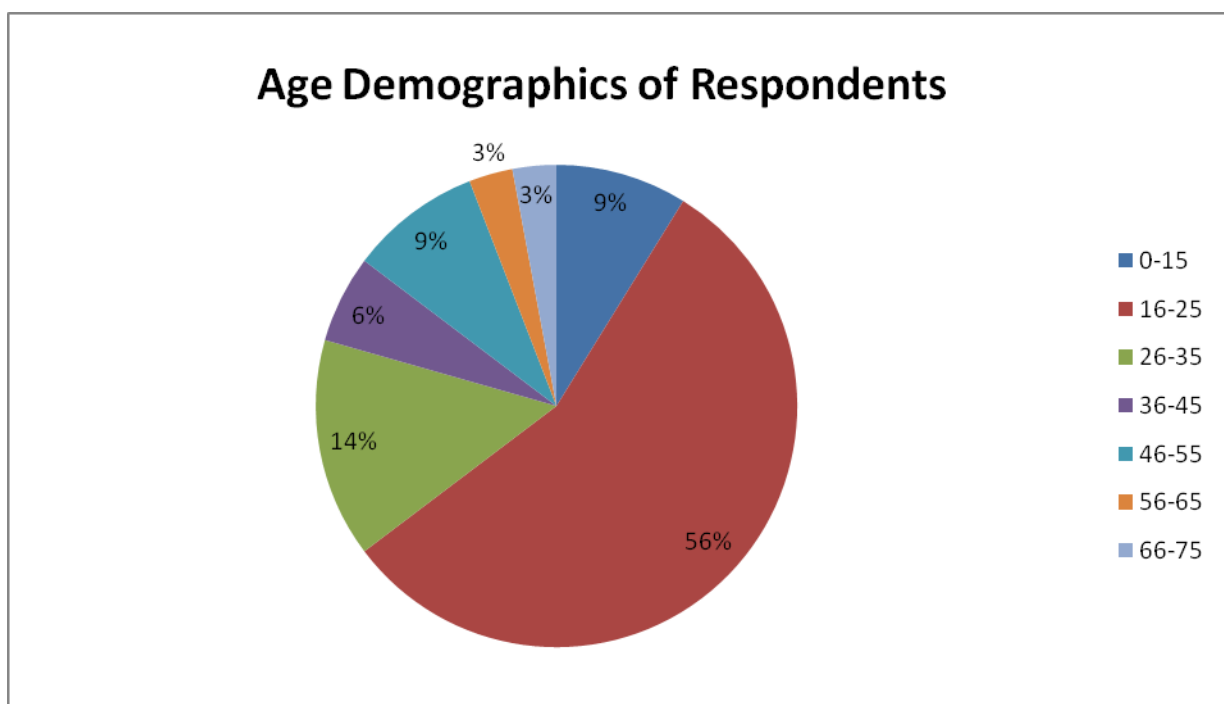
The Community Perception Survey was first developed in collaboration with Professor Donald during our Cultural Research Network session; modified with advice from Dr Jenni Wolgemuth at CDU, field tested on a sample of people and developed from that point onwards. Each member of the PAET committed to getting a minimum of 10 surveys completed and a total of 68 surveys were received and analysed. It should be noted here that all survey results were anonymous and the respondents were not required to complete every question if they did not wish to do so. It should further be noted that while the team received advice, responsibility for the resulting analysis rests with PAET.

Our research delivered two key findings. Firstly, there is a perception of significant gaps within current graffiti management strategies, particularly redirection and diversionary strategies. Second, the surveys collected show trends in community perceptions of graffiti. A key conclusion drawn from the surveys is that the community would like to see more graffiti art and less graffiti vandalism.

#### 3.1 Community Perception Survey

##### **Demographics**

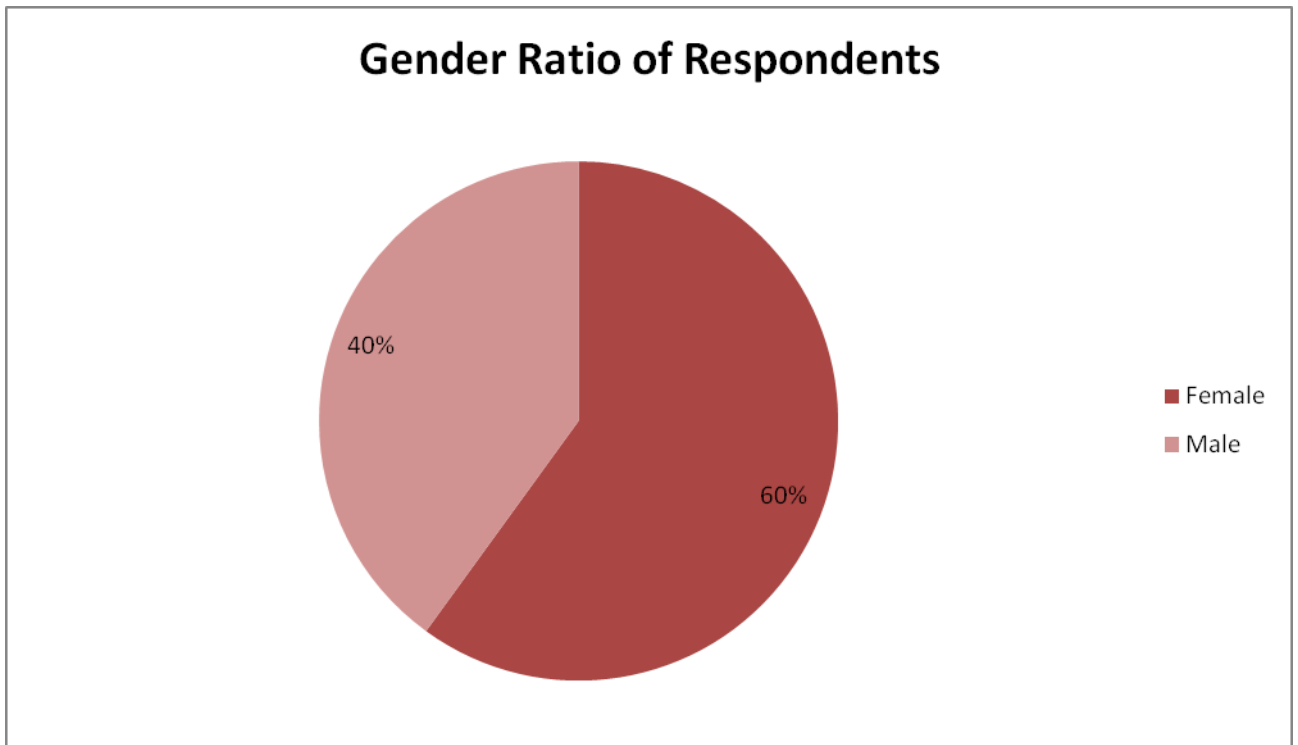
**Figure 1**



As evidenced by the results in Figure 1 the majority, 56% (n=38) of respondents, were youth between the ages of 16-25 and the minority, 3% (n=2) of respondents respectively, were seniors between the ages of 56-65 and 66-75. While the PAET endeavoured to survey a large cross-section of the community, this restricted demographic spread matches the youthfulness of the Northern Territory population in general and operates as a counterpoint for the absence of youth voices at policy forums concerning graffiti. Nonetheless, 35% (n=24) of the sample represents people aged 26 and over.

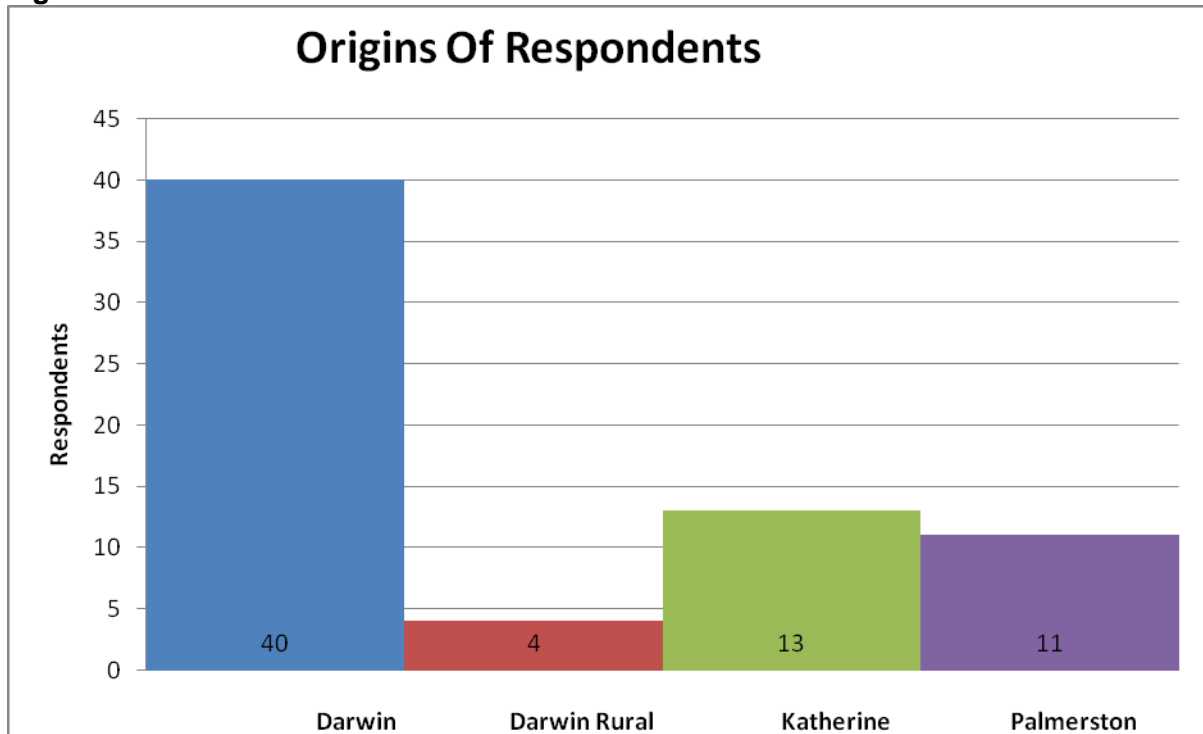
Question 2 of the survey asked the participants to identify themselves as a graffiti or street artist with a simple yes or no. Out of the 68 respondents only 4 (6%) identified themselves as graffiti or street artists.

**Figure 2**



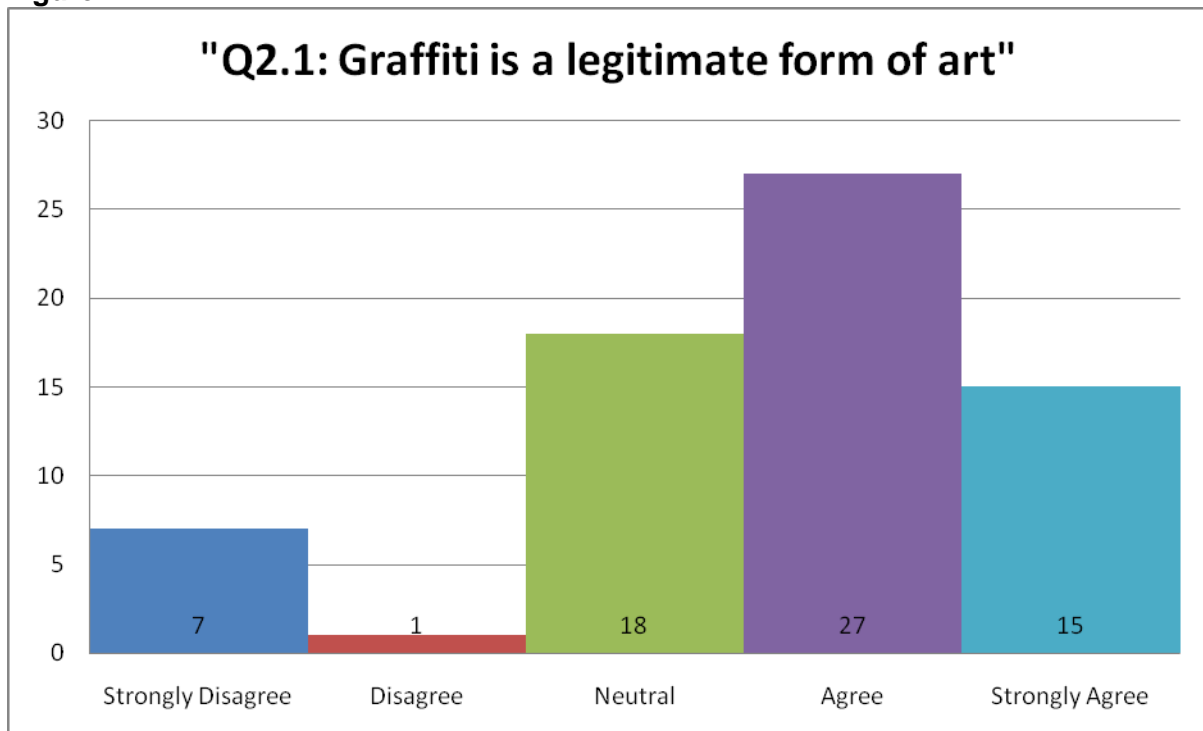
There was 2:3 ratio split between male and female respondents with a majority 60% (n=41) being female.

**Figure 3**



Reflecting relative population densities, the majority 59% ( $n=40$ ) of respondents were drawn from the Darwin urban area. A further 19% ( $n=13$ ) originated from the Katherine region while 16% ( $n=11$ ) originated from Palmerston and 6% ( $n=4$ ) originated from the Darwin rural region.

**Figure 4**



When asked if graffiti is a legitimate form of art, the majority, 62% ( $n = 42$ ) either agreed or strongly agreed. A similar number of people, 57% ( $n = 39$ ), thought that a zero tolerance approach was not an effective approach in deterring graffiti while only 9% ( $n = 6$ ) of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that it was. In Questions 2.1 and 2.2, roughly the same number of respondents were neutral with 26% ( $n=18$ ) and 32% ( $n=22$ ) respectively.

**Figure 5**

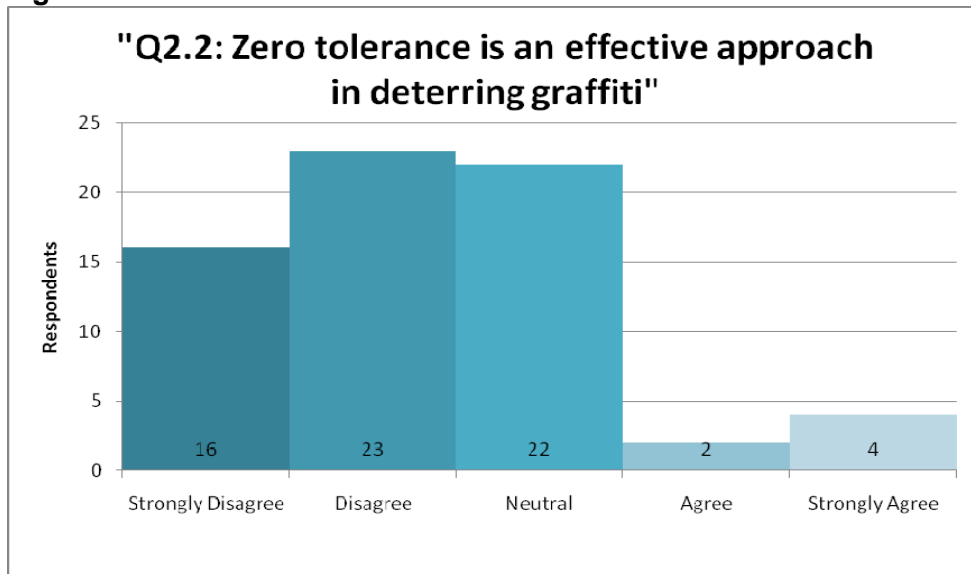


Figure 6 reveals results to the question exploring whether graffiti should attract a criminal record. The majority 51% ( $n = 35$ ) disagreed or strongly disagreed while only 19% ( $n = 13$ ) agreed or strongly agreed that graffiti should attract criminal charges.

**Figure 6**

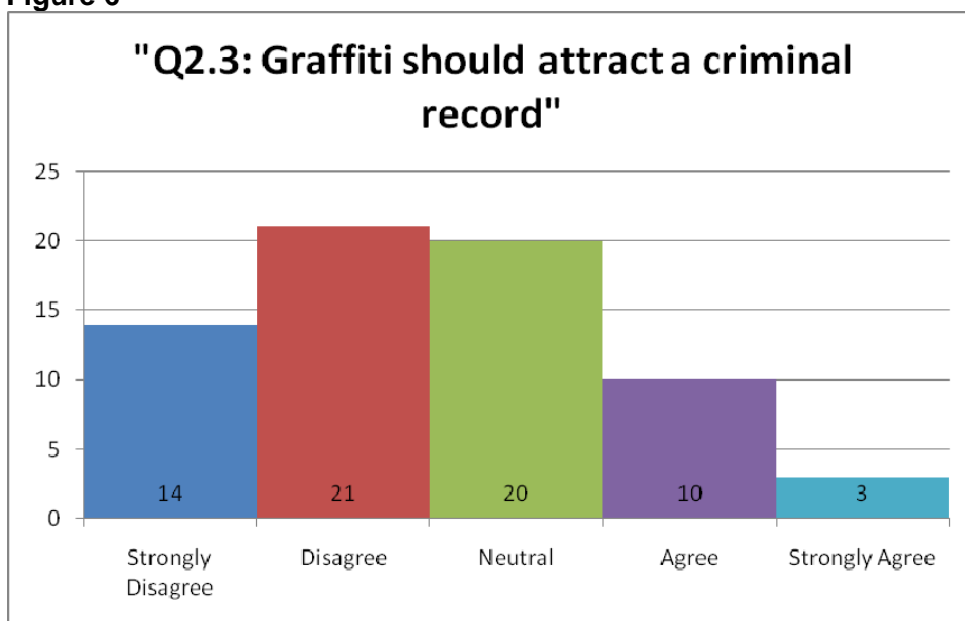


Figure 7 reveals half of respondents 50% ( $n = 34$ ) disagreed or strongly disagreed that the presence of graffiti in their community amplifies feelings of insecurity.

**Figure 7**

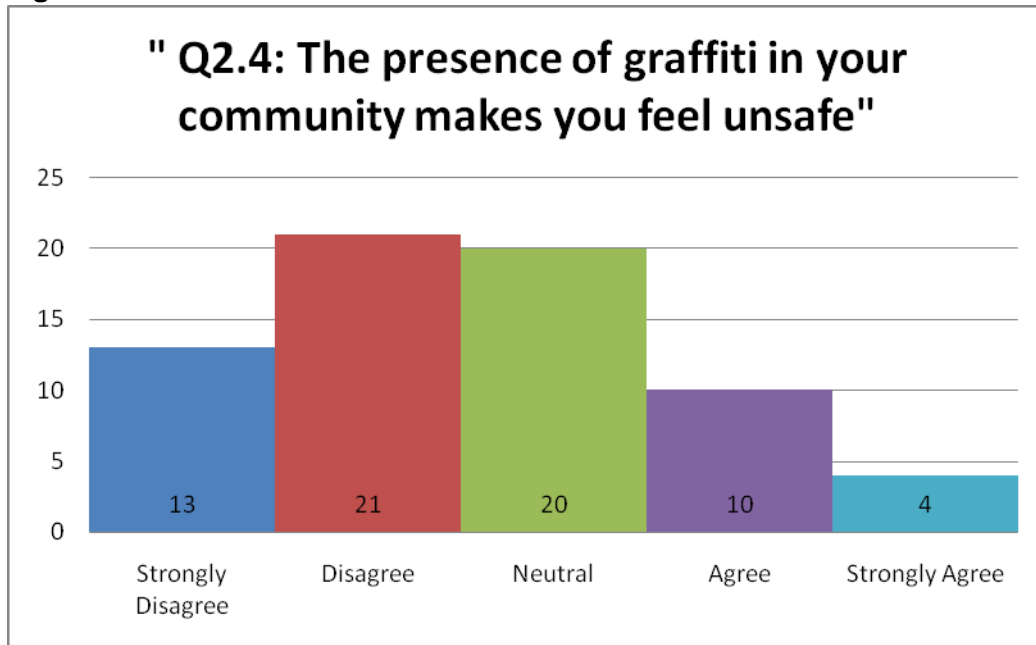
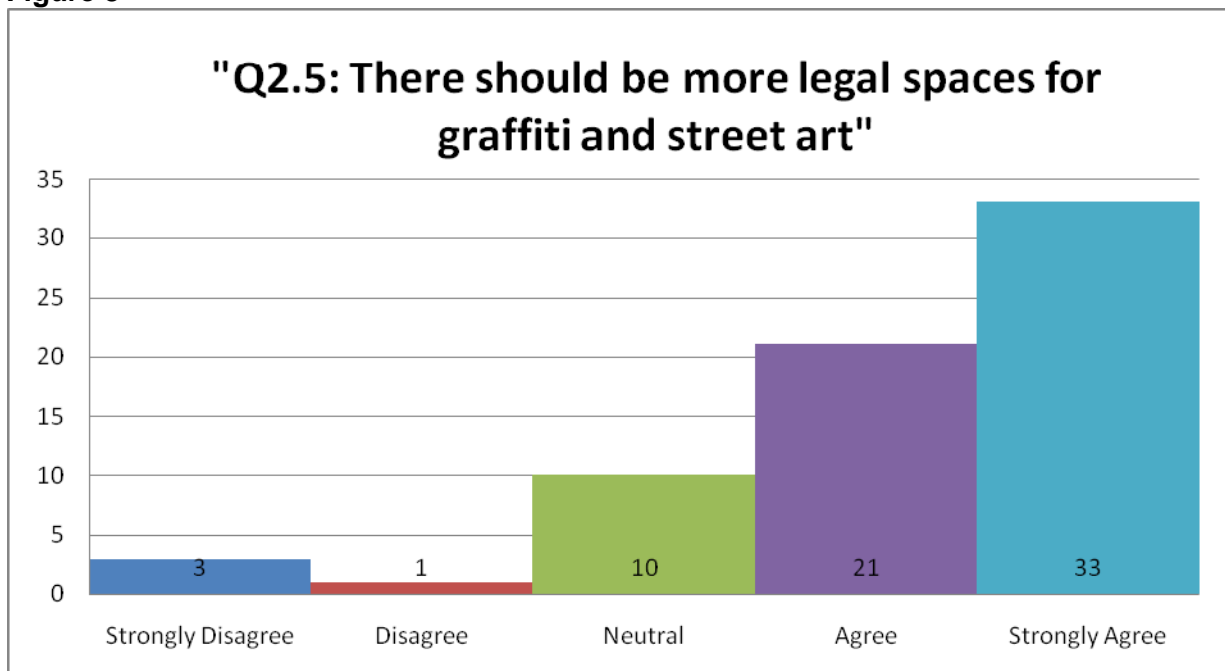


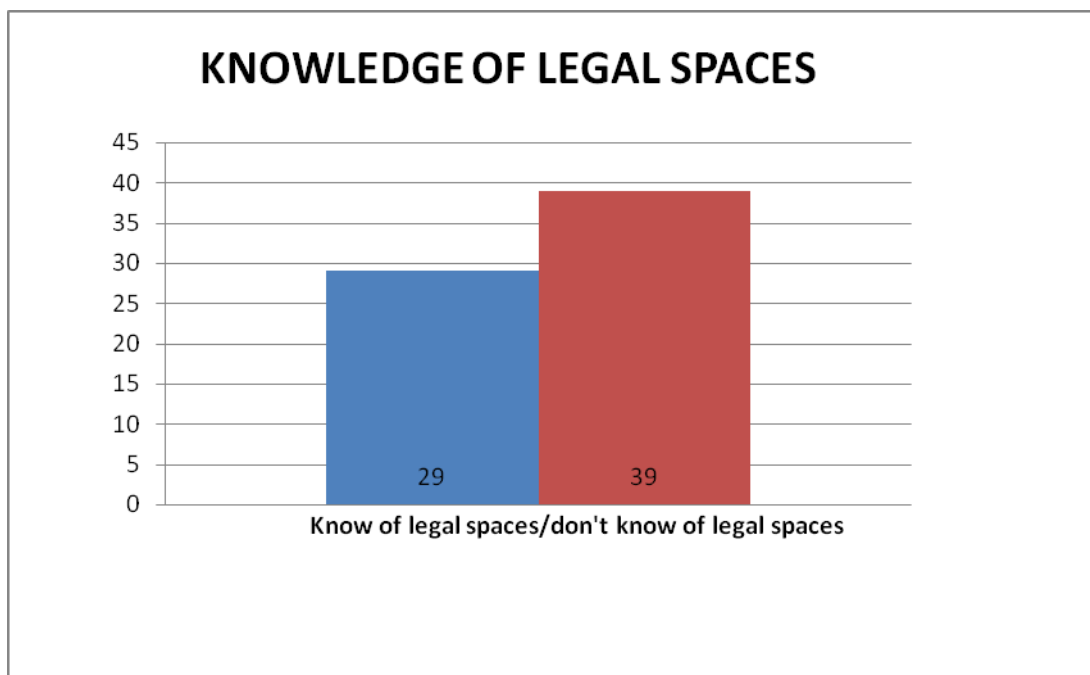
Figure 8 indicates significant majority support for the concept of legal spaces for graffiti artists, with 79% ( $n = 54$ ) agreeing or strongly agreeing. This question had the smallest number of 'neutral' responses, 15% ( $n = 10$ ), signalling a less ambivalent community perspective on this issue.

**Figure 8**



Finally, and of interest given the insistence within policy arenas that spaces do exist for graffiti artists already, the majority, 57% of respondents ( $n=39$ ) are unaware of the availability of legal spaces for graffiti. Furthermore, when respondents who did know of legal spaces were asked to specify the locations, respondents' answers were limited to local skate parks, namely Leanyer Skate Park, Jingili Water Gardens skate park, Palmerston Skate Park and Katherine Skate Park.

**Figure 9**



### Discussion and Conclusions drawn from surveys

- ❖ 62% of respondents agree that graffiti is a legitimate form of art
- ❖ 57% feel zero tolerance has not been an effective approach in combating graffiti in the Northern Territory
- ❖ 51% believe graffiti should not automatically attract a criminal record
- ❖ 50% agree the presence of graffiti does not make them feel unsafe in the community
- ❖ 79% feel there should be more spaces made available for the proliferation of legal graffiti and street art
- ❖ 57% are unaware of legal graffiti spaces and for the 43% who were aware only limited locations were cited.

## 3.2 Graffiti Management Workshop and Action Plan

A one day workshop was coordinated and hosted by the Community and Justice Policy Unit of the Department of Justice on Wednesday, 24 June 2009 with participation from relevant government departments and community organisations. Its purpose was to design a Graffiti Management Action Plan, a draft of which was promulgated following the workshop.

As it currently stands, the Action Plan will target any behaviour related to graffiti regardless of its artistic merits because under the Action Plan, and despite PAET's advocacy, graffiti is not regarded as public art. This limited definition did not sit well with our team who attempted to provide some youth perspective through presentations to the workshop on how to effectively engage with young people involved with graffiti and street art as well as diversionary strategies that embrace youth creativity.

Defining graffiti proved to be a challenging task for the attendees at the workshop. With differences in vandalism and art as well as the different styles of graffiti including tagging, throw ups and murals, the workshop chose to use the WA Graffiti Task Force definition which describes graffiti as "defacing private and public property without consent of the property owner", distinguishing this from public art, which is described as "(urban art) which is legally commissioned work."<sup>i</sup>

The workshop decided that the term 'graffiti vandalism' best describes what the Action Plan is designed to address. This project disagrees with this narrow interpretation of a complex art form that is by no means simple to master. 'Legally commissioned work' is not always realistic for young graffiti artists who are developing their artistic skills and expressions; nor is it realistic for young aspiring artists across the broad spectrum of public art styles. Urban and public art enjoys a wider interpretation in this project and includes opportunities for young artists to practice their graffiti or other art styles on legal spaces at little or no cost to them.

The workshop went on to assert

*that the purpose of a Graffiti Management Strategy is to target illegal behaviour regardless of its artistic merits and graffiti should not be referred to as public art. While a public art strategy may provide a strategy that diverts some of the more expressive forms of graffiti, it must be made clear that all uninvited graffiti is vandalism and cannot be sanctioned.<sup>i</sup>*

As a result of this narrow framework for analysing graffiti management, there was only one recommendation in the draft action plan that dealt with the issue

of public art as a deterrent factor in decreasing the proliferation of illegal graffiti. Recommendation 24 of the workshop draft Action Plan states that government will

*Develop a strategy to develop legal options for young people with artistic urges as an incentive to redirect their activities (the workshop noted the imminent closure of some current venues such as the Parap slide and Nightcliff skating rink and 'competition' for legal art space).<sup>1</sup>*

The project found that while such good intentions were voiced, there is still a serious lack of legal spaces available to young graffitiists and street artists and at the time of the presentation of this report there has been no new areas allocated to young artists. This finding, coupled with the results of survey question 2.5 (fig. 8) wherein 79% respondents agree that 'there should be more legal spaces for graffiti and street art' has lead PAET to recommend the immediate allocation of more legal street art sites. By giving young artists opportunities through legal walls, graffiti workshops and a public art program to display their work, there is less incentive for them to proliferate illegal graffiti and street art on other's property.

Subsequent to the workshop the PAET drew up a summary of the draft Graffiti Management Action Plan (see Appendix E - Brief to 2009 Youth Round Table on NT Graffiti Management Action Plan) which was then circulated amongst YRT members.

### 3.3 Key Interviews with Policy and Regulation Personnel and local Graffiti Artist

#### **Zac Rudge, Project Officer, Darwin Community Arts (DCA) (interviewed on 15/07/2009 by Elise Moo)**

In response to the increase in the popularity of graffiti, street art and hip hop culture amongst young people, DCA - a grassroots arts development organisation in the Darwin region - initiated a graffiti project in collaboration with the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) of the Northern Territory, Danilla Dilba, Melaleuca Refugee Association and the Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship, aimed at '*fostering communication between different groups of young people who often don't get along*'. A series of seven workshops were hosted at DCA by experienced graffiti artists who advised and assisted young participants in creating artworks that were exhibited as part of the 2009 Darwin Festival.

The issue of graffiti as such was not the focal point of the project but was instead used as a medium to bridge understanding between different groups

of youth through their mutual interest in artistic expression. The idea was to transport graffiti into a legitimate context in order to aide people in observing artistic merits in place of vandalism and antisocial behaviour.

For the purposes of their programs which relate to graffiti and street art, Mr Rudge and DCA at large do not view graffiti as a 'problem' and instead view the many different types of graffiti '*as a symptom of a lack of opportunity and engagement for young people, specifically in meaningful and creative activities.*' As such DCA primarily regard graffiti as

*an expression by predominately youth culture that says "we're pissed off, we don't listen or necessarily value what we're being told to value because we may not be valued by that system within itself".*

Whilst the organisation is steadfast in its disavowal of property damage and criminal activity they feel

*if the state [government, council, police] is not providing enough opportunities in terms of education and creative opportunities for young people to feel valued, to feel legitimate and to feel [a sense of] worth then it is near-sighted to view graffiti as a problem that needs to be stamped out because [DCA] think it is actually a consequence of other imbalances.*

This is an example of an organisation supporting graffiti as a legitimate art form instead of being susceptible to societal stereotypes about youth culture. Graffiti was effectively used by DCA as a tool for facilitating '*interaction between different groups of young people from disadvantaged backgrounds*'.

The project promoted '*responsibility and understanding within a diverse group of young people*' as well as '*promoting graffiti as a legitimate art form*' to the wider community. This evidences how graffiti and street art or otherwise popular forms of artistic expression can be applied in order to benefit the community on a number of levels.

Mr Rudge stated that *Graffiti is the medium, the tool, the means of artistic expression, the means of saying what people want but in actual fact it is a group of different people from different places and what we hope to do is get people from different backgrounds doing similar things so they can come together and realise that they are interested in similar things. And through that kind of growth and understanding [we can] gradually work on the social issues like violence between recently arrived refugees and the local young Indigenous population... The way we look at graffiti in terms of our work is it is an interesting tool because people are interested in it, we can do it legally and it is a valuable thing to work with young people specifically to promote [social] cohesion.*

**Lucy Mendhelson, Acting Program Manager, Arts NT (Interviewed on 31/07/2009 by Felicity Wardle)**

According to Ms Mendhelson, “Arts NT does not have a specific policy on graffiti/street art, they instead fund programs indirectly through community arts organisations.” She cited the DCA graffiti projects, Darwin Festival graffiti projects and Incite Youth Arts graffiti projects in Alice Springs.

She also said the main focus of Arts NT in their community arts policies is lifelong learning and how art can be used as a vehicle for lifelong learning and community engagement.

**Ryan Medicott (aka “Phue”), Local Graffiti Artist, Darwin region (Interviewed 27/10/2009 by Elise Moo)**

Ryan is 17 years of age and is currently completing a Certificate IV in Visual Arts and Crafts at CDU. A sample of his legal artwork painted on the exterior of the old Woolworths complex in Smith Street, Darwin City, features on the cover of this report. His passion for graffiti was ignited in 2006 when he was in Year Eight enrolled in Darwin High School. When asked what inspired him to first pick up a marker and spray can, Ryan explains

*I started doing more complex lettering and started seeing experienced local artists work like “Tikls”, “Smak” and “Dome” and I wanted to get my own reputation up.*

*It (tagging) becomes like an addiction and once you start, if you’re really into it, it’s really hard to stop.*

He continued to pursue his new found enthusiasm and talent through high school up until Year 10 when he dropped out of school. He reasoned his 'drop out' was in part because of the failure of the education curriculum to provide any appealing outlets for his creative interests. After dropping out, Ryan drifted for a while until he enrolled at CDU where he has since been able to develop his skills in graffiti and other new mediums. The development of his skills has enabled many new opportunities and he now practices legal graffiti and street art under the pseudonym "Phue" and is able to sell individual canvas pieces.

The image below is an example of such legal work, where Ryan and a few fellow graffiti artists were commissioned by the 24 Hour Eatery on Smith St in Darwin City.



Whilst this indicates a positive movement by independent local businesses to support young graffiti and street artist,

*finding legal work is hard to get all the time and I've even had people come up to me when we're painting legally and say bad things. But in the end legal work is always received more positively and gives a platform for us to interact with the community and show how good our stuff can be if given the opportunity.*

When asked how he feels about criticism of his work, legal and illegal, Ryan says

*I like the work so it's hard to agree that it's vandalism. I guess we can agree to disagree. But it's true that some taggers have no regard for anything and write wherever they want to write even if it doesn't look good.*

So in the opinion of this young, established Darwin graffiti artist what should be done to reach an effective solution for all members of the community?

*I think graf artists, especially up and coming artists need places to practice. The legal places they've got at the moment aren't enough; I've been spraying at skate parks where it's meant to be legal and still been told to 'move on' by police and that all graffiti is 'illegal' no matter where it is. When you're a tagger and people like police piss you off when you're actually doing the right thing it makes you want go out and do it more.*

So the problem to some extent is self-perpetuating. If there are scarce legal opportunities for young people to practice and develop their artistic skills in graffiti and street artwork, and if artists are repeatedly antagonised by police and other authorities or the general public, they will retaliate by vandalising property and working illegitimately. More community education is needed to educate people on the legality of some graffiti and the places where people are permitted to paint. It needs to be very clear to authorities where legal spaces are, so they don't antagonise young people doing the right thing.

### 3.4 Current Graffiti Management Strategies

PAET started our research into graffiti management strategies by looking at a variety of academic and social research of graffiti management strategies in other Australian jurisdictions and overseas. This formed the basis of our understanding of different approaches and techniques used to combat the nation-wide rise in the proliferation of illegal graffiti and street art.<sup>xvii</sup>

Several key stakeholders were identified (see Appendix I – Project stakeholders) in the Darwin, Palmerston, and Katherine regions: young graffiti and street artists, NTG, NT Police (in particular the Graffiti Taskforce), DCC, CoP, Katherine Town Council (KTC), the NT Government Department of Planning and Infrastructure, PWC, Department of Natural Resources, Environment, the Arts and Sport, Arts NT, local arts organisations and local private and public businesses.

Research into current NT graffiti management strategies with a focus on the Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine regions was broken down into three interconnected and interdependent aspects: rapid response and removal, regulation and redirection. Through analysis of these current strategies, gaps were identified. Rapid response and removal, and regulation are dealt with extensively in the Draft Graffiti Management Action Plan<sup>i</sup> The PEAT chose to focus on the redirection strategy as this was the least dealt with in the graffiti management workshop and plan. The Community Perceptions Survey reiterated some of these policy gaps, both in lack of community knowledge of legal spaces; and the perception that graffiti can be a legitimate form of art and that it shouldn't attract a criminal record.

Redirection can encompass a wide range of strategies that prevent illegal graffiti. Two key deterrent strategies are legal spaces for graffiti artists and a more accessible public art program. Legal spaces provide opportunities for the more artistically minded graffiti proliferators, and show role modelling of artistic graffiti to those young people who are proliferating graffiti as rebellious activity only.

Current public art programs are subsequent to a very comprehensive application process, management of arts funding and are accessed by more experienced and established artists in the NT community. Youth access to public arts programs are through organisations such as DCA and local councils which provide more sporadic, youth-accessible graffiti workshops or youth arts programs that are short term and ad hoc in nature. The unreliability is itself a deterrent for institution-shy artists as well as the notion, as highlighted by Mr Rudge, that 'the system' is working against them.

### 3.5 Case study one: Brisbane ArtForce project

Brisbane City Council<sup>xviii</sup> is responsible for approximately 800 traffic signal boxes (TSB). A 1998 audit revealed that these were by far the Council's most vandalised assets, with over 95 per cent being heavily covered with graffiti. To counter this, legal graffiti art painted by graffiti artists was used to completely cover the TSB. After a three month trial period that demonstrated a 100 per cent prevention record, the ArtForce project was launched. By supplying all of the necessary safety equipment, paints and materials, the application of legal art to prevent vandalism was facilitated.

Brisbane City Councillor David Hinchliffe shared his insights about the five-year program which has proven to be highly effective in eradicating graffiti and other forms of vandalism in Brisbane. Four years ago, TSB were Brisbane's most vandalised assets with over 95 per cent 'tagged'. Since then, 650 of the city's 800 traffic signal boxes have been painted by local artists resulting in an 80 per cent reduction of such graffiti. This has saved council about \$10,000 in graffiti removing costs. The lessons learnt have also been transferred to other council assets such as underpasses and libraries where there is an increase in the use of legal art as graffiti prevention.<sup>xix</sup>

Anyone can apply to paint a TSB, including families, professionals, first time artists, school groups, kids or elders. Artists must reside in the city of Brisbane and must have their design approved by 'Urban Smart Projects' within council.

The artist first chooses a TSB (advertised on the ArtForce website) or contacts Urban Smart Projects to have the TSB allocated to them. The artist then has one month to create and submit their full colour designs to Urban Smart Projects for clearance. The artist needs to specify how many sides of the TSB they will be able to paint, as all visible sides need to be covered to minimise the likelihood of graffiti tagging. To prevent the TSB from overheating, the TSB should not be covered in predominantly dark colours.

If the one month lapses, the TSB becomes available for reallocation to another artist.



If approved, an Artist's Agreement is signed and an ArtForce Pack is supplied, furnishing the artist with all equipment necessary to execute the work to a high standard. Each pack contains paint (undercoat and primary colours plus green, white and black), safety vests, witches hats, painting rags and drop sheets. Artists need to provide their own paintbrushes and must comply with safety and environmental guidelines. This ArtForce Pack is later returned, along with photos of the assembled piece and feedback forms. An annual ArtForce Awards event is held to celebrate the work of all successful contributors.

Notably, design criteria are fairly open-ended, as Urban Smart Projects acknowledges that everyone relates to their community and local surrounds differently. However, they do specify that designs should be *positive, original and colourful* and reflect at least one of the following:

- the immediate environment
- the character or culture of the suburb
- the history of the area
- community pride
- creativity.

Designs are ineligible if they involve:

- a breach of Intellectual Property Rights (somebody else's idea)
- trademarks, brand or business names, logos or copyrighted images
- images of a potentially offensive or sensitive nature as determined by the project managers
- collage or gluing anything onto the TSB
- images that resemble illegal graffiti or tags.

On average, TSB artworks last from six months to four years. TSB remain Brisbane City Council property and may require upgrading or need replacing at any time. There is no guarantee how long an artwork will remain on a TSB. This replenishment is also a key part of the anti-vandalism strategy.

An invitation to the annual award night is extended to all eligible ArtForce participants. Awards are judged by independent art authorities, recognising outstanding artwork in five categories with the following cash prizes:

- Overall Winner - \$1000 & Runner up - \$500
- Under 18 - \$300
- Under 12 - \$250
- Best School - \$200
- Best Organisation - \$100



**Toast**  
John Knap  
Cnr Queen St & Adelaide St  
CITY



**Anzac Square**  
John Knap  
Cnr Ann St (Pedestrian Crossing) & Central  
Station  
CITY (Artwork not current)



**Ladies of the Night II**  
John Knap  
Cnr Brunswick St & Harcourt St  
FORTITUDE VALLEY

### Key characteristics of successful redirection strategy

Research into redirection strategies used in other Australian jurisdictions highlighted the success and necessity of an appropriate public art project approach when dealing with graffiti management in a comprehensive way. The Brisbane ArtForce Project above is one which provides opportunities for all members of the community to apply to paint a TSB with materials predominantly supplied by the Brisbane City Council. An annual celebration with additional cash awards gives the scheme status among artists and, together with facilitating equipment provision, promotes competition for good designs.

Not only were the costs of graffiti removal reduced, but the aesthetics of the community were improved and artists of different ages and from a range of backgrounds were provided with an opportunity to gain the notoriety and public recognition of their work that they seek.

This detailed case study of the Brisbane ArtForce Project was provided in order to demonstrate the simple nature of the project and how it could be adopted by the NT Government in their bus shelter/public transport networks, by the DCC for their property and by private companies such as PWC for their power boxes or Telstra Countrywide for public phone booths.

Further to the opportunities that schemes such as the Brisbane ArtForce Project provide to young artists and graffitists, there is a significant body of literature that examines the other benefits of deterrence in graffiti management such as those circulated by the AIC as a part of its Graffiti and Vandalism resources<sup>iii, iv, xiii & xv</sup>. Already decorated spaces are less attractive to graffiti vandals thereby more public art on common graffiti targets would deter vandalism.<sup>iii</sup>

The ArtForce project found that by employing this public art approach to graffiti, illegal tagging of the traffic signal boxes was reduced by over 80% over a five year period.

### 3.6 Case Study Two: Graffiti Solutions Graffiti Traineeship Grant Program

The Graffiti Traineeship Grant Program<sup>xiii</sup> is a New South Wales (NSW) program which supports local councils to divert young people from involvement in illegal graffiti by providing artistic and training opportunities through anti-graffiti youth workshops or other projects. The Traineeship Program provided customised training to local graffiti artists in the form of a five and half day youth work and community art course to be delivered by NSW TAFE Plus. In addition to this, a grant of \$2600 was then provided to Council to allow the artist/s to engage a Trainee to coordinate an anti-graffiti Youth Program.

As it was implemented by the Wollongong Youth Services, the aim was for the Trainee to act as mentor to a number of identified active young graffiti artists and to coordinate two mural projects. Two new sites for mural projects that had been regularly targeted by graffiti writers were secured.

Both these sites (walls) were located on privately owned commercial properties in high profile areas. The support received from these local businesses and the many positive comments from passing public on the paint days was a great boost for Trainee/mentor and the artists.

#### *Crown Lane Mural Project*

The Crown Lane Mural was painted on the north facing wall of the premises on the corner of Crown Lane and Keira Streets in the heart of the Wollongong Central Business District (CBD). Wollongong Youth Services was approached by the owner of City Central Laundry after the premises had been vandalised with tags. Following initial discussions with the laundry owner an additional meeting was arranged with the owner of the actual building, who, after hearing of the project's aims and objectives, approved the project.

Artists that had previously been identified by Wollongong Youth Services through their patronage of their large legal aerosol wall were offered the opportunity to take part in the project. Six artists took up the opportunity - half of whom had never previously been involved in structured legal projects.

The Trainee conducted two workshops with the artists prior to the painting of the mural. In the first of these workshops, course objectives (such as the promotion of graffiti in the community through legal mural productions and the discouragement of anti-social behaviour) were discussed. Information on the laws and penalties relating to graffiti in NSW as well as a historical overview of graffiti on a local and international level were also provided, together with instruction on basic design fundamentals, the use of different paint and selection of available nozzle types. *“A discussion was facilitated on graffiti culture in the local area. A surrounding environment and site inspection was held and ideas as to possible themes brainstormed”.* <sup>xiii</sup>

In the second workshop a theme was selected and a design for the mural created. Colours were selected and paint ordered from a local supplier.

Days three and four were dedicated to the painting of the Mural. According to youth worker Mick Jones<sup>xiii</sup> on the first day there were many positive comments from passersby:

*Only one dissenting voice was aired by a local woman. When she complained about the mural, the wall had only been buffed a beautiful ocean blue. She complained to the business owner that it was tacky. When challenged about the fact that the wall had only been painted blue she replied. “I can tell it will be tacky from the music.” The young men were listening to some local Hip Hop....*

*Overall the project was very positive. Since painting, the mural has only been damaged by one person who tagged on the ‘fence’ that was a part of the design. I have identified and spoken directly to this person who apologised saying he was drunk at the time and not thinking. The Trainee says he will go back and repair the damage though it is only minimal and almost unnoticeable in the overall design.* <sup>xiii</sup>

As a direct result of this project one of the young artists participating was employed by a local community based service in his suburb to paint a mural on a heavily vandalised Council owned facility. The Trainee inspired by the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) short course has now enrolled in a full time two year youth work course at Shellharbour TAFE. <sup>xiii</sup>

### *Unanderra Project*

The second of the mural projects is also drawn from the work of Wollongong Youth Services and was painted on the north east facing wall of David Carlon Motors in Unanderra.<sup>xiii</sup> Given its highly desirable location between the Princess Highway and the railway line/station in Unanderra, it is one of the most highly tagged areas in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

Whenever the owners paint the wall over, it is swiftly re-vandalised. The adjoining walls and surrounding buildings were covered in layers of graffiti that had built up over the years.

After consulting with the owner of the business and obtaining a design brief, a workshop was held for the participating artists and trainee to develop a design. On paint day, artists arrived early and worked solidly all day until last light to complete the mural. Feedback from residents, passers-by, local business and the police was universally positive. The police who stopped to watch the artists were impressed with their skill and engaged with the artists in a very positive way, discussing the designs, paint techniques and wider cultural issues.

The quality of the finished work was extremely high and the business owner, the artists and trainee were not only very happy with the project overall but were all keen to be involved in further projects.<sup>xiii</sup>

### Key characteristics of successful redirection strategies

These projects successfully provided for:

- job related skills and development opportunities for both the Trainee and participating artists—particularly on how to plan, cost and implement legal projects and activities
- mentoring to a number of identified active young graffiti artists
- information regarding the history of graffiti, its historical and cultural context , plus information on laws and regulations surrounding graffiti
- opportunities for participating artists to increase their awareness of the issues raised by illegal graffiti
- using connections within the graffiti community to develop and coordinate two high quality mural projects
- an increase in public awareness and understanding of graffiti art as a legitimate art form practiced by sensible young people, with artistic and cultural needs
- less unwanted tagging
- channelling of young artists into legal projects and promotion of other legal avenues for their creative expression.

## 4. Conclusion

Extensive consultation with key stakeholders (see Appendix I – Project stakeholders) led the PAET of the 2009 YRT to identify issues and recommendations for graffiti management strategies. Two of these strategies, rapid response and removal, and regulation are dealt with in detail in the Draft NT Graffiti Management Action Plan.<sup>i</sup> Our research revealed that the strategy of redirection remains the most neglected and most in need of comprehensive policy attention and action. Through extensive consultation with stakeholders and gauging community perceptions through our community perception survey, two main conclusions are drawn:

- There are clearly not enough legal opportunities, namely space, for young artists and in particular graffiti artists to be able to produce, develop and display their works of what we believe is fundamentally art and not vandalism.
- Access for young people to established public arts programs and funding is neither consistent nor organised to cater to the youth of the Northern Territory.

This project aimed to foster the creative abilities of Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine's youth by establishing the grounds for a public art scheme wherein young artists are able to apply to legitimately decorate public spaces. A coordinated public art scheme is also necessary to deter graffiti vandalism on council, government and private property. Such a scheme should be modelled on a successful project such as ArtForce Brisbane (see Case Study One), as pre-decorated spaces are less likely to be vandalised.<sup>iii</sup>

Continually removing graffiti only serves to create more blank canvases as well as prompting artists to target different areas. Our research has shown that graffiti and street art in public spaces has a deterrent effect against vandalism, gives opportunities for legal graffiti for young graffitiists, and has a positive role modelling effect for young graffiti artists considered as vandals. According to the Queensland Urban Ecology site,

*Artworks promote community ownership and an increased sense of well being and personal orientation. Research has shown that public art decreases littering and infrastructure damage.<sup>xx</sup>*

A positive scheme would need to incorporate different street art forms including painting, stencilling and aerosol art and should be modelled on programs already in place in other major cities renowned for their public art such as Brisbane<sup>vi</sup> and Wollongong<sup>xiii</sup>.

It is vital that the NTG as well as other government and non-government agencies remain open-minded about the artistic merits of graffiti and progress from the simplistic tendency to automatically label graffiti and street art as 'vandalism' and to call the young artists who promulgate such works 'criminals' who are exhibiting anti-social behaviour. Failing this, we are likely to see an increase in youth disengagement which will ultimately lead to the negative social attitudes that graffiti and street artists purportedly already promulgate. That is, a narrow, punitive policy will foster the very attitudes it is seeking to curtail.

As a result of the information gathered during the research process the PAET has compiled a number of recommendations for the NTG to assist in deterring and redirecting illegal graffiti. The recommendations are in no order of preference and in many cases are interlinked.

## 5. Recommendations

PAET recommends that NTG, DCC, CoP and KTC undertake to explore and implement these recommendations in the near future.

1. The designation by Northern Territory Government and local councils in Darwin, Palmerston and Katherine of more legal spaces for graffiti and street art. Possible legal sites include laneways, vacant buildings, bus stops, public toilet blocks and the side walls of publicly (government) owned buildings.
2. Current and new legal spaces to be maintained to avoid capping and provide more and renewed space for new work.
3. The establishment of a Territory-wide permit scheme, based on the Brisbane ArtForce scheme that allows artists of all kinds of backgrounds to legally apply to local councils to paint street art or murals (including graffiti) on designated sites. Local councils will need to negotiate with the NTG, Power and Water Corporation and private businesses as to which non-council sites would be included in the scheme. The NTG should provide financial support to local councils to allow them to set up the permit scheme.
4. The creation of a public art register that details the location of legal sites accessible to graffiti and street artists in the major metropolitan areas of the Northern Territory: Darwin, Palmerston, Katherine, Tennant Creek Nhulunbuy and Alice Springs. Such a portfolio should be promoted as a part of the Northern Territory's urban tourism circuit, distributed through tourist information offices, websites and brochures.
5. A higher level of support and funding from the NTG for arts organisations that facilitate the creation and promotion of various forms of public art for young people, including legitimate graffiti and street art, such as Darwin Community Arts.
6. Direct consultation between graffiti and street artists and organisations (government and non-government) assigned with the task of developing graffiti management programs as well as the incorporation of graffiti and street art design in relevant youth service planning committees and workshops.

7. Establishment of a trainee program for young aspiring graffiti and street artists run by more experienced mentors from various artistic backgrounds with a focus on the educational and legal avenues available for young aspiring artists. This will provide employment, artistic skills and development opportunities for both trainees and participating artistic mentors.

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<sup>xvi</sup> ARC Cultural Research Network; 2008; The Summary and Objectives of the CRC, URL <http://www.uq.edu.au/crn/about.html>; accessed [September 2009]

<sup>xvii</sup> Graffiti Hurts Australia; 2008; URL <http://www.graffitihurts.com.au/>; accessed [September 2009]

<sup>xviii</sup> Brisbane City Council; 2009; ArtForce; URL <http://svc189.bne146v.server-web.com/artforce/>; accessed [October 2009]

<sup>xix</sup> Lawlink NSW: Crime Prevention Division: Publications/Resources: Partners in Crime; 2009; Partners in Crime Prevention Newsletter April 2004: Traffic Stopping anti-graffiti art; URL [http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/lawlink/cpd/ll\\_cpd.nsf/pages/CPD\\_newsletter\\_apr04#Traffic](http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/lawlink/cpd/ll_cpd.nsf/pages/CPD_newsletter_apr04#Traffic); accessed [September 2009]

<sup>xx</sup> Queensland Urban Ecology; 2009; Brisbane traffic art.1, URL: <http://www.qldue.com.au/>; accessed [October 2009]

## 7. Image Citations

Cover art: Medlicott, Ryan; *Phue's skin*; 2009; Old Woolworths complex, Smith Street, Darwin City

Page 19: Medlicott, Ryan; Smith, Tayla; Barret-McGuinn, Cai, et al.; *24 Hour exterior art*; 2009; 24 Hour Eatery, Smith Street, Darwin City

Page 22: Artist Unknown; *TSB Artwork 'Invoke'*; TSB in Brisbane CBD; URL <http://www.scamp.ie/wp/wp-content/uploads/2008/08/invoke.jpg>

Page 23: Knap, John; *TSB Artwork*; 2008; Various TSB's around Brisbane CBD; URL <http://www.flickr.com/photos/raeallen/131235990/>