

Getting 'er Done: Cultural Planning and the Phantasmagoria of Public Art in Edmonton

By

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Abstract

This research provides the first comprehensive account of Edmonton's public art collection. It asks: How is public art understood and practiced, what landscapes do these understandings and practices give rise to, and what is the relationship between such landscapes and broader processes of urban development? Edmonton's first public artwork was commissioned or purchased in 1957, and the collection has since grown to include over 260 artworks. Central to the collection's growth was the adoption of a percent for art policy in 1991, whereby one percent of qualifying capital expenditure budgets have gone towards the creation of public artworks.

Data were collected through site visits to public artworks, qualitative interviews with key informants working in the administration of public art in Edmonton and an examination of three key planning documents. The central data set, gathered from site visits to the artworks in the collection, was analyzed in three segments: (1) an overview of the collection noting its spatial and temporal growth; (2) the application and discussion of an interpretive tag system; and (3) the description of 12 exemplary artworks in the collection.

In order to explore the relationship between the landscape of public art in Edmonton and broader processes of urban development, the theoretical lens of phantasmagoria was utilized. Popularized in early 19th century Paris, the phantasmagoria was a spooky lantern show where images were projected onto walls or screens but their source was obscured. Walter Benjamin later used the term in *The Arcade Project* (2002) as a metaphor to describe the effect of consumer culture in cities. Central to Benjamin's use of phantasmagoria was the fantastical quality attributed to commodities through the process of commodity fetishism and their display in the Arcades. Central to understanding public art as a phantasmagoria are the utopian qualities associated with public art. This is the concept of public artopia, whereby it is claimed that public art is able to resolve social problems, create a unifying cultural identity for an area, improve the aesthetics of public space and attract economic investment. This thesis describes how, within the discourse of cultural planning, public art takes on a fantastical quality and becomes a fetishized

commodity on display, which creates a phantasmagoria of public art in Edmonton. It examines how these claims intersect with the machinery of production of public art in Edmonton as well as the contextuality of the artworks themselves. It concludes that conceptualizing public art as a phantasmagoria is a means through which to examine how urban development is animated by fantasy.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Ariel MacDonald. This research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project name “An Analysis of Public Art in Edmonton”, Pro 00091585, January 9, 2020.

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1. Introduction

Public art is “work commissioned for sites of open public access” (Miles, 1997, 5) most often located in city squares, private building plazas, governmental buildings, railway stations, schools, parks and hospitals (Miles, 1997). The research presented in this thesis will provide an account of the Edmonton civic collection of public art. These policies incentive the development of public art in public space. Since the 1980s there has been a proliferation of percent for art policies throughout Western Europe and North America. Since this time many cities have formed civic collections. Although case studies are a popular methodology for studying public art they rarely encompass description of the entirety of a civic collection. This research provides a more expansive approach to the case studies usually pursued in the public art literature. Furthermore, it will provide an account of public art in Edmonton, which has not previously been subject to study. Public art and its effects are often studied in large urban centres like New York and London, or with reference to famous pieces like Anthony Gormley’s *The Angel of the North* (1998) and George Serra’s *Tilted Arc* (1981); however, due to the widespread proliferation of percent for art policies, public art is now ubiquitous. This research explores the effect of public art in a city that is not the focus of popular attention, and does not contain artworks that are part of popular culture or art history (as of yet).

This chapter begins with my research question, followed by a description of the city of Edmonton and the policy context and process that governs public art in the city and finally provides an overview of the structure of this thesis. The description of Edmonton draws on the *Public Art Master Plan* (2007), and the City of Edmonton’s two cultural plans -*The Art of Living* (2008) and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018). *The Art of Living* (2008) in particular will be referenced; it was the first cultural plan for the City of Edmonton and a significant portion of it is composed of essays or pieces of writing by people working in arts and culture in Edmonton. These pieces of writing could be described as cultural geographic accounts of Edmonton; thus, the following context section functions somewhat as a meta-analysis of how Edmontonians describe their own culture. Furthermore, I integrate parts

of Amy Fung's *Before I was a Critic I was Human Being* (2019), which describes her experience growing up in Edmonton after immigrating from Hong Kong. The account begins with a brief description of the city today, then recounts Edmonton's history as a gathering place before moving on to describe how economic life in Alberta looms large in Edmontonian identity and how this relates to Edmonton's arts community. I then provide a brief discussion of the *Take a Risk* (2016) by Clay Lowe (mural located in downtown Edmonton). This chapter concludes with an overview of the content of this thesis.

1.1. Research Questions and Objectives

This research will provide the first comprehensive account of Edmonton's public art collection. It asks: How is public art understood and practiced, what landscapes do these understandings and practices give rise to and what is the relationship between such landscapes and broader processes of urban development? The objectives of the thesis are as follows:

1. To describe the policy context of Edmonton's civic art collection;
2. To identify the dominant policy narratives that have shaped the contemporary collection;
3. To document the ways public art is administered and implemented in the city;
4. To examine a sample of exemplary public artworks;
5. To evaluate the role of public art in urban development and city building

1.2. The City of Edmonton

The City of Edmonton is a "frontier town that is the seat of government, a northern city with one of Canada's largest universities, a city suffused with Indigenous influences, a place of economic prosperity for many" (City of Edmonton, 2008, 7). The city is located on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River, it is home to the largest stretch of urban park land in North America; it is the home of the Edmonton Oilers, Stanley Cup champions between

1984 and 1990, but not since; it is home of the provincial Government of Alberta; it is a city of a million people. Despite all this, “Edmonton’s inferiority complex is as deep and murky as the North Saskatchewan River flowing through the middle of it. While it can be disturbing, even dangerous, an inferiority complex is much more appealing than unearned arrogance” (Todd Babiak in City of Edmonton, 2008, 23). The city is very proud of its arts scene, while aware of the talent pipeline sending artists to larger centres (mainly Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal). The 2008 cultural plan frames this as an opportunity and an asset to Edmonton:

This is a city with a relatively high level of cultural sophistication without too many time and energy-stealing features—traffic volume, say, or prohibitive cost of living, or “too much going on” – that plague other cities. The result is an ideal environment for artist-in-residence programs to ripple out in thousands of ways into the wider community. (Greg Hollingshead in City of Edmonton, 2008, 41)

Edmonton is defined by both its own arts scene, as well as what is going on in the rest of Canada; in this comparison Edmonton has an ‘inferiority complex’ in comparison to other cities with ‘too much going on’.

1.3. History of Edmonton as Gathering Place

Edmonton is described as a gathering place: “for people long before contact between the Indigenous peoples of the region and European newcomers in the late 18th century” (City of Edmonton, 2008, 8) and “for different cultures, language and religious backgrounds” (City of Edmonton, 2008, 9). The land where the city now stands has been used by Indigenous peoples for at least the past 8000 years (City of Edmonton, 2008). It is a place of many names: called Beaver Hills and later *Amiskwaciwâskahikan* (meaning Beaver Hills House) by the Cree people, *ti oda* (meaning Many House) by the Assiniboines or Stoneys, and *omahkoyis* (meaning Big Lodge) by the Blackfoot (City of Edmonton, 2008). Two rival trading posts were established in 1795: one by the North West Company and the other by Hudson’s Bay Company (City Edmonton, 2008). The area attracted more settlement and

became a town in 1892, a city in 1904 and the capital of the new province of Alberta in 1905 (City of Edmonton, 2008). Edmonton is also imagined as a crossroads:

Since the first scouts from the Hudson's Bay Company stepped from their canoes onto the shore, since the first trading post was raised, Edmonton has been at a crossroads, a place of contact for diverse peoples. It remains a space between, an intersection of opposites, a frontier, a precarious balance between natural and manmade, wild and settled, past and future. (Caterina Edwards in City of Edmonton, 2008, 82)

Presented in this way, the history of Edmonton conveys a geographic imaginary; an idea of a 'frontier' town, a word that appears six times in *The Art of Living* (2008). The 2018 plan notes that "[o]ur urban Indigenous population continues to expand, and will soon be the largest in the country" (City of Edmonton, 2018, 35); Indigenous peoples are very much a part of the present and future of Edmonton.

The city has also received successive waves of migration: "From the Ukrainian Block Settlement beginning in 1892, to the arrival of Italian, German, Scandinavian and other peoples, Edmonton has offered economic opportunities, as well as, democratic freedoms—factors that still drive immigration today" (City of Edmonton, 2008, 10). In 2008, the main sources of immigration to Edmonton were China, the Philippines, India, Pakistan, followed by countries in the Middle East and Africa (City of Edmonton, 2008). The emphasis on Edmonton as a hub for diverse migrants in the cultural plan, indicates that multiculturalism is an essential part of the culture of Edmonton.

1.4. Economy as Identity

Alberta is known nationally and internationally for its economic base. The Fort McMurray oil sands are infamous; primarily for the massive environmental destruction associated with the extraction of bitumen, as well as the negative health effects on adjacent communities, especially Indigenous communities. The relationship between oil and gas and Alberta began in 1947 with the Leduc oil strike, which has led to successive waves of

booms and busts as a resource dependent economy (City of Edmonton, 2008). Edmonton has become a hub for the oil, gas and petrochemical industries and was described in the 2008 cultural plan as “one of the country’s strongest economies” (City of Edmonton, 2008). The 2008 cultural plan contains the word ‘boom’ 19 times and refers to Edmonton as a ‘boomtown’. *The Art of Living* (2008) was written with a 10 year lifespan and addresses the needs of a ‘boomtown’; it does not include planning for a ‘bust’. This plan was written in 2008 and shortly after its adoption the 2008 Global Financial Crisis occurred. Thus, the boom swiftly turned into a predictable bust. In contrast, the 2018 cultural plan emphasizes the need for economic resilience in the arts community, alluding to the precariousness of arts, heritage and cultural funding in an inherently unstable economy.

From 1971 to 2015 (44 years) Alberta was governed by the Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta. This was succeeded in an upset by the Alberta New Democrats from 2015 to 2019, followed by a return to the status quo with the United Conservative Party winning a majority in 2019. Conservative politics in Alberta are notably pro-oil and gas. Edmonton usually elects a few New Democratic or Liberal representatives in any provincial or federal election, resulting in small sections of orange or red in a sea of blue. Edmonton is known as more moderate politically than the rest of the province (City of Edmonton, 2008).

The oil and gas industry has a visible presence within the City of Edmonton itself. The south east of the city is filled with large industrial plants; including some petrochemical and hydrocarbon industries. Edmonton has “strong elements of a blue-collar economy working alongside large government and academic populations” (City of Edmonton, 2008, 10). Edmonton is also home to several major universities (including the University of Alberta, MacEwan University and Concordia University) and is the centre of the Government of Alberta. Edmonton has also been described as a city in transition “evolving from a resource-based boomtown to a multivillage urban centre turning on a tertiary-based economy” (Edmonton Arts Council (EAC), 2007, 7). Although the province is best known for its foundations in blue-collar work associated with the oil and gas industry,

the economy of the City of Edmonton is somewhat more diversified than this reputation suggests.

Another notable aspect of Alberta's economy is the high rates of entrepreneurship; according to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), 19.6% of Albertans 18-64 are involved in starting a business. This rate is higher than overall rates for Canada (18.8%) and this rate is also comparatively high internationally. Many of these new businesses are supportive of extractive and manufacturing industries (Josty, 2019). Another unique aspect of Alberta entrepreneurship is that there is an overall higher rate of necessity driven entrepreneurship; meaning entrepreneurship engaged in by people who lack other economic opportunities (Josty, 2019).

Alberta (and Edmonton) are both very working class and entrepreneurial places. Fung (2019, 55) describes this combination as 'entrepreneurial working class':

No one I knew ever talked about class divisions; they just named different neighborhoods. A multitude of worlds lived between the suburban divisions of Old Glenora, Belvedere, or Mill Woods. The city as a whole, with its denim-clad and Sorel-footed swagger, had a sure sense of itself as a place for the entrepreneurial working class.

The Art of Living (2008) cultural plan integrates the ideas of creativity and boldness associated with entrepreneurialism, as well as the work ethic associated with the working class into their descriptions of artists in the city: "Artists understand how important it is to have a combination of inspiration and a work ethic, a kind of pragmatism girding our desire to reach our cultural goals for Edmonton" (City of Edmonton, 2008, 11). This emphasis on work ethic is "also reflective of another aspect of western, and Edmontonian, sensibility, which is this: we get things done" (City of Edmonton, 2008, 8). *Connections & Exchanges* notes that their vision is "to make Edmonton a hub of dynamic, sustainable, and entrepreneurial artistic communities" (City of Edmonton, 2018, 21). Entrepreneurialism is infused into the identity of Edmonton's arts community as described by the City's cultural plans and is consistent with a popular adage in the city: "get 'er done".

1.4.1. Edmonton and Entrepreneurship: Take a Risk

Entrepreneurialism is physically inscribed onto the urban landscape in multiple ways. One example is the *Take a Risk* mural. The mural is located on the North side of the Melcor Building at 10150 100 Street at the heart of downtown Edmonton and reads “Take a Risk. It’s the most Edmonton Thing You Can Do” (see figure 1 below). The letters are clearly visible from the intersection of 102A Avenue and 100 Street. At the North West corner of the intersection is the City Centre Mall and to the North East is Sir Winston Churchill Square; to the South East is the Edmonton Public Library. The letters are on a grey concrete wall and stand 2.5 metres tall (Theobald, 2016). They are created to look like letters made of a blue but cloudy sky. The mural was installed in 2016 through collaboration between Melcor, Make Something Edmonton (MSE) and the artist Clay Lowe (Theobald, 2016). This mural is not part of the official Edmonton civic collection.



Figure 1. Take a Risk by Clay Lowe

The mural is of relevance for a discussion of Edmonton's culture as it boldly makes visible a direct statement about the vernacular identity of Edmontonians. There are all sorts of types of risk this mural could be referring to, however, Melcor makes clear the intended meaning of risk in the mural: "Risk taking is a fibre embedded in Edmontonians. It's an entrepreneurial tick that each of us has, but only some of us listen to" (Wall of Encouragement, 2016). This mural is called a "Wall of Encouragement", meant to encourage Edmontonians to take risks. Male (2016), Melcor (Wall of Encouragement, 2016), Theobald (2016) and MSE (n.d.) allude to the 'riskiness' of the mural as a call to action, or "Wall of Encouragement", to "challenge our fellow building owners to join us in treating empty walls as canvases for colour and inspiration" (Wall of Encouragement,

2016). This is consistent with MSE being a “community building initiative, not a traditional branding exercise” (MSE, n.d.). MSE aims to create a city brand through supporting Edmontonians who wish to ‘make something’. Their grassroots community version of city branding is part of “eliminating meaningless language and tired cliché” usually associated with branding and marketing (MSE, n.d.). The producer of the mural seems blind to its cliché; rather than a corporate or government generated cliché it is a grassroots one. Therefore, the intended meaning of ‘risk’ by the artwork’s producers is the riskiness of entrepreneurial ventures to ‘make something’. Simultaneously, the mural characterizes entrepreneurial risk-taking as quintessentially Edmontonian, directly addressing local identity and culture through participating in city branding.

Edmonton, in many ways, is defined by its relationship to work. Alberta, and by extension Edmonton, is defined, especially by outsiders, by the province’s oil extraction industry: “But is Alberta’s cultural sway the equivalent of its economic sway? I don’t know if I can answer that in an entirely positive way.” (Jeanne Lougheed in City of Edmonton, 2008, 17). In part what is so culturally defining about the province’s economic dependence on oil is the subsequent boom and bust cycle of a single resource economy: “The trouble of a boomtown, without a cultural plan, is that it can be faceless and neutral. In times of scarcity, the arts are at the bottom of a very deep list of priorities” (Todd Babiak in City of Edmonton, 2008, 25). Edmonton creates an identity out of this facelessness and neutrality, defining the city by the hard work and entrepreneurialism of its citizens.

1.5. Public Art Policy in Edmonton

The City of Edmonton’s public art collection is almost completely funded through the percent for art policy. This policy dedicates 1% of qualifying construction budgets (defined below) to cover the cost of commissioning public artworks. Of the 1% of a qualifying construction projects, 10% goes to administration cost and another 10% is dedicated to the maintenance and conservation of the artworks. One of the stated purposes of the percent for art policy is to:

Improve the livability and attractiveness of Edmonton; increase public awareness and appreciation of the arts; stimulate growth of the arts and arts related business, use public art to help meet urban design objectives of municipal developments; and to encourage public art in private development through example. (City of Edmonton, 2010, 1)

This policy is primarily implemented by the Edmonton Arts Council (EAC). The EAC is a “not-for-profit society and charitable organization that supports and promotes the arts community in Edmonton” (City of Edmonton, 2010, 4). The EAC has a service agreement with the City of Edmonton that makes the EAC responsible for administering the percent for art policy, as well as the care, maintenance and promotion of the civic collection. At the City of Edmonton there is a percent for art Coordinator, this position is within the City planning department and acts as the liaison between the City and the EAC. This includes reviewing the “Capital Budget to confirm the inclusion of percent for art components within eligible projects and where necessary, advise civic departments and agencies to comply with the Percent of Art Policy of City Council when budgeting” (City of Edmonton, 2010, 3). The percent for art Coordinator helps to mediate the art selection process with the EAC, civic Project Managers and their consultants. Although both the EAC and the percent for art Coordinator are heavily involved in the administration of public art, they are not involved in the selection of artists or artworks. Rather, the artworks are chosen by a selection committee that is associated with each qualifying construction project.

What is a qualifying construction project? As defined by the City, it is “Any municipal project, whether new construction or renovation, that will be accessed by or be highly visible to the public, including road bridges, rail bridges, foot bridges, streetscape improvements, buildings, recreation facilities as well as park, plaza and square developments” (City of Edmonton, 2010, 2). Within these qualifying construction budgets there are requirements that the artwork be in an area that is publicly accessible, this means it must be located on municipal property or land which has been leased by the City of Edmonton. In addition, the artwork must be in a location that is accessible to the public at least 4 hours of every business day. This policy also requires artworks to be located near

the funding source of the project; therefore public artworks are both physically and financially tied to City of Edmonton facilities and infrastructure development.

When a qualifying construction budget has been identified the Public Art Officer is responsible for putting out a public call to artists in order to solicit applications. This public call will include information about the location of the prospective artwork, the budget associated with the commission and who is eligible to apply. In the past the EAC primarily put out calls in the form of Requests for Proposals (RFP) process, artists were required to present an already formed idea in order to apply for the call. Recently, the EAC has shifted to a Request for Qualifications (RFQ) process, where artists submit a portfolio of their previous work and qualifications.

While the majority of Edmonton's civic collection is funded by the percent for art policy there are two other ways artworks can become included in the collection: via gifting and the transitory artworks program. The City used to have a very open gifting policy, however, it became more restricted in 2009. Gifted artworks now need to include a financial gift of up to 20% of the artwork's appraised value for the administration and conservation of the gift (City of Edmonton, 2009a). This is because gifted artworks often require maintenance and the funding for public art is almost exclusively dependent on the percent for art policy, which attaches money to a specific location and artwork. The transitory artwork programs are not intended to be 'permanent' and are funded through different mechanisms. The transitory public art projects "support artists in conducting experimental or contemporary interventions with the public realm" (EAC, 2020); these artworks tend to be more experimental can include "online or virtual projects, radio art, light art, video projections, performance, etc" (EAC, 2020).

The percent for art program has evolved since Edmonton first adopted it in 1991. The most substantial and recent changes to the policy occurred in 2007:

- Removal of percent for art cap of \$100,000 to reflect current arts production costs;

- Expanding the definition of eligibility for new construction or renovation projects to include road/ rail/ footbridges, streetscape improvements, buildings, recreation facilities and park/ plaza/ square developments;
- Development of a public art archive and maintenance program;
- Creation of a Public Art Committee. (Edmonton Arts Council, 2007, 4)

These changes greatly expanded the scope of the civic collection of public art in Edmonton, increasing both the possible budgets for projects and the possible number of projects. Therefore, 2007 was a turning point for the city's public art collection due to the more cohesive and broader application of the percent for art policy. Furthermore, the context section of the *Public Art Master Plan* (2007) states these changes are to "reflect a demand for cultural and high quality urban environments" (4); these changes reflect an overall renewed focus by the City on promoting culture and the contribution of public art to the urban fabric. Furthermore, it states: "Edmonton needs to act quickly to address the conservation needs of its current public art assets" (EAC, 2007, 4); this implies previous neglect.

1.6. Thesis Overview

The structure and content of this thesis is as follows. Chapter two provides an overview of the public art and phantasmagoria literatures. The literature review draws attention to the ways public art has been imagined and used as well as the critical response to public art. This literature draws attention to the popular beliefs about public arts efficacy, termed the public artopia. The second literature review describes the concept of phantasmagoria, its origins in Walter Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* and its use thereafter in human geography. Phantasmagoria is used as a metaphor to describe the effect of consumer culture in urban space, wherein the city is animated by the fetishization of commodities on display. The metaphor of phantasmagoria has subsequently been used to describe haunting, elusive, and fantastical effects of ideology in animating the inanimate features of cities.

Chapter 3 begins by reflecting on the methods commonly used to study public art, namely a case study approach, and situates this study within the discourse. This chapter goes on to describe how data were gathered for this study; I employed a multimethod approach gathering three separate sources of data: (1) landscape analysis based on a comprehensive survey of the collection through a series of site visits, (2) policy analysis through close readings of policy documents and (3) thematic analysis of qualitative semi-structured interviews with key informants.

Chapter 4 conveys the results of this study and is divided into three sections. The first section engages with landscape analysis through rich description of the Edmonton public art collection beginning with an overview of the collection with attention to the spatial distribution and growth of the collection (supported by tables and maps) and the data from the interpretive tag system. The collection overview is concluded with a description of 12 examples of public artworks. This is followed by policy analysis of three planning documents: *Public Art Master Plan* (2007); *The Art of Living* (2008) and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018). This analysis identifies significant themes in these documents and discusses their content. This Chapter concludes with the thematic analysis of interview data. Interview data is analyzed through a series of key tensions in the administration of public art in Edmonton.

The final chapter contains the combined discussion and conclusion of this thesis. The discussion is divided into two sections. First, I establish how this research conceives of public art as a phantasmagoria and return to the metaphor of the phantasmagoria as a lantern show. In doing so I elucidate how landscapes of public art in Edmonton become a part of the broader processes of urban development. Second, I describe how this takes place through the description of two such landscapes in Edmonton. This chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings of this study.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Public Art Literature Review

2.1.1. Introduction

The most widely used definition of public art is from Malcolm Miles' 1997 book *Art, Space and the City*. Miles (1997) defines public art as “work commissioned for sites of open public access; the term ‘site specific’ is also used, both for art made for installation in a given site, and art which is the design of the site itself” (5). This art is often located in city squares, private building plazas, governmental buildings, railway stations, schools, parks and hospitals (Miles, 1997). Furthermore, public art is primarily (although not exclusively) located in urban space (Miles, 1997). A clear definition of public art is difficult to come by as public art can include

permanent works, temporary works, political activism, service art, performance, earthworks, community projects, street furniture, monuments memorials, and let – let us not forget—“plunk” and “plop” art. Temporary works can be site-specific and memorial can exist as interventions; practice of public art weaves in and around existing in layers. Public art can incorporate a single object or an entire streetscape. Public art exists in urban centres, suburbia, and rural regions. Public art has crept into every corner of our society and perhaps, in part, that is why it is one of the most controversial and misinterpreted art disciplines today. (Cartiere, 2008, 9)

Therefore, public art encapsulates a wide breadth of types of artworks and locations. The term ‘public art’ simplifies the genre and is most often employed by art administrators and officials and often refers to a government program rather than a genre of art recognized by art historians (Cartiere, 2008); this means it is more of a funding category than an art historical term.

Much of the academic literature concerning public art, especially that produced in the 1990s, is based on a critique of modernism, and the type of public art it produces, mainly termed 'conventional public art' or more colloquially and derisively 'plop' art. The critique of this type of public art is often termed new genre public art. It proposes alternatives to modernism and its conception of art, artists, public space and relationship with urban development and policy.

In the course of this section I explore the relationship between geography, modernism and public art. I begin by defining public art loosely and the role of art in human geography. I then move into the origins of public art, namely monuments, as well as the art historic growth of public art. I then describe conventional public art and the critical discourses surrounding it. Finally, I discuss the urban and cultural theories that have been part of the critique and change in the conception and discussion of public art.

2.1.2. Capitalism and Public Art

There is a strong association between capitalism and the public art, due in large part to the latter's strong ties to urban development and redevelopment. Recent scholarship surrounding public art often integrates discourses of city marketing. Artworks, especially those envisioned as iconic, are incorporated "into promotional discourses of the city or region" (Hall, 2007, 1379). Artists and the arts have long been integrated into gentrification; both the physical relocation (influx) of artists and the creation of artwork in areas that have previously experienced divestment contributes to the transformation of these places (Cameron and Coaffee, 2005). As Hall (2007) explains "Addressing the multiple legacies of deindustrialization and structural adjustment in the cities of the capitalist west has typically centred around the physical reshaping of their central spaces and associated with projects place promotion" (1379). Because public art has the ability to provide distinctive images of place, it "provide[s] a means of generating cultural capital through the layering of distinctiveness and providing a cultural aura" (Hall, 2007, 1380). Through the cultural aura that is created, public art can serve the ideological function of lending legitimacy and a lens of public good to controversial developments and processes of uneven development.

2.1.3. Geography and Art

Geography's intersection with art is usually discussed in terms of art 'making worlds' and contributing to the geographic imagination of spaces and places through representation. An early intersection of art and geography, in the western tradition, began with colonialism; namely artists accompanying explorers on voyages in the service of empire and science in the 'Age of Exploration' (Hawkins, 2017). Art was used to depict worlds contributing to the geographic imaginaries of the European Enlightenment, imbuing foreign landscapes with European values and aesthetics (Hawkins, 2017); "artworks do not so much 'picture' worlds as 'make' worlds is a central premise for geographers studying art" (Hawkins, 2017, 3). These renderings of faraway landscapes were included in packets of information about 'undiscovered' places (Hawkins, 2017).

Landscapes continue to be at the foreground of the intersection of geography and art, particularly with the work of Stephen Daniels on the iconography of landscape (in the 1980s) and reading the landscape as text. Daniels (and Cosgrove, 1988) analyzed idyllic depictions of landscapes in England and the way they veil class exploitation; namely, the poor living conditions of workers and their displacement as a result of the Enclosure Acts, which is left undepicted and hidden from view (Hawkins, 2017). Within these earlier intersections of art and geography there is an emphasis on analyzing art for nuggets of description and subjective experiences of space and place, as well as what is left hidden from view and why.

Recent scholarship situates art in geographic sites and acknowledges art as something that creates senses of space and place, engaging with questions of emotion, affect, the body and sense (Hawkins, 2017). This shift emphasizes "the value of arts practices as proffered a means by which to constitute new and engaged publics for their work" (Hawkins, 2017, 7). This has meant a stronger focus on the "geographies of creative production and consumption, not least because such perspectives enable a close attention to the kinds of "work" that artistic objects and experiences do in the world" (Hawkins,

2017, 8). This perspective acknowledges artistic production as “a situated activity with complex and manifold geographies” (Hawkins, 2017, 1). Geographers have acknowledged the ability of arts created outside studio and gallery spaces as “technologies of connection” (Hawkins, 2017, 3), participating in creating community and place.

In human geography, art is a lens through which to glean information about space and place through its depiction; art is also a way to create collective senses of space and place. In this way art ‘makes worlds’, through analyzing how we depict geography and landscape, as well as shaping our lived experiences of place.

2.1.4. Modernism, Urban Planning and Public Art

The dominant ideology championing public art into the 1960s was modernism. Modernist theory has shaped how public art has been viewed and implemented: namely, through modernist planning ideologies and modernist conceptions of art. Modernism is associated with a valorization of scientific and technological progress and its ability to cure the ills of humanity; it originated in the early 18th century with the advent of industrialization in Western Europe and North America (Scott, 1998). From the perspective of modernism, history is viewed as the linear progress of humanity through scientific discovery and technological advancement (Scott, 1998). For the purposes of this paper, I will discuss modernism as a theory of planning and art, rather than as a style of art or architecture.

2.1.4.1. Modernism in Planning

Modernist theory in planning manifests itself in a particular view of how to organize space: plans are usually grand and comprehensive and created from a voyeuristic/aerial vantage point (Scott, 1998). Through modernist planning, space was organized according to the rational application of order to ensure efficiency, believing in the rule of reason (Hall, 2014), often emerging as “easily legible from outside [...] grand plans of the ensemble [that] ha[ve] no necessary relationship to the order of life as it is experienced by its residents” (Scott, 1998, 58). Therefore, modernism took an expansive and detached, rather than grassroots, view of the city. Furthermore, it did not usually adapt and integrate into the

existing landscape and current spatial order, usually taking a tabula rasa approach to planning and design (Scott, 1998). Therefore, modernism was the application of technical and scientific planning knowledge (which is universal) onto space, where the existing spatial order and built form are generally believed to be unimportant.

In modernist planning, the city's 'order' was legible through geometric form: visual regimentation of space equated to progress and social order (Miles, 1997). Modernism conflated the appearance of visible order in a city with actual orderliness. As a result, "the new city has striking sculptural properties, it is designed to make a powerful visual impact as a form" (Scott, 1998, 104). One of the champions of this movement was Le Corbusier. As an architect, his spatial order had a certain aesthetic cohesion, as well, it advocated for "formal, geometric simplicity and functional efficiency", where the "wisdom of the plan sweeps away all social obstacles: the elected authorities, the voting public, the constitution and the legal structure" (Scott, 1998, 113 & 115). In the high modernist plan for cities, public spaces are planned, usually with a specific ratio of public or green space to number of citizens and has been criticized for creating "public spaces, squares and streets ... inappropriate for public interaction" (Hall, 2014, n.p.). The aestheticization of spatial order and the tabula rasa approach of modernist planning was exemplified by massive redevelopment projects such as at the Haussmannization of Paris, France; or by the building of new cities such as Brasília, Brazil (Scott, 1998). Both cities have a clearly visible and recognizable urban form; when viewed aerially the intention of the planners/architects of the city, Baron Von Haussman and Lúcio Costa, Oscar Neimeyer and Joaquim Cardozo, respectively (Scott, 1998), is evident.

2.1.4.2. Art and Modernism

Modernist theory is significant for public art in two ways: first, how it views the artist; and second, how it conceptualizes art objects themselves. Modernism values the individual; as a result the identity and individuality of the artist is significant. The result is art that "gives

pride of place to that which is irreducibly personal”, rather than the “self effacing tribal or (public) artist who reflects the culture of the community” (Hein, 2002, 436 & 437).

Therefore, the self-expression of the individual artist is given pride of place over community driven expression of collective beliefs/values in the modernist theory of art.

In modernism, art is viewed as a being part of a separate aesthetic realm (Miles, 1997; Deutsche, 1989 and Phillips, 1989). Modernism views art as a self-referential and autonomous sphere of human activity (Hein, 2002). Art is therefore a “container of an irreducible and universal essence, is self-governing totality generated by sovereign, universal artists and “beheld” by equally autonomous viewers” (Deutsche, 1989, 233). The emphasis in this conception is on the artist, as part of Western society’s ideal of the free, self-sufficient individual (Gablik, 1995). Through this definition, art is removed from the circumstance of its creation and reception; interacting with art, in modernist thought, removes the viewer from society (Deutsche, 1989). Under this conception of art there is a subtle disapproval of artists who use interaction, rather than the disembodied approach (Gablik, 1995). Artists “have been conditioned not to worry about the applications, consequences or moral purpose of their activity.” (Gablik, 1995, 77). Since art under modernism exists in a separate aesthetic realm, the social, political, economic, or cultural effect of an artwork is beyond the artists’ scope or responsibilities. Since art is in a separate aesthetic realm the artist is responsible only for the reaction and effect in that realm rather than a broader understanding of art’s influence on the social, political, economic or cultural realms.

The case study of the *Tilted Arc* (1981) by George Serra illustrates the effect of modernist conceptions of art on public art. The *Tilted Arc* is a site-specific sculpture: it is a long thin piece of metal forming a wall. It was installed in the Foley Federal Plaza in Manhattan in 1981 (Deutsche, 1989; Miles, 1997 and Phillips, 1989). The immediate public reaction to the piece was negative: namely, the many workers (mostly bureaucrats) who used the plaza everyday saw it as disruptive to their routines (Deutsche, 1989; Miles, 1997, and Phillips, 1989). The result was a petition, and then a court case, to have the sculpture removed. Throughout the trial there was significant testimony including from proponents

of the artwork, such as Keith Haring, Phillip Glass and Jean-Michel Basquiat (Deutsche, 1989). They testified to the significance of the piece in art history (Deutsche, 1989). On the other hand, the workers claimed they had not been adequately consulted regarding the sculpture (Deutsche, 1989 and Hein, 2002). The piece was removed from the plaza in 1989. As it was site-specific, Serra said the sculpture could not be installed elsewhere and it remains in storage today (Miles, 1997 and Deutsche, 1989). This piece is frequently and consistently discussed in the public art literature (see: Miles; 1997; Deutsche, 1989; Phillips, 1989; Mitchell, 1990; Sharp, Pollock and Paddison, 2005; Sharp, 2007; Hein, 2002; Guinard and Molina, 2018; Zebracki, 2014; Zebracki, 2012 and Shuerman, Loopman and Vandenabeele, 2012). Despite the piece's famous author and its relevance within the modernist aesthetic sphere (as proven by renowned artists who testified to have it remain in situ), it failed to engage with the public, and was removed. The *Tilted Arc* case study demonstrates one possible effect of modernist theory on art and artists—the result was a public artwork without a public. Since the 1960s, high modernism is rarely practiced; however, modernism remains influential.

Critical literature about public art began in the late 1980s and 1990s (Deutsche 1989; Phillips, 1989; Phillips, 2004 and Miles 1997). This literature often focuses on the United States (mostly New York City) and the United Kingdom, where percent for art programs became popular. Through these programs, public art is tied to the development and redevelopment of the city through both public expenditure and capitalism (Miles, 1997; Phillips, 2004). Public art becomes part of the 'progress' of the city. Deutsche (1989) critiques the placement of public art in quasi-public plazas created adjacent to high-rise buildings, which were created as stipulations for higher density allowances from planning authorities. Phillips (2004) describes these places as “socially acceptable euphemism[s] used to describe the area developers have ‘left over’” (192). The public art in these spaces are “corporate baubles”, a tool through which to create identity (Phillips, 1989; Baca, 1995), seeking to counter “modernist planning and the erosion of senses of place” (Hall and Robertson, 2001, 12). Public art is credited with “the ability to replace a quality that has vanished from a place or has been ignored” (Hall and Robertson, 2001, 12). The public

artworks serve to replace identities and a sense of place erased through modernist planning and redevelopment.

Modernism in planning and art both emphasized expert knowledge and linear historic progress. This emphasis on expert knowledge meant modernist planning and art failed to integrate the public into their projects; city plans were drawn up by experts and art was about the personal expression of individual artists. The result was public space and art, which failed to address the public.

2.1.5. Origin of Public Art: Monuments, Architecture and Art History

A popular origin of public art is the monument and public statuary: “Statues in public parks and squares seem inoffensive as they blend, covered in moss and pigeon shit, into the urban landscape” (Miles, 2008, 71). Public monuments arose as one of a number of public institutions which emerged as products of 19th century liberal reformism including the workhouse, the prison, the park and the museum (Miles, 2008). Public art can be seen as derived from the ‘cannon in a park’ impulse, where cannons from past victories are hauled into parks to commemorate the victory (Baca, 1995). Public art follows within the tradition of monuments, which “both define and make visible the values of the public realm, and do so in a way which is far from neutral, never simply decorative” (Miles, 1997, 59).

Both monuments and conventional public art are material representations of the dominant values of society in public space. The main difference between the two is that monuments commemorate an aspect of history; public art often has no such defined purpose. However, both exist in public spaces and through aesthetics can neutralize contentious aspects of history or urban redevelopment (Miles, 1997). As both monuments and public art are pieces of ‘art’, they are often evaluated for their aesthetic quality; this emphasis keeps political and social critique and evaluation at bay. For public art this is evident by notions of imbuing developments with an “‘aura’ of quality” (Hall and Robertson, 2001, 7). Through the elusive ‘aura’ of quality, and following in the tradition of

monuments to neutralize contentious topics, conventional public art is associated with the social engineering goals of planning models (Zebracki *et al.*, 2009).

Public art in the historical context is often “an appeal to a supposed past union of art and architecture, in another notion of liberal *civitas*” (Miles, 1997, 87). This is partially as the terms ‘artist’ and ‘architect’ are both relatively modern (Miles, 1997). The idea of a reunion of ‘art-and-architecture’ was repopularized in the 1980s and was strongly associated with “co-opting art to the bourgeoisie notions of urban ‘beautification’”. (Miles, 1997, 88). The case for such a union references past unions such as the Parthenon frieze or reference to Florence in the Renaissance (Miles, 1997). Miles (1997) notes the similarities between our conceptions of artists and architects, primarily ideas surrounding individual authorship and both as self-referential and apart from society. Furthermore, public art’s origins in the ‘site-specific’ and ‘installation’ artworks means that entire streetscapes can be considered public art; interweaving public art with urban design (Cartiere, 2008). The difficulty defining where architecture or urban design ends and public art begins is part of the ongoing confusion with the term ‘public art’.

Rendell (2008) discusses land art, which was popular in the 1960s and 1970s as an art historical precursor to public art. Land art pushed the boundaries of the sites for art as well as the materials; land art created (usually very large) installations in nature (usually outside populated areas) often out of natural materials (such as soil, rocks and vegetation) and were documented by photo or video. This movement was intended to critique the gallery system and art as a commodity (Rendell, 2008). These artworks were inseparable from their context and so theoretically could never be a commodity object; however removal from the gallery system does not in itself remove an artwork from the exclusivity of the artworld. Rendell (2008) notes

resisting the site of the gallery by locating work outside its physical limits does not necessarily involve operating outside the institution of the gallery, economically and culturally. Indeed many works of land art would not exist without the funding of private patrons. (38).

Land art is cited as a forerunner to public art, and both share an emphasis on the site of the artwork and operate outside the gallery system, at least spatially.

2.1.6 Percent for Art

Public art is also a form of municipal public policy, which has made public art ubiquitous in cities, and has become a major funding source for public art. A common example is 'percent for art' policies, which assign a percentage of a construction budget (usually 1 percent) to a public artwork. This funding is usually associated with public construction projects, thus through this public art becomes a major area of state patronage (Miles, 1997). The creation of percent for art creates a bureaucracy of arts management associated with the artworks, which is usually administered by arts councils and/or local governments. As a policy, percent for art often results in a narrow interpretation of public art as "the commissioning of permanent fine or applied art for new buildings" (Miles, 1997, 111); there is a pattern of an aesthetic object in a physical site. Miles (1997) argues that art policies such as percent for art make "no distinction between the responsibility of the public sector in a liberal society and the non-accountability of some developers to interests other than those of global finance" (104). The percent for art policy, due to its direct attachment of funding of public art to development, adds an aesthetic interest to economic regeneration and ends up engaging in issues of who a space is for as well as the identity of places (Mathew, 2010). Just as there are contrasting forms of development, there are a variety of ways public art is employed, and general policies such as percent for art can be deployed for a variety of interests not all equally concerned with the 'public good'. The integration of Arts Councils with development through the administration of percent for art policies has resulted in the critique that public art is "a commercial art or an art form produced by committee" (Cartiere, 2008, 9).

2.1.7. Conventional Public Art and its Detractors (New Genre Public Art)

Public art has been a common practice since the 1960s, but became widely commissioned in the 1980s, with a critical discourse surrounding public art beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Zebracki, 2012). From this critical discourse emerged new genre public art, which was a reaction against the perceived shortcomings of public art as it was conventionally practiced at this time. 'New genre public art' is a term coined Suzanne Lacy (1995); it critiqued use of conventional public art as a tool in urban redevelopment to create the impression of equitable development through the provision of public goods. This use situated public art in a broader project of modernist city building; much of the surrounding academic discussion focuses on ideas of what 'public' and 'art' are, and how both of these terms are employed in and through modernism. I will begin by describing conventional public art then get into some of the critiques largely based around ideas about what is 'public' and conceptions about the role of 'art'. I will then discuss the role of modernism and planning in supporting the application of conventional public art.

2.1.7.1. Conventional Public Art

Conventional public art often physically takes the form of "art in public places" and "art as public spaces" (Kwon, 2015). 'Art in public places' is "typically a modernist abstract sculpture placed outdoors to "decorate" or "enrich" urban spaces, especially plaza areas fronting federal buildings or corporate office towers" (Kwon, 2015, 1). 'Art as public spaces' has a greater emphasis on incorporating context and seeks to integrate public art with the surrounding architecture and landscape; the result is often parks, plazas and promenades. It entails collaboration with architects, landscape architects, city planners, urban designers and city administrators (Kwon, 2015). This kind of public art is "commissioned and designed for a particular space, taking into account the physical and visual qualities of the site" (Lacy, 1995, 23). Conventional public art is often modernist sculpture in a public square. It is sometimes referred to as 'plop art'; as there is a tendency to 'plop' an artwork in a public space without attention to or integration of the artwork into the social or

physical context of the site. Conventional public art is most associated with urban redevelopment, gentrification and modernist planning ideologies.

Conventional public art is strongly associated with modernism and treats art as having an independent aesthetic essence (Deutsche, 1989). This emphasis results in a “largely static conception of art as constituting an autonomous aesthetic realm which acts as an alternative to everyday life” (Miles, 1997, 13). Through the transfer of art from everyday life to an aesthetic realm, the social conditions of its creation are often a backdrop, and it is analyzed and valued based on the historical context and iconography of the piece (Deutsche, 1989). Art’s, and consequently, public art’s placement in this aesthetic realm, elides or lessens criticism of intersections with power, money and urban politics (Miles, 1997). Through aestheticization, public art becomes an uncontroversial, inherently good idea that will beautify space and can receive a passive uncritical acceptance by the public (Zebracki *et al.*, 2009).

2.1.7.2. New Genre Public Art

The term new genre public art was not intended to identify a form of art, rather it sought to “pose a challenge to a discourse developing around public art during the 1980s” and to propose new approaches to visual art and the public (Lacy, 2008, 18). The term was popularized by Suzanne Lacy’s 1995 book *Mapping New Terrain New Genre Public Art*, which built on critical work developed in the late 1980s and early 1990s by authors such as Rosalyn Deutsch, Malcolm Miles and Patricia Phillips. New genre public art sought to create a new level of scrutiny of the interaction between art, space and the public, and to complicate the deceptively simple idea of integrating art into civic processes (Lacy, 2008). The new genre critique asserted that conventional public art “condemned art to social impotence by turning it into just another class of objects for marketing and consumption” (Gablik, 1995, 74). At its core, new genre public art sought recognition that far from being “an independent, autonomous event, public art is embedded in the political, economic, and ethical considerations of cities and communities.” (Phillips, 1995, 64). This is in direct

opposition to modernism's 'independent aesthetic realm' and emphasis on individualism (in terms of both the audience of public art and the artist).

Furthermore, new genre public art sought "to give real texture and meaning to the notion of artist citizenship and in so doing reconstruct the civic relevance of art" (Lacy, 2008, 31). New genre public art seeks to use arts for community regeneration, and its aims were much more oppositional: seeking to disrupt the dominant (modernist) "conceptions of the city, highlight their contradictions, processes of uneven urban development and marginalisation of certain groups within the city that is the consequence of this" (Hall, 2007, 1380). To achieve the aims of social and ecological healing new genre public art sought to

[e]xpos[e] the radical autonomy of aesthetics as something that is not "neutral" but is an active participant in capitalist ideology has been a primary accomplishment of the aggressive ground-clearing work of deconstruction. Autonomy, we now see, has condemned art to social impotence by turning it into just another class of objects for marketing and consumption (Gablik, 1995, 74)

Under new genre public art, the community becomes part of the 'raw materials' for an artist's work and draws a relationship "between art production and democratic participation" (Phillips, 1995, 69). Under the vision, the artists "act as a catalyst for other people's creativity, political imagination being perhaps as valued as drawing skill" (Miles, 1997, 8-12). New genre public art engaged with issues such as temporality: as the public and public life changes, so should its art, in contrast to ideas about "steadfast art that expresses permanence through its own perpetualness" (Phillips, 1989, 331).

New genre public art, through direct and timely engagement and integration with the public, disrupts the amorphous and nonspecific 'public' created in modernist conceptions of art and planning. It does not assume that placement in a public space makes an artwork public, and disavows the notion of artworks being neutral (Gablik, 1995, 75). Instead, new genre public art advocates a more investigative, exploratory and iterative public art (Phillips, 1989). The emphasis is on process, rather than the end project (Sharp, 2007). New genre public art sought to address many of the contradictions and issues raised

in the late 1980s and early 1990s “by redetermining ‘public’ as the ‘space’ (or ‘time’) of public issues” (Miles, 1997, 102).

The new genre critique and advocacy for more integration of the public in art curtails the modernist conception of an independent aesthetic realm occupied by artists where they create individual works of genius. However, it cannot eliminate the challenges of creating art within bureaucratic systems:

Artists often face the daunting task of coming up with an idea upon demand for a community that can't be defined. Even after the selection of an artist, committees, administrators, and artists navigate an obstacle course of systems ready to say “no” at every turn – business operations, contract negotiations, artwork conservation and maintenance, engineering, the main technicalities of artwork fabrication and, of course the particular public ostensibly being served by a given project (Willis, 2008, 156).

In the background to such challenges is the “view that public art is widely regarded as successful is that which evades, rather than invites, controversy” (Hall, 2007, 1386). Furthermore, when an artwork has been successful according to the tenets of the new genre public art and achieves integration the community and fosters a sense of pride, what is the effect when this artwork falls into disrepair? This is explored by Sharp (2007)'s analysis of the *Five Spaces* (1999) project in Glasgow, centred on the effect of five public artworks which drew on the new genre approach to public art. These artworks were part of the city's year as the UK City of Architecture and Design in 1999 and integrated community input with artists and architects (Sharp, 2007). The study reveals that the materiality of public art is “often downplayed by new genre public art approaches” (Sharp, 2007, 275). The physical artworks outlived the programming that had originally integrated them into their respective communities. As the memory of participating in their creation fades, what essentially lingers is a conventional public artwork.

2.1.8. What is Public?

'Public' in the context of public art can be described in terms of the intended audience of the art (the 'public'), as well as the geographic space in which art is located ('public space'). There is power in asserting that something is public or for the public; it implies it is in the public interest and for the public good. Deutsche (1989) discusses the massive privatization and uneven redevelopment of New York City in the 1980s, and how as private development accelerated, discussion of 'the public' intensified, and 'public' art and 'public' space were provided to give the illusion of "democratic legitimacy" (Deutsch, 1989, 56).

The 'publics' are defined by Deutsche (1989) as either as a unity or, what amounts to the same thing, as a field composed of essential differences, dilemmas plaguing the use of public spaces can be attributed to the inevitable disruptions attendant on the need to harmonize the 'natural' differences and diverse interests characteristic of any society (57). "The public" is used to neutralize diversity and difference in the name of creating social harmony: "The discourse of the public thus disavows the social relations of domination" (Deutsche, 1989, 58). "The public" can be exclusive and homogenizing as it fails often to take into account the diversity of 'publics' that exist in a city, and therefore, public spaces and art works are not created to be accessible to all social groups. This often raises questions: Which public is public art created for? And who is it excluding?

Public art may create opportunities for wider public access to a privileged domain (the contemporary art world). However, since this art requires a level of cultural education to be understood and appreciated it arguably does not truly address the public (Miles, 1997). Modernism promotes the idea of "constant revolutions of style with a largely static conception of arts as constitutively an autonomous aesthetic realm which acts as an alternative to everyday life" (Miles, 1997, 13). Therefore, through the aestheticization of art, it is removed from local politics and often the public it is supposedly for: "it displaces value into an aesthetic domain setting up a duality of art and life, allowing the impact of power or money on everyday life to be unquestioned, or at least less unquestioned" (Miles, 1997, 58).

Just as there are critiques of the relative publicness of art there are critiques of the relative publicness of the places where these artworks are displayed. Deutsche (1989) gives the examples of public art in plazas and atriums of high-rise buildings in New York. Although these spaces have the appearance of being public, they are in fact privately owned, and were created as a stipulation for higher density allowances from city planning authorities; these are often sites in which public art is located (Deutsche, 1989). These spaces create the impression of public participation in the redevelopment of the city through the creation of a public good (i.e., public space), hiding their true purpose, which is to facilitate the interests of private investment in the accumulation of capital (Deutsche, 1989). However, these spaces are only quasi-public and “through a multitude of legal, physical, or symbolic means, they permit access by certain social groups for selected purposes while excluding others” (Deutsche, 1989, 57).

Furthermore, publicly owned public spaces can also be exclusive to certain publics. Deutsche (1989) gives the example of the removal of homeless people from Grand Central Station and other transportation hubs in the 1980s. This went hand in hand with wider trends of restricting behaviors associated with homeless people in public space, such as sitting, sleeping and begging as well as adopting design measures to discourage these uses (Collins and Stadler, 2020). This was part of a larger wave of exclusionary practices in the 1980s and 1990s, most notably in the United States, to impose social and legal order on public space (Collins and Stadler, 2020). The removal of homeless people from public space continues into the present through police enforcing anti-loitering rules and the removal of tent cities (Collins and Stadler, 2020). Furthermore, quality public spaces such as parks can become exclusionary as they become associated with raising adjacent property values and gentrification. This can be seen in the example of the New York High Line, where an abandoned elevated train line was converted into a green space resulting in significant gentrification of the surrounding area (Collins and Stadler, 2020). Public space has become exclusionary but it has also begun to disappear, increasingly becoming privatized (Collins and Stadler, 2020; Miles, 2008; Miles, 1997; Deutsch, 1989; Zebracki, 2014). Increasingly the public life of cities has shifted to privately owned places of consumption: the mall, marketplaces, and entertainment zones (Collins and Stadler, 2020).

The combination of exclusionary practices and privatization of public space have been termed the 'death' of public space (Collins and Stadler, 2020). Thus, the publicness of public space, where public art is located, is not always universally "sites of open public access" (Miles, 1997, 5), rather they can be exclusionary, often in the service of "imperatives to attract capital investment, and lure middle-class consumers and tourists (back) to downtown areas" (Collins and Stadler, 2020, 104).

2.1.9. Public Artopia

New genre public art provides a critical discourse and new aims for public art, critiquing the often-fantastical qualities attributed to conventional public art, and explaining why these claims were unreasonable and unattainable. Newer scholarship seeks to explore if public art (new genre or otherwise) fulfills these fantastical benefits. This issue is discussed under the heading of 'public artopia,' a term that illuminates the substantial and ongoing utopian qualities attributed to public artworks.

The term 'artopia' is used by Zebracki, Van Der Vaart and Van Aalst in their 2010 article to describe the set of claims frequently made about the benefits of public art. Artopic claims typically revolve around social, cultural and economic efficacy of public art (see Hall and Robertson, 2001; Sharp *et al.*, 2005; Zebracki *et al.*, 2010; Shuerman, Loopmans and Vandenbeeke, 2012; Zebracki, 2014). More specifically, it has been claimed that public art enhances the physical environment, creates a sense of place, contributes to community cohesion, social health and wellbeing, attracts economic investment and tourism, fosters a sense of local identity and civic pride, attracts citizens and employers, raises the quality of life and reduces crime (Public Art Online, 2020; Zebracki, Van Der Vaart and Van Aalst, 2010; Mathews, 2010; Hall and Robertson, 2001). These range of claims allow for public art to be applied as "a modest antidote or grand solution" to the perceived 'problems' of a place (Phillips, 1989, 331).

Some elements of these claims, especially those pertaining to the independent aesthetic value of public artworks and the creation of collective memory (associated most strongly with monuments and public statuary) have been around since long before the

1980s. However, public artopia has since expanded to include claims associated with “social cohesion, urban boosterism, and city marketing” (Zebracki *et al.*, 2010, 787) and attracting the creative class (Shuermans *et al.*, 2012). These claims are essentialist and view public art as intrinsically ‘good’ (Hall, 2001; Hall and Robertson, 2001; Shuermans *et al.*, 2012), a view of public art that has been widely criticized since the 1980s, but remains relevant.

Recent literature has sought to measure or confirm the claims of the benefits of public art, which compose the public artopia (Zebracki *et al.*, 2010; Zebracki, 2018, Cameron and Coaffee, 2005, Shuerman *et al.*, 2012; Sharp, 2007). The emphasis for the majority of these case studies follows in the footsteps of the critiques of the 1980s in emphasizing the meanings and reactions created in place by the public, which interacts and surrounds these public artworks (Hall, 2007). Rather than asking how public art can be created to serve a public, these authors ask: what does the public make of public art once it’s there? In other words, there has been a shift in geographical and other critical social and cultural theory “from a concern with meanings inherent in art works as cultural texts to a concern with the meanings generated through encounters with audiences, this being in line with developments within these disciplines” (Hall, 2007, 1389).

2.1.10. Public Response

Public art is made for the ‘public’, which implies interest in the public reaction to an artwork as well as the meanings people create about an artwork. Early literature recognized the place of controversy in public art. Pieces once installed often receive an initial burst of publicity, sometimes including outrage (often regarding the cost) – a “reactionary emotional response that seems to plague most artwork placed in the public realm” (Cartiere, 2008, 16) – before blending into the city and the everyday lives of its citizens. In extreme examples, as seen in the case study of the *Tilted Arc*, artworks do not make it past their initial controversy to become part of the urban fabric. Since the 2000s there has been interest in the meaning created in space by consumers of public art. Studies indicate that the ability of the public to create meaning is contingent and “revolve[s] around the immediacy of the encounter, rather than through any links to broader

narratives or discourses of art in the city or to any greater personal significance” (Hall, 2007, 1387). Indeed, a lot of the reactions to public art are not based on the artwork itself but “the ‘little things’ such as where people can sit in a public plaza, in other words, how disruptive an artwork is to the existing uses of a space (Sharp, 2007).

2.1.11. Public Art and Human Geography

Much of the critical discourse surrounding public art discussed above emerged as part of spatial turn in social sciences in the 1990s and 2000s. There is an emphasis on the social production of space and place originating with the work of Henri Lefebvre (namely the *The Production of Space*) and Michel De Certeau and continued by geographers David Harvey, Doreen Massey and Ed Soja (Rendell, 2008). This relationship between the social and the spatial is termed by Soja the “sociospatial dialectic”, wherein the “social and spatial relations are dialectically inter-reactive, interdependent and that social relations of production are both space-forming and space contingent” (Soja in Rendell, 2008, 34-35). This discourse emphasizes the importance of understanding the particularities of place, as well as understanding the relationship of this site unique qualities to “larger networks, systems, and processes physically and ideologically” (Rendell, 2008, 36).

The interest in how to talk about public art is strongly tied to urban geography, as most public art is located in an urban setting. Miles (1997) refers to de Certeau and the *Practice of Everyday Life* in describing the ‘gaze’ of the city from above, from the position of the voyeur (Miles, 1997). This view allows for the city’s simplification into a unified whole and submission to planning crafted from above, and is commonly associated with modernism. The work of de Certeau in conjunction with that of Foucault offers a critique of power in shaping space and place. The ‘gods-eye’ view or “postcard view of a city reduced to a skyline” is also criticized by Massey (Miles, 2008, 76), in contrast to the perspective of the ‘walker’, which reveals place to be “permeable, both bounded and unbounded, local and global, contested, mutable and socially contingent” (Hall and Robertson, 2001, 20).

David Harvey and Sharon Zukin are referred to in the public art literature to describe art's intersections with redevelopment and gentrification of the city. Harvey describes the way the city needs to be constantly "reshaped around new transport and communication systems and physical infrastructure, new centres and styles of production" (Harvey, 1993, 7 in Miles 1997, 30). Harvey identified the constant needs of capital for expansion and growth; to this end is the cyclical development and redevelopment of the city (Miles, 1997). Zukin wrote very influentially about gentrification and the cultural capital of artists; she writes about the increasing emphasis on consumption in the city through the conversion of small-scale industrial buildings into artist loft living spaces, which are later further gentrified (Cameron and Coaffee, 2005). Zukin's emphasis is the commodification of art and its social environment into an 'artistic mode of production', where the cultural capital of artists is used to bolster the real estate market of an area (Cameron and Coaffee, 2005). In turn, "the visibility and viability of a city's symbolic economy plays a role in the creation of place" (Miles, 1997, 117). Both Harvey and Zukin describe the nature of development in cities and its relationship to capital, both cultural and economic.

2.1.12. Conclusion

The critical discourse surrounding public art that began in the late 1980s and early 1990s developed out of a critique of modernism. This critique paired with the spatial turn in social sciences and humanities, resulted in engagement with how public art is created and how that process directly influences the extent to which a public artwork actually addresses a public (primarily under the umbrella of new genre public art). Since the 1990s there has been an emphasis on what the effect of public art is in public space and what beliefs about the capacity of public art has led to its continued ubiquity and whether or not they are fulfilled. Whereas early literature asserted that meaning is created in place through art, later studies attempt to discern what meanings the public creates surrounding an artwork. Thus, there was a transition from an emphasis on the production of public art, to a concern for its consumption. Recent scholarship also seeks to address the fantastical

and utopian claims and essentialist beliefs held about public art, collectively termed the public artopia; the persistence of these studies is indicative of the ongoing persistence of these beliefs.

2.2. Phantasmagoria Literature Review

Phantasmagoria is not a widely used theory or term; it is relatively obscure and its use is not consistent in human geography. This is partially due to the term's origins in Walter Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* (*Das Passengwerk*), an incomplete, long and complicated text, which does not provide a direct definition or application of phantasmagoria. This literature review will endeavor to lend some clarity. I will begin by describing phantasmagoria as a technical object and optical illusion, followed by a brief discussion of the etymology of the word and its first use by Marx to describe commodity fetishism. Subsequently, I will provide a description of *The Arcades Project*. I will focus in particular on its discussion of commodity fetishism and commodity culture, as well as the dialectical image. I will review how recent scholarship (mostly from the early 2000s) uses phantasmagoria and how the term has evolved. Finally, I explain how I will use phantasmagoria to discuss public art.

2.2.1. Definition of Phantasmagoria as a Technical Object

The phantasmagoria was a technology of entertainment that projected images onto the built environment in order to change the experience of it. This technology became available in the late 19th century and was a precursor to film (Hetherington, 2005; Clarke and Doel, 2005; Pile, 2005; Vanolo, 2018). The subject matter of these displays was often ghosts, and the atmosphere was created by projecting images and shapes onto walls, canvases or the surfaces of an interior space: phantasmagorias were “basically a mix of lantern shows, Chinese shadow play and magic displays, involving the back projection of ghostly images onto smoke or onto a translucent screen hung in the middle of a darkened room around which an audience sat” (Vanolo, 2018, 2). A phantasmagoria show would sometimes include assistants, often dressed as skeletons (Hetherington, 2005). Some phantasmagorias included dead French historical figures (such as Voltaire or Rousseau or other figures from the French Revolution), bringing France's recent and tumultuous history into the present

(Hetherington, 2005). The emphasis of phantasmagorias is on deception and concealment (Vanolo, 2018; Hetherington, 2005): “[t]he images were intended to appear as if they just emerged and had a life of their own independent of any mechanical apparatus for projecting them as images” (Hetherington, 2005, 193). It began in Paris, but spread to the rest of Europe (Hetherington, 2005). Thus, phantasmagorias were a series of images and shapes projected into an area for entertainment, and how the images were produced was concealed.

2.2.2.Origins of Phantasmagoria: Etymology and Marx

Cohen (1989) offers multiple etymologies of phantasmagoria. The first has origins in Greek with ‘Phantasma’ meaning ghosts and ‘agoreuein’ meaning ‘to speak in public’ - sometimes with a reference to allegory (Cohen, 1989; Britzolakis 1999) - or ‘to show in the market place’ (Hetherington, 2005; Pile, 2005). This etymology emphasizes a major theme within the geographic use of phantasmagoria: haunting and a collective experience in public space.

Cohen (1989) identifies allegory as an important stepping stone etymologically and thematically to Benjamin’s use of phantasmagoria – first to explore the tragic dramas of 17th century Germany, and later to describe the arcades of 19th century Paris. This connection is supported by allegory’s etymological origins that combine *allos* and *agoreuein*, combining “speaking other” combined with “to speak in public” (Cohen, 1989). Cohen (1989) suggests phantasmagoria replaces *allos* with *phantasma* in order for the term to emphasize the spooky, spectral and undead and reflect Benjamin’s (1999) ruminations on the “haunted realm of commercial exchange” (96).

Hetherington (2005) draws a connection between phantasmagoria and Phantasos, son of Hypnos, one of the three ancient Greek gods of dreams. Each dream god was responsible for sending people different types of dreams: Ikelos sent dreams of animals; Morpheus sent dreams of people, and Phantasos sent dreams of inanimate objects or things (Hetherington, 2005). This origin of phantasmagoria connects phantasmagoria as a word to

objects, things, or commodities, as well as their place in our dreams, and indicates that these dreams can originate from a higher power, belief system or ideology. Phantasos becomes the god of commodity fetishism in a capitalist society (Hetherington, 2005). The dream state created by Phantasos and phantasmagorias may reveal “the figural message concealed within material culture; a figural message, perhaps of a modern bourgeois civilization dreaming itself into existence through the commodity” (Hetherington, 2005, 191).

The association of dreams and ghosts with the etymology of phantasmagoria, combined with phantasmagoria’s use as a technical object to bring to historic figures to life, demonstrates its connections to the “magic and the supernatural, hinting at the demonic potential of technology” (Britzolakis, 1999, 77-78). The term’s very roots are fantastical, and in combination with technology, it suggests the “return of premodern, animistic or magical modes” (Britzolakis, 1999, 87). The etymology of phantasmagoria also teases out some of the central themes that the literature on phantasmagoria has come to explore: public spaces, dreams and haunting.

The connection between phantasmagoria and Benjamin’s critiques of modernism and capitalism’s effect on the city is in part explained by the use of the term in the writing of Marx. The term is used in the section of *Capital vol 1* to describe commodity fetishism. Commodity fetishism occurs when:

the nature of commodity as a product of human labour is obfuscated by the exchange value which invests it with an enigmatic and mysterious character, a ‘phantom objectivity’. This ‘phantom objectivity’ derives from the replacement of a relationship between people by a relationship between things (Britzolakis, 1999, 80).

Therefore, the exchange value of commodities becomes the value through which people view a commodity and interact with and relate to it. This occurs due to the opacity of the means of production and the deteriorating emphasis on use value; the use value of a commodity becomes abstracted into having a definitive and intrinsic exchange value or

price. As a result, qualitative relationships become quantified, resulting in a reification of social relationships (Kaika, 2005).

Phantasmagoria's appearance in *Capital vol 1* (1859) is not exact; indeed Marx does not use the term, but instead refers to the "fantastic." Phantasmagoria was inserted later by various authors: "There is a definite social relation between men, that assumes, in their eyes the fantastic [phantasmagoria] form of a relation between things." (Marx, 1859 cited in Hetherington, 2005, 191 and Kaika, 2004, 29). Both Hetherington (2005) and Kaika (2004) insert phantasmagoria using square brackets, although without it the word fantastic still gets at the quality of commodity fetishism, which *The Arcades Project* expands upon. The term 'fantastic', or 'phantasmagoric', is used in several other instances by Marx as "a metaphor to refer to illusory spectacles" (Hetherington, 2005, 192). Marx uses fantastic/phantasmagoric in his discussion of political economy, whereas Benjamin begins to explore the effect of commodity fetishism in culture; this is developed in *The Arcades Project*. Benjamin (1999) also never provides a definition of phantasmagoria, but rather dives directly into using it to describe World Exhibitions as "a phantasmagoria which a person enters in order to be distracted" and as "places of pilgrimage to the commodity fetish" (7).

2.2.3. The Arcades Project

Hetherington (2005) describes Benjamin's arcades project as "dense unfinished, convoluted, repetitive and sometimes contradictory work" (188). The work is a 1000-page tome written between 1926 and 1940 (Buck-Morss, 1989). The manuscript is composed of a series of 'Convolutés' or thematic sections filled with (mostly) historical quotes and some notes by Benjamin. It forms a complex montage describing Paris during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries during the rise of consumer culture. For Benjamin, this era of capitalist development was exemplified by Paris during the Second Empire (Hetherington, 2005). Benjamin left *The Arcades Project* in the Bibliothèque Nationale during the Nazi occupation of France, in the care of George Bataille (Hetherington, 2005). It remained

uncompleted at the time of his tragic death at the Spanish border in 1940. The work was not published until the 1980s and not translated into English until 1999.

The arcades were a pre-cursor to modern department stores; they are significant for Benjamin as they represent a shift in capitalism from an emphasis on production to an emphasis on consumption (Hetherington, 2005; Britzolakis, 1999). Arcades were covered shopping streets formed between the medieval, narrow streets of Paris. The text of *The Arcades Projects* intertwines description and analysis of the arcades with excerpts from other sources describing aspects of Parisian life and culture at the height of the arcades' popularity during the first half of the 19th century. Benjamin hoped to "awaken the mass in a capitalist society from its myth-immersed and dream-like false consciousness into an aware and active class-consciousness" (Hetherington, 2005, 188). In their heyday, the arcades were sites of innovation and technology; they were the first places with gas lighting and used new products like iron for their construction. Their emergence was simultaneous with a boom in the textile trade when merchants began to keep large amounts of stock on their premises (Benjamin, 1999); they were centres for the conspicuous consumption of luxury goods. They were a shopping experience facilitated by technological change characterized by commodities on display in a way they were not previously; as a result, they were, for a time, associated with modernity and progress. They became "reifying representations of civilization" (Benjamin, 1999, 14). This style of shopping started in Paris but became the hallmark of modernity internationally, spreading throughout much of the Western world (Buck-Morss, 1989).

At the time the text was written the arcades of Paris were not what they once were; they had largely been demolished during the Haussmanization of Paris and were no longer at the cutting edge of consumption. The arcades became "commodity graveyards, containing the refuse of a discarded past" (Buck-Morss, 1989, 37-38). In Benjamin's time, the arcades had been transformed to places of prostitution and underground commercial exchanges; luxury goods were now sold in department stores. Despite their decline, some still existed, but they were concealed amongst the grand boulevards of Paris, the old cutting edge urban form existing within the subsequent modern urban form, which replaced it.

2.2.4. Commodity Fetishism and Commodity Culture

Commodity fetishism in *The Arcades Project* can be used to understand alienation in the modern city that springs from the social and cultural circumstances of its creation, and the fantastical way it has come to be understood, predominantly through exchange value (Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2000; Hetherington, 2005). Marx used phantasmagoria to describe the fantastical nature of commodities in the market; Benjamin uses phantasmagoria to expand on this and describe commodities on display (Kaika, 2004). With the rise of arcades, the market is no longer a placeless realm of economic exchange, but has physical locations shaping the collective experience of the modern metropolis. Benjamin uses phantasmagoria to describe “something obscuring the role of labour power in the production of value and attributing it instead to the something derived from objects themselves in the process of exchange” (Hetherington, 2005, 192); it is a lantern show where the mechanism creating the image is concealed.

“As temples of commodity capital” (Benjamin, 1999, 37), the arcades were the prime location for commodity fetishism and phantasmagoria. They undermined the boundaries of the exterior and interior through the enclosure of streets to create indoor areas for the purpose of displaying commodities (Britzolakis, 1999). Benjamin applies phantasmagoria subsequently to department stores and International Expositions—both of which display “commodities as a paeon to technological progress and national pride” (Britzolakis, 1999, 77). Commodities became symbols of progress and pride; when displayed, first in the arcades then in department stores, they:

become a metaphor for the wider process by which, in the nineteenth century, capital cities throughout Europe themselves became showcases for the commodity, advertising the promise of new industry and technology for a new heaven-on-earth (Britzolakis, 1999, 77)

This promise to provide a “new heaven-on-earth” describes the utopian hopes of modernism, combined with promise and allure of commodities in the 19th century, which

together compose the phantasmagoric quality of commodity culture. Commodities were imbued with the wish images and dreams of the collective. There is a double operation of fetishism taking place in the arcades: the Marxist sense where the use-value is obfuscated by the exchange value, and the second which Benjamin describes through phantasmagoria where commodities-on-display come to symbolize more than they are (Kaika, 2005):

Everything desirable, from sex to social status, could be transformed into commodities as fetishes-on-display that held the crowd enthralled even when personal possession was far beyond their reach. Indeed, an unattainably high price tag only enhanced a commodity's symbolic value. (Buck-Morss, 1989, 82)

Through his description and juxtaposition of images Benjamin sought to “reveal and thereby redeem, the genuine utopian hopes of humanity that were contained in ideals of luxury, abundance, comfort and ease from their betrayal by capitalism” (Hetherington, 2005, 194). Through a rich description of the arcades, Benjamin sought to awaken people to the phantasmagoria created by the commodity-on-display, which seemed to promise to fulfill wishes and create utopia, but failed to do so. The result is that the city has an intoxicating, distracting and intangible effect: cities as the centers of consumption take on a phantasmagoric quality.

2.2.5. Historical Materialism and the Dialectical Image

One of the most discussed aspects of *The Arcades Project* is Benjamin's exploration of dialectics and the dialectical image. In it, Benjamin draws on and advances Marx's dialectical and historical materialism. Through dialectical materialism, Marx builds on Hegelian dialectics to address political and social struggle (Mitchell, 2004). He does so using the dialectical structure established by Hegel which describes the “perpetual resolution of binary oppositions” (Gregory *et al.*, 2009, 157), where contradictions, represented by a thesis and antithesis, are resolved through sublation. Sublation is the process by which two opposing dialectical forces are resolved or synthesized into something new that contains elements of both dialectical elements. This philosophy emphasizes ongoing processes and flows. The term “historical materialism” was coined by

Engels (Mitchell, 2004); the thesis and antithesis of this dialectic are respectively the requirements of production and the social relations that make this production possible (including the legal and political superstructure) (Kirsch, 2009 and Gregory *et al.*, 2009). Rather than Hegel's emphasis on ideas or spirits creating the world, Marx asserts dialectics can be "understandable in terms of demonstrable material", therefore emphasizing material reality as influencing thought (Kirsch, 2009, 163).

Historical materialism extends dialectic theory to the development of history; through this theory, large historical changes can be understood as resolution of contradictions inherent in the system (Kirsch, 2009). Furthermore, social practice is conceptualized by Marx as a self-producing and perpetuating system. Social practice is "itself historically and socially conditioned, determined by the dead weight of preceding practice and the institutions to which that practice gave rise" (Mitchell, 2009, 52). According to Marx and Engels, each mode of production has inherent tensions and contradictions, based on social class and property ownership. These contradictions can lead to social revolution of the superstructure (Gregory *et al.*, 2009). Historical materialism asserts the world is in a constant state of flux, flow and mutation (Gregory *et al.*, 2009). Therefore, Marx first integrates material reality as part of dialectics, and then applies dialectics as a philosophy through which to understand history.

Through the dialectical image, Benjamin builds on and challenges Marx's dialectical philosophy of history by asserting and illustrating the discontinuity of history and modernity. The dialectical image is a philosophy of history which disrupts the idea that contradictions are resolved chronologically before the next contradiction emerges. Rather, they exist simultaneously in a way that is often evident. Dialectical image is a way of seeing, which enables a vision of space that renders visible multiple theses, antitheses and sublation, which are occurring all together. Benjamin describes the arcades of Paris in order to reveal that through these images, the discontinuity of history and modernity can be revealed. Benjamin's discussion reflects on "the devaluation and (new) nature and its status as ruin becomes instructive politically" (Buck-Morss, 1989, 170). This is materially visible in the "crumbling of monuments that were built to signify the immortality of

civilization become proof, rather, of its transiency. And the fleetingness of temporal power does not cause sadness; it informs political practice” (Buck-Morss, 1989, 170). Therefore, according to Buck-Morss (1989), the dialectical image becomes “a way of seeing that crystalizes antithetical elements by providing the axes for their alignment” (210). Benjamin integrates an understanding of “an aesthetic of historical montage, or as a method for disrupting the linear or progressivist logic of history and historical understanding” (Gregory *et al.*, 2009, 158). This way of seeing the lingering of the past in the present is part of the basis for the use of phantasmagoria in contemporary academic literature on haunting and ghosts, which will be discussed in the following section.

2.2.6. Recent usage of Phantasmagoria in Human Geography

Recent English language scholarship on phantasmagoria is fairly limited to a few authors; this is perhaps because the main source material (*The Arcades Project*) is itself not very instructive. There are four texts that make extensive usage of phantasmagoria: Kaika and Swygedouw (2000), Kaika (2004) and Duarte, Firmino and Crestani (2014) use phantasmagoria to discuss the intersection of technological advancement and the city, while Pile (2005) uses it to discuss the emotional work and life of cities. These texts apply phantasmagoria rather than engaging in a theoretical discussion of the term. In so doing, they elucidate aspects of phantasmagoria and its application in the time since Benjamin’s death.

Benjamin’s writing describes the creeping ubiquity of industrial capitalism and modernism at the turn of the twentieth century. He did not live to witness post-war high modernity, which saw the even greater expansion of consumer culture. Kaika and Swyngedouw (2000) discuss the role of technological networks in cities, and how these create a false divide between nature and the city, before examining the cultural and ideological effects of this divide. Kaika (2004) expands on this in *City of Flows* with reference to networks that supply ‘good’ sanitized air, water and electricity to the modern city and suburbs. Duarte *et al.* (2014) discuss the role of films in representing the utopian

and dystopian dreams of technological advancement in the city. Technological networks are the lantern show animated by the fantastical promise of modernism and conceal the processes of nature. Pile (2005) diverges from a discussion of technology and instead explores the emotional work of cities through an exploration of the phantasmagorias of dreams, magic, vampires and ghosts. All authors build on Benjamin's use of phantasmagoria to explore the cultural effects of capitalism in the city and the atmosphere created therein.

Kaika and Swyngedouw (2000) and Kaika (2005) discuss the technological networks that compose cities – the 'urban dowry' of "water towers, dams, pumping stations, power plants, gas stations etc" (Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2000, 121). The literature on the technological networks of cities, are primarily focused on the operational and economic aspects, rather than their cultural, ideological and aesthetic significance. Kaika and Swyngedouw (2000) and Kaika (2004) describe how these large urban networks were created in the early 20th century, fulfilling the "modernist promise of participating in the phantasmagoric new world of technological advancement and progress; in a world in which human freedom and emancipation resides in connecting to technology" (Kaika, 2004, 33). With the secularization of society there was a growing belief and trust in technology as the way to solve the cities' social ills (Kaika, 2004). This promise of progress was rendered visible as urban space became "saturated with the pipelines, cables, tubes, and ducts of various sizes and colors; things that celebrated the mythic images of early modernity" (Kaika, 2004, 38).

Technological networks become fetishized in two respects. First, in the Marxist sense, they made it appear as though progress was a matter of technological advance and construction, obscuring the underlying social relations of their production. Secondly, consistent with Benjamin's emphasis on the commodity-on-display, these networks "do not only carry their materiality; they also carry the promise and the dream of a better society and happier life" (Kaika, 2004, 31). Once, these networks loomed large in cities, but were subsequently concealed (Kaika, 2004; Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2000). During high modernity (1950s and 1960s), these networks were literally buried under the streets of

cities, and the emphasis of modernity shifted to highways and newer technologies once the social transformation that was promised with these technological transformations remained unfulfilled. Kaika (2004) and Kaika and Swynedouw (2000) illustrate that the commodity fetishism built into urban space creates a phantasmagoric presence. This commodity fetishism is often based on a utopian dream, as of yet unfulfilled, and an urban paradise as of yet unrealized. Just as this unattainable phantasmagoric paradise lives, it dialectically requires an urban hell to exist, where the trash and sewage of the city is always in negotiation with the technology of the promised urban paradise.

Duarte, Firmino and Crestani (2014) use the depictions of urban space in four films – *Metropolis* (1927), *Alphaville* (1965), *Blade Runner* (1982) and *The Matrix* (1999) – to discuss the intersection of film, technology and the city. They explore the connection between material changes and ‘progress’ in the city, and fictional technologies represented in film. This analysis is accomplished through a review of films that have anticipated emblematic shifts in technology lifestyles and cities. In so doing, Duarte *et al.* (2014) define phantasmagoria as:

Neither a fantastic, impossible nor a completely materialized reality, a phantasmagoria lies somewhere in between, a potential existence, a virtual realization—in the sense that the virtual is not the opposite of the real but, on the contrary, the expression of a reality to come, as a potential and plausible existence.(2)

Through their liminal position at the center of the not quite real or complete fantasy, urban phantasmagoria can often be utopian and dystopian, part and parcel imbedded within phantasmagoria are great hopes and worst fears (Duarte *et al.*, 2014). Duarte *et al.* (2014) note that in each film the delineation between society and technology becomes less clear, until finally in *The Matrix* (1999) technology has become ubiquitous.

Steven Pile’s 2005 book *Real Cities* is the most extensive recent use of phantasmagoria. It is a departure from the other literature discussed here as it is less focused on modernity and commodity fetishism and instead uses phantasmagoria to describe the fantastical, imaginary and emotional aspects of cities that reveal themselves through dreams, the occult, vampires and ghosts. It illustrates this by using case studies of

New York, New Orleans, London and Singapore. Although these elements have the appearance of the fantastical about them, they reveal, at the moments they become visible, the 'Real' of the city; drawing back the veil on various aspects of the city's history, culture and present, bleeding together to shift people's perceptions and in turn their interactions with the urban space. The power of these fantastical elements of the city is that they reveal the emotional work of cities: the anxiety, fear, grief and longing that are part of the means of production and labour that create cities; therefore having a phantasmagoric effect wherein the city becomes imbued with a fantastical quality that fuses with the materiality of the urban form. These examples highlight the importance of "not only of what can be seen, of the experience of the immediate, but also of life beyond the immediately visible or tangible" (Pile, 2005, 3).

Pile's (2005) chapter "*The Ghostly City*" ties the phantasmagoria with discussions of haunting and ghosts. There is significant literature in human geography dedicated to haunting and ghosts and it is one area of human geography where phantasmagoria semi-regularly appears. Pile (2005) asserts that ghosts are ways in which cities "accommodate their pasts, and how these pasts take hold of the present and the future" (163). Pile (2005) gives the example of the ghost of Julie in New Orleans. Julie was a young black woman who was the lover of an unnamed Frenchman. He left her out on a balcony after they were discovered by his family, he went to assuage their anger at their forbidden love, promising to return to secure their happily ever after. However, he did not return, and Julie froze to death on the balcony. Her shivering ghost is a part of tours of New Orleans, a place marker for New Orleans' brutal racial history. This is but one tale of the many heterogeneous hauntings inevitably present in cities, where there is a density of losses to generate specters. Ghosts serve as reminders for the injustices and traumas of the past: the city "itself shimmers with ghostliness as it becomes a mutable and durable place of memory" (Pile, 2005, 162). Ghosts are phantasmagoric, they conceal their means of production: emotional labour – what Pile (2005) calls the grief work of cities. Haunting and the ghostliness of a city further shows the discontinuity of time and space, the past is living and haunting the present, becomes part of modernity and the modern city. The past does not die with the next technological advancement.

2.2.7. Summary

Kaika (2004), Kaika and Swynedouw (2000), Duarte *et al.* (2014) and Pile (2005) continue Benjamin's work of exploring the cultural effect of ideology (mainly modernism and capitalism) on cities, expanding this practice beyond Paris. Pile's (2005) writing is distinct because of its foundation in psychoanalysis and emphasis on emotional rather than technological networks. However, it shares with other applications a focus on the relationship between the material and intangible aspects of urban life. Another commonality is their emphasis on the density and multiplicity of phantasmagorias.

Although most of these works do not enter into an extensive discussion of dialectics or the dialectical image, they do draw on the dialectical image as a philosophy of history. All above discussed sources adopt the discontinuity of history described by the dialectical image; they use film, dreams, the occult, vampires and ghosts, and technological networks to show how both the past and hopes and fears of the future live in the present, and explore the resulting fantastical, phantasmagoric effect. Recent scholarship emphasizes many of the aspects of phantasmagoria that are apparent in the etymological roots of the word; the fantastic, phantoms, dreams, and collective experience/public space (Cohen, 1989; Britzolakis, 1999; Hetherington, 2005; Pile, 2005). Phantasmagoria is a way to describe an atmosphere of urban space created through intangibles (whether they be ghosts or subterranean technological networks) and its effects on the experience of urban space. Often, what is intangible takes the form of forgotten/ buried histories, utopian fantasies or dystopian nightmares.

2.2.8. Public Art and Phantasmagoria

Phantasmagoria can be used to understand public artworks as placemakers or memorials to the development of the city, and as places where the commodity-on-display and fetishism of the city are revealed (in their commemoration of infrastructure projects, as

well as commodity objects themselves). These connections are demystified through attention to the utopic and fantastic ways public art comes to exist in space, conjuring understanding of the veiled ways the city is produced under modern capitalism. In this analysis, the emphasis is on the relationship between the physical object/material culture (public artworks), and their means of production (the development patterns and policies which result in their installation and the ideas about public art that cause them to be included in policy). To further this understanding I will rely on understandings of phantasmagoria as “the figural message concealed within material culture” (Hetherington, 2005, 191) and as “neither a fantastic, impossible nor completely materialized reality” (Duarte *et al.*, 2014, 2). First, I will explore how public art becomes intertwined and with the development of cities, the reasons public art has become ubiquitous (the public artopia). Second, I will discuss how public art becomes fetishized and phantasmagoric in the urban landscape.

2.2.8.1 The Means of Production of Public Art

Public art is installed in cities and is tied to the capitalist development and redevelopment of cities in three main ways: through percent for art policies, incentives for developers, and regeneration strategies. First, the creation of public artworks (both publicly- and privately-financed) is often tied to the percent for art policies that became popular in the 1980s. These policies require a small percentage of a new project’s budget be put aside to finance a public artwork (Miles, 1997; Deutsche, 1989; Hall and Robertson, 2001). Second, public art can also be funded through incentives to developers: Deutsche (1989) gives the example of developers in New York in the 1980s being given higher height allowances if they developed ‘public’ plazas with artwork in them. Third, public art is often associated with regeneration strategies – including specifically arts-led regeneration, as well as more general regeneration, redevelopment and gentrification initiatives. These are the ways in which public art is funded and “material culture” or “material reality” public art becomes part of the city. Through these processes, there is an established pattern of public art going hand in hand with development and redevelopment of cities. Consequently, public

artworks become place markers or memorials to a material change that has occurred to the city and the less visible but accompanying influx of capital.

The widespread practice of redevelopment accompanied by the installation of public artwork has gained momentum as “government officials, developers, and private investors recognize the value in framing urban change through the aestheticization of space” (Mathews, 2010, 667). Public art becomes a feature or selling point to market an area or change the image of a city, town or area (Zebracki *et al.*, 2010; Hall and Robertson, 2001; Mathews, 2010). There are many assertions about the benefits of public art that have contributed to its ubiquity within western urban environments (see section 2.1.9). These claims are largely unsubstantiated, although recent scholarship has made attempts to measure or test them (see Zebracki, Van Der Vaart and Van Aalst, 2010; Zebracki, 2018; Cameron and Coaffee, 2005; Shuermans, Loopmans and Vandenabeele, 2012). These claims are also essentialist in nature, as they characterize public art in urban space as contributing to the ‘ideal city’ (Zebracki *et al.*, 2010; Hall and Robertson, 2001). Zebracki *et al.* (2010) labels them as ‘public artopia’; in many ways these claims are fantastical and attribute public art with utopian qualities. The public artopia forms the use-value of public artworks, which haunts each subsequent public artwork with unfulfilled, fantastical promise.

2.2.8.2. Public Art: Fetishized and Phantasmagoric

Through percent for art programs, incentives to developers and regeneration projects, public art goes hand in hand with modernizing the city. Both technological networks and the public artworks that commemorate them “do not only carry their materiality; they also carry the promise and dreams of a better society and happier life” (Kaika, 2004, 31). In this context, technological networks include new public facilities such as recreation centres or parks, and new infrastructure projects such as bridges and public transit lines. Modernist utopic dreams of better living through these types of technological advancement are

entwined with the fantastical qualities of public art described by Zebracki *et al.* (2010) as the public artopia. Public art comes to be a phantasmagoric presence, it is the lantern show that obscures its ties to development and redevelopment and how these artworks become fetishized. How public art is fetishized can be described both through Marxist commodity fetishism and Benjamin's description in the Arcades Project.

Marxist commodity fetishism is based on the exchange value obfuscating the use value. The use-value of public art is difficult to measure; the exchange value or price of artworks is often applied to understand the value of an artwork, especially when a public artwork provokes ire. This is evidenced by the way media coverage of public art often focuses on conveying outrage over the cost of specific pieces. This is illustrated in Cameron and Coaffee's (2005) study of the expense of Anthony Gormley's *Angel of the North* (1998) and the sentiment that the money could have been better spent elsewhere on more essential services. This attention to the price, or exchange value of the artwork can indicate that public artworks can become fetishized in the Marxist sense; as their value is understood primarily through how expensive they are. However, what is the use-value of art that is obfuscated? This Marxist interpretation of public artworks as fetishized commodities does not address the fantastical use-value described above as the public artopia.

Benjamin's commodity fetishism places an emphasis on description of commodity-on-display, commodities come to represent more than their materiality and become fantastical. Through display where "[e]verything desirable, from sex to social status, could be transformed into commodities as fetishes-on-display that held the crowd enthralled" (Buck-Morss, 1989, 82), Benjamin re-introduces the use-value of commodities into commodity fetishism; the use-value has not been completely obfuscated by the exchange value, rather there is a spectral use-value. Commodities become imbued with 'use' beyond their nature as objects or goods, they become wish images, they "recast and re-imagine the world in a delightful manner" (Kaika, 2005, 31). These wishes are beyond the capability of a commodity to fulfill; "the phantasmagoric character of the commodity subverts the possibility of actually experiencing and living the desires promised by the commodity"

(Kaika, 2005, 31). The city is the display case for these phantasmagoric commodities: “the city itself was the shop window for their display” (Kaika, 2005, 40).

3. Methodology

In this chapter I will outline the methodology employed in the course of this study. I first describe why I chose a case study approach. This case study used multiple methods of data collection. A multimethod approach was chosen as it created the possibility of “achieving congruence through data triangulation”, highlighting inconsistencies across findings and “extend[ing] the comprehensiveness” of this research (McKendrick, 2009, 129). This multimethod approach consisted of the following methods: landscape analysis, policy analysis and key informant interviewing. These methods are described in the sub-sections below.

3.1 Case Study Research and the Study of Public Art

The focus of this study is the description and examination of the Edmonton public art collection. As such, a case study approach was suitable due to the emphasis of this method on producing detailed geographic knowledge about a specific defined area. Central to public art is its situatedness in place; and a case study approach reflects this. Employing a single case study allowed for the generation of place-specific knowledge; however, a limitation is that these findings, despite commenting on policies that are used internationally, are geared specifically towards the Edmonton context.

The academic study of public art almost exclusively uses a case study methodology. These case studies range from analyses of a single piece of artwork, to examinations of the public art-scape of a given region, city or town. Case studies are used to (1) evaluate claims about the efficacy of public art or (2) use public art as a vehicle through which to examine social, political or cultural elements of a specific context. Evaluative studies are the more common approach and often compare public and expert reactions to public artworks by analyzing opinions expressed in the media as well as interviews. These case studies are concerned with evaluating the extent to which public art fulfills claims about its capacity to boost the economy or create a cohesive sense of identity for a place. Evaluative case studies

emphasize the geographically and situationally constructed knowledge created by local residents about public art as significant, often in contrast to the 'expert' knowledge and claims generated by policymakers and artists about public art. For example, Zebracki's (2018) integration of auto-ethnography brings the researcher into the study, as researchers also react and have a bodily experience of the art they study. Furthermore, Zebracki *et al.* (2010), Zebracki (2018) and Shuerman *et al.* (2012) all describe their methods as incorporating knowledge that is constructed in context and reflects relational experience as opposed to "an impalpable and tacit socio-spatial context" (Shuerman *et al.*, 2010, 740).

Alternatively, case studies can use public art to examine social, political or cultural elements of a place, using public art as a lens through which to examine larger issues. For example, Smith (2015) used public art in Cairo, Egypt to discuss the changing societal values and political landscape in the city following the revolution and overthrow of Hosni Mubarak (former political and military leader who was ousted during the 2011 revolution). Minty (2006) uses public art in Cape Town to study the notion of symbolic reparations as part of the process of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa. This case study uses six pieces of new genre public art to examine "how these contemporary and often ephemeral projects, produced through independent producers or non-governmental cultural projects, critically engage with issues of geography, memory and transformation" (Minty, 2006, 422). Minty (2006) does not explicitly discuss their methodology beyond stating that it was a case study approach. Conversely, Smith (2015) uses ethnographic methods. The results are very similar in both articles; Minty (2006) and Smith (2015) narrate the history and politics behind selected artworks, as well as their significance in relation to the urban fabric, relying on rich description and political history.

For this research, I utilized a mix of the two types of case study described above. I sought to reveal the presence of unsubstantiated beliefs about the efficacy of public art in Edmonton, rather than evaluate the collection for whether or not it fulfills these criteria. I examined the ways these beliefs shape the public art landscape in Edmonton, thereby describing the policy setting and the material content of the collection. In doing so, I sought

to reveal how public art is part of the ongoing development and redevelopment of Edmonton. To this end, I used three sources of data: landscape analysis of public artworks, thematic coding of relevant planning documents and qualitative interviews with key informants.

3.1.1. Landscape Analysis

Landscapes can “denote relationships between individual, community and national identities, and the design, representation and experience of landscape,” as they are created to symbolize existing relationships between people (Roe and Taylor, 2014, 4). This method has been influenced by the Marxist geographic tradition and generally involves reading the landscape in order to expose the way in which it “conceals both the underlying material conditions of existence and adjudicates the separation that capitalist appropriation has brought between the human and natural worlds” (Dubow, 2009, 125- 126). Landscape analysis includes gathering data pertaining to the visual qualities of the area in order to describe and interpret the landscape. This method is used to gain insight into how ideology, history and culture become inscribed in space.

The primary data set for this study is the artworks themselves. In order to become familiar with the collection and to document the artwork, I visited and photographed as many of the artworks in the civic collection as I could access. This data collection took place from May to November 2019. Each artwork that was visited has a corresponding table of data including information from the site as well as the description of artist, artist biographies and whether the artwork was included in the percent for art budget (per edmontonpublicart.ca). Data were collected with attention to the year of completion, placement (latitude and longitude), whether the artwork is located indoors or outdoors, a description of the artwork, the relative size of an artwork, the visibility and prominence of placement and the application of a tag system. This tag system was used to describe and interpret artworks. The tags described the thematic content of the artwork (with categories determined inductively) and the type of artwork (sculpture for example).

Locating all the artworks in the collection was accomplished through the use of edmontonpublicart.ca, as well as two lists provided by members of the EAC (See Appendix A). All these sources of data were cross-referenced and compiled into a single unique list of 266 artworks (not including transitory artworks). Of these, I was able to visit and document 166. The difference is due a number of artworks are in conservation with the EAC (meaning they had been removed from site for maintenance), artworks that were inaccessible due to either seasonal closure of facilities or construction, as well as the 54 artworks that decorate City Hall. The artworks in City Hall were not included because they are the interior decor of the building and this was unique to City Hall; no other city building has a similar collection of paintings, sculpture, and prints that are part of civic collection.

Data from the inventory of artworks was analyzed a number of ways. In order to analyze such a large data set significant amounts of the data were transferred into excel spreadsheets. From this spreadsheet, using primarily COUNTIF functions I created summary statistics about the collection (for example, how many of the surveyed artworks are located outside versus inside). In addition, I described each tag's meaning and the frequency with which it was attributed to artworks in the collection. Data were also sent to a third party to create maps using GIS software. I chose 12 pieces as a sample of exemplary public art installations and described them in depth drawing on the data from the tables described earlier. Pieces were chosen based on the content of interviews, and my experience and knowledge as a long-time resident of the city of which pieces are well known or significant and an understanding of the pieces that exemplify the collection.

3.1.2. Policy Analysis

This research engages in policy analysis in order to gain insight into the “assumptions on which policy intervention is based” (Perry, 2009). Policy analysis involves a close reading of policy documents to understand their content as well as identify themes. The strengths

of using this method is that it elucidates the intentions, assumptions and values behind what physically manifests in the city (public art).

Three City of Edmonton plans were selected for thematic analysis: the *Public Art Master Plan* (2007); *The Art of Living* (2008) and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018). These plans were identified by the EAC website as the documents that have guided the development of public art in Edmonton since 2007. These are not the first documents from the City of Edmonton to have addressed cultural planning and public art, however, they are the most recent and significant to the collection today.

All three plans were uploaded into NVIVO and analyzed thematically. NVIVO is software commonly used in social sciences to do content analysis. Themes were determined using a mix of inductive and deductive approaches; drawing both from the content of the plans, as well as important concepts from the public art literature. The plans were read over several times to ensure familiarity. During this time the inductive themes were developed. After relevant codes were determined there was an initial round of coding; coding is an iterative process and the plans were revisited a number of times to ensure the coding was accurate and consistent.

3.1.3. Interviews

Interviews were undertaken to understand the policy context that has created the Edmonton civic collection, as well as the ways key informants make sense of public art in the city. Qualitative interviews allowed me to obtain rich and thick data through discussion of the informants' professional knowledge and experiences in their field (Turner III, 2010). Using a semi-structured format for the interviews allowed me to be prepared with questions, but to be responsive to the content of the conversation with participants and ask follow up questions when necessary. This format allowed the interviews to be conversational and helped to build a rapport with informants.

Participants were identified through the organizational website for the Edmonton Art Council and via snowball sampling. I sought to make contact with participants initially through e-mail correspondence. In my initial email I explained the background and aims of my study and outlined the purpose and scope of the interview (see Appendix B). If the participant expressed interest in scheduling an interview in subsequent email exchanges we would find a time and place that were convenient for the participants to meet. I would then email the consent form (Appendix C). The interviews were intended to be one-one-one, however I ended up doing two group interviews with two people in each. This is a reflection of the small number of the people working in public art; word circulated I had sent interview requests and some participants with similar job titles suggested a group interview. All informants who were contacted participated in the study. All interviews took place in coffee shops in the Edmonton area.

I came up with an initial list of questions and then discussed and added or removed questions with the input of my supervisors (see Appendix D). The interviews were intended to be semi-structured and as a result took the format of a conversation with the questions acting as a guide. Approval for this study was obtained from the Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. Prior to the interviews beginning I would summarize the information in the consent form (including permission to record the interview) and ask participants if they had any questions about the content or the ensuing interview. When this process was complete and the consent form was signed I would indicate to the participant I was going to start recording. All interviews were recorded on my phone and later uploaded to a password protected laptop and deleted from my phone. All interviews were then transcribed and the resulting transcriptions were analyzed thematically using NVIVO.

Interviews with key informants were originally conducted to discover more detail about the process by which public art in Edmonton is commissioned for context. The interview guide was intended to gather further information about the processes by which public art is commissioned and in the initial research design the interviews were imagined to be fairly straightforward. It became clear in the course of the interviews that these

questions were more complicated than I was aware of and that participants had significant insight into a broad range of tensions within the field in general and in Edmonton specifically. This flexibility is consistent with standards in qualitative research that “allow the research situation to guide research procedures in order that they gain access to human experiences” (Baxter and Eyles, 1997, 506). As a result the interviews were treated as key sources of data and were thematically coded for inclusion in the results. In the results presented below, the informants will be identified by numbers rather than generic job titles to ensure anonymity, given the small number of potential participants.

In total, I conducted five interviews with seven participants in February 2020. Each interview lasted approximately an hour. The small pool of participants reflects the fact that there are few people working in public art in Edmonton. In addition, the initial purpose of the interviews was to provide context rather than be a primary source of data.

3.2 Summary

This research sought, through a multimethod approach, to describe the Edmonton civic art collection and the policy and actors that produced it. This case study was undertaken with attention to how the landscape of public art and public art policy has changed over time in order to reveal how public art is part of the ongoing processes of development and redevelopment of the city. A case study approach allowed for the gathering of rich and thick data specific to Edmonton, enabling the in depth description necessary to answer my research question and fulfill the objectives. In the following chapter I describe the results of this study.

4. Results

This chapter describes the results of this study. I start by describing the collection in three ways: an overview of the collection as a concentrating on the spatial distribution of the artworks; an overview of the interpretive tag system applied to the collection; and a discussion of 12 exemplary artworks in the collection. I then discuss the themes in the *Public Art Master Plan* (2007), *The Art of Living* (2018); and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) to explore how the City imagines and describes the role of culture and public art in the city. Finally, the content of interviews with key informants are analyzed in terms of key tensions present in commissioning public art.

4.1 Overview of the Civic Collection

The following section describes the current spatial distribution of the collection, as well as how the collection has grown over time. In particular, this section examines the spatial impact of public art being tied to capital expenditure budget via the percent for art policy.

4.1.1. Spatial Distribution of Current Collection

Today, the spatial distribution of artworks in Edmonton is non-uniform (see figure 2 below). A majority of public artworks are concentrated in the downtown core of the city. However, as shown in figure 2, there is an additional ring of public artworks in newer, peripheral neighbourhoods, as well as a cluster in the River Valley to the West, this cluster is formed by artworks tied to Fort Edmonton Park, the Savage Centre, Whitemud Equine Centre and Terwillegar footbridge (see figure 3 below). There are relatively few artworks located in the mature neighbourhoods adjacent to the downtown core. In addition there are no artworks located in the South East of Edmonton, because this area is for the most part industrial. However, we do not see the same complete absence of public art in the North West of the city which is also primarily industrial.

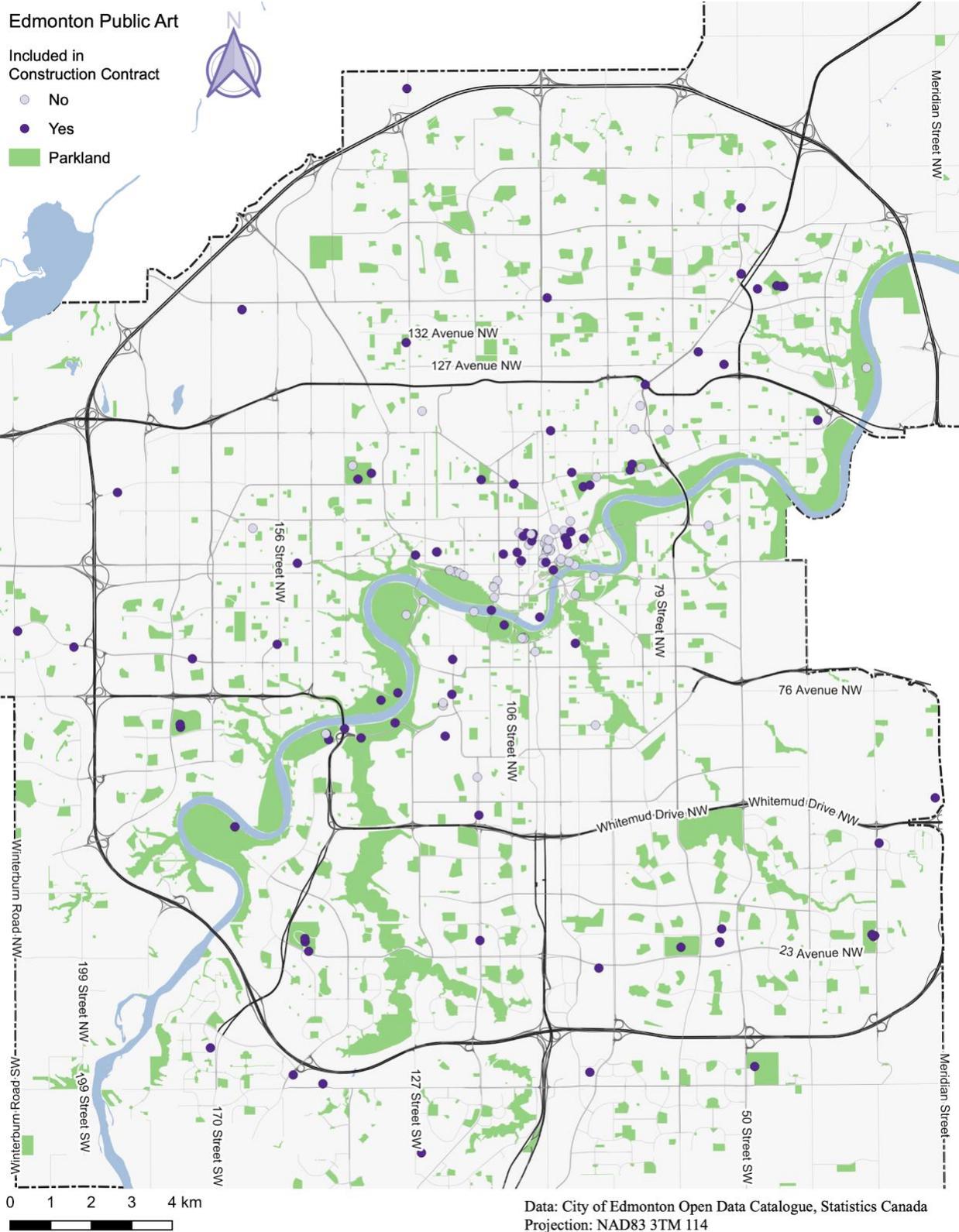


Figure 2. Distribution of Artworks in the City indicating whether they are included in a construction contract (map created by Darcy Reynard)

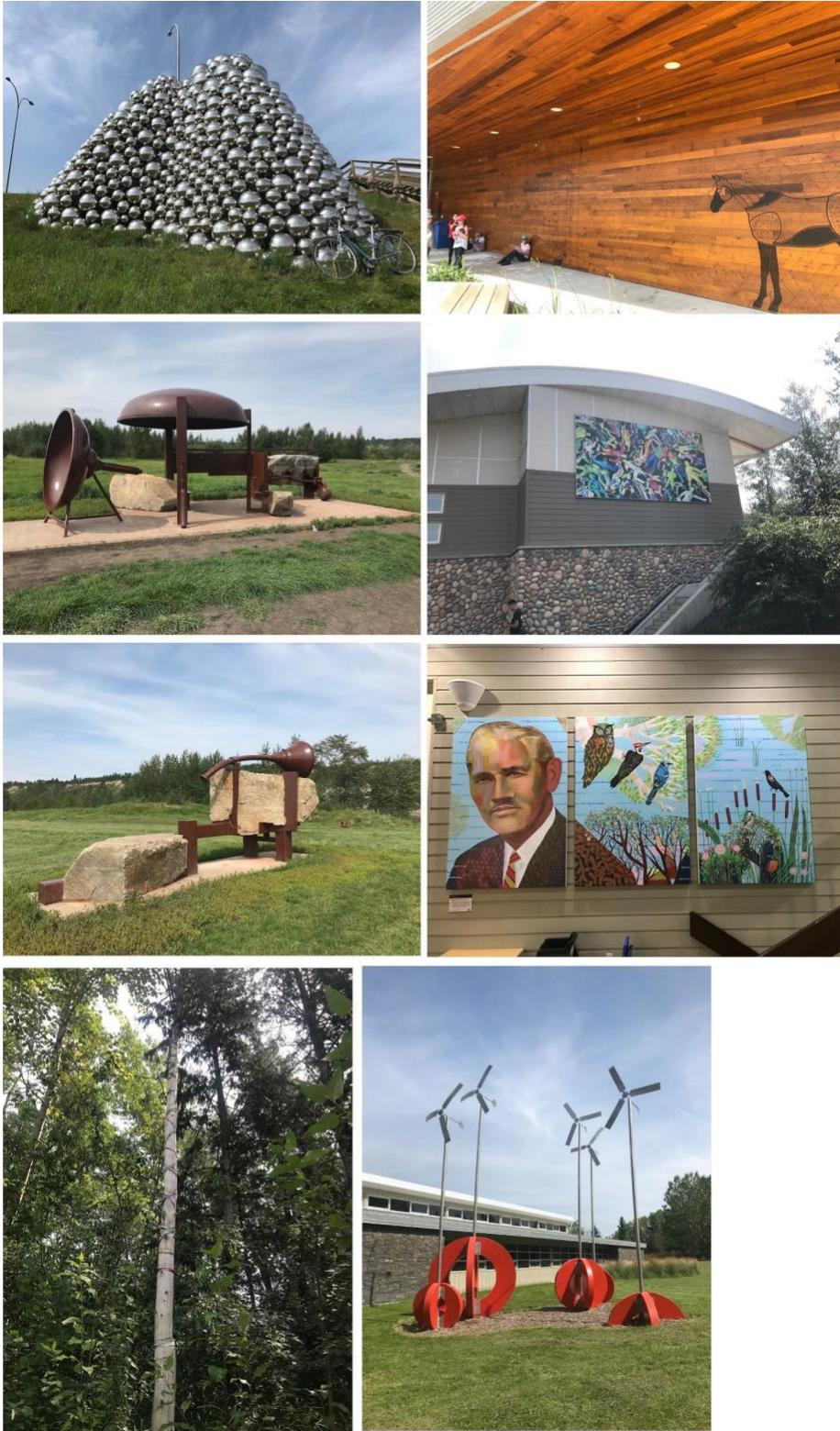


Figure 3. River Valley West cluster (from the top left corner Talus Dome by Ball Nogues Studios, Heart of the Valley by Black Artifex, Resonant Progression by Royden Mills, I Am You by Alexandra Haeseker, Resonant Progression by Royden Mills, John Janzen Nature Centre by Genevieve Simms, Lobstick Tree by Leah Marie Dorion and Past and Present by Kryzstof Zukowski

The percent for art policy has shaped the spatial distribution of artworks in the City. Figure 2 shows the distribution of public artworks and indicates which artworks were funded by percent for art (i.e. “included in construction contract”) as well as their proximity to public green space. According to data that was gathered from edmontonpublicart.ca, the collection is 54% artworks that were funded by percent for art (including the artworks that were in the collection before 1991 when the policy was adopted) and 46% artworks that were gifted to the Edmonton civic collection or funded by other sources. I estimate the portion of the collection that is funded by percent for art is higher. The website has some inconsistencies with the data, for example on their map some artworks are not where they should be. Furthermore, in the interviews it was clear that percent for art is the primary funding model, it was clear that the majority of the work done by public art officers is driven by the percent for art policy. In addition, projects like $\Delta\sigma^\circ$ (ÎNÎW) River Lot 11 is not included as a percent for art budget, however in interviews it was revealed the park was funded by percent for art funding dollars taken from the Valley Line LRT expansion.

The majority of artworks, (72.4%) are located outside, with the remaining 27.6% located indoors. Whenever a public artwork is located indoors it must be in a public facility and it must be visible to the public, therefore, the majority of public artworks that are indoors are in the lobbies and foyers of public buildings such as police stations, recreation facilities, and libraries. However, public art is widely imagined to enrich the quality of the urban environment and therefore the majority of artworks in the collection are located outdoors; these artworks are usually located outside public facilities, in parks or are part of streetscaping projects. The cluster of outdoor public artworks downtown reflects the fact that this area of the city contains a lot of public spaces like squares and plazas. In addition, there has been investment in the urban design of several streets in the downtown core, which have qualified for percent for art. A notable example is the streetscaping which took place on 96 Street in the Quarters; there are three public artworks on this street (see

Figure 4 below): *Wildrose* (2015) by Rebecca Belmore and Osvaldo Yero, *Walkways* (2015) by Derek Besant and *Wild life* (2015) by Brandon Vickerd.



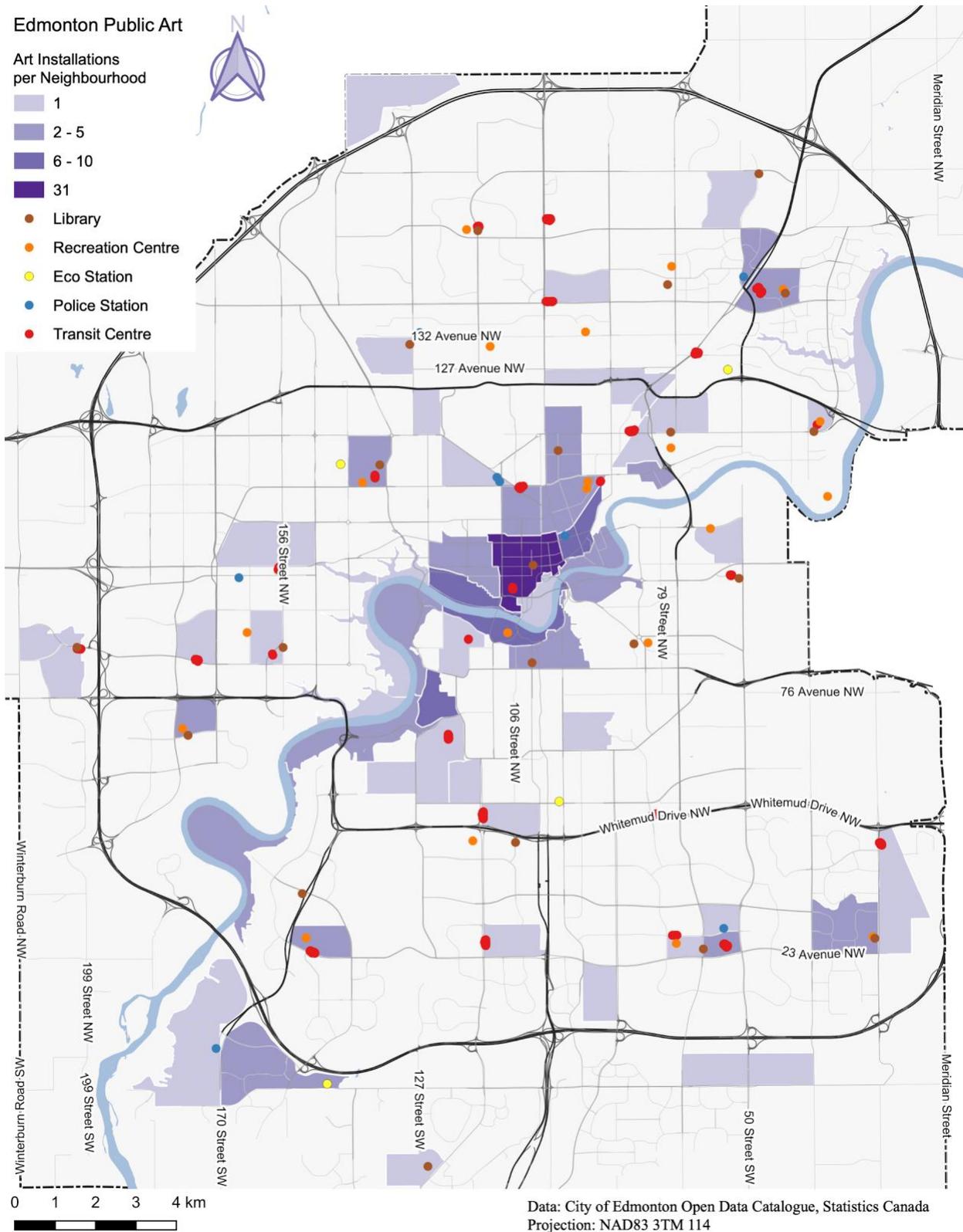
Figure 4. From left to right: *Wildrose* by Rebecca Belmore and Osvaldo Yero; *Wild life* by Brandon Vickerd (2); and *Walkways* by Derek Besant

Edmonton Public Art

Art Installations per Neighbourhood

- 1
- 2 - 5
- 6 - 10
- 31

- Library
- Recreation Centre
- Eco Station
- Police Station
- Transit Centre



Data: City of Edmonton Open Data Catalogue, Statistics Canada
 Projection: NAD83 3TM 114

Figure 5. Distribution of Artworks by Neighbourhood and Proximity to Public Services (map created by Darcy Reynard)

Due to the percent for art funding model, public art in Edmonton is often clustered with other public amenities. Figure 5 shows the number of artworks by neighbourhood as well as the location of public facilities that would be a capital expenditure budget eligible for percent for art. This includes major roadway construction, recreation facilities, eco stations, police stations and transit centres. The shaded areas represent neighbourhoods and parks in the river valley that contain public artworks. Figure 5 shows that the areas that have public facilities also contain public art. Some neighbourhoods have facilities but no public art; this means the facility was either constructed prior to adoption of percent for art in 1991 or before that type of facility was classified as a 'qualifying construction budget'. This creates a clustering of public goods; as the funding for public art almost exclusively comes from the percent for art policy, areas with public facilities will also have public art, while areas without public facilities will be without public art.

4.1.2. Change of Collection Over Time

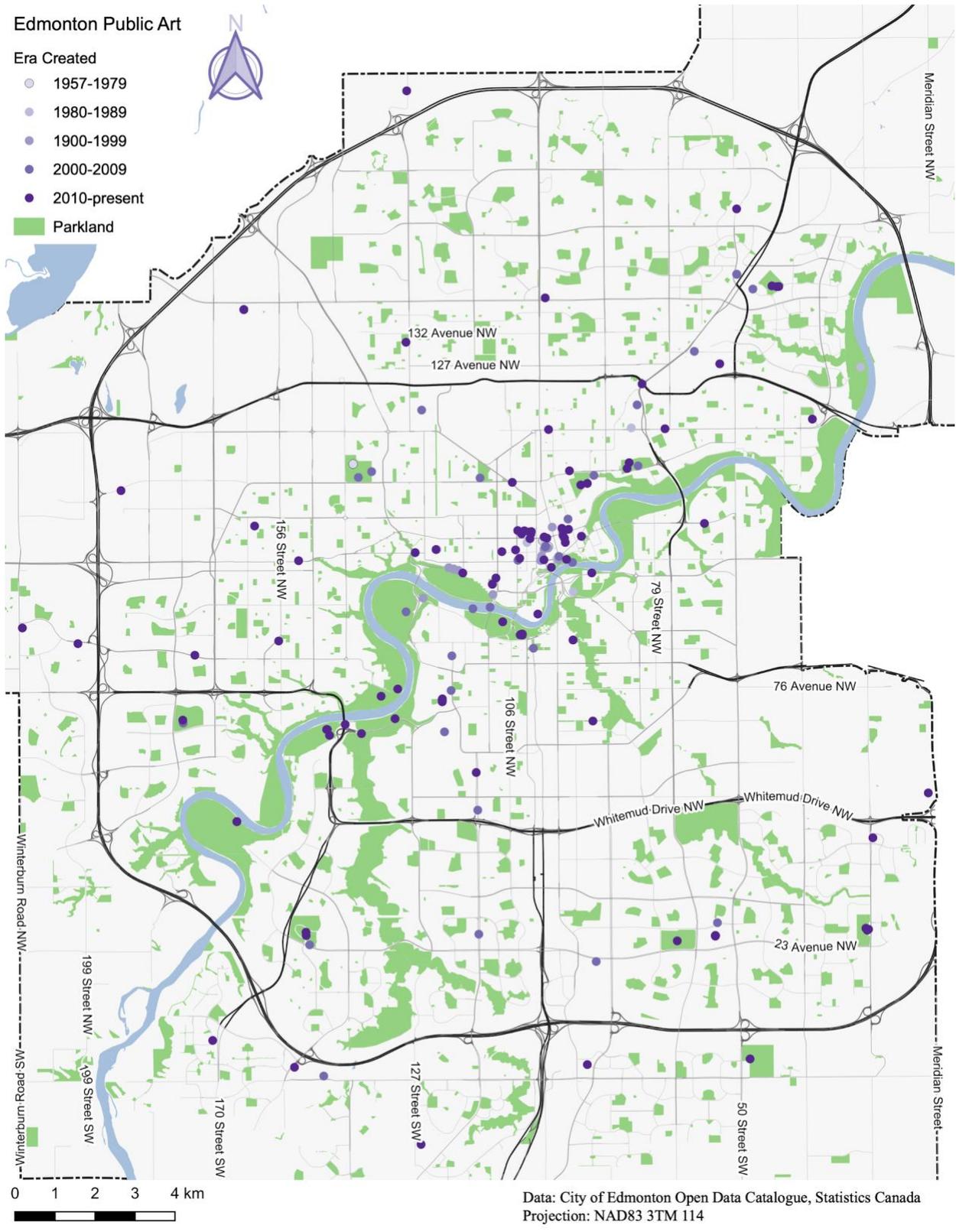


Figure 6. Distribution of Artworks by Era (map created by Darcy Reynard)

Public art in Edmonton has gone through several different eras, wherein events and changes to city policy led to shifts in the collection. Figure 6 shows the eras in which an artwork was installed by the city. These eras were taken from the City of Edmonton public art collection website, and were characterized as follows:

- *The Beginning:* The period from 1957 until 1980 marked the beginning of the collection. During this time Edmonton's Modernist City Hall was built, and there were a number of events, such as the Commonwealth Games, that had artworks associated with them. In addition, there was an oil boom, making the city prosperous at the time.
- *Growing Interest:* In the 1980s (1980-1989), there were two notable developments in the Edmonton public art scene: The Great Divide (waterfall on the High Level bridge, now a dormant work) and the beginning of the Places program by the Works, which aimed to revitalize downtown Edmonton through works of art and design.
- *Becoming Official:* From 1990 to 1999 is the official start of Edmonton's public art program with the City Council adopting a percent for art policy in 1991.
- *Consistent Application:* From 2000 to 2009 marks growth in the collection as the percent for art policy was applied to the development of the growing city. A notable development that included a percent for art budget was the new LRT line from Health Sciences to Century Park.
- *Increasing Investment:* From 2010 to 2019 the effects of changes to the percent for art policy made in 2007 became visible and the collection grew to include larger (physically and financially) commissions from notable regional and international artists.

Figure 7 shows the gradual increases in the commissions of artworks over time, most significantly between 2009-2019. In addition Figure 6 shows the increasing application of the percent for art policy since the 1990s; this indicates an increase in capital construction as well as the increasing scope of what projects qualified for percent for art.

Number of Artworks by Era

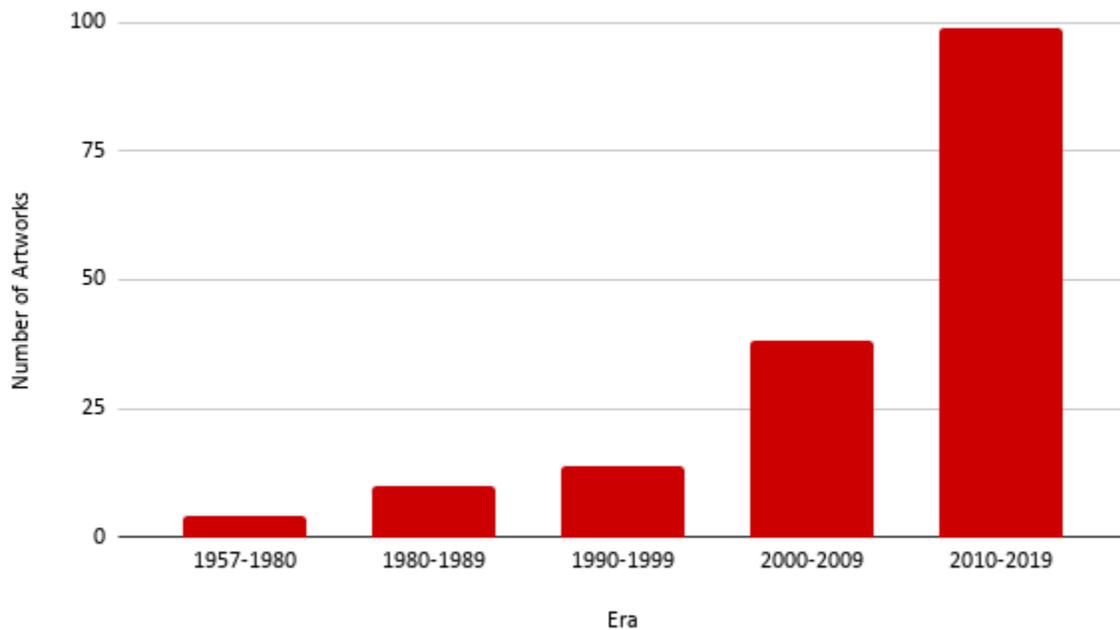


Figure 7. Number of Artworks by Era

Figure 6 shows that the majority of older artworks in the collection are concentrated in the downtown core and newer artworks are distributed throughout the city. In fact, the Edmonton public art collection barely existed outside of the downtown core until the 2010s. Furthermore, while there is a concentration of older artworks in the downtown core, new artworks have continued to be added to the area so that it includes artworks from all eras.

4.1.3. Description of the Current Collection

The following sections describe the contents of the current City of Edmonton public art collection. This includes the results of the application of an interpretive tag system to show some key themes in the collection and a description of 12 of artworks in the collection.

4.1.3.1. Interpretive Tag System

In addition to documenting the location and status of public artworks (indoor or outdoor), I developed a tag system to allow for additional description. Each artwork can have up to four tags, which are intended to describe both the type of artwork as well as identify some themes or trends in the collection. The tag system limited the number of tags per artwork to four to keep the data manageable. The Table 1 below indicates the percentage of the collection represented by each tag, the meaning of which is explained in the subsequent text

<i>Tag</i>	<i>Percentage of collection</i>
#Sculpture	43.1%
#Installation	25.7%
#Mural	24.0%
#Abstract	19.2%
#Stylized Nature	18.0%
#Representational	13.2%
#Commemorative	12.6%
#Architectural	12.0%
#Indigenous	8.98%
#Monumental sculpture	7.19%
#Drive-by art	3.59%

Table 1. Proportion of Artworks by Tag

#Sculpture: this tag is for all sculptures in the collection, 72 artworks are tagged as sculptures. Public art is largely imagined as, and has origins in, sculptures located in public parks and squares. Although many sculptures are not in parks and squares they do compose a significant portion of the collection. The large proportion of the collection fulfills this image of public art. This is in part because sculptures can often be constructed out of materials that are very durable and therefore able to fulfill the requirements for ‘permanency’.

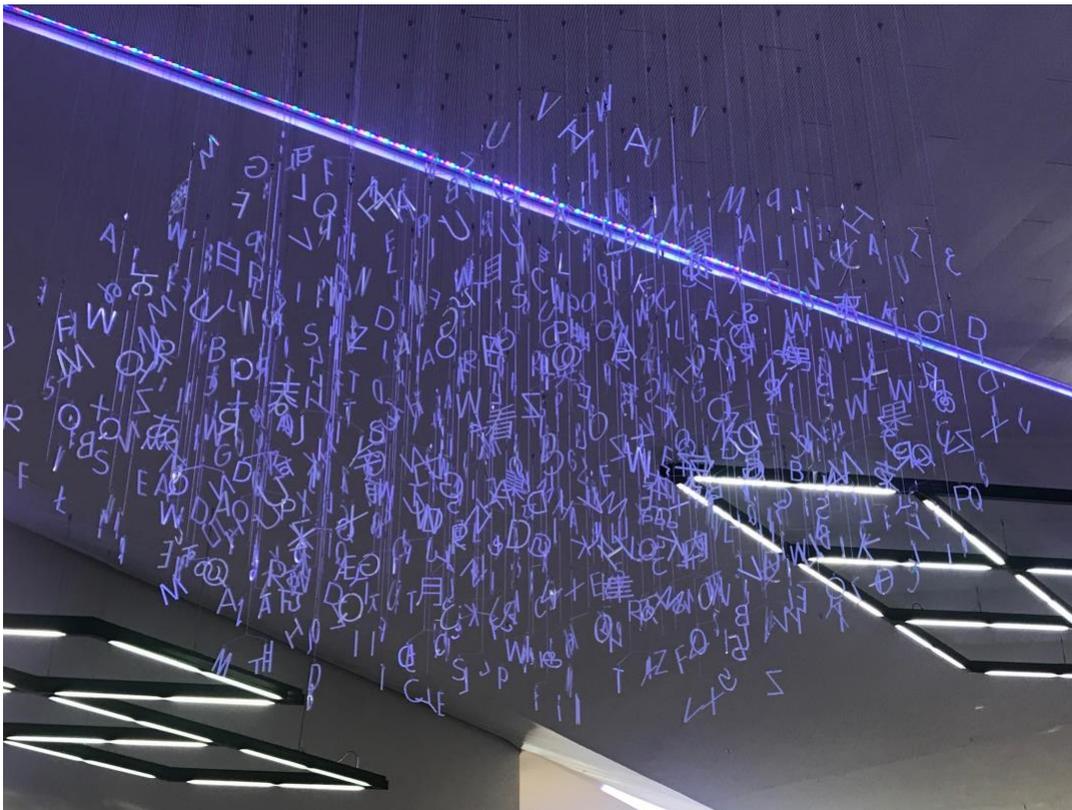


Figure 8. *Letter Cloud* by Julia Jamrozik and Coryn Kempster

#Installation: this tag describes artworks that are designed for a specific place to create an environment; the design of the artwork is specific to the space it is located in (Tate, n.d. a). There are 43 artworks tagged as installations. This illustrates that artworks are integrated into their surroundings; the high proportion of artworks that are tagged as installation demonstrates how artists are integrated into the City of Edmonton’s process. *Letter Cloud* (2014) by Julia Jamrozik and Coryn Kempster (see Figure 8 above) is located at the

Clareview Library. The artwork is installed on the ceiling of the library forming a mobile that is illuminated by LED lights making the letters glow. The lighting and position of the artwork in the space is central to its display: it is an installation.

#Mural: an artwork that is installed on a wall. This can include artworks that are directly on a wall or mounted on the sides of a building. There are 40 artworks tagged as murals in the collection; some of which are located indoors. Key informant interviews noted (see section 4.4.6.) that murals are very difficult to maintain and although most public artworks are expected to last 20 years, most murals have a much shorter lifespan of five years and require a lot of labour and therefore money to maintain.

#Abstract: this tag describes artworks that abstract reality; unlike representational artworks, abstract artworks do not directly reference the world, but instead emphasize colour, shape, and lines (Tate, n.d. b). The tag was applied to 32 artworks in the collection. This category includes a lot of modernist/abstract metal sculptures. This springs from the sculpture Masters program at the University of Alberta and the work of Peter Hide who is known for modernist metal sculpture. Throughout Edmonton you can see these works in people's front yards, as well as several in the civic collection including the whole of the Belgravia Art Park, which is listed as a transitory program, although all seven works have been there since the early 2010s. In addition there are two large abstract sculptures located outside of City Hall, they are also some of the oldest in the collection: *The Migrants* (1957) by Lionel J. Thomas and *Caravel* (1992) by Isla Burns (see Figure 9 below). Two large abstract artworks located in proximity to City Hall gives some indication to the importance of abstraction/ modernism in Edmonton's visual culture: "The legacies of this abstractionist influence echoed down for decades, reverberating from Edmonton to Winnipeg, shaping university fine arts curricula as well as the visual identities of these cities through brutalist architecture and public art" (Fung, 2019, 75)



Figure 9. The Migrants by Lionel J. Thomas and Caravel by Isla Burns

#Stylized nature: This tag describes artworks that depict nature where you can see the hand of the artist; 30 artworks were coded as stylized nature. These artworks follow in the Canadian tradition and national imagination famously established by the Group of Seven:

While the strongly romantic vision of the Canadian landscape epitomized by Tom Thomson, the Group of Seven, their followers and contemporary acolytes may be acknowledged to be dated and limited vehicle for the representation of national identity and feeling, emotionally this perception nonetheless continues to retain a powerful hold on the national imagination. (White, 2017, 11)

White (2017) argues that into the early 20th century, Canadian art largely followed European art movements. Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven broke with this colonial cycle and “promoted a wilderness painting aesthetic that claimed to be authentically Canadian free of European influence” (White, 2017, 21). Since this time, Canada has long had a fixation with wilderness. White (2017) acknowledges the complex and conflicted history of northern-ness and wilderness in Canadian art history and national imagination. As previously mentioned, 30 artworks in the collection are tagged as stylized nature, this represents 18% of the collection, demonstrating a significant visual presence of depictions of nature and elements of wilderness within the Edmonton civic collection.



Figure 10. Beaver and Fallen Tree by Don Begg

#Representational: artworks that depict the physical appearance of people or things. Many representational artworks are also commemorative and represent real people. This includes a number of commemorative representations of historical figures. However, this category also includes artworks such as *Beaver and Fallen Tree* (1986) by Don Begg (see Figure 10 above) located in Beaver Hill Park, which is a small life-size bronze statue of a beaver with a tree it has recently felled.

#Commemorative: artworks that serve a monumental or memorial function, it commemorates an event or person. Monuments and memorials are often excluded from the

definition of public art, and although there are 21 commemorative artworks in the collection, the EAC specifically does not commission monuments or memorials. Thus, the majority of these commemorative artworks were commissioned before 1990 (the official start of percent for art and therefore the civic collection) or presumably were gifted to the collection. Many commemorative artworks are also representational; the collection includes bust and/or statues of Arthur Griesbach (1982), Grant Notley (1981), Wayne Gretzky (1989), Sir Winston Churchill (1989), Lucien Dubuc (1990), Maude Bowman (1990), Abraham Cristall (1990), Nellie McClung (1990), Emily Murphy (1992), Constable Ezio Farone (1992), Big Miller (2009) and George F. Hustler (2016). Of this cast of historic figures, some reputations have survived the test of time better than others.

#Architectural: this tag describes artworks that are integrated into the design of the building. These artworks can be functional, such as a bench or bike rack. There are 20 artworks tagged as architectural. This term is also used to describe artworks that are integrated into the building or structure, such as a textured wall or decorative addition to lampposts. The degree of integration into the form of the building or structure is greater than that of an artwork that would be described as an installation.

Count of Indigenous Artworks Over Time

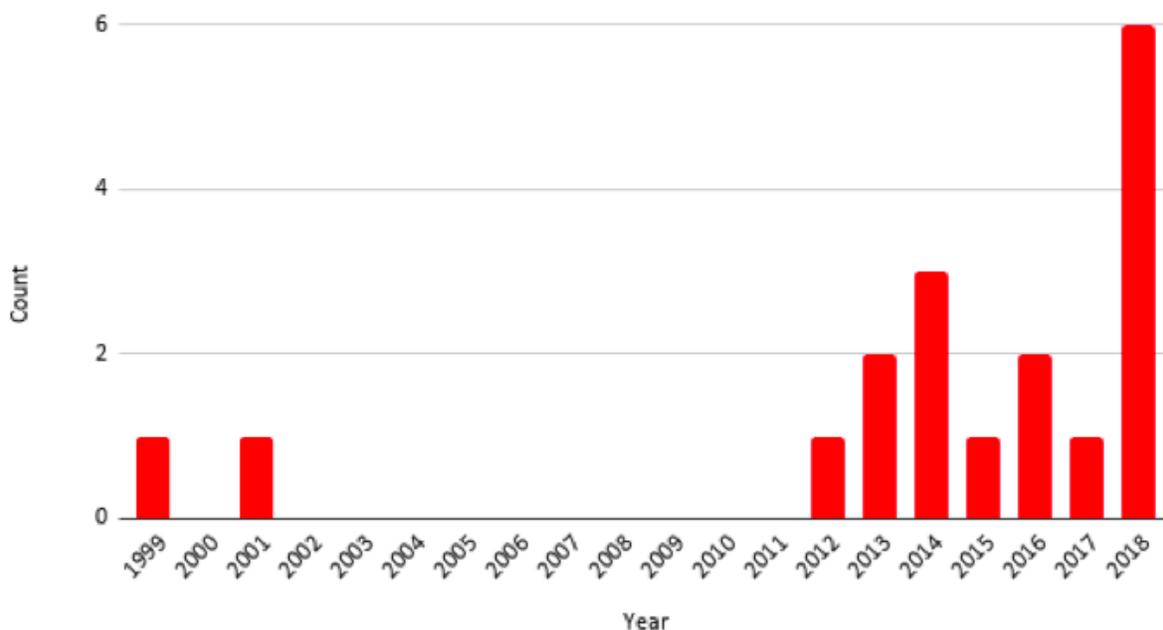


Figure 11. Count of Indigenous Artworks Over Time

#Indigenous: This tag describes artworks where the artist is identified as Indigenous in the artist bio available on the civic collections public art website or their artist website. There are 15 artworks identified by this tag. One of the most significant recent additions to the civic collection is the ÎNÎW River Lot 11, or the Indigenous Art Park (2019). This park features six artworks by Indigenous artists, and is responsible for the all time high in commissions by Indigenous artists visible in figure 11. Furthermore, *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) places a lot of emphasis on the importance of Indigenous culture, and visual culture more specifically in Edmonton. See Figure 11, although early in the collection there were very few artworks by Indigenous artists, this was by no means an indication that there were no working Indigenous artists in Edmonton. Rather, they did not receive or did not apply for City of Edmonton calls. Therefore, these artworks serve in some ways a commemorative function by re-animating conveniently forgotten histories of the land on which Edmonton is located and increasing the visibility of Indigenous culture in the city.

#Monumental sculpture: This tag describes artworks that are very large in size. Only 12 artworks in the collection are tagged as monumental sculptures. Seven of these artworks were commissioned after 2008 when the cap on percent for art budgets was ended allowing for larger (both monetarily and physically) commissions. The small number of monumental works also indicates that many of the dollar amounts for commissions are small, or are divided up for various artworks associated with one capital expenditure budget (some of the larger recreation complexes include recreation facilities as well as libraries and have several artworks associated with them). The fact that there are so few monumental sculptures included in the collection also indicates that a lot of public art is often more subtle, and is somewhat discretely integrated into the urban landscape.

#Drive-by: This tag describes artworks that are primarily visible from a vehicle. They are often located alongside major roadways and are large enough to be seen from a moving car. Edmonton is a car-oriented city; most of the city is not very walkable or bike-able. In the past few years there has been an increasing emphasis on creating bike lanes (often a contentious topic) and strategic streetscaping. Commonly, public art is imagined as

located in public spaces, which is accessible on foot, places like public plazas and parks. Edmonton as a whole, excluding small areas of the city such as the downtown core and Old Strathcona, is built for cars. The value of having public space be a walkable commons where people can gather and meet is often assumed as the location for public artworks, however roadways in North American cities are substantial public spaces and their maintenance and expansion often garner public interest and funding. Having pieces that are visible mostly from vehicles meets the public where they are: in their vehicles. Only six pieces in the collection have this label, however, a number of them are very notable pieces which have received a lot of attention: for example *Talus Dome* (2012) by Ball Nogues Studio and *53 Degrees 30 North* (2019) by Thorsten Goldberg. Both received initial criticism for their location. This is in part because 'good' public art is often associated with public squares, parks and plazas, however, not all percent for art commissions will allow for this type of location. For instance, *53 Degrees 30 North* is located on Fort Road (a major arterial) in an industrial area of Edmonton. There was no commonly used public space nearby to locate the artwork.

4.2. Public Art Exemplars

To provide more detail about the composition of the collection I will discuss 12 examples in more depth, with emphasis on the context of the artworks both geographically and as part of the collection. The artworks were selected on the basis of being emblematic of an artistic movement, interpretive tag, shift in policy, or by being well known or having been identified as significant through the interviews.

4.2.1. *Long Burrow 6* (1978) by Barry Cogswell

#installation



Figure 12. Long Burrow 6 by Barry Cogswell

Long Burrow 6 (see Figure 12 above) is located in Coronation Park in North West Edmonton. It is an example of land art. The piece is integrated into the landscape of the park. It is a large grassy depression in the earth with two parallel rises in the middle with metal grates. This work was installed on the occasion of the 1978 Commonwealth Games; part of the aim of the sculpture was “to provide a permanent momento, providing greater public awareness of sculpture” (EAC b, 2020). The piece is based on Long Barrows or Rounds Barrows, which are prehistoric burial mounds found in the Marlborough Downs of England. Cogswell states that he

would hope that these constructions elicit in the viewer responses similar to those that I have experienced when coming upon previously inhabited sites from other cultures. These responses include that feeling of being a trespasser in a land of wonder – a place where the past is still present, and where the land is hallowed and

sanctified by the beings who dwelt there and by the rituals that they enacted. (EAC b, 2020)

This work is large, blends into the landscape and is one of the lesser known pieces in Edmonton. Installed prior to the City of Edmonton having a percent for art policy, this piece is part of a movement called earthworks/land art, an artistic movement which sought to move art beyond the walls of galleries (Cartiere, 2008). These works were part of the development of installation and site-specific (Cartiere, 2008) and

[i]nseparable from its context, much land art was intended as a critique of the gallery system and the role of art as commodity. However, resisting the site of the gallery by locating work outside its physical limits does not necessarily involve operating outside the institution of the gallery, economically and culturally. (Rendell, 2008, 38)

Land art/earthworks is often cited as a precursor to public art (Rendell, 2008). This artwork is emblematic of a larger trend in the art history hidden within Edmonton. Furthermore, as part of land art/earthworks, it embodies the meaning of public art, namely its escape from the gallery as proof of removal from the gallery system, which in early conceptions of public art is imagined as the 'barrier' between the public and art. The central premise of land art/earthworks is that when art is removed from the culture and economics of the gallery and institutions it becomes more inclusive; however the effect in the case of *Long Burrow 6* in Edmonton is that it is barely recognized as art.

4.2.2. *Talus Dome* (2012) by Ball Noguees Studios

#monumentalsculpture #abstract #drive-byart



Figure 13. Talus Dome by Ball Nogues Studios

The *Talus Dome* (Figure 13 above) is a large sculpture located at the merge of Whitemud Drive onto the Quesnell Bridge. The artwork is composed of a mound of silver reflective balls of different sizes. The balls reflect the sky and area around them. This artwork is iconic in Edmonton, largely because its initial installation was so controversial. This was due to the price of the artwork, its location and that the artwork is by an American artist. At the time this artwork was Edmonton's most expensive public artwork, costing \$600,000. Moreover, the location is controversial because it is so close to a very busy road on the crest of a bare hill that forms the ramp to the Quesnell Bridge. The \$100,000 cap for artworks was removed in 2007 and this artwork was installed in 2012; it was part of a shift in the collection to more expensive (often larger) pieces and more work by international artists. The *Talus Dome* is one of the most visible and widely discussed artworks in the Edmonton collection; this is in keeping with public art literatures observation that most

artworks are plagued by an initial burst of publicity and outrage, often in regard to the cost, then blend into the city (Cartiere, 2008). The controversy surrounding the *Talus Dome* has never fully subsided, propelling it into icon status: it has a yelp page and twitter account.

4.2.3. *Indigenous Art Park -ÎNÎW River Lot 11 (2018)*

ÎNÎW River Lot 11 is the Indigenous art park located on Queen Elizabeth Park hill. The park is located on “the historic river lot originally home to the Métis landowner Joseph McDonald” drawing attention to the history of Indigenous habitation in Edmonton (EAC, 2020c). It is composed of six sculpture and installation artworks:



Figure 14. Iskotew by Amy Malbeuf

1. *Iskotew* (#sculpture, #installation, #Indigenous) by Amy Malbeuf (see Figure 14 above) is composed of large sculptural syllabic letters in nehiyawewin (Cree) of the

word for fire: $\Delta^{\circ}dU^{\circ}$. The letters are pink, blue and green. They are located on a green hill and the letters are staggered so that they do not form the word unless looking at the work from a specific angle. In nehiyawewin the words for fire and women (iskew) have a similar root, this artworks “connotes the sacred abilities of women, and the often unrecognized labour of Indigenous women who contributed to creating the place now known as Edmonton.” (EAC, 2020b).



Figure 15. Pehonan by Tiffany Shaw-Collinge

2. *pehonan* (#installation, #Indigenous) by Tiffany Shaw-Collinge (Figure 15 above) is a stepped garden/installation artwork with a circle of stone located in front of it. It is the shape of a small amphitheater. The steps are created with wood as well as steel. The word “pehonan” is from the nehiyawewin language and refers to

gathering or waiting places, and the installation provides a place for “teaching, storytelling, or performance.” (EAC, 2020b). This artwork references Indigenous culture’s roots in oral history and traditions of Indigenous peoples.



Figure 16. Mamohkamatowin by Jerry Whitehead

3. *Mamohkamatowin* (#sculpture #Indigenous #stylizednature) by Jerry Whitehead (see Figure 16 above) is composed of two large concrete turtles with colourful mosaic shells. One turtle is larger than the other. Both turtles shells depict symbolically significant images in brightly coloured tiles. These artworks were created in a collaborative environment where

artists, artisans, and students came together to figure out the technical aspects, later the mosaic tiles, and help bring the turtles to life. As they worked shaping and adhering tiles, students from amiskwaciy Academy engaged with elders and knowledge holders who carry on the tradition of telling stories of this place. (EAC, 2020b)



Figure 17. Mikiwan by Duane Linklater

4. *mikiwan* (#sculpture, #Indigenous) by Duane Linklater (Figure 17 above) is a very large concrete reproduction of a 9,000 year old buffalo hide scraper. This bone hide scraper was in the Royal Alberta Museum collection. This artwork memorializes Indigenous work as well as respect for the buffalo and its significance and communal use to Indigenous peoples.



Figure 18. Preparing to Cross the Sacred River by Brianne Nicolson

5. *Preparing to Cross the Sacred River* (#installation #Indigenous) by Brianne Nicolson (see Figure 18 above) is composed of several rectangular blocks of stone with geometric designs and images of animals. This artwork “acknowledges the natural formation of the North Saskatchewan River Valley banks, wildlife, and shared stories and shared stories and traditions of Indigenous peoples” (EAC, 2020b). This artwork engages with Indigenous beliefs surrounding the stewardship of the land and need to protect the planet.



Figure 20. Reign by Mary Anne Barkhouse

6. *Reign* (#sculpture #indigenous #stylizedanture) by Mary Anne Barkhouse (Figure 20 above) is a sculpture composed of a central granite (reddish tone) plinth that is engraved with dinosaur fossils. A metal hare is located at the foot of the plinth on the North side of the sculpture; it is not visible from the walking path. The coyote is on top. The plinth is located on a circle of interlocking stones that have imprints of plants. This artwork depicts the animals that came before us and the plants and animals that have survived and sustained and “pays respect to the healing and adaptive nature of the land and to the original inhabitants of this territory” (EAC, 2020b).

This park is notable for a number of reasons. First, the art park format is new, it was proposed in the EAC’s *Public Art Master Plan* (2007), but wasn’t implemented until 2018. Furthermore, the process for the creation of the park was lengthy and involved significant consultation and engagement with Indigenous peoples. In addition, although some of the funding for the project came from the south-east LRT expansion, the park is not located along this line, which is a notable break in one of the most restrictive aspects of the percent

for art policy (that artworks have to be located adjacent to the construction by which they are funded). This art park is significant as it brings Indigenous visual culture into the city in a significant way.

4.2.4. *53 Degrees 30 North* (2019) by Thorsten Goldberg

#monumentalsculpture #stylizednature #drive-byart

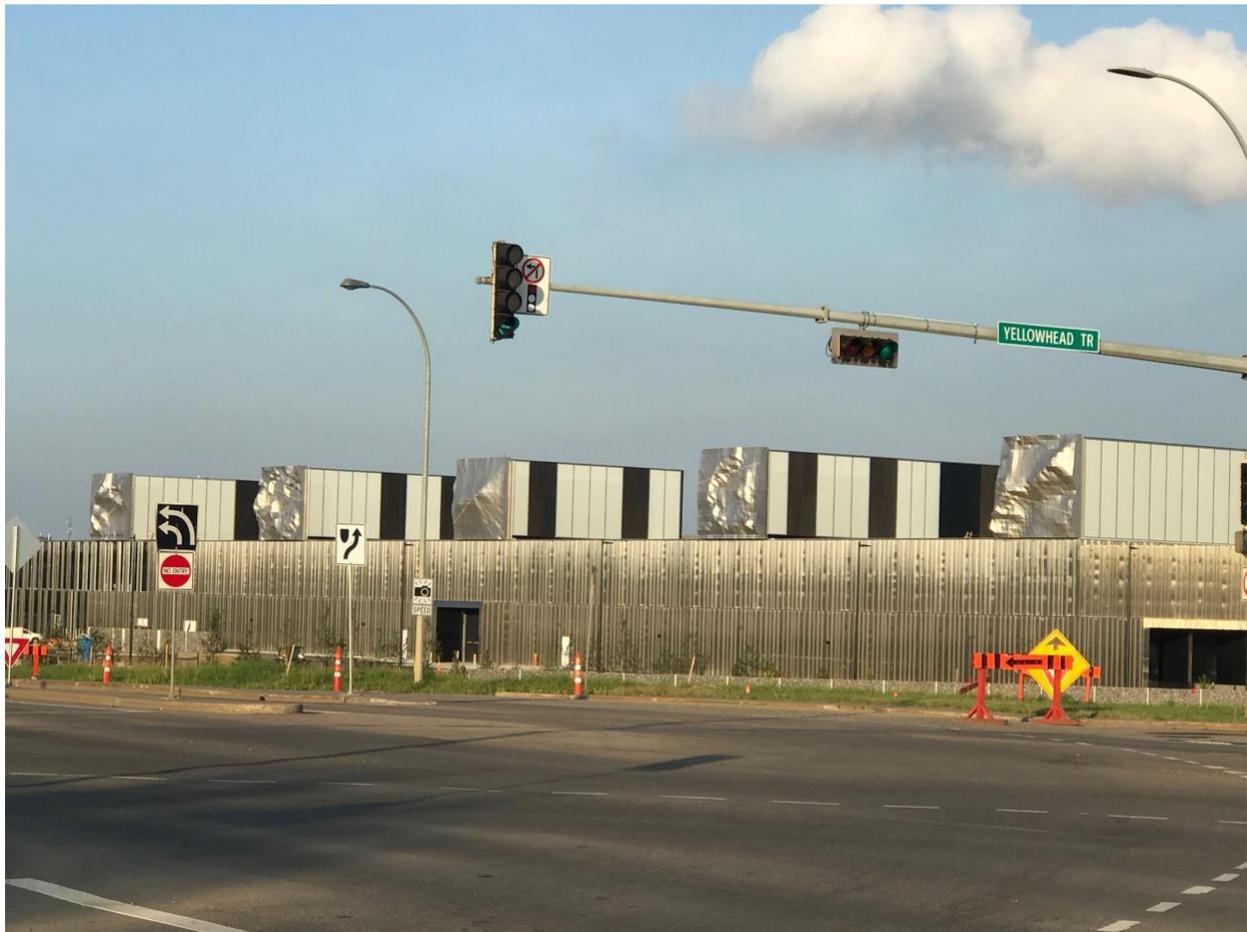


Figure 21. 53 Degrees 30 North by Thorsten Goldberg

This artwork is composed of five topographic reliefs of mountain landscapes (see Figure 21 above) all located on the 53rd degree of latitude (the same latitude as Edmonton). They are mounted upright on the Kathleen Andrews transit garage located in North East Edmonton.

This artwork is very large and can be seen from Fort Road, a busy road in an industrial area of Edmonton; for this reason this artwork is tagged 'drive-by art'.

Furthermore, this sculpture is tagged as stylized nature. This tag was used to describe where nature is central to the composition of the piece. This piece depicts five mountains: Mount Chown (Alberta); the crater of Mount Okmok (Unmak Island in the Aleutians), Zhupanovsky Crater (Kamchatka, Russia), and unnamed landscape near Dacodiansi, Heilongjiang Sheng (China) and Mweelrea (Connaught, Ireland). The emphasis thematically of the collection on stylized nature is consistent with trends in Canadian art history on nature.

4.2.5. *Wayne Gretzky* (1989) by John Weaver

#sculpture #representational #commemorative



Figure 22. Wayne Gretzky by John Weaver

This statue depicts a roughly life size Wayne Gretzky (see Figure 22 above) in his Edmonton Oilers jersey holding the Stanley cup aloft over his head. This statue celebrates the five Stanley Cups won by the team in the 1980s. The statue was located at Rexall Place from 1989 to 2016 when it was then moved to its new home at the South entrance to Rogers Place. Rogers Place is a sports and entertainment facility in the Ice District in downtown Edmonton. The statue of Wayne Gretzky was created before the City of Edmonton adopted the percent for art policy. Rogers Place has five other artworks associated with it that were funded by percent for art (*Skaters' Arch* by Douglas Bentham;

Tsa Tsa Ke Ke by Alex Janvier; *9 Figures in Motion with a Puck* by Al Henderson; *Essential Tree* by Realities United; and *Pillars of the Community* by Layla Folkmann and Lacey Jane see figure 23 below).

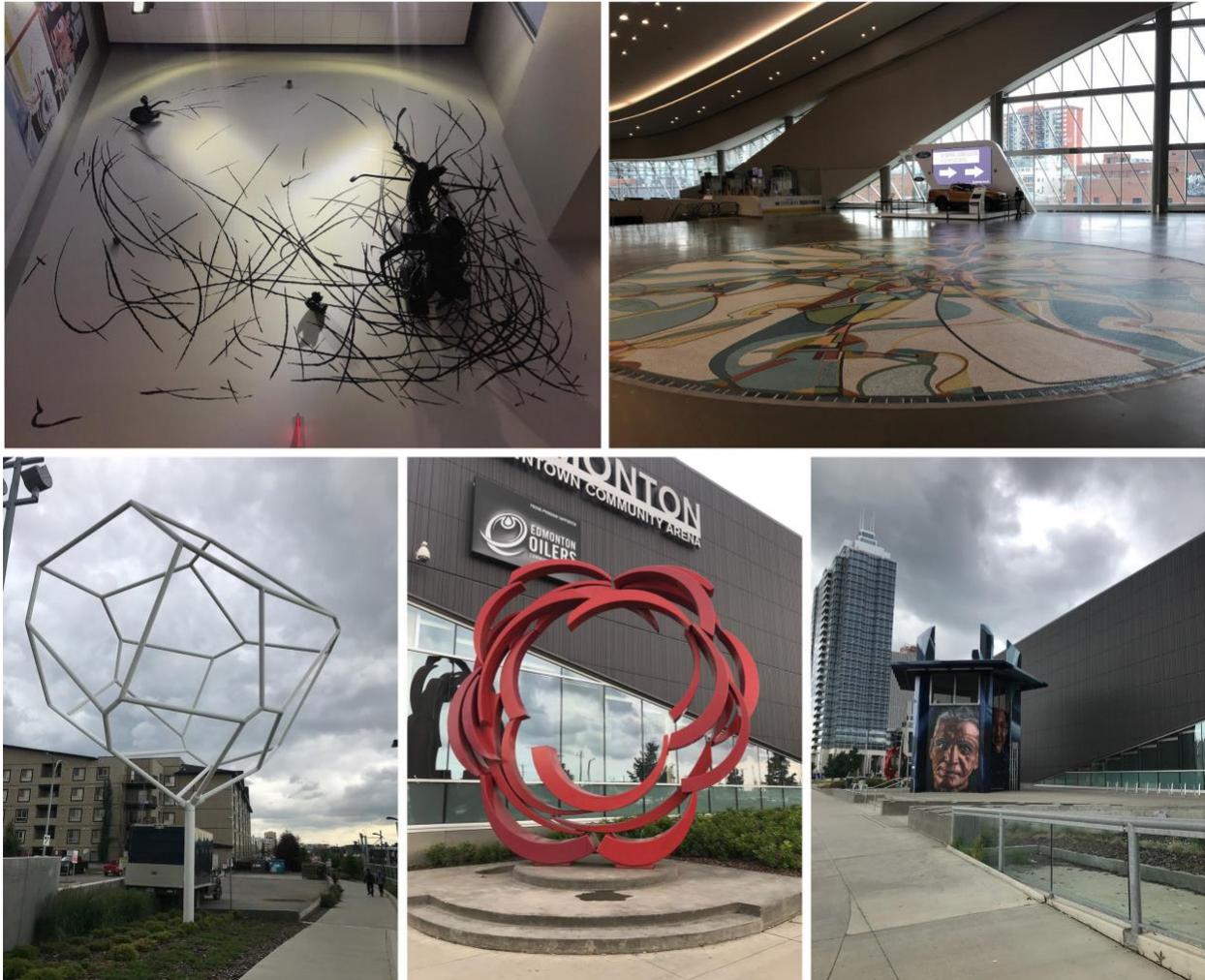


Figure 23. From left to right: 9 Figures in Motion with a Puck by Al Henderson, Tsa Tsa Ke Ke by Alex Janvier, Essential Tree by United Realities, Skaters' Arch by Douglas Bentham and Pillars of the Community by Layla Folkmann and Lacey Jane

This statue is tagged as commemorative and representational. It is one of 21 commemorative statues in the collection, it has a prime location at one of the entrances to Rogers Place and is a popular destination for photos.

4.2.6. *Towncar* (2007) by Tania Garner-Tomas

#sculpture #architectural



Figure 24. Towncar by Tania Garner-Tomas

This artwork is a large sculptural stainless steel bench. It is located at the Westmount transit centre in North-West Edmonton (see Figure 24 above). This artwork was tagged as architectural because it provides a function in the form of additional seating. This artwork was funded by the re-refurbishment of the transit centre, and reflects that smaller budget percent for art projects create smaller works that integrate more seamlessly or with less notoriety into the landscape. In addition, most transit centres and almost all LRT stops in Edmonton have some public art.

4.2.6. *Parade 1, Albert Wildlife* (2010) by Gabe Wong

#mural #stylizednature

This artwork is a stylized geometric depiction of the wildlife of Alberta forming a parade and is located at the Meadows transit centre. As discussed earlier, murals compose 24 percent of the collection. This artwork is one of two works by Gabe Wong in the collection, the second is entitled *Parade II* (see Figure 25 below) and is located at the Lewis Farms Transit Centre. The murals are in the same style, *Parade II* (see Figure 25 below) depicts fish, aquatic mammals and water fowl. Both murals explore the divide between the natural and man-made worlds created in urban centres: "Images that portray nature remind us of the intimate connection between the two, and that the land where we live was once a habitat for these animals" (EAC, 2020b). Both artworks are tagged stylized nature.

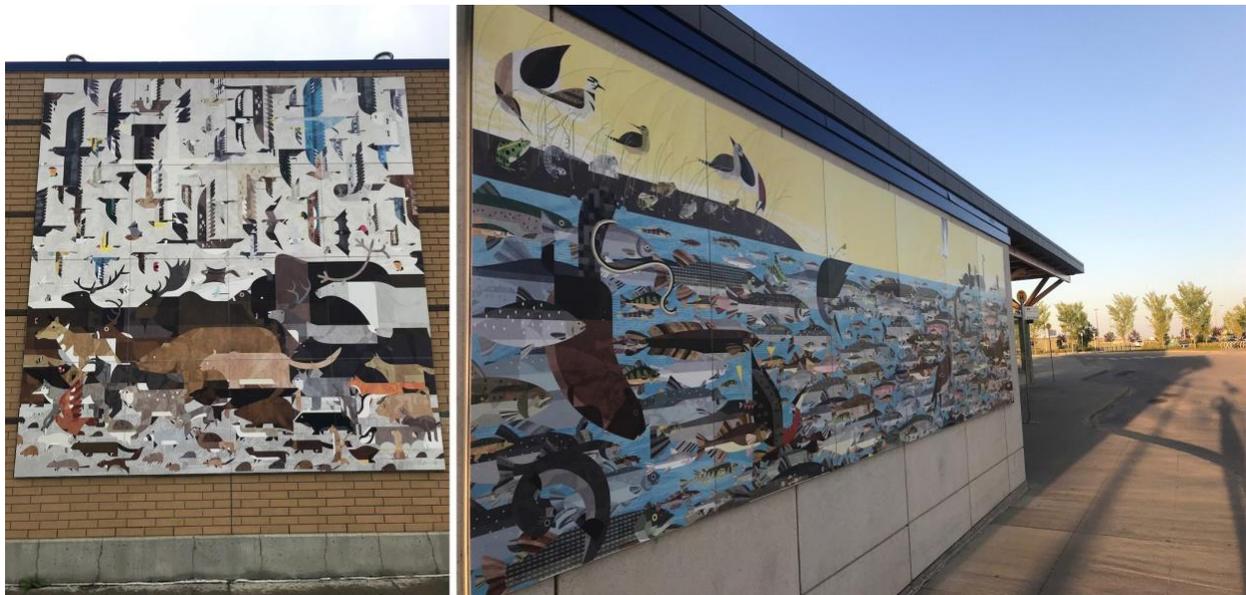


Figure 25. *Parade I, Alberta Wildlife and Parade II* by Gabe Wong

4.3. Analysis of Public Art Policy

In an effort to understand how Edmonton defines itself, and the contributions of its public art and culture to urban development and city building, three plans were analyzed thematically. The three documents were: *Public Art Master Plan* (2007); *The Art of Living* (2008); and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018). In what follows, I begin by describing each of the three policy documents and then proceed to describe three themes that emerged from the coding of the three documents: creative urbanism, potential and artopia.

The Art of Living (2008) and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) are both 10-year cultural plans for the City of Edmonton. They combine planning for arts and heritage. Although *The Art of Living* (2008) was not the first cultural plan created by the City of Edmonton, it represented a new emphasis on the importance of culture in the city as well as a comprehensive approach to cultural planning. The need for a cultural plan was first discussed by the Edmonton City Council in 2006 and was approved as part of the budget in that year (City of Edmonton, 2008). In addition, in 2007 Edmonton was named the Cultural Capital of Canada, this designation came with funding and spotlighted culture in the city, further emphasizing the significance of culture in the city. The stated motivations for creating this plan were:

- realization of the importance of arts and heritage;
- accepting that the City has a responsibility in this sector;
- appreciation that this is a growingly complex sector; and
- awareness of the need to be proactive about investment in arts, heritage and culture due to Alberta's current economic boom's accelerative effect on development in the city (City of Edmonton, 2008).

The Art of Living (2008) often references the economic boom in Alberta, somewhat ironically since this boom would soon be turning to a predictable bust. This plan dedicates much of its text to describing the arts, heritage and culture scene in Alberta, partly through 15 essays by Edmontonians. These essays were commissioned from "people with a strong connection to Edmonton's arts and heritage communities, whether as artists, administrators or cultural entrepreneurs (or, in some cases all three)" (City of Edmonton, 2008, 17). Part of Edmonton being named the Cultural Capital of Canada included the creation of a cultural inventory report; this inventory is referred to throughout the plan and is summarized in an appendix to *The Art of Living* (2008). The cultural inventory "identifies cultural indicators for the City and undertakes benchmarking" (City of Edmonton, 2008, 90). The cultural inventory summary in *The Art of Living's* (2008) appendices does not provide a detailed explanation of the methods used, however it did

undertake a survey of cultural workers, a survey of Edmontonians and the created a database of Edmonton's cultural assets.

Connections & Exchanges (2018) is the follow up plan to *The Art of Living* (2008). One notable change is that it begins with a Treaty Relationship Acknowledgement and includes more emphasis on the incorporation and importance of Indigenous culture in the city. This includes a section about Indigenous cultural independence. *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) puts less of an emphasis on describing Edmonton and its arts and heritage scene, presumably since this was already established by *The Art of Living* (2008). It includes seven vignettes describing the projected effects of the plan on the City. Each vignette describes imagined scenarios of people interacting with arts and heritage programming.

The third plan that was analyzed is the *Public Art Master Plan* (2007). This document was created by the EAC and was never fully adopted by Edmonton City Council. It includes a section about the background of the collection, as well as a review of the status of the collection in 2007. This plan is more practical and includes more concrete policy recommendations, partially because it is solely about public art, rather than the very broad scope of 'culture'.

Emerging from an analysis of these documents was the following themes: *creative urbanism*, *potential* and *artopia*. These themes describe how the City views and values the cultural development of the city and the place of public art in that development.

4.3.1. Creative Urbanism

Analysis revealed that the ideology of *creative urbanism* featured prominently in the public art discourse in all three cultural planning documents. *Creative urbanism* describes how Edmonton, like many cities, is being disciplined by the global imperative to 'sell itself' to the creative class in order to attract and retain investment and promote growth. The plans

integrate the idea that the city needs creativity and arts, and by extension needs to foster creativity through planning. This is captured by the theme titled Creative Urbanism, which conveys the way cities have come to recognize the importance of culture in attracting and retaining residents; attaching culture to metrics of growth and development as well as making comparisons to other cities (domestically or internationally).

The Art of Living (2008) references Richard Florida three times; these references appear as academic justification for the importance of arts and heritage in the city for growth, prosperity, and presumably attracting the creative class:

The resulting alignment, or friendship, between arts and culture and the City arose as national and international attention from economics, business and urban studies highlighted the significance of creative cities, most dramatically captured in Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Michael Phair in City of Edmonton, 2008, 14). These references to Richard Florida show an awareness of contemporary conversations about urbanism and the need for cities to have cultural amenities in order to attract and retain the right people (the creative class) in order to be a part of the modern service-based economy.

The Art of Living (2008) states that amidst the economic boom of the mid-2000s, one of the challenges facing Edmonton was global competitiveness (City of Edmonton, 2008). Furthermore, *The Art of Living* (2008) emphasizes creativity as something that will further the growth (economically and socially) of the city and its citizens:

Creativity in all of its forms is seen as a social and economic good that brings benefits to the city and also a way of connection nationally and internationally. Creativity in all of its forms is seen as a social and economic good that brings benefits to cities and citizens alike, and helps to position them internationally. (City of Edmonton, 2008, 91)

These statements show the City's concern with operating with international standards and competition in mind. *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) states "while uniquely Edmonton in its approach, it reflected the best practices in the sector" (23). The references to 'best

practices' indicate an engagement with an international professional standard; bolstering and fostering what is 'uniquely Edmonton' is the international best practice.

The application of 'best practices' is a way from Edmonton to implement measures to attract creative class and experience the associated economic growth. Developing and implementing these best practices involves the collaboration between 'creatives' and professional fields: "More and more, creative individuals are being called upon to partner with urban planners and designers, entrepreneurs, environmentalists, new media specialists and others in envisioning a new urban ideal" (City of Edmonton, 2008, 92). This confluence, furthermore, is a driver of growth. The positive relationship between economic growth and the arts is discussed in terms of an 'evolving symbiotic relationship' between the arts and Edmonton business community:

This includes not only the verifiable economic impact of arts on Edmonton but also the ever-present discussion around quality of life and how that attracts and retains workers and leaders for business—and about how creativity works and crosses traditional borders between sectors. (City of Edmonton, 2008, 60)

This statement makes the positive correlation between a supported and active arts scene, quality of life and economic prosperity; furthermore, it describes this correlation as 'verifiable'. This is something that is also common to the 2008 and 2018 cultural plans; they both include references to measuring impacts. The 2008 plan directly discusses this:

the latter half of the 20th century saw a movement towards measurement of performance of entities receiving public funding. Thus, we have seen a range of economic impact studies, resulting in movement further and further away from the intrinsic value of the arts as essential in defining the nation, the city or whatever other political grouping of human activity is under scrutiny. All activities receiving both public and private-sector funding increasingly are looked at through a lens of economic determinism. (City of Edmonton, 2008, 90)

The 2008 plan therefore simultaneously recognizes the intrinsic importance and value of the arts, the policy and governance environment in which it exists and the importance of verifiable metrics. The plan goes on to acknowledge the shortcoming of this model of allotting funded by measured economic impact noting that "the importance of culture goes

well beyond its GDP contribution to the very health of a democratic society” (City of Edmonton, 2008, 91).

The effects of ‘economic determinism’ are also noted in the plan. The cultural organizations in the city are described as well run and effective but “[c]ore operating funding is an ongoing issue” (City of Edmonton, 2008). As part of the cultural inventory, data were collected about those who work in the arts in Alberta, identifying the “typical worker as being middle-aged, well-trained (locally or internationally), valuing what he/she does but whose remuneration is not commensurate with his/her training and experience” (City of Edmonton, 2008, 91). Despite the importance of culture in the city, the issues of measurement and metrics in proving the impact of arts has left those who work in arts and culture under-paid and organizations underfunded.

The *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) dedicates significant space to describing assessment: “This plan would need to have a rigorous measurement, evaluation and learning framework in order to demonstrate that any investment made in this plan could be scrutinized and optimized” (City of Edmonton, 2018, 23). It develops a Measurement, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) framework, which “emphasizes the value of data-driven and data-informed decision making to learn” (City of Edmonton, 2018, 45). Therefore, although the 2008 plan notes the elusive and difficult to measure positive impacts of culture on the city, the 2018 plan returns to a need to measure, albeit by a more sophisticated metric, with the intention to make sure the plan “is realistic without curbing the ambition necessary for a plan in a city like Edmonton; and that allows the plan to continuously improve in reaction to relevant conditions” (City of Edmonton, 2018, 47). The statement about the ability of the plan to ‘react to relevant conditions’ is interesting, particularly since *The Art of Living* (2008) frequently referenced and planned for a continued economic boom that ended swiftly thereafter with the Global Financial Crisis of 2008. This appears to be a part of a need within public investment in arts and heritage to continually prove its importance and this “provides stakeholders with assurances as well” (City of Edmonton, 2018, 47). Therefore, being a ‘creative city’ integrates governance

models, which emphasize the need to measure impact, while maintaining an implicit understanding of the value of arts and heritage in general.

The *Public Art Master Plan (2007)* notes “Canadian cities are revising their percent for art policies to reflect a demand for culture and high quality urban environments” (EAC, 2007, 4). In 2007 the EAC described the public art collection as

From an international and objective perspective, the state of Edmonton’s public art is underdeveloped, in disrepair, and largely silent and ignored. Our collection does not stand out compared to other capital cities, or even to cities of a similar size and economy (such as Portland, Surrey and Ottawa) and reflects few of the many recent developments in post-modern and contemporary art. Even within a regional Western Canadian context, where cities like Calgary and Kelowna have reinvented their public art policies and programs, our city’s public art collection appears random, mediocre, and diluted. (EAC, 2007, 7)

Edmonton is compared to other major Canadian and international cities; and in this comparison is found to be lacking. To remedy this, the plan is to “To encourage regional and Canadian public art, artists, and ideas while propelling Edmonton Public Art initiatives into a global context” (EAC, 2007, 12). To this end the plan also emphasizes international commissioning: “An international commission of a public artwork in Edmonton will create a high profile opportunity to advance the scope of public art in our city” (EAC, 2007, 26) and produce “signature pieces that identify and symbolize a city and attract visitors” (EAC, 2007, 26).

4.3.2. Potential

Public art has long been associated with opportunity and change. Throughout all three plans, the City of Edmonton, and the Edmonton arts scene, are described as full of *potential or opportunity*. This goes hand in hand with the idea that the city is ready for something and is fertile soil for cultural planning efforts and further development; these statements

are a positive spin on an insinuated previous neglect or oversight. *Connections & Exchanges* states:

Edmonton isn't a finished city. That's its greatest asset. It's this notion that drives everything this city does. There is always room to get involved and get something done. Every day, the desire and opportunity to create impactful, dynamic change in this city grows stronger. (2018, 6)

In this statement Edmonton is defined by its potential. The public art collection was described in this plan as consisting of pieces that are “haphazardly placed, not collectively archived to current standards and have never been maintained” (EAC, 2007, 8). The plan goes on to describe how one piece, *The Fanway*, is “lost and plausibly sold for scrap metal” (EAC, 2007, 8). The 2008 cultural plan further describes how Edmonton is “seen by many outside the city, and many inside it, as a new place, a place without significant traditions or history” (City of Edmonton, 2008, 8). As a result of this self-effacing image the Public Art Master Plan (2007) states that “[a]side from simply trying to catch up with the national benchmarks for public art, Edmonton has the potential to think widely and with vision on how to be the leader for public art within an international context?” (EAC, 2007, 8). It goes further to say:

“Alberta is a place of tremendous and unique spirit. It is like nowhere else on earth, and the potential we have to make our cultural life the equivalent of our economic life is great” (Jeanne Lougheed in City of Edmonton, 2008, 23).

Although, as previously discussed in the theme *Creative Urbanism*, there is an emphasis on the economic value of culture, this statement makes clear that that central to the culture of Alberta is its ‘economic life,’ which is not based in arts and heritage. This is defined as an area where again, potential is found; not only is Edmonton working against the perception that it is “a new place, a place without significant traditions or history” (City of Edmonton, 2008, 8), but that its economic life overshadows the culture that potentially exists here. Therefore, Edmonton is defined by potential in part due to previous neglect, as well as having to work against the notion of Edmonton as essentially placeless and dominated by economic interests.

The evolution of the plans from 2008 to 2018 notes a change in the attitude about culture and change in the city that began in 2006 and continues today:

A changing city can be an uncomfortable place to be—even for a city in the midst of its ascendancy. The process of growing and realizing a vision for a city is not a simple and straightforward exercise. Projects of great promise take time and progress with stops and starts; new choices and opportunities often make people uncertain or uncomfortable; and the disruptive nature of a civic renaissance exposes a spectrum in our collective tolerance for change. (City of Edmonton, 2018, 35)

Central to Edmonton being full of potential is that this potential will lead to change; the assets all exist, they just need to be set in motion to unleash the full value of Edmonton's cultural capital. Furthermore, that the anticipated change might be controversial; there is an anticipation of discomfort in unleashing Edmonton's potential

4.3.3. Artopia

Artopic claims are a set of largely unsubstantiated claims/beliefs about the positive impacts of public art (Zebracki *et al.*, 2010). The term 'artopia' combines art and utopia; the term attributes to public art such a wide range of positive impacts that it makes it out to be an essential asset for any city and a silver bullet for many urban issues. These claims imbue public art with a fantastical quality and are unreasonable and unattainable. All three plans include artopic claims, in particular as descriptive of the benefits of public art or as justification for further attention and funding. *The Art of Living* (2008) and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) are both cultural plans, so they include planning aims that are applied to public art; however the majority of the content is not directly about public art, but rather the entire cultural sector. Although artopic claims are specifically about public artworks; they will be used here to discuss claims about this broader sector. These claims are further categorized into physical aesthetic claims, economic claims, social claims and cultural-symbolic claims. Each category of claim will be described before it is discussed in terms of the extent to which it is reflected or present in the three plans.

4.3.3.1. Physical Aesthetic Claims

Physical aesthetic claims about public art suggest that public art enhances the attractiveness of space, leading to increased use and/or making that space more recognizable and turning it into a reference point (Zebracki *et al.*, 2010).

Physical aesthetic artopic claims are the fewest and are found only in the *Public Art Master Plan* (2007). The plan notes that public art “add[s] to the visual and aesthetic impact of our city” (EAC, 2007, 5), and furthermore “public art, in addition to meeting aesthetic requirements, also may serve to establish focal points; modify, enhance, or define specific spaces; or establish identity for the City of Edmonton” (EAC, 2007, 44). This is perhaps because physical aesthetic claims are the most practical and least utopic of the claims; furthermore physical aesthetic claims directly fulfill the aims of the percent for art policy to “Improve the livability and attractiveness of Edmonton” and “use public art to help meet urban design objectives of municipal developments” (City of Edmonton, 2010). The attractiveness of public art is assumed.

4.3.3.2. Economic claims

Economic artopic claims about public art revolve around its ability to increase economic activity and investment (Zebracki *et al.*, 2010). This includes the economic benefits associated with place branding and promotion (Zebracki *et al.*, 2010). The *Public Art Master Plan* (2007) directly states that public art will strengthen the local economy: “Public art is considered to be a key component to the attractiveness and identity of a City: it demonstrates the character of communities, *strengthens the local economy* and is a reflection of a progressive municipality” (EAC, 2007, 11, emphasis added). While talking more broadly about arts and heritage, in *The Art of Living* (2008) the City of Edmonton described the economic impact of arts and heritage as ‘undeniable’ (7). There are fewer economic artopic statements in *Connections & Exchanges* (2018). However, as noted above, the plan does describe the city as unfinished and states that this is “its greatest asset” (2018, 6). This uses economic language to describe the city, which is interesting in an arts

and cultural plan. It also characterizes Edmonton as something that can increase in value, again framing Edmonton in terms of opportunity and potential for growth, presumably some economic.

An economic concern that arises in both *The Art of Living* (2018) and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) is for the economic life and stability of artists:

What's sometimes easy to forget when we are busy turning arts into an asset is that our arts scene is about the artists. It is their unyielding spirit, creativity and expression we must nurture—and while our “creative capital” is a valid tourism and lifestyle message, what's so much more important is making it possible for the reality to outstrip the propaganda. We have to do all we can to keep artists here. (Catrin Owen in City of Edmonton, 2008, 33)

In this statement the economic value of artists, through their ‘creative capital’ is acknowledged, as well as the impact on tourism and the lifestyle associated with the city. In the same plan that describes “the economic impact of arts and heritage [as] undeniable,” concern is expressed about the ability of the city to retain artists: “there is also the question of making sure that Edmonton remains a place where artists feel welcomed and able to lead a creative life” (City of Edmonton, 2008, 60).

4.3.3.3. Social claims

Social artopic claims revolve around the idea that public art can enhance social interaction and address the needs of communities including increased inclusiveness and promoting social change (Zebracki *et al.*, 2010). An aim of *Connections & Exchanges* is for “Edmontonians [to] feel a sense of belonging and connectedness to peoples, places, and stories” (City of Edmonton, 2018, 10). Moreover, one of its principles is: “We care about the impact of our actions on our social, economic, cultural, spiritual and environmental systems” (City of Edmonton, 2018, 10). *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) charges arts and heritage with the ability to create a ‘sense of belonging’ and have a social impact.

There is a strong emphasis on the idea that public art and arts programming will bring people together: one of that stated goals of the *Public Art Master Plan* (2007) is “[t]o invite and encourage the public to engage with public artworks, artists, and ideas” (EAC, 2007, 12). It also lays out the idea for artist residencies with various City of Edmonton departments:

A public artist in residency program facilitates an understanding of the artmaking process for the community, and encourages the artist to involve city departments, community members, and the public to interact in the creation of the public artwork. The artist selected for the project can be paired with a city department or other city organization as a host to the context of the artwork creation and production. A nominated guide will work with the artist to introduce all levels of the organization’s service and purpose, and to provide the artist with new material and access to a new “side” of the city. Example organizations could include Edmonton Transit Services, Edmonton Public Libraries, or City of Edmonton Community Services. (EAC, 2007, 26)

This program demonstrates a plan to make good on the artopic promise of enhancing social interactions through public art. Although the *Public Art Master Plan* (2007) was never adopted by Council, this system of artist residencies in City of Edmonton departments does now exist.

One of the strongest connections to a social artopia is the inclusion of vignettes in *Connections & Exchanges*. These consist of fictional first person accounts of people’s interactions with arts and culture amenities in Edmonton. There are seven of these vignettes in the document and each one is labeled for a year between 2020-2029. There is one that features public art:

2023 While out for a dawn jog along a multi-use trail, Erika comes across a recently completed station from an LRT expansion in her area. Stopping for a break, she pulls out her phone to take a photo of the sunrise as it crests over the horizon behind the station. Just before she takes the shot, she notices a large, recently installed sculpture in the corner of her screen. While Erika is fond of public art, she has always considered it a “downtown thing.” She looks carefully at the sculpture, lost for a moment in her own internal debate about what it means to her. She adjusts her angle

to fully capture the sculpture in the foreground with the sunrise adding colour and texture in the background. She posts the photo to her social media account with the hashtag #yegarts and pins the location, which has the name of the sculpture. To her surprise, she spends the next 48 hours responding to comments and talking about the new public art with strangers, including the sculptor. (City of Edmonton, 2018, 11)

This vignette engages with artopia as an imagined idealized interaction between Edmontonians and public art. Including these idealized future accounts of the effects of arts and heritage in the city is very utopic, especially given the public art literature's acknowledgement that most new public artworks are met with controversy. This description of a positive response to a new public artwork, which extends to a seemingly civil online discussion, is somewhat out of step with a city where one of the best known public artworks (the *Talus Dome*) has dedicated a satirical twitter account (@TalusBalls) whose by-line is "Giant pile of metal balls that cost taxpayers \$600,000. I live on an on-ramp in Canada" and frequently makes testicle jokes. This account has 1,155 followers, showing this artwork has created social engagement, just perhaps not the idealized version in the utopic vignette.

Connections & Exchanges (2018) includes more integration and attention to creating space and opportunities for Indigenous artists. The long and violent history of settler colonialism in Canada has resulted in a complex and often fraught relationship between the Canadian state and Indigenous peoples. One of the resulting social issues is erasure of Indigenous peoples from urban spaces in Canada. Edmonton has the second largest urban Indigenous population in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017), and one of the guiding principles of *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) is: "Indigenous peoples have agency in their journeys of revitalizing and participating in traditional, contemporary and future manifestations of their culture" (City of Edmonton, 2018, 5). Furthermore, the very creation of the plan included Indigenous consultation to ensure it "would reflect Indigenous treaty principles" (City of Edmonton, 2018, 22). These statements demonstrate a concerted effort by the City of Edmonton to include Indigenous peoples in the creation of the cultural plan, as well as centering Indigenous agency. The plans do not make specific

social artopic claims about the ability of public art to ‘heal’ or ameliorate the social issues in Edmonton resulting from settler colonial violence.

4.3.3.4. Cultural-symbolic claims

Cultural-symbolic claims revolve around the value of public art in creating awareness and appreciation of local history and identity, alongside the idea that public art will stimulate more creativity and develop a civic identity (Zebrakci *et al.*, 2010). They include claims that public art will create a recognizable identity for a city, for both the residents and outsiders. The *Public Art Master Plan* (2007) makes seven references to the public art as a “key component to the attractiveness and identity of a city” (EAC, 4), and furthermore that “[h]igh profile and contemporary public artworks by internationally renowned artists can become signature pieces that identify and symbolize a city and attract visitors” (EAC, 2007, 26). *The Art of Living* (2008) goes into more detail about what exactly the identity of the city is and in one of the essays Ian McGillis notes that we should “[n]ever discount the importance of what I’m talking about here. People need to see their lives reflected in art. It’s a need we often don’t recognize until we see it satisfied and feel that thrill of recognition” (Ian McGillis in *City of Edmonton*, 2008, 37). *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) once again foregrounds the importance of an identity for Edmonton and the place of the arts in creating it: “Edmonton’s support and integration of arts and heritage in everything it does will be a foundational part of our civic identity.” (City of Edmonton, 2018, 29). All three plans include cultural-symbolic artopic claims.

4.3.4. Summary

The Public Art Master Plan (2007), *The Art of Living* (2018) and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) are the three planning documents that have governed public art in Edmonton for the past 13 years. These plans give insight into how Edmonton frames itself and has engaged with ideas of *Creative Urbanism*; mainly through policy aligning itself with international trends in order to be competitive. Edmonton is characterized in these plans as a place full of potential; demonstrating excitement and investment in nurturing that

potential as well as putting a positive spin on previous neglect. Finally, in order to compete internationally and fulfill its potential, Edmonton has invested in artopic ideals surrounding the capacity of public art. The themes of artopia and potential are similar in that they are both forward looking and hopeful, however they are focused on different scales. The theme of potential is about Edmonton and how past failures to support and fund arts, heritage and culture in the city could be overcome. Artopic claims emphasize the specific potential of public art and cultural planning, rather than that of the city as a whole.

4.4. Analysis of Key Informant Interviews

The following subsections describe the results of the analysis of interviews with key informants. The results are organized as a series of productive tensions. These tensions shape and structure the process of the management and creation of public art in Edmonton. These tensions arise primarily from the restraints of the percent for art funding model, the expectations of public art and the intersection of public art with professions like planning, engineering and architecture.

4.4.1. Community Engagement versus Community Research

The literature surrounding public art often puts a strong emphasis on the value of community engagement in the creation of public artworks. Community engagement in public art can be understood as community members having input and being consulted or included in the creative process. Interviews with public art administrators reveal the balance that is often struck between community engagement and community research. Community research would include acquiring some knowledge of the site and local culture/distinctiveness, but does not include the same level of consultation and inclusion as community engagement. The intent of both is that the artwork “reflects the site, the location, the people and the communities of the areas” (Informant #1). What was identified

in interviews is that community engagement is often a lengthy, expensive and labour intensive process; this creates a tension between the value placed on community engagement in connection to public art and the realities of a project funded through a percent for art funding model. The tension here is between the value placed on community engagement in public art and the ability to realistically carry it out, and finding where community research is more feasible.

First, the previous structure of calls as RFPs were not always conducive to supporting artists to create community engaged artworks; shifting to a RFQ processes created space for community engagement:

so rather than looking at the investment with the artwork upfront, we are looking at making an investment in that artist's time to do work to do research to do engagement, and to work with the project team to create something that reflects the site, the location, the peoples and communities of the areas, the history, so we're taking of a bit of a shift in how we define, and really critically look at the practice of public art (Informant # 1)

Through shifting the process for calls to an RFQ process, artists are given the time and opportunity to come up with an idea that is engaged with its location and community, whereas the previous RFP process had less flexibility as it required an idea upfront. Although Informant #1 refers to time "to do research, to do engagement", interviews revealed that sometimes community engagement may not happen in practice, due to time and budget restraints. In this case, community research can be an appropriate solution so that an artwork still holds relevance to its location. Informant #2 noted that "every space has a community: what that community is, what that community is doing. I mean if it's an industrial area like, I don't think it needs community outreach"; not every location is an appropriate place for community engagement. It is important to note here that under the percent for art program, the locations for public art are determined by the municipal government's choices regarding infrastructure needs, not where a community might most benefit from a public artwork. Although the commissioning process has changed to accommodate greater community engagement, not all locations of capital expenditures call for community engagement.

Since public artworks are directly tied to City of Edmonton development projects, artists can be integrated into the community engagement done by the City:

Having said that there are a few projects where the public engagement is being designed and delivered in cooperation with the collaboration with the artist and city staff. Because some projects, for example, when you have a public facility, the city project team has to do some public engagement and this can be co-organized or they may invite an artist and some of the engagement will be the artwork proposal. But again, in recent years we are working much more on that. As opposed to a couple years ago, there were practically no public engagements, very few. And now this is a big change in the direction and much more involvement in the community.

(Informant #2)

Integrating the artist into the City of Edmonton's public engagement means the time and cost associated with the engagement is not taken out of the artist's budget. However, as noted in this quote, this means the City has to be doing public engagement, which Informant #2 notes is a recent change. In addition, Informants #1, #3, #4, and #5 noted that it is up to the City to inform the EAC when there is an eligible development, and this can sometimes happen later in the development process, after community engagement has occurred.

Public art is produced through the percent for art policy has a finite budget, which sometimes has to include travel and accommodation for artists. This means that if the commission is given to an out of town artist for them to participate in the community engagement process could take a significant portion of the budget. Informant #2 suggests that there is a balance to be struck between a demand for community engagement and the nature, budget and scope of the commission. Not all budgets can accommodate the cost of community engagement depending on the nature of the commission and the artist. In these instances, Informant #2 notes that community research is sometimes more practical, enabling the artist to understand and integrate the context of the artwork without the cost of engagement.

While the civic collection's first artwork dates from 1957, the emphasis and value placed on community engagement in both public art and planning projects is relatively recent. Informant #1 spoke to the need for engagement and programming surrounding public artworks beyond when they are first installed/created. The budget for an artwork funded by percent for art does not include funds for its animation over time.

4.4.2. Placemaking versus Place Recognition

Central to the definition of public art as a genre and the meaning created by public artworks are the places where they are located. However, there is a tension here between the urge to use public art to 'create' a sense of place, and acknowledging that public art is never installed on a blank canvas, and instead recognizing what is already there. Public artwork can engage and elevate a sense of place, or attributes and histories of a place that already exists. The process for the commissioning of public artworks in Edmonton is attentive to the importance of the context of an artwork, in other words the place an artwork is going to be located:

all the artworks are made specifically for the sites, so we share with the artist some information about the site like a site plan, we share some perspective - use of the building that is nearby like a recreation centre, or whatever it is. So the artists know the location, they know the context and they have to respond to that (Informant #3).

This sharing of information reflects the importance of place in public artwork, but the tension remains between ideas around artworks creating a sense of place versus engaging with what is already there. One key informant noted the changing discourse within the field:

The definition and approaches about how we do public art is starting to make a shift, make a big shift worldwide, you know. I think terms like place-making are actually going to be tossed out the window pretty quickly [...] I mean it's a way of talking about [...] how we are making space, how we are creating spaces for things to happen

without really taking into consideration what is already here and what has already been there, and what is already working. So there has been talk in literature about the difference between place-making and place recognition (Informant #1)

There is a shift in the collection towards an emphasis on place recognition, which is perhaps most strongly evident in ÎNÎW River Lot 11 and the decision to locate it on the plot of Métis landowner John McDonald. This project recognizes and foregrounds the already existing richness of the place and uses public art to do so.

4.4.3. Planners versus Artists

Public art funded through the percent for art policy is created through interaction between the arts and urban planning: artists, arts administrators, planners, architects and engineers collaborate to make public art happen. The tension here is between the confluence of different values, priorities and expertise in each profession that has to come together to commission a public artwork. Informants spoke to the changing level of integration and when the EAC is brought on board on new development projects and that different stakeholders have different ideas about what public art is meant to accomplish:

I feel like sometimes, there is ... this misunderstanding of the use of public art as a tool. I come from a place, I think our team comes from a place, where we want meaningful works of art. I feel developers and urban planners use public art as instagrammable opportunities, or, and gentrification tools, and I think that's where we really need to critically position ourselves as public art, as the public art department who works with the city. If the City is actually for liveable and healthy cities, how is public art being used? Is it being used to push people away? Or is it to invite people here and live here if they choose? (Informant #5)

Although the public art officers are heavily involved in the administration of public art they are not the selection committees. Rather a selection committee is usually

made up of the City project team which has a client, an architect and a consultant, so the client is like the facility that the artwork will be installed in. The consultant is

often an architectural firm, engineers and architects and the City has their own architects for their own projects and then there are three artists that we invite who will offer an artistic lens. We often choose artists that have either discipline and practice related to the kind of medium that we want the project designed for whether it's a sculpture or painting. And we often have community members too, so someone who lives and works in the neighbourhood or on site and we are there to support. So those are the voting peoples, and EAC there to support their meeting and we've kind like fiddled around with that basic structure depending on the nature of the project, so sometimes we invite curators, especially for projects like the valley line there is series of projects to with a curator has that lens (Informant #5).

The selection committees for percent for art public art projects are composed of a variety of personnel who are coordinated by the public art officers at the EAC. Public art officers do not have a voice in terms of the artistic direction of the commission. Thus the very commissioning process is a collaboration between various professions.

The way that Edmonton's public art is administered is not common; wherein the City has a percent for art policy and a Service Agreement with the EAC instead of administering the policy in house. One informant explains that this recognizes that the City lacks expertise in art management, so this system of separate administration is effective:

I like to think that the City was smart enough to know that they aren't the experts in art. But also I feel there is a certain, this is opinion, I feel there is a certain like buffer between the City and the public art that way. (Informant #3)

This Informant further notes that not being part of the City allows the EAC to "react very quickly to things in a way we don't have to deal with the bureaucracy and red tape that a lot of city things deal with." (Informant #3). Public art in Edmonton, and anywhere with a percent for art policy, requires collaboration and the combination of different expertise. The separation of the EAC from city planning maintains greater distance between art administration and planning bodies; it also acknowledges the positives of existing outside of the bureaucracy associated with being part of a larger government body.

Informant #1 noted that in the past this separation between the EAC and City of Edmonton meant that the percent for art policy was administered on a somewhat ad hoc basis:

It went from kind of being an ad hoc policy where you know depending on the scope, the scale, the desire, I'm not really sure how those determinations were made. Those projects would or would not contribute to an art piece or qualify for a percent for art piece; I'm more [word missing] what qualified back then, or what was interpreted back then. But in 2007 there was the policy review and rewrite and that actually made it mandatory for certain types of capital projects to fund percent for art. (Informant #1).

Existing outside of the bureaucracy meant that when public art was not a priority for the City the EAC was not able to implement the percent for art policy. Therefore, collaboration between the two bodies is relatively recent and central to the growth of the collection.

Although the EAC's official role is strongly weighted towards supporting artists and administering individual percent for art projects, this does not preclude public art officers from being involved in and thinking more widely about the distribution of public art in the City. This is illustrated by Informant #3 in their description of the thought process of the EAC about the upcoming Yellowhead Trail conversion:

We are working right now with the Yellowhead Trail conversion project. It's going to be massive and the percent for art that is connected to that is huge, and it'll be divided up into multiple projects but the thinking around that is that do we want multiple projects along the corridor? Or do we want to move it slightly off the corridor? Because there are a number of communities flanking on either side and actually those are older communities and they have public art so this is an opportunity for us to actually go into those communities. In which case we will have extensive community engagement around it, so right now I mean this is still in the works, we are looking at pulling money off of the line and then putting it in proximity to it and it gives us the benefits of not being beholden to project's schedules and we can install stuff at whatever pace we want to and we can actually do significant and meaningful

community engagement with those communities that want public art along that corridor. It's kind of exciting, we haven't had that opportunity. (Informant #3)

This quote clearly illustrates that the EAC is involved in some decisions that would be traditionally associated with planning: the distribution and location of artworks.

4.4.3.1. Locational Decision-Making

Public art, due to the percent for art policy, is located in proximity to public facilities or infrastructure. It follows that when planners make locational decisions about, for example, a library, they are effectively making a locational decision about public art at the same time. One key informant noted that

the purpose of the policy is really to improve the public realm of the City so all these projects are basically public facilities or places and for that reason arts is located in proximity to those places (Informant #3).

However, because public art is tied to capital construction budgets it means that neighbourhoods and areas where there is more municipal investment in infrastructure and facilities have more public art. Informants noted this means public art is not distributed evenly throughout the city.

Informants pointed out that there have been some recent and notable exceptions to the policy's requirement that public art be located in proximity to its funding source. The most notable exception is ÎNÎW River Lot 11 or the Indigenous Art Park located on Queen Elizabeth Park Road in the river valley. The funding for this park was taken from the percent for art budget of the Valley Line LRT expansion, which is not in proximity to the park. Funds were also relocated from the Valley Line LRT expansion's percent for art budget to supplement the percent for art budget of the Butler Memorial Park redevelopment located in Edmonton's West End at 157 Street and Stony Plain Road. The redevelopment budget for this park was small, so the correlating percent for art budget was small as well, and with such a limited budget it would have been difficult to

commission a public artwork. This recent, and rare, flexibility in locational decision making meant the EAC was better able to fund and administer impactful public artworks.

Informant #3 notes that greater flexibility in choosing the locations of artworks is good, however, as they are civic resources there are some restrictions and practical matters of maintenance and access that have to be considered:

There are some practical difficulties of not having public art in proximity to a capital project. To start with is that one difficulty is that you don't have a city project manager to organize the site, and to arrange site access and safety. Just to arrange this site so you need to provide that if you are to install art in a remote location somebody has to take care, somebody from the City should take care of that. But it's not practical right now, we are considering though those opportunities for the future. We are currently working on new policy, where we would like to have a bit more of a flexibility in locating public art in regard to places that are more visited by more people, but again this again might happen in the future and it's not current practice unfortunately.

Greater flexibility in the relationship between percent for art funding and public artwork locations is met with many logistical challenges.

In addition to the location of the artworks within the city, there are decisions to be made about where within a public facility an artwork will be housed. Locational decision making within a facility is shared between the EAC, the City and artists. Informant #6 notes:

it will be narrowed down to two or three locations where they think art is best situated and sometimes locations are determined by design problems that arise, where artwork in their mind can be seen as a band aid for a problem they've created or ended with, which we don't always appreciate and that's where the movement around becoming more involved in the city's processes at a much earlier stage comes so we don't end up with leftovers in terms of the location for things.

Informants also noted that sometimes an artist on rare occasions selects a location which is not part of the 2-3 locations chosen by the City project team. A notable example of this is 53

Degrees 30 North by Thorsten Goldberg (see figure 21) located on top of the Kathleen Andrews Transit Garage. Informant #7 noted that architects “because they aren’t artists, they don’t think that way right, so they kind of have a narrow vision”. Informants were clear that this is one of the reasons it is so important for artists and the EAC to be involved early in a project, to allow for public art to be meaningfully integrated into a site.

4.4.4. Positive versus Negative feedback

The installation of art in the public realm is often initially met with controversy, especially about the cost of the artwork (Cartiere, 2008). Public art in Edmonton is no exception, Informant #1 states:

I think that has always been the problem with how the projects are perceived from the outside, it’s that it cost \$6,000,000 from a 60 million dollar project, is that one percent yes, from a 60 million dollar project, and that could have fed x number of homeless people

Informant #3 notes the role of media and reporting in creating this kind of negative publicity:

Ya ya is true all controversial, you can read some reporters have some sort of negative attitude you know saw why do you spend \$50,000 for this piece and why don’t you improve the sidewalk in front of whatever, City Hall, they just don’t appreciate

What is notable about both of these quotes is the idea of prudent spending of public funds and the idea that public money is best used for ‘practical’ matters: feeding the homeless or improving sidewalks. Informant #3 also notes that if public art was funded privately there would be little or less controversy and that there is nothing stopping private developers from creating public artworks and that the City would accommodate it, furthermore that this practice is common in other cities.

From a conservation standpoint Informants #6 and #7 noted that controversial works, most notably in Edmonton the *Talus Dome* (2012) by Ball Nogues Studio, often come with challenges regarding conservation and maintenance. Due to the structure of the

percent for art policy there is a finite amount of funding associated with each artwork for its conservation and maintenance. Informants #6 and #7 observed that the *Talus Dome*, perhaps due to being controversial, well known, and in a location that is isolated at night has far exceeded its conservation and maintenance budget due to the high incidence of vandalism. Negative public reactions and attention can lead to direct public costs.

Informant #2 when discussing the controversy and varied opinions surrounding the *Talus Dome* noted it is “probably the most controversial, but that’s kind of died down, people mock it I think in a way that has become a part of the culture of the city”. Therefore, although garnering an initial negative reaction, and costing more in maintenance, the piece through its infamy has become iconic and part of the ‘culture of the city’. So in this case, a negative reaction provoked public engagement with the artwork.

Conversely, appreciation and respect for the collection as a whole can be catalyzed by a few popular artworks. Informants #2 and #6 noted the importance of benchmark artworks like the *Vaulted Willow* (2014) by Marc Fornes and the very many in Borden Park and *Tsa Tsa Ke K’e- Iron Foot Place* (2016) by Alex Janvier in Rogers Place (see figure 26 below):

I think there is an increasing respect and appreciation for public art generally and I think that has to do with a couple of big interesting projects that have come along. And it’s not, not everything is for everyone all the time but there is enough diversity in the collection that we are starting to hit people. One thing doesn’t get you, another will (Informant #6)

As the collection grows and budgetary restrictions have been lifted there are more positive attitudes towards the collection.



Figure 26. Vaulted Willow by Marc Fornes and theverymany (right) and Tsa Tsa Ke K'e by Alex Janvier (left)

Informant #3 noted that after an artwork is placed in the public realm there is very little the EAC or the City does to shape public opinion (positive or negative) and interaction around the piece. The community engagement and research aspect of a commission that could presumably foster positive public opinion occurs at the very beginning of an artwork's lifespan. The majority of artworks have a 20-25 year lifespan, meaning the public interaction with artworks takes on a life of its own over time, be it positive, negative or ambivalent.

4.4.5. Product versus Process

How public art ends up in public space is a lengthy process, which, depending on the project, can include extensive consultation and engagement with communities as well as project teams. The tension here is between the lengthy process of creating a public artwork that is very important to how an artwork becomes a part of a place and community, and the fact that ultimately there is a final 'product' which is a civic asset that is created. The shift in the EAC from RFP to RFQ based competitions takes into account that the creation of an artwork that is truly public is a process (often a lengthy one). Through accommodating the fact that public art is a process, the RFQ-based commissioning allows for artists to "have their time to do engagement, to do research, without any preconceived ideas about what

they are going to, to really create something that is relevant for the space, but also with opportunity to be able to propose ideas and concepts and get some feedback” (Informant #1). This changes the perception of what the City is investing in: “So rather than looking at the investment with the artwork upfront we are looking at making an investment in the artist’s time to do work” (Informant #1).

4.4.5.1. Art (Work)

Public art is commissioned through public calls that artists respond to. So public art is contract-based employment for artists. The central mission and purpose of the EAC is to support artists. Therefore, the emphasis of the EAC staff is to ensure artist welfare. Part of the work of the EAC and public art officers is to work closely with artists. Informant #1 stated that “we are looking at the work that artists do and what we expect for them unpaid, and what we expect from them paid” and that the previous RFP process for commissioning public art had been “asking artists to do that creative work for free, it’s not right.” This statement brings into focus that it is the artist’s job to create art, it is their work and they should be compensated for their time and expertise: “the creative work that artists do is work, they should be paid for it” (Informant #1). Informants from the EAC noted that there has been a shift in the EAC over the past 10 years to emphasize that artists should be compensated fairly for their time and expertise. This emphasis places a critical lens on the process of creating public art and the expectations regarding the time of artists. It also reflects the increased value placed on community engagement/research, which is a time intensive process.

Artist welfare and compensation can be an issue when selecting artists for commission: “when a project in a lower budget, putting it out to an emerging artist is kind of dangerous, because you have contingencies built into these projects right” (Informant #2). Part of what is important when selecting an artist is that the artist is able to fulfill the contract and successfully deliver a public artwork while being able to compensate themselves. Informant #2 noted that emerging artists

require a lot more work on our end, and so because those contingencies are really small and we have artists that have not a lot of experience, or no experiences, and I think sometimes they didn't end up paying themselves. That's like the last thing we want to happen ... I always want the artists to pay themselves.

Artists can choose to hire companies to manage a public art commission for them; designing, integrating into a building project, and fabricating a public artwork requires project management skills. This is one way to ensure that a project gets completed, especially with emerging artists who have less experience. However, hiring such a firm can be costly and be a significant part of an artist's budget. In fact it is very rare for artists to fabricate their own works: "there a few artist out there who did it or there are some artists that are niche at what they do that they can do it all themselves" (Informant #3). Informant #3 noted that one of the few pieces fully constructed by the artist themselves is *Counterpoise* (2012) by Carl Taçon located in the EPS Southwest building (see Figure 27 below). Due to artworks being required to last 25 years, constructing something that will last this long (often outdoors) requires significant and specialized skills and knowledge. Informant #3 noted there are two fabrication companies in Calgary (Heavy Industries and Calver Creative) that artists often work with to fabricate their artworks. Therefore, although the EAC does not have input on what artist a selection committee makes, they are tasked with supporting artists, especially emerging artists, in being able to do their work successfully.



Figure 27. Counterpoise by Carl Taçon

4.4.6. Ephemerality versus Permanence

Artworks in the public realm are meant to last 20-25 years, this is determined not only by the physical condition of the artwork, but also whether or not they are still functioning in the public realm. As a result of the percent for art funding structure, if a piece is removed and there is no qualifying construction budget in the area there will likely be no replacement: “there are many artworks that are quite aged and require some attention but they don’t have dedicated dollars so we’re having to kind of juggle money from current percent for art projects around to other projects” (Informant, #6). The oldest piece in the collection is from 1957, so many pieces outlive this predicted lifespan. Furthermore, “because they are tied to an investment model, it really makes it difficult to justify or to

consider permanent for this project [...] to be 5 years. To get buy-in to that is really difficult when it's tied to a piece of infrastructure that's meant to stand for 75 years" (Informant #1). Public artworks are considered an investment and an asset; therefore, there is an expectation of a certain type of artwork (i.e. no performance arts or other types of art that have a limited lifespan).

Where pieces may be nearing the end of their life from the standpoint of maintenance or physical condition, but have been in a community for 20 years, people are used to them and don't want to see them go (Informant #1). It can also have a negative effect on the artist to see their work decommissioned. These challenges arise when thinking about artworks in the public sphere and the idea that works should be 'permanent'.

4.4.7. Private versus Public

The 2007 Public Art Plan (which was never adopted by council) suggested that percent for art be extended to private developments; Informant #1 noted that this was a non-starter because of a lack of interest on the part of the City Council. While this research examines a publicly owned collection, not all public art is publicly owned, and issues and opportunities arise with greater participation of the private sector in public art. An example of a logistical concern associated with private developments is access to the site for maintenance.

Informant #2 noted that privately funded public art is something that is missing from the Edmonton cityscape: "so if you go look at say Calgary or Toronto, public art everywhere, and a lot of those [pieces] are connected to private development and that is just missing here and I don't know for better or for worse" (Informant #2). This might be because Toronto and Calgary both have a larger corporate presence; public art is more scarce in Edmonton due to a lack of private investment in public art.

4.4.8. Summary

Interviews with key Informants reveals some of the key tensions in the administration of public art in Edmonton. Many of these tensions are a result of the nature

of public art being at the intersection of a number of specialized professions (artists, arts administration, engineers, architects and urban planners), as well as including different organizations with different mandates (namely the City of Edmonton and the EAC). Furthermore, tension is often created when balancing the desires for quality public artworks with the restrictive funding model created by percent for art. Interviews revealed the complex demands on Public Art Officers and Administrators to deliver 'good' public artworks, where there are competing ideas of what 'good' means. They also highlighted the amount of labour that goes into the implementation of the percent for art policy, particularly how the policy and practice has changed to compensate artists appropriately for their time and labour.

4.5. Results Summary

In this chapter, public art in Edmonton and its administration was examined using three sources of data. First, the classification of the public art collection and the description of 12 exemplary works was revealing. The City of Edmonton public art collection is dispersed throughout the city with a concentration in downtown Edmonton and in the newer suburbs of the city, frequently associated with recreation complexes. The collection's oldest piece is from 1957, since then the collection has grown to include over 260 pieces. There has been significant growth in the collection since 2009 after a change to the percent for art policy that expanded the scope of the application of the policy by removing a financial cap and making more types of development be categorized as qualifying construction budgets. The interpretive tag system was used to identify and explore themes within the collection; adding description to the content of the collection. This revealed the collection includes a wide variety of artworks from numerous artistic disciplines. Description of 12 artworks added further detail to the account of the collection; these artworks were selected on the basis that they are emblematic of an artistic movement, interpretive tag, shift in policy, or are well known or identified as significant in interviews.

Second, policy analysis revealed Edmonton's vision for the cultural development of the city. Edmonton has had three plans guiding the development of arts and culture in the

city since 2007: the *Public Art Master Plan* (2007), *The Art of Living* (2008) and *Connection and Exchanges* (2018). These documents describe how Edmonton envisions its cultural development. Central to this is the ideology of *creative urbanism* whereby Edmonton aligns itself with international trends of investing in the promotion of arts and culture to be competitive. In these documents, Edmonton is framed as being full of potential, partially because of previous neglect of the public art collection and arts and culture in the city more broadly. Finally, all plans include references to artopic claims: utopian statements about the capacity of public art and cultural development. Therefore, the cultural development of Edmonton is framed as within the paradigm of an international ideology and as a place full of potential, where both of which can be delivered, in part, through the artopic power of public art.

Third, interviews with informants show that administration of public art in Edmonton is defined through a series of tensions. These tensions emerge as a result of public art being at the intersection of a number of specialized professions and organizations and the expectations regarding creating 'good' within the restrictions of a percent for art model. These tensions describe the reality of implementing the vision laid out by the City. While planning documents are centred on what artists and their art can do for the City of Edmonton, and while the EAC is invested in creating meaningful and impactful products, they aim through their process to honour and compensate artists for the time and skills it takes to do so. The administration of public art is a balancing of tensions between the demands of various stakeholders, professions and the structure by which it is funded.

5. Discussion

In the following chapter I discuss the results of this thesis in light of the literature and my research objectives. This thesis aimed to examine how public art is understood and practiced, and to describe some of the landscapes these understandings and practices give rise to. This has been accomplished through the description of findings in the results section. The discussion presented in this chapter will address the final objective of this thesis by elucidating the relationship between such landscapes and the broader processes of urban development. To describe the relationship between the landscape of public art in Edmonton and the broader process of urban development I will use the theoretical lens of phantasmagoria. The first half of the discussion will conceive of public art as a phantasmagoria in three ways:

- i) the fantastical promise invested in the idea of public art;
- ii) the 'urban development machine' that is concealed behind or beneath this artopia; and
- iii) the fetishization of the art this production fosters.

I will use the metaphor of phantasmagoria to theorize public artworks as placemakers or memorials to the development of the city, and as places where the commodity-on-display and fetishism of the city are revealed. A phantasmagoria was a lantern show in the 19th century (Hetherington, 2005; Clarke and Doel, 2005; Pile, 2005; Vanolo, 2018). Benjamin (1999) used it as a metaphor to describe the emergence of consumer culture in cities, centred on a collective experience in public space, which perpetuated the ideological mystification of capitalism. This can be applied to interpret contemporary public art, which similarly aims to create a collective experience but also mystifies and conceals the basis of its production.

As a noun, phantasmagoria, directly refers to the lantern show and the metaphoric meaning attributed to it by Benjamin (how it is employed in the first half of this report). However, in later work, namely by Kaika (2004), Kaika and Swyngedouw (2000) and Pile (2005), fantastical and intangible aspects of cities are described as phantasmagoric. These

authors go on to describe the invisible and hidden histories or infrastructures of cities that result in them having a 'phantasmagoric' quality. In the first half of this discussion I will directly use the metaphor of phantasmagoria as a technical object to describe the phantasmagoria of public art; in the second portion I will describe the 'phantasmagoric' qualities of two landscapes of public art in Edmonton: (1) Edmonton's downtown focusing on the ICE district and 96 Ave and (2) the confluence of the stylized nature tag and Indigenous artworks.

5.1. Public Art conceived as a Phantasmagoria

Benjamin draws on the metaphor of the phantasmagoria to explore the effect of commodity fetishism in culture; he expands on the work of Marx to describe how the market moved from a placeless realm of economic exchange to materialize in cities, shaping the collective experience of the modern metropolis. Central to the metaphor of phantasmagoria is a lantern show or spectacle that projects images onto a surface while the source of the images, the lantern, is concealed, just as labour is obfuscated through the process of commodity fetishism. Cities become centres of consumption due to the density of commodities-on-display creating a phantasmagoric effect. Phantasmagoria describes "the figural message concealed within material culture" (Hetherington, 2005, 191) as commodities "do not only carry their materiality; they also carry the promise and the dream of a better society and happier life" (Kaika, 2004, 31). In the following section, I discuss the fantastical promise that is invested in public art in the form of the public artopia, as well as the investment in the potential of Edmonton. Next, I describe how the production of public art in Edmonton is intertwined with the development of the city through the percent for art program and the ideology of *creative urbanism*. Finally, I describe how public art becomes fetishized as a result of the confluence of the aforementioned elements and the invisibility of the labour that goes into its creation.

5.1.1. The fantastical promise invested in the idea of public art

Public art is invested with fantastical promise through the utopian abilities attributed to it, termed the public artopia. The public artopia is "the loose collection of claims in academic

literature about the allegedly physical-aesthetic, economic, social and cultural-symbolic roles of art in urban public space, which reflect public art's notional potentially fetishised, and ill-defined geographical contextuality" (Zebracki *et al.*, 2010, 787). It has been claimed that public art enhances the physical environment, creates a sense of place, contributes to community cohesion, social health and wellbeing, attracts economic investment and tourism, fosters a sense of local identity and civic pride, attract citizens and employers, raises the quality of life and reduces crime (Public Art Online, 2020; Zebracki, Van Der Vaart and Van Aalst, 2010; Mathews, 2010). In Edmonton, The *Public Art Master Plan* (2007), *The Art of Living* (2008) and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) include artopic claims, indicating that these claims are part of the production of public art in the city. This collection of claims was thematically grouped in the results sections as physical aesthetic, economic, social and cultural symbolic claims. Central to the public artopia is the implication that a city with public art is a city that is beautiful, prosperous, without significant social issues, and possessing a recognizable cultural identity; conceptualizing a city with public art as a convivial utopia.

5.1.2. The 'urban development machine' that is concealed behind or beneath this artopia

An 'urban development machine' connects public art to the development of the city. The percent for art policy directly links public spending to the creation of public artworks, and the locations of public art in the city reveal how public spending responds to private development. Finally, I will discuss the role of cultural planning in the 'urban development machine' of the city.

5.1.2.1. Percent for Art

The 'lantern-like' machinery of public art in Edmonton is the percent for art policy apparatus that is coupled to the growth of the city; if the city does not grow, develop and re-develop there is (almost) no civically funded public art. Through percent for art programs, public art is tied to the development and redevelopment of the city through both

public expenditure and capitalism (Miles, 1997; Phillips, 2004). All Informants noted the rigidity of this policy, and how it affected their ability to deliver meaningful public art. The main critiques of the policy included: the EAC is dependent on the City to notify them of qualifying construction budgets; the City determines when in the timeline of the project the EAC is brought in; City architects and engineers determine the possible locations for public art; and the locations for capital expenditures and by extension public art are determined by planners. All Informants discussed positively the increasing flexibility in delivering percent for art in recent years, but noted it was a new development and has been on a case by case basis. Part of this greater flexibility is the ability to locate artworks away from their funding source. However, as noted by Informant #5 (see section 4.4.3. *Planners versus Artists*), this is a recent development and beyond this public art is still almost exclusively located in proximity to a City of Edmonton development project. Therefore, public art becomes accessories or placemarkers for the City of Edmonton's development projects.

Through a percent for art funding model, public art becomes placemarkers to the technological advancement of cities (new bridge construction, expansion of transportation networks, recreation facilities, etc.) that improve the quality of life in a city. This endures as long as the percent for art policy remains in place. It is clear from *The Art of Living* (2008) that there was a push for the greater inclusion of arts and heritage in the priorities of the city after implied neglect (see section 4.3.2. *Potential*), and since then there has been a notable and substantial increase in the number and scope of artworks (see figures 6 and 7). The *Creative Urbanism* section (4.4.5.1.) describes how beyond physical infrastructure, cities have become increasingly focused on an accompanying cultural infrastructure to attract the creative class, and secure economic growth. Cultural infrastructure, such as funding streams, grants, events and festivals are, for the most part, either invisible or ephemeral and therefore, public art becomes the visible place marker not only for the physical improvement of the city but also of the City's investment in culture.

5.1.2.1.1. Drive-by Art and Suburban Services

While public art is propelled by public development, public development follows private development. This is evident in the distribution and adaptation of public art in Edmonton

to settings adjacent to arterial roadways and in suburban recreation complexes. Suburbs are privately developed areas, and public services are subsequently introduced; public development follows private development to the suburbs and then provides services to those areas, placemarked by public artworks. The 3.6% of the collection that is tagged drive-by art reflects the character of Edmonton's urban form. Edmonton is an auto-dependent environment and the majority of the city consists of suburban residential neighbourhoods; people here spend a lot of time in the private spaces of their vehicles and homes. Artworks visible from cars meet people where they are; rather than where public art is popularly envisioned to be (public plazas, parks and walkable streetscapes). There is a significant concentration of public art in downtown Edmonton, however in other walkable streets in Edmonton such as Whyte Ave and 124th Street, public art is almost completely absent. The *drive-by* art adapts public art to the suburban and industrial areas of Edmonton. In addition to creating artworks primarily visible by car, a substantial amount of the collection is located in proximity to recreation complexes in the suburbs. As discussed in *Spatial Distribution of the Current Collection* (see section 4.1.1.), a significant portion of the collection is located in proximity to recreation complexes that often include a library, and recreation facilities (such as a pool, skating rink and gym). These places represent small clusters of artworks in figure 2 in the outer suburbs of Edmonton. The format of these recreation centres is similar to a suburban strip mall: they are huge buildings located outside the city centre, with central open areas from which to access all the amenities; and they are surrounded by large parking lots and accessible by arterial roadways. Public art is funded through the ongoing investment of the City of Edmonton in public infrastructure, where this public infrastructure is located is reflective of consumer demand for suburban living and ease of automobile access.

5.1.2.1.2. Cultural Development and Edmonton's Potential

The two primary planning documents that guide the development of public art in Edmonton are cultural plans (*The Art of Living* (2008) and *Connection and Exchanges* (2018)). The *creative urbanism* theme describes the trend for cities to invest in arts and culture as a means to attract and retain residents within the global imperative for cities to

sell themselves. The *potential* theme conceptualizes Edmonton as a blank slate heaving with opportunity and having a cultural life ripe for investment. Kaika (2005) notes that modernization is an “ongoing process, despite postmodern accounts declaring its death” (165). Kaika (2005) and Kaika and Swynedouw (2000) describe the changing nature of urban modernization moving from power lines, water towers and power plants to networks of highways and suburbs and undergrounding of previously visible networks; here I will conceptualize the purposeful cultural development of the city as the next wave of ‘modernization’. Therefore, through *creative urbanism*, public art becomes a part of a greater fantasy wherein Edmonton is experiencing successive waves of modernization, where the next innovation in better living is through the creation of “cultural capital through the layering of distinctiveness and providing a cultural aura” (Hall, 2007, 1380).

This development of cultural capital is evident in the marked increase in the scope and application of the percent for art policy since 2007 (see figure 7); 2007 was the year Edmonton was named the Cultural Capital of Canada and subsequently in 2008 *The Art of Living* was adopted by council. The cultural plans’ inclusion of *creative urbanism* and emphasis on characterizing Edmonton as full of potential reveal that culture and fantasy are part ‘urban development machine’.

5.1.3. The fetishization of the art this production fosters

Central to phantasmagoria is commodity fetishism and central to commodity fetishism is the obfuscation of labour. Public art becomes fetishized through the invisibility of labour that creates it. Public art calls are contract work for artists; this is rarely mentioned in public art literature. Willis (2008) acknowledges the difficulties of the intersection of artists with public institutions:

Artists often face the daunting task of coming up with an idea upon demand for a community that can’t be defined. Even after the selection of an artist committees, administrators, and artists navigate an obstacle course of systems ready to say “no” at every turn – business operations, contract negotiations, artwork conservation

and maintenance, engineering, the main technicalities of artwork fabrication and, of course the particular public ostensibly being served by a given project (156).

This quote notes that public art is created on a contract basis and requires significant expertise regarding the technical knowledge required for fabrication and maintenance. This sentiment was echoed in interviews, notably in the theme *Art(Work)* (see section 4.4.5.1.). However, Informant #1 notes the way public art is commissioned can often place artists in a precarious position where they may not be fully compensated for their labour and expertise. Arts administrators have pushed for changes to make the way commissions are administered more equitable, for example changing from an RFP to an RFQ process (see section 4.4.1. *Community Engagement versus Community Research*). However, the way public art is commissioned on a contract basis means artists are responsible for paying themselves, and depending on how the project progresses and their level of experience they may not be compensated for their time. Informants #1 and #3 noted this has happened in the past (see section 4.4.5.1. *Art(work)*).

Furthermore, the literature puts a great emphasis on the idea that 'good' public art should involve the public, often through community engagement. Again in the *Art(Work)* section (4.4.5.1.) Informants noted that community engagement is often a drawn out process and requires a significant investment of time to build relationships and collaborate to ensure a 'good' public artwork is created. Integrating community engagement is especially difficult on a smaller budget project, creating a greater likelihood that the artist's labour is not compensated. Equally, Informant #1 noted that construction projects can take numerous years to complete, and asked if it is reasonable to expect an artist to be attached to a project for 7 years. The artist's budget is always fixed, but the other people (often City of Edmonton or construction company staff) involved are salaried employees. The length of time required for artists to be fully integrated into the community engagement associated with a development can create a challenge around how to properly compensate artists for their time. It is important to note that under the percent for art program, the locations for public art are determined by the municipal government's choices regarding infrastructure needs, not where a community might most benefit from a public artwork. Cost like fabrication flies in the face of the western conception of the artist as a free, self-sufficient

individual (Gablik, 1995) and is another strain on the finite percent for art budgets. Most artists do not have the technical expertise, studio space or tools to create the ‘permanent’ artworks required by the policy; thus part of their budget includes hiring a company to fabricate their artwork. It is clear that the process of creating public art takes much more than a good idea and creativity; it involves project management, budgeting, and the ability to facilitate engagement, all requiring time and expertise.

In addition to the labour of artists is the labour of the cultural workers that facilitate the creation of public art. The EAC’s central mandate as an organization is to support artists. A significant aspect of the labour that goes into the creation of a public artwork is by done public art officers. They facilitate the RFP or RFQ processes, convene the selection committees and provide support to artists to ensure a commission is delivered. Informants 1, 2, 4 and 5 noted that different commissions require different levels of support from the EAC, depending on the scope and the career stage of the selected artist; emerging artists often need more support, sometimes requiring a Public Art Officer to take on more of a project manager role. Public art is part of the Edmonton cultural plans, and *The Art of Living* (2008) noted that cultural workers in Edmonton are well trained, and that there is value in what they do, but their compensation does not reflect this. In addition, arts and culture organizations have struggled to obtain consistent funding (see section 4.3.1. *Creative Urbanism*). As a result, the arts and culture system in Edmonton does not adequately compensate its workers.

Festishization describes “something obscuring the role of labour power in the production of value and attributing it instead to the something derived from objects themselves in the process of exchange” (Hetherington, 2005, 192). In the case of public art what obscures the role of labour is the artopic promises imbued in public art. The labour used to create public art is largely invisible, in addition, the percent for art policy and attachment of public art to the development of the city is not common knowledge. So what is the value attributed to public art? Public art becomes valued in terms of the promises of the artopia.

5.1.4. Summary: The Phantasmagoria of Public Art

To describe public art as a phantasmagoria I will return to the metaphor of the phantasmagoria as a technical object and lantern show. The intention of a phantasmagoria was to create a projection, thereby changing the quality of a space, while obscuring the machine itself (Hetherington, 2005; Clarke and Doel, 2005; Pile, 2005; Vanolo, 2018). Central to a phantasmagoria is a collective experience in space; central to public art is the aim to create a collective experience in public space. The percent for art policy, cultural development and the labour of artists and arts administrators is the machine (the concealed machine creating the lantern show). The 'urban development machine' is the funding source for public art; as the city grows so does the public art collection and the labour of artists and arts administrators creates the public artworks. The 'lantern show' that is conjured by this development machine are the artworks themselves, which are imbued with fantastical promise by virtue of the artopic promise invested in them, obscuring their origins within the machinery of the development of the city and the labour of artists and administrators. Public art becomes part of the phantasmagoria, which animates cities: it is imbued with fantastical promise that is unfulfilled and unverified, partially because it can never really be fulfilled and is difficult to measure, yet still exists in space. Public art is on display throughout the city, much like the commodities described by Benjamin in the Arcades of 19th century Paris; what it conceals is that the process of urban development is intertwined with the ideology of *creative urbanism* whereby artworks are placemarkers for a development process and ideology that seeks to make the city a commodity- on-display. Benjamin used phantasmagoria to describe the shift in cities to be places of consumption and the growing ubiquity of consumer culture; through the rhetoric of cultural development in Edmonton the city seeks to develop itself into something to be consumed through the creation of amenities layered with meaning and cultural capital. This section drew predominantly on the data from the planning documents and interviews; emphasizing how public art is created and conceptualized within the city; the following section will draw on the collection overview and case study data to describe the effect in place of public artworks through the concept of phantasmagoria.

5.3. Phantasmagoria in Edmonton

In this section I will employ this conceptualization of public art as phantasmagoria to describe two landscapes of public art in Edmonton and their broader significance in the development of the city. What is instructive about conceptualizing public art as a phantasmagoria is that it provides a way to conceptualize the underlying mechanisms of production in the city while also discussing the fantastical quality invested in public artworks. The first landscape description concerns two clusters of development and their accompanying artworks in the downtown core of the city. The second landscape description explores settler colonialism through the relationship between the stylized nature tag and the growing number of works in the collection by Indigenous artists. The aforementioned understanding of public art is strongly based on how public art is conceptualized and implemented as understood through planning documents and interviews with public art administrators; this discussion will foreground the mutable and complex ways these ideas manifest in space.

5.3.1. Edmonton Downtown: The ICE District and 96 Ave

Rogers Place is a controversial development in downtown Edmonton, located at 102nd Avenue and 104th Street. The controversy surrounding the development is based on the location and cost of the arena (and the public subsidies it received). Rogers Place is located at the edge of Edmonton's service hub, which comprises "a cluster of street-level emergency services such as daytime drop-in centres, overnight emergency shelters, treatment facilities, food banks and other poverty-related services" (Evans, Collins, and Chai, 2019, 452). The development of Rogers Place in this area is controversial due to the predicted gentrification inducing effects of an entertainment district nearby. Furthermore, the development cost CAD \$613.7 million and included significant public funds (The Agreement, 2020).

Description and comparison of these two public art enclaves in the downtown core shows a difference in the phantasmagoric effect of public art depending on the confluence of public and private spending and space. The downtown cores of cities are central to visions of *creative urbanism* as well as being symbolically important. They are usually comparatively dense (more people encounter each other and the artworks located there) and they are where the identity of a city is popularly imagined to reside. Both developments and their accompanying artworks illustrate the “imperative to attract capital investment, and lure the middle-class consumers and tourists (back) to downtown areas” (Collins and Stadler, 2020, 104). Both developments draw on public art’s ability to lend legitimacy to controversial uneven development processes and lend an “aura’ of quality” (Hall and Robertson, 2001, 7). This ‘aura of quality’ is one of the phantasmagoric effects of public art.

The Wayne Gretzky statue is the only statue of a contemporary person (and former Edmontonian) rather than an historical (often political) figure. Wayne Gretzky is a significant figure in the City. There is a street named after him (Wayne Gretzky Drive) and in 2007 Edmonton honoured another former Oiler, Mark Messier, by naming a section of St Albert Trail after him. Hockey is extremely popular and is integral to the culture of the city. The ire over the \$600,000 spent on the *Talus Dome* seems pitiful compared to the expense of the cathedral that is Rogers Place and the ICE District, built partially using public dollars, for the city’s worship of hockey.

The construction of Rogers Place and the accompanying ICE District did not fund the Wayne Gretzky statue, which was placed outside Rexall Place (the former home of the Oilers) in 1989. However, it did fund five other artworks (see figure 23), a number that gives some insight into the scope and immensity of the City’s investment in this project. As previously discussed in *Public Art Exemplars* (see section 4.2.), Rogers Place is a controversial development due to its location adjacent to the downtown service-hub and the gentrification it is expected to cause (Evan, Collins and Chai, 2019). This draws the connection between public art and gentrification, wherein art and artists are understood as drivers of redevelopment through creating a sense of place that is appealing to investors (Miles, 1997). Although never directly stating the drive for gentrification in planning

documents, the *creative urbanism*, *potential* and *cultural artopia* themes allude to the city's desire to bolster and grow Edmonton's cultural life as a way to push the city forward (see section 4.3.). The concentration of a massive entertainment district in the downtown core, as well as the clustering of public art there, signals investment in the Central Business District of Edmonton, to make it comparable to other thriving downtowns and attract economic activity and people.

Another cluster of artworks downtown is located on 96 Street in the Quarters (see figure 4). The cluster of artworks and new streetscaping was finished in 2016, however the street itself is not thriving. There are a number of abandoned buildings, several gravel parking lots and the Hyatt Place hotel was initially developed and marketed as a Hilton and later downgraded to their less exclusive Doubletree brand after a scandal involving pigeon feces in their ventilation system, which compromised the air quality of the hotel. The artworks in this area are smaller than those in the ICE district (see figure 23). The area is now home to a Saturday Farmers Market, Occiwan Contemporary Collective (an Indigenous led contemporary art space), and Co*lab (Community Arts Laboratory), all of which are located in buildings with architecturally interesting facades. This area is also home to numerous murals that are not part of the Edmonton civic collection. There is a slow change occurring in the neighbourhood, perhaps in part spurred by the integration of art, but the pace at which it is moving and setbacks like the health and safety issues with the Hyatt demonstrate the creeping nature of the transformation. Despite the significant changes to this area what is visible is a few public art pieces on a very nice street in an area of the city largely abandoned but for people experiencing homelessness and commuters parking then walking away from the immediate area to their office jobs in 'nicer' areas of the downtown.

The ICE district and 96 Avenue are both re-developed public spaces in the Edmonton downtown core. The effect of the streetscaping and public artworks placed on 96 Street is an attempt to redevelop the area and could be labelled the first steps of gentrification. It follows the trend of upgrading public space to attract economic investment (Collins and Stadler, 2020) and is consistent with the values in *creative urbanism*. The ICE district has been more directly criticized for its gentrifying effects (Evans, Collins and Chai, 2019) and

is illustrative of the shift in cities' public life to places that appear public but are in fact private, and are places of consumption: malls, marketplaces and entertainment zones (Collins and Stadler, 2020). There is a difference in the pace and scale of these changes. It is impossible to tell if the Quarters will gentrify in a meaningful way, however at present the artworks demonstrate the inability of public art to deliver on the promises of the artopia. The ICE district is a controversial and gentrifying force in the Edmonton downtown, however none of these artworks associated with the development have drawn the ire and attention associated with *Talus Dome* even though *Essential Tree* is a contemporary piece that might be ripe for a reductive cynical tag line as an outrageously expensive PVC polygon (the sculpture is in actuality made of steel with a white coating). Furthermore, Rogers Place is a huge cultural amenity, but there is no mention of it in *The Art of Living* (2008) or *Connections & Exchanges* (2018). Rogers Place appeals to mass pop culture, a corporate megastructure for working class interests (in this case hockey). The arena and accompanying development invest in the creation of a spectacle, and is comparable to the spectacle of the Arcades described by Benjamin. They are selling an experience which is bolstered by the inclusion of public art by a famous artist like Alex Janvier or being able to take a photo with the statue of Wayne Gretzky.

Both re-development projects sought to bring economic and social activity to downtown Edmonton. In the case of the ICE district, while it has received direct criticism for facilitating gentrification, homelessness is not visible when you are in the building; in fact the building itself forms a physical barrier to visibility of the service hub to the North of the Central Business District. The spectacle of the arena creates an illusory effect where it appears the artopic promise of the resolution of social and economic problems associated with the downtown have been solved, whereas on 96 Ave no such spectacle is created.

5.3.2. Settler Colonialism: Stylized Nature and Indigenous Artworks

Foundational to the development of Canada is settler colonialism. This section will explore how this underlying ideology of development is visible within the Edmonton civic collection. In this section I will explore settler colonialism as part of the obscured 'urban development machine' in the Edmonton public art collection through a discussion of the stylized nature tag and the growing number of artworks by Indigenous artists.

Thematically, 18% of the city's collection was tagged as stylized nature. The theme *Placemaking versus Place Recognition* (see section 4.4.2.) describes the shifting emphasis on public art creating a sense of place and a greater emphasis on creating public art that recognizes and reflects the place where it is located. The theme *Community Engagement versus Community Research* (see section 4.4.1.) describes the expectations of artists to incorporate the community of the location of the artwork into their process. The frequency of this tag combined with the tensions between *Placemaking versus Place Recognition* (section 4.4.2.) and *Community Engagement versus Community Research* (section 4.4.1) shows there is something about Edmonton as a place, and the people who live here, that values and identifies with images of nature and wilderness.

In the *Interpretative Tag System* section (4.1.3.1.) I drew the connection between images of wilderness, the Group of Seven, and Canadian national identity. The significant presence of public art that includes stylized images of nature demonstrates that this national identity has moved beyond the gallery setting and has become infused into the city's infrastructure. The population of Canada is primarily urbanized: therefore, although wilderness looms large in the Canadian national consciousness, the majority of Canadians are not living in the 'wilderness'. In the context section *The Art of Living* (2008) described Edmonton as a 'frontier' town with a 'frontier mentality', the notion of a frontier suggests being on the edge of the wilderness. This is referenced directly in the artist's statement that accompanies *Parade I, Alberta Wildlife* (2010) and *Parade II* by Gabe Wong (see section 4.2. *Public Art Exemplars*). Both pieces explore the urban-nature divide and "remind us of the intimate connection between the two, that the land where we live was once habitat for these animals" (EAC, 2020b). Although the 'frontier' has long since closed, the use of this language suggests an enduring idea of being on the edge.

Indigenous visual culture is increasingly visible in the city. Figure 11 shows the significant growth in works by Indigenous artists in recent years. Furthermore, many of these works have been large in size and received significant media coverage (ÎNÎW River Lot 11 (2018) and *Tsa Tsa Ke Ke* (2016) by Alex Janvier). The emphasis in *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) is on Indigenous cultural independence. As noted in the *Interpretive Tag System* section (4.1.3.1.) there has been a huge increase in the number of artworks by Indigenous artists, most notably in 2018 due to ÎNÎW River Lot 11. Relative to the rest of the collection and total commissions, the number of artworks by Indigenous artists remain a small proportion. Although they represent a small number of the total commissions, they are pieces that are located in significant and visible places and have garnered positive attention.

The thematic significance of stylized nature and the growing visibility of Indigenous arts confluence speaks to the character of Edmonton and the dynamics of settler colonialism. The ‘frontier mentality’ of Edmonton is very colonial language, suggesting an advancing civilizing force. The long period of absence of artworks by Indigenous artists from the collection is indicative of removal and exclusion of Indigenous people from urban places in Canada. This reveals the mechanism of settler colonialism that has constructed urban space in Canada as settler space, which has recently been challenged and perhaps superseded by the importance being placed on the visibility of Indigenous peoples in Canadian cities. Through interviews and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018) it is clear the EAC has approached commissioning Indigenous artworks through significant work with the communities involved and has emphasized Indigenous ways of knowing and consensus building. Because these artworks are very visible, and through the investment in artopic ideas, namely the ability of public art to ameliorate social issues; social artopic claims include the ability of public art to “eradicat[e] social exclusion” and “promot[e] social change by revealing fundamental social contradictions or undermining dominant meanings of urban space” (Zebrakci *et al.*, 2010, 788). While artworks might bring greater visibility and reveal and undermine dominant meanings of social space, the supposed ability of public art alone to effect change is precisely what makes the artopia utopian; it is ideal and will never be. These artworks and the processes to create them are important and

significant changes to the status quo, and their visibility can become emblematic of progress. However, this progress can be overstated, as there is only so much the arts and cultural sectors can do to solve systemic issues. The phantasmagoria as a technical device was popularized in France to reanimate the country's recent and violent history (the French Revolution) (Hetherington, 2005). These artworks illuminate the fantasy that the 'frontier mentality' was only one of hard work and exploration, rather than dominance and oppression, resulting in ongoing racial inequality and injustice in Canada. Similarly, it illuminates Indigenous imagery in the city and creates a haunting of the as yet unfulfilled promises of national healing.

5.4. Summary

These two examples illustrate how the processes of development in the city can be explored through understanding public art as a phantasmagoria. Downtown Edmonton is a direct example of how public art is part of the urban development machine in Edmonton. It also refers to a distinct geographic area and two distinct development projects. This example reveals how public art and cultural development are prominent in the redevelopment and gentrification in downtown Edmonton. The dynamic between the stylized nature and artworks by Indigenous authors demonstrates the broader process of settler colonialism which is an underlying ideology that has propelled the development of Canada and its cities in a much broader sense. Both developments are illustrative of the culture of the city and reveal some of the core tensions between the image conjured by the artopia and the material reality.

6. Conclusion

In the following this concluding chapter summarizes how objective 1-5 have been answered by the description in the above results section. It then outlines the contributions of these findings.

6.1 Summary of Thesis Findings

6.1.1 (1) To describe the policy context of Edmonton's civic art collection;

The main policy apparatus guiding the development of public art is the percent for art policy. The percent for art policy funds public art through taking 1% of eligible capital expenditure budgets and putting it towards a public artwork. Percent for art was adopted by the City of Edmonton in 1991 and has undergone a few revisions since that time. These revisions have not changed the core tenet of the policy (the funding of public art through the allocation of 1% capital expenditure budgets), rather they have broadened its scope. The structure of the percent for art policy (tying public art to capital expenditure budgets) means that the locations for the majority of public art in Edmonton are determined by where infrastructure is built. This policy exists within a larger framework of cultural planning undertaken by the City of Edmonton which articulates the City's vision for arts and heritage in two 10 year plans: *The Art of Living* (2008) and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018). There was an effort to create a plan specifically for public art in the city by the EAC in 2007, called the *Public Art Master Plan*. The *Public Art Master Plan* (2007) was never adopted by council, but is nonetheless instructive due to its description of the state of the collection at the time and the ambitions and vision for the collection on the part of the EAC.

6.1.2. (2) To identify the dominant policy narratives that have shaped the contemporary collection;

The contemporary collection of public art in Edmonton has been shaped by a shift in the City of Edmonton's value of culture catalyzed by Edmonton being named the Cultural Capital of Canada in 2007. This shift is further reflective of and in response to the values of urban governance described in the *creative urbanism* theme (see section 4.3.1.) in the *Public Art Master Plan* (2007), *The Art of Living* (2008) and *Connections & Exchanges* (2018). Through *creative urbanism* Edmonton seeks to invest in culture as a means to attract and retain businesses and residents, and to be competitive. The value placed on *creative urbanism* is bolstered by the notion of Edmonton as a city being full of potential, as of yet untapped, and investment in arts and heritage as being able to unleash this potential. Edmonton's abundance of potential is partially a result of past neglect and working against the notion of Edmonton as a place without significant history and dominated by its economic interests (City of Edmonton, 2008). City of Edmonton plans draw on artopic claims (section 4.3.3.) to describe the prospective impacts of arts, heritage and public art in the city; investing public art with fantastical abilities to fulfill (at least in part) the aims of *creative urbanism* and allow Edmonton to live up to its potential.

6.1.3 (3) To document the ways public art is administered and implemented in the city;

Key informants noted that administering and implementing percent for art in Edmonton is defined by a series of tensions. These tensions were between the values concerning what makes 'good' public art (community engagement and creating a sense of place) and the practicalities of creating public art funded by a restrictive policy apparatus and funding model that intersects with various other professions (mainly planners, engineers and architects). Central to the administration of public art is the support and concern for the welfare of artists and the adequate compensation for their work. While the three plans included references to city marketing and aimed to create a visual identity for the city

through public art, interviews revealed this was not a priority in the day to day operations of public art. Rather the goal was for public art to reflect its context and to support and fairly compensate artists.

6.1.4. (4) To examine a sample of exemplary public art installations;

In *Exemplary Public Artworks* (section 4.2.) I described twelve exemplary public artworks in the collection. This description included description of the artworks themselves, their connections to art history, and the artist statements that accompany each work. This description was furthered by a larger collection overview (noting the geographic dispersion of artworks in the collection) and the application of an interpretive tag system was used to describe the thematic trends in the collection. This broader description of the collection helped to situate the subsequent case studies of exemplary artworks in the collection as a whole.

6.1.5. To examine the role of public art in urban development and city building

This section addresses the final objective of this thesis by using the theoretical lens of phantasmagoria to elucidate the relationship between landscapes of public art and the broader process of urban development. The main takeaways of this discussion are first that public art is conceived as a phantasmagoria in three key ways. First it is conceived as a phantasmagoria as a result of the fantastical promise attributed to public art described here as the public artopia found in the cultural plans for the City of Edmonton. Second, public art becomes part of the 'urban development machine' of the City through the correlation created by the percent for art policy and the growth of the city's civic infrastructure, which again correlates to the growth of the city. This correlation is between the redevelopment of the City through the ideology of *creative urbanism* to unleash the potential of Edmonton. Finally, public art created in this system is fetishized as the labour,

particularly the underpaid and sometimes uncompensated labour of artists, remains invisible. Rather public art comes to be valued through investment in its artopic promise. Central to phantasmagoria is the fetishization of commodities on display. Within the discourse of cultural planning, public art takes on a fantastical quality and becomes a fetishized commodity on display which creates a phantasmagoria of public art in Edmonton.

Second, conceiving of public art as a phantasmagoric is a means through which to examine the development of the city. Through applying the aforementioned conception of public art as phantasmagoria I examined the underlying how the fantastical qualities of public art animate and conjure meaning in place through the examples of downtown Edmonton (ICE district and 96 Avenue) and the confluence of the stylized nature tag and increasing works by Indigenous artists.

6.2 Contributions of Thesis

The thesis has assembled a theoretically-informed account of the Edmonton civic collection of public art and its role in urban development and city-building. This account highlights a tension-riddled cultural landscape. Edmonton defines itself in its cultural planning documents as being a place that is full of potential, where the economy is central to the culture. Edmonton is simultaneously blue collar and without class consciousness (Fung, 2019). However, the fantastical values imbued in public art is somewhat at odds with the culture described in the plans wherein Edmonton is defined in part through its economic might and the hard work of its entrepreneurial citizen, and the portrayal of Edmonton as placeless and full of potential.

This points to the uneasy overlap between *creative urbanism* and artopia. At the intersection of this overlap is a belief that through cultural investment (in this case, in public art) a city can create a recognizable image to market itself and be recognizable; however, this image-making is open to critique. Walter Benjamin used phantasmagoria to

describe the effect of commodity fetishism and more broadly capitalism in culture. There is an inherent tension between the light show (Edmonton's public art) and the mechanism behind (percent for art, the ongoing re-development of the city and the labour of artists and administrators). This tension is further exacerbated by the artopic promise invested in public art by planning documents and public art's inevitable inability to fully live up to that promise. There is a tension in Edmonton between wanting/being compelled by the current economic imperative to be a cosmopolitan creative city that appeals to the creative class, while also envisioning itself as a place full of potential that is home to practical hardworking people. This installs a tension within the cultural landscape of Edmonton as a place that resists cohesive branding, preferring to imagine itself as full of potential, always in the process of becoming.

6.3 The limitations of this study and places for further research

This thesis gives an overview of the Edmonton civic public art collection, however, there are some limitations to this study and opportunities for further research. First, this research touches on several aspects of settler colonialism visible in the collection and identifies settler colonialism as part of the 'urban development machine'. There is an opportunity here to critically examine the collection in terms of the aims of decolonization. There are several very interesting case studies in the Edmonton civic collection that illustrate how the collection has responded to the aims of decolonization: two examples are ÎNÎW river lot 11 (2018) and the Grandin Murals (2014) by Sylvie Nadeau and Aaron Paquette. I was initially interested in pursuing research that engaged with decolonization, however, after some investigation I came to realize I did not have the social connections (to Indigenous artists and arts organizations) to conduct this research ethically.

Second, this research focuses on description of the collection and the processes and policies that create it and uses phantasmagoria to do so, there is opportunity here to explore a more negative marxist critique. This can be achieved through further research into the geographies of consumption and production. There is opportunity for a more

negative critical study of commodity fetishism in art public production, particularly to include the labour of fabricating the artworks (mentioned in section 4.4.5.1 Art(work)), in addition to labour of artists. Furthermore, to critically examine the production of public art it would be instructive to interview artists and their experiences creating public art. This research did not investigate the public reception of artworks beyond reflection on the public reception of the *Talus Dome*. How Edmontonians regard and consume the civic collection could deliver more insight into the ability of public art to deliver on the promises of the artopia, as well as, the possible ensuing dystopia when it is unable to do so.

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Appendix A: Full Inventory

Accession Number	Title	Artist	Location
1957.001	The Migrants	Lionel J. Thomas	City Hall Exterior
1957.002	Glyde Commemorative Mural	H.G. Glyde	City Hall Interior
1966.001	Signs of The Zodiac	Heinrich Eichner	Queen Elizabeth II Planetarium, Exterior
1967.001	History of the Law	Paul Van Imschoot	Chancery Hall
1967.002	Norman Yates Mural	Norman Yates	Milner Library
1967.003	Bust of Joseph Conrad	Danek Mozdzenski	EAC Conservation
1971.001	Untitled	Jordi Bonet	Mil Woods Public Library, Interior
1973.001	Bust of Copernicus	Danek Mozdzenski	Telus World of Science, Interior
1976.001	The Circle of Life	Alex Janvier	Muttart Conservatory, Interior
1977.001	The Trader	John Weaver	In storage at Rundle Storage Yard
1978.002	Long Burrow 6	Barry Cogswell	Coronation Park, Exterior
1978.007	Kinetic Counterpoise	Peter C.F. Nicholls	EAC Conservation
1978.003	Cold Arbour	David Wilson	Muttart Conservatory, Exterior
1980.001	The Great Divide	Peter Lewis	High Level Bridge
1981.001	Madonna of the Wheat	John Weaver	City Hall Exterior
1982.001	Arthur Griesbach	John Weaver	In storage at Prince of Wales Armoury
1983.001	Alberta Hotel	Meredith Evans	EAC Conservation
1983.002	Lunchbreak	J. Seward Johnson Jr.	Churchill Square (NW corner)
1983.005	Holodomor	Ludmilla	City Hall Exterior (SW corner)
1983.007	Boy and Dog	John Robinson	Paul Kane Park 10220 121 St
1984.001	Grant Notley	John Weaver	Grant Notley Park 100 Ave + 116 St
1985.001	Stone Kite	Peter Lewis	Edmonton Convention Centre - Exterior
1986.001	Mahatma Gandhi Memorial	R. Jagannathan	EAC Conservation
1986.002	Tough Minded Women	Patricia Galbraith	EAC Conservation
1986.003	Beaver and Fallen Tree	Don Begg	Beaver Hills House Park
1988.002	Peace Dove	Unknown	Gallagher Park
1989.001	Wayne Gretzky	John Weaver	Rogers Arena Exterior
1989.002	Sir Winston Churchill	Oscar Nemon	Churchill Square (NW corner)
1989.004	Pillar of Love	Barbara Eichner-Shaw	Hermitage Park
1990.002	Bust of Lucien Dubuc	Don Begg	Victoria Promenade 11603- 100 Ave
1990.003	Bust of Maude Bowman	Don Begg	Victoria Promenade 11603- 100 Ave
1990.004	Bust of Abraham Cristall	Danek Mozdzenski	Victoria Promenade 11603- 100 Ave
1990.005	Bust of Nellie McClung	Danek Mozdzenski	Victoria Promenade 11603- 100 Ave
1991.001	The Convergence	Tony Bloom	Victoria Promenade 11603- 100 Ave
1991.002	Rondo	Mitsu Ikemura	EAC Conservation
1991.004	Hidden Charms	Tommie Gallie	LRT Churchill, Interior
1992.002.01	Promise of Dusk	Douglas Haynes	City Hall Interior
1992.002.02	To Morning Light	Douglas Haynes	City Hall Interior
1992.003	Ultima Thule	Glenn Guillet	City Hall Interior
1992.004	Caravel	Isla Burns	City Hall Exterior
1992.005	There is a River	Hilary Prince	City Hall Interior
1992.006	Edmonton: Aspects of History	Wendy Toogood	City Hall Interior
1992.007	One	Petronella Overes	City Hall Interior
1992.008	Madrigal	Mitsu Ikemura	EAC Conservation
1992.009	Passages of Time	Judith M Armstrong	City Hall Interior
1992.010	Little Meadow	Hendrick Bres	City Hall Interior
1992.011	Prairie Town	Peter von Tiesenhausen	City Hall Interior
1992.012	Genesis	Jim Davies	City Hall Interior
1992.013	I Spring North of Edmonton	Harry Savage	City Hall Interior
1992.014	II Spring North of Edmonton	Harry Savage	City Hall Interior
1992.015	IV Spring North of Edmonton	Harry Savage	City Hall Interior
1992.016	Mountain Scene No. 4	Jennifer Bushman	City Hall Interior
1992.017	Storm Sketch	Jim Stokes	City Hall Interior
1992.018	Roadside Turnout	Jim Stokes	City Hall Interior
1992.019	Gateway to the Interior	Lyndal Osborne	City Hall Interior
1992.020	Diary	Lyndal Osborne	City Hall Interior
1992.021	Vital Formation	Liz Ingram	City Hall Interior

1992.022	Spruce Trees	Steven Dixon	City Hall Interior
1992.023	Pine Trees	Steven Dixon	City Hall Interior
1992.024	Mirror Reversed	Walter Jule	City Hall Interior
1992.025	A Clock for Two Kinds of Time	Walter Jule	City Hall Interior

1992.026	By All Things Advancing	Walter Jule	City Hall Interior
1992.027	Blair Brennan + Celine + Siona Garneau- Brennan	Eleanor Lazare	City Hall Interior
1992.028	Crole Lazare + Lilly Lazare-Greene	Eleanor Lazare	City Hall Interior
1992.029	Preparation Plant Worker, Cardinall River Coals, Hinton Alberta	Lawrence Christmas	City Hall Interior
1992.030	Alberta Front Range Near Ghost River (1989)	Raymond Gogarty	City Hall Interior
1992.031	Conrich	Raymond Gogarty	City Hall Interior
1992.032	Peak Howse	Craig Richards	City Hall Interior
1992.033	Douglas Fir, Fog, Bow River	Craig Richards	City Hall Interior
1992.034	Winter, Lodgepole Pine, Banff National Park	Craig Richards	City Hall Interior
1992.035	Vents II	Candace Makowichuk	City Hall Interior
1992.036	Back Alley	Candace Makowichuk	City Hall Interior
1992.037	Doors	Candace Makowichuk	City Hall Interior
1992.038	Natural Amphitheatre, Dinosaur Provincial Park	Wayne Jeschke	City Hall Interior
1992.039	Dark Glade	Philip Darrah	City Hall Interior
1992.040	Summer Front	Terrence Keller	City Hall Interior
1992.041	Polar Bear	Paul Qayutinnuag	City Hall Interior
1992.042	Shelter	Joan McNeil	City Hall Interior
1992.043	Cotoneaster Leaves and Fruit, Japanese Vase and Rice Paper Box by Blue Jay Feather and Chinese Cup on Mat	Sharon Simmonds Chia	City Hall Interior
1992.044	Green Tea Leaves in Chinese Cup, Japanese Chopstick and Rest, Anemones, Makasa Vase and Pearl	Sharon Simmonds Chia	City Hall Interior
1992.045	Iceland Poppy, Peppers, Chinese Vase, and Chopstick Rest on Mat	Sharon Simmonds Chia	City Hall Interior
1992.046	Maple Leaves and Marigolds, Chinese and Japanese Vases, Jay Feather, Rowan Berries, and Obed Rock on Mat	Sharon Simmonds Chia	City Hall Interior
1992.047	Farm Auction I	Richard Rogers	City Hall Interior
1992.048	Summer Flowers	Robert Lemay	City Hall Interior
1992.049	The Lost Poems of Vasyl Stus	Andrew French	City Hall Interior
1992.050	The Transformed Feather	Jane Ash-Poitras	City Hall Interior
1992.051	Ritu, Prayer Cloth	Carla Costuros	City Hall Interior
1992.052	Battle River Interlude	William H Webb	City Hall Interior
1992.053	View February 1992, No. 2	Catherine Burgess	City Hall Interior
1992.054	Emily Murphy	Donna Marchyshyn	Emily Murphy Park
1992.055	Constable Ezio Faraone Memorial	Danek Mozdzinski	Constable Ezio Faraone Park
1992.056	Spectators	Ron Kostyniuk	Castle Downs Arena
1993.001	In Memory of David Kootook	Wayne McKenzie	Edmonton Convention Centre - Exterior
1995.001	The Big Rock	Catherine Burgess, Sandra Bromley	Rice Howard Way
1996.001	First Night Festival	Peter Field	LRT Churchill, Interior
1999.001	A Vision of Hope	Michelle Mitchell	Mary Burlie Park (97 St & 105 Ave)
1999.002	Construction	Mariann Sinkovics	LRT Central, Interior
1999.003	Welcome Aboard	Mariann Sinkovics	LRT Central, Interior
1999.004	Paskwamostos	Joe Fafard	Edmonton Convention Centre - Exterior
2001.001	Buffalo Mountain	Stewart Steinhauer	Mil Creek Tubby Bateman Park (9703 88 Ave)
2001.005	Collaboration	Robert Ledrer, Cezary Gajewski, Michael Syms	LRT Stadium (11100 Stadium Rd)
2001.006	Recycles	Lynn Malin, Elizabeth Beauchamp	Beaver Hills House Park
2001.007	People on the Move	various	LRT Coliseum
2002.001	Travail in Tandem	Father Douglas	LRT Belvedere
2002.002	One Long Autumn	Jonathan Eschak, Kelly Mellings	LRT Clareview
2002.003	Guardian	Glenn Guillet	Police Station NE Division (14203 50 St)
2002.004	Kites	Nadine Argo	Police Station NE Division (14203 50 St)

2002.005	Duets: Parnassius	Bob Chelmick	Police Station NE Division (14203 50 St)
2002.006	Duets: Sphinx	Bob Chelmick	Police Station NE Division (14203 50 St)
2002.007	Duets: Tiger	Bob Chelmick	Police Station NE Division (14203 50 St)
2002.008	Lodge	Clay Ellis	EAC Conservation
2002.010	A Walk Through the Universe	various	LRT Tunnel at 95 St and 105 Ave
2003.001	Witness...	Holly Newman	LRT Health Sciences
2003.002	From Here	Tim Antoniuk, Colin Birnie, Adrian Cho	LRT University

2003.004	Tri, Making the Impossible Possible	John Tam, Rob Hora	LRT University
2005.001	Encompass	Allen Ball	Police Station SE Division (104 Youville Dr)
2005.002	Light Venturi	Terry Frost	Churchill Square
2005.003	In Transit	Clayton Lowe, Shannon Kelley	ETS Substation (62 Ave & 109 St)
2005.004	Catching Neutrinos	Darci Mallon	Churchill Square
2005.005	DREAM.big	Donald Moar	Edmonton Convention Centre - Exterior
2005.006	All Out	Maggie Ray Morris	Firestation #1 Exterior (10351 96 St)
2005.007	Gigi	Louis Munan	Borden Park
2007.001	Towncar	Tania Garner Tomas	Westmount Transit Centre
2007.002	Poems for a Small Park	E.D. Blodgett	Louise McKinney Park
2007.005	The Brazeau/High Water	Clay Ellis	Edmonton Convention Centre - Hall D Interior
2007.006	Rowand's Folly	Clay Ellis	Edmonton Convention Centre - Hall D Interior
2007.007	Bones to the Bay	Clay Ellis	Edmonton Convention Centre - Hall D Interior
2008.001	Bio-Glyphs	Ron Baird	Biomira Building 94 St & 23 Ave
2008.002	Flux	Robbin Deyo	Peter Hemmingway Pool (13808 111 Ave)
2008.003	Garden Frame	Will Truchon	Muttart Conservatory Exterior
2008.004	Pinwheel	Lynn Malin, Elizabeth Beauchamp	Prince Charles Park
2008.005	Untitled	Gillian Willans	Century Place Interior
2008.006	From The Model	Susan Owen Kagan	Belgravia Art Park (115 St/73 Ave)
2008.007	New Life...New Beginings	Richard Tosczak	William Hawrelak Park
2008.008	Edmonton Neighbourhood	Jill Thomson	City Hall Interior
2009.001	Clusters	Keith Walker	Central Lions Senior Centre (11112 113 St)
2009.002	Continuum	Cezary Gajewski	LRT Century Park
2009.003	Leger/Regel	C. Wells	Leger Transit Center (14958-14994 23 Ave)
2009.004	Futuristic Map	Patrick Jacob	LRT McKernan/Belgravia
2009.005	We Are Here	Mia Weinberg	Muttart Conservation Exterior
2009.006	Passengers	Ray McAdam	LRT South Campus
2009.007	Immense Mode	Dawn Detarando, Brian McArthur	LRT Southgate
2009.008	Ecostation	Brandon Blommaert	Ambleside Ecostation (14710 Ellerslie Rd)
2009.009	Overflow	Brendan McGillicuddy	Callingwood Arena (17740 69 Ave)
2009.010	Big Miller	Danek Mozdzenski	Old Strathcona Big Miller Park (11 Tommy Banks Way)
2009.011	Untitled	Eugene Uhad, Aaron Pedersen	Prince of Wales Armoury Offices
2009.012	Abduction of Liberty	Ryan McCourt	Belgravia Art Park (115 St/73 Ave)
2009.016	The Six Winged Eagle	Wayne Ashley	City Hall Interior
2009.017	The Dwelling	Wayne Ashley	City Hall Interior
2009.018	The Prophecy	Wayne Ashley	City Hall Interior
2010.001	Random Thoughts Passing Scene	Jesse Sherburne	ETS Garage (156 St & Ellerslie Rd)
2010.002	fire_scape	Jorn Ebner	Firestation #5 Exterior (91 St & 111 Ave)
2010.003	Past and Present	Krzysztof Zukowski	Fort Edmonton Park (7000-142 St)
2010.004	Thumbprint Pooldeck	Stephanie Davidson, Georg Rafalidis	Fred Broadstock Pool (10515 158 St)
2010.005.01	The Family Farm 1	Robert McInnis	Animal Services Building (163 St & 137 Ave)
2010.005.02	The Family Farm 2	Robert McInnis	Animal Services Building (163 St & 137 Ave)
2010.005.03	The Family Farm 3	Robert McInnis	Animal Services Building (163 St & 137 Ave)
2010.006.01	Parade 1, Alberta Wildlife	Gabe Wong	Meadows Transit Centre (17 St Whitemud Dr)
2010.006.02	Parade 2, Alberta Wildlife	Gabe Wong	Lewis Farms Transit Centre (17 St Whitemud Dr)
2010.007	Running Track	Ignes idee	Terwillegar Recreation Centre Exterior
2011.001	Henri	Craig Leblanc	Terwillegar Recreation Centre Interior

2011.002	Sound Columns	Darren Copeland, Andreas Kahre	Queen Elizabeth Pool (Kinsmen Park)
2011.003	John Janzen	Genevieve Simms	John Janzen Nature Centre
2011.004	Homelessness Memorial	Keith Turnbull, Ritchie Velthuis	North of City Hall
2012.002	Talus Dome	Ball Nogues Studio	Quesnell Bridge
2012.003	I Am You	Alexandra Haesaker	Alfred H Savage Centre
2012.005	2FOLD	spmd, Eduardo Aquino, Karen Shanski	Ellerslie Fire Station
2012.006	Afghan Mural	Instant Coffee	Commonwealth Recreation Center Interior (11000 Stadium Rd)
2012.007	A Point Becomes a Line	Jeff Kulak	Hardisty Fitness & Leisure Center
2012.008	Untitled	Chloe Mustooch, Jason Carrter, Aaron Paquette	111 St Parallel to LRT Southgate to Century Park
2012.010	Counterpoise	Carl Tacon	Police Station SW Division
2012.011	net-Work	Cecil Balmund	Engineering Services Building (11004 190 St)
2012.013	Alberta Avenue Benches	various	Alberta Avenue
2012.014	Still Life	Andrew French	Belgravia Arts Park (115 St/73 Ave)

2012.016	Caesura	Bianca Khan	Belgravia Arts Park (115 St/73 Ave)
2012.017	Almost Whole	Royden Mills	Belgravia Art Park (115 St/73 Ave)
2012.018	Untitled	Eugene Demas	Alex Taylor School-E4C (9321 Jasper Ave)
2012.019	Pumpkins and Moons	Ken Macklin	Belgravia Arts Park (115 St/73 Ave)
2012.020	Ghost Rail	Kathryn Ruckman	Hazeldean 68 Ave and 94 Street
2013.001	The Scroll	Alisdair McRae, Negar Seyfollay	Jasper Place Library
2013.003	In-Out	Claude Boulevraye de Passille	EAC Conservation
2013.004	Have A Nice Day	Mark Feddes, Chelsea Boida	Northgate ETS
2013.005	Soleil du Nuit	Laurent Grasso	Commonwealth Recreation Centre Exterior (11000 Stadium Rd)
2013.006	Boyle Community Table	Jordan Tomnuk	103 A Ave & 95 St NW
2013.007	Memoryscape	Marc Boutin	City Hall Exterior (NE corner)
2013.008	En Masse Mural	En Masse	Grandin pedestrian underpass (109 St & 99 Ave)
2013.009	A View From a Train	Chris Doyle	Kingsway LRT
2013.010	Aurora's Dance	Roy Leadbeater	EAC Conservation
2013.011	Lobstick Tree	Leah Marie Dorion	Fort Edmonton Park (7000-142 St)
2013.012	No. 23	Marc Boutin, Dave Goulden, Tony Leong	EAC Conservation
2013.013	Turtle Rock Effigy	Leah Marie Dorion	Louise McKinney Park
2014.001	No Title (Buffalo)	Lloyd Pinay	Dr. Anne Anderson Park
2014.002.01	The Bishop Grandin Mural	Sylvie Nadeau	LRT Grandin
2014.002.02	No Title (Reconciliation Mural #2)	Aaron Paquette	LRT Grandin
2014.003	Elemental	Lynn Mallin	Cardinal Collins High School
2014.004	Grove of Light	Laura Haddad, Thomas Druggan	Valley Zoo
2014.005	Landscape Series I	Erin Ross	Mill Woods Park Pavilion
2014.006	Willow	Marc Fornes, THEVERYMANY	Borden Park
2014.007	Carousel	Nicole Galellis	Borden Park Pavilion
2014.008	Still Life	Studio F Minus: Mitchell F. Chan, Bradley Hindson	LRT MacEwan
2014.009	Sculptures in Landscapes	Cliff Eyland	Meadows Library
2014.010	Sidewalk Poetry	Agnieszka Matejko	Callingwood Park Pavilion
2014.011	Wheatfield with Crows	Konstantin Dimopoulos	Meadows Community Recreation Centre
2014.012	ARC	Evan Brunt, Scott Chan	Abottsfeld Recreation Centre
2014.013	Neighbourhood Benches	Beckie Chan	Highlands Library
2014.014	Letter Cloud	Coryn Kempster, Julia Jamrozik	Clareview Library
2014.015	The Ballroom	France Dubois	Meadows Recreation Centre
2014.016	Phantásien	Realities United	Mill Woods Library
2014.017	Transitions	Keith Walker	Capital Boulevard
2015.001	Eclipse	Christian Moeller	Clareview Community Recreation Centre
2015.002	Milled Wood	Destiny Swiderski	Mill Woods Multicultural Facility & Seniors Centre
2015.003	Water Vessels	Mark Clinteberg, Jeff Kulak	Heritage Valley Fire Station
2015.004	Trio	Verne Bussy, Bella Busby	Stony Plain Streetscape
2015.005	Geese on the Avenue	Holly Newman	Jasper Ave. Streetscapes
2015.006	Wild Life	Brandon Vickerd	The Quarters
2015.007	Untitled	Eugene Uhad	Clareview Multicultural Centre
2015.008	Broken Families Monument	Memi Von Gaza	Grant Notley Park
2015.009	Mountain Brother	Sergio Serrano, Alexander Stewart	Castle Downs Park Pavilion

2015.010	Kennedale Ecostation	Brandon Blommaert	Kennedale Ecostation
2015.011	No Title	Various - bike racks	NAIT & MacEwan LRT
2015.012	Exotic Species	Marc Siegner	Victoria Park Pavilion
2016.001	Midnight Dispatch	Vikki Wiercinski	Lewis Farms Fire Station
2016.002	Wild Rose	Rebecca Belmore, Osvaldo Yero	The Quarters Armature - 96 St. NW
2016.003	George F. Hustler	unknown	George F. Hustler Memorial Plaza
2016.004	Alley of Light	Destiny Swiderski	Beaver Hills House Park alleyway
2016.005	Skaters' Arch	Douglas Bentham	Downtown Community NE Rink Entrance
2016.006	Tsa Tsa Ke Ke	Alex Janvier	Rogers Arena Ford Hall
2016.007	9 Figures in Motion with a Puck	Al Henderson	Downtown Community Rink corridor entry
2016.008	Essential Tree	Realities United	Arena 1 NW Plaza
2016.009	Pillars of the Community	Layla Folkmann, Lacey Jane	LRT Vent at Rogers Arena
2016.010	THE WALKWAYS	Derek Besant	Quarters
2016.011	Now & Then	Faye Heavyshield	Groat (102 Ave.) Bridge
2016.012	First Responders Memorial	Wayne Ashley	City Hall Interior
2017.001	Thing I & Thing II	Lisa Turner	West Edmonton Mall Transit Station
2017.002	Esprit	Pierre Poussin	Alex Decoteau Park

2017.003	Sometimes, Always, Even	April Dean	Paul Kane Park
2017.004	Heart of the Valley	Black Artifex	WELCA
2017.005	Resonant Progression	Royden Mills	Terwillegar Community Recreation Centre
2017.006	Turbulent	Jill Anholt	River Valley Access
2017.007	HMCS Edmonton	Dennis Mori	City Hall Interior
2017.008	Calder Community Mosaic	Rebecca Bayer	Calder Library
2018.001	Iskotew	Amy Malbeuf	îNîW River Lot 11
2018.002	pehonan	Tiffany Shaw-Collinge	îNîW River Lot 11
2018.003	mamohkamatowin	Jerry Whitehead	îNîW River Lot 11
2018.004	mikiwan	Duane Linklater	îNîW River Lot 11
2018.005	Preparing to Cross the Sacred River	Marianne Nicolson	îNîW River Lot 11
2018.006	Reign	Mary Anne Barkhouse	îNîW River Lot 11
2018.007	Veil	Brendan McGillicuddy, Jeffrey Riedl	South Have Cemetery
2018.008	In Spiral Arches	Dylan Toymaker	Ivor Dent Park
2018.009	Spring is Spring, the Grass is Riz...	Erin Pankratz, Karen Klaussen	Dermott District Park Renewal
2018.010	Ripples on a Pond	William Frymire	Borden Park Natural Swim Experience
2018.011	Magpies' Nests	Stephen Duncan, Kevin Sehn	Rossdale Park
2018.012	Animal Family	LeuWebb Projects: Christine Leu, Alan Webb	Valley Zoo
2019.001	Things I Knew to be True	Peter von Tiesenhausen	Stanley A. Milner Library
2019.002	Agent Crystalline	Marc Fornes	EPS Northwest Campus
2019.003	The Dancer	Verne Busby, Bella Totino-Busby	Yorath House
2019.004	Neon Sky	Vikki Wiercinski	Jasper Place Leisure Centre
2019.005	Platanos	Michelle Campos Castillo	Belvedere Transit Centre
2019.006	The Big Splash	Paul Slipper, Mary Ann Liu	Pilot Sound Fire Station
2019.007	Kathleen Andrews, First Lady of Transit	Daphne Côté	Kathleen Andrews Transit Garage
2020.001	Silver Seed	Tony Bloom	Jasper Place Bowl and Grandstand Replacement
2020.002	Untitled (Capilano Schema)	Sergio Serrano, Alexander Stewart	Capilano Library

Appendix B: Letter of Initial Contact (e-mail)

Hello [insert name],

I am a graduate student at the University of Alberta working on a research project about public art in Edmonton. I am conducting this research under the supervision of Dr. Joshua Evans and Dr. Damian Collins.

The purpose of this research is to understand how Edmonton has attempted to create an identity for itself to compete in a global economy through its collection of public art. This study aims to add to the academic literature on public art and city image and marketing.

This project's main data set is the City of Edmonton's public art collection. To supplement this data I am conducting interviews with employees of the City of Edmonton and local arts organizations to understand the administration of public Art.

If you are willing and able, I would like to schedule a meeting to discuss some of your experiences and insights from your role in the [insert organizations name]. [Insert sentence about their organization and my interest in it]. If possible, I would like to meet at some point within the next couple of weeks. The meeting should take about an hour at the most

Please let me know if you are willing to meet and we can schedule a time. I'm happy to meet you at whatever location is convenient for you.

I look forward to hearing back from you,

Ariel MacDonald

Appendix C: Information Letter and Consent Form

Information Letter and Consent Form for Interview

Study title: An Analysis of Public Art in Edmonton

Investigator: Ariel MacDonald
Graduate Student, Human Geography
Dept. of Earth & Atmospheric Sciences
University of Alberta Edmonton,
AB arm1@ualberta.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Joshua Evans
Assistant Professor, Human Geography
Dept. of Earth & Atmospheric Sciences
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB jdevans@ualberta.ca

Background: You are being asked to participate in this study because you have professional experience relating to public art in Edmonton. This research looks at public art in Edmonton as a case study to understand how cities seek to create an image and identity for themselves.

Purpose: This research aims to understand how public art in Edmonton can be and is used to create an identity that is marketable in a globalized world. This research seeks to contribute to the academic understanding of public art and city image and marketing.

The information collected in this study will be used to create publications and recommendations that focus on the public art, urban space, and settler colonialism. Results may also be communicated in public discussions, academic lectures, and presentations.

Study procedure: I am requesting your involvement in this research as a key informant. You are being asked to take part in a semi-structured interview lasting approximately an hour. The interview will take place at a time convenient to you in the Fall/Winter of 2019. It will take place in person at a location of your choice. The interview will be in the form of a conversation about your relevant knowledge and experiences with the processes and policies governing the commissioning of public art in Edmonton. With your permission the interview will be audio-recorded. Following the interview, I will transcribe the conversation onto a digital written

document. I intend to interview various professionals with relevant experience, which may include employees of the City of Edmonton and local arts organizations. I intend to interview twelve to fifteen people.

Benefits: While there are no direct personal benefits for participation in this study, such as compensation or incentives, the study may have a social benefit. You will be given the opportunity to voice your opinion on the policy surrounding public art in Edmonton and how it represents and serves the people living in the city, and will also be contributing to academic literature, which may inform future policy decisions in other cities. Through this qualitative study, we aim to contribute to the academic understanding of how cities seek to create an identity for themselves in order to create an identity that can market them globally.

Risk: I do not anticipate that participation in this research will cause you any harm or discomfort. However, interview questions will ask for critical assessment of existing policies. To mitigate risk, your answers will remain confidential and you will be identified by a generic job title and you will be asked to consent to the title used to identify you. Additionally, there is a risk that you will be describing a previously stressful situation, such as a traumatic experience or politically contentious topics. You may withdraw participation at anytime if you become uncomfortable or anxious.

Voluntary Participation: As stated above, you are under no obligation to participate in this study, and your participation is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time before or during the interview without penalty. You also have the right to decline to answer any interview question or set of questions.

If you would like to withdraw from the study after your interview is finished, you may do so while we are in the data analysis phase, which will be at least two weeks following the interview. To do so, please contact me through e-mail. The digital audio file and the written transcript of your interview will be deleted. After the data analysis phase or two weeks following your interview, whichever occurs last, you will be unable to withdraw from the study as much of the data will be anonymized and used in the research findings. The data will be securely stored for 5 years following the study.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: Only the researcher (Ariel MacDonald) and supervisors (Dr. Damian Collins and Dr. Joshua Evans) will know that you have participated in the study. The transcript of your interviews will be anonymized, which means that it will not contain any personally identifying information. You will be identified in the transcript by your job and you will be asked to consent to the title used to identify you. The digital audio recording and the transcript of your interview will be stored on a password-protected computer in a locked office at the University of Alberta. Only Ariel MacDonald, Dr. Damian Collins, Dr. Joshua Evans and the Research Ethics board will have access to these files.

Reported findings may include both paraphrasing and direct quotations from your interview. As discussed above, you will be identified only by a generic description of your professional role, used with your permission, to provide context for your comments.

Study data will be made available through publication, which will be accessible to you.

Research findings will be made available through publication, which will be accessible to you. Further Information: If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact Ariel MacDonald via email (arm1@ualberta.ca)

Informed consent (researcher copy):

I, _____ declare that I have read and understand all of the above information in regards to my participation in this research project. I understand my role in this research project and my rights in relation to my participation. I have been told who to contact if I have further questions. I consent to being interviewed as described in this document and understand that involvement in the interview is entirely voluntary.

Participant name (printed)

Participant signature

Researcher name (printed)

Researcher signature

There will be two copies of this consent form. One copy is to be signed and returned to the researcher and one will be given to the participants for their own records

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participants rights and ethical conduct of research, contact Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615

Appendix D: Interview Questions

Interview questions for City of Edmonton

1. Can you tell me about your role with your organization?
 - a. How long have you been working with your organization?
2. What is your connection to public art in Edmonton? How did you become involved in public art?
3. Does your organization fund public art in Edmonton? If so how?
4. What are some of the challenges of maintaining/conserving public artworks in Edmonton?
5. Is your organization involved in the percent for art program?
 - a. Could you elaborate on the parameters of the program?
 - b. Has the program impacted the scope of public art projects in Edmonton? If so, how?
 - c. Has the program impacted where public art is located? If so, how?
 - d. Have you noticed any changes in the City of Edmonton's approach to public art in recent years?
6. Is your organization involved in choosing public artworks or commissioning artists?
 - a. How are artists or specific project proposals chosen or evaluated?
 - b. Is the process for selecting artists/artworks competitive?
 - c. How is the type of artwork determined (e.g. sculpture vs. painting vs. architectural)?
 - d. How are the locations for the artworks chosen?
7. Does your organization provide input regarding the creative process or final product once the artist/ artwork has been commissioned?
8. Are you aware of any debates around commissioning Canadian artists vs. international artists (especially those who may have more name recognition)?

9. Is there preference or consideration given to public art projects that involve the community in the artwork's creation (new genre public art)?
10. How common are site-specific commission for public art? Can you point to an Edmonton example?
11. Is location—such as the community setting or neighbourhood history- important when it comes to public art? Can you point to an Edmonton example?
12. Have you noticed any difference in the public's interest, engagement and involvement in public art in the past 10 years?
13. What are some of your favorite public artworks in the collection (2-3)?