Policing Art: An Investigation of Protest Art, Policy, and Identity in Capitol Hill, Seattle, WA.

Laura Nauert

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Joaquín Herranz Jr.

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Abstract

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Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Manish Chalana
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Integrating meaningful public art into our urban landscapes is an important goal for planners and urban designers, and it aligns with strategies for supporting community identity and placemaking. Though sanctioned art is encouraged and there are numerous policies to support the funding, development, and conservation of sanctioned public art, less focus and attention is given to unsanctioned art that manifests naturally in the built environment. Protest art typically falls into a gray area of illegality and criminality, and this type of art is unfunded and largely unrecognized. Regardless, placemaking and protest movements are related, particularly in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Seattle, WA.

This thesis illustrates the unique relationship between unsanctioned protest art and community identity in Capitol Hill by examining two seminal case studies of protest art movements and conducting a thorough policy analysis. The anti-gentrification artwork by John Criscitello and the protest art that developed from the Capitol Hill Occupied Protest

(CHOP) in June 2020 are excellent examples of how protest art reflected community sentiment and served as a means of expression for the entire community. The literature review explores how placemaking, protest art, and arts funding have been studied in the past and connects these three themes together as they relate to urban planning practices.

The thesis concludes by determining three recommendations for how protest art can be addressed by city officials in the future and how it can be better utilized to promote a sense of belonging. The recommendations include allocating more legal space for protest artists, diversifying the definition of public art by clarifying what qualifies as nuisance graffiti, and creating a process for legalizing unsanctioned protest art pieces. There is an opportunity for the city to embrace protest art as a legitimate form of public art and community expression, particularly as protest movements themselves evolve past the typical marches and memorials of previous generations.

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Chapter 1 | Introduction

1.1 Protest Art and the Built Environment

The built environment is a complex system of human, natural, and structural elements that combine to create the vibrant communities and physical spaces we inhabit in our daily lives. Urban planners navigate this system and seek to foster functional, livable, and equitable places for everyone to enjoy. Included in this understanding of the built form and the public realm is public art. Public art can take many forms including statues, exhibitions, temporary installations, paid murals, or designated graffiti areas, among others. These examples of sanctioned art typically go through a highly regulated and formalized process to be included in our urban environment. But these examples of sanctioned art are not the only ways that art manifests in our built environment. Graffiti, street art, contemporary art, aerosol art, mural art, protest art – all are terms used to describe similar works of unsanctioned art with overlapping qualities. Protest art is just as important and valid as sanctioned art, though not nearly as protected, despite often contributing significantly to community identity and placemaking.[1] This thesis focuses on protest art, which can be interpreted and defined differently depending on the context. For the purposes of the following research and narration, protest art is defined as:

Protest Art: creative expressions of communication that offer visual commentary on a social or political issue or polarizing topic, typically created illegally, placed in public spaces, and meant to challenge authority.

1 Elizabeth Thomas, Sarah Pate, and Anna Ranson, "The Crosstown Initiative: Art, Community, and Placemaking in Memphis," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 55, no. 1 (March 1, 2015): 74–88, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-014-9691-x.

Protest art is not a new concept, and it is certainly not new to US cities. Street art became widespread in the 1960s and 1970s, mainly connected to inner-city urban areas such as New York.[2] Subsequent reactions to this type of art were negative, with many people claiming graffiti to be a symbol of the decay of urban centers. In the 1980s and 1990s, protest art was targeted by politicians and police forces and heavy-handed crackdowns became normalized. This legacy persists, and today protest art largely rests under the umbrella of police enforcement or public utility clean up. However, protest art is not often addressed by planners or urban designers in a formalized manner. It is also an understudied topic, largely ignored due to its ambiguity and lack of recognition. Regardless, it would be remiss to ignore the role that protest art has in shaping community identity and how it contributes to overall placemaking.

In many instances, protest art is a reflection of public sentiment publicized and communicated through the built environment. Oftentimes, the placement of the art is a strategic part of the art itself, and certain neighborhoods where protest art is frequent develop identities that support this sort of outspoken reflection. Having a better understanding of the role protest art plays in our communities is especially important now as we reckon with the fraught relationship between communities and police and a national housing crisis that has led to rampant gentrification of our historic neighborhoods. As my case studies will demonstrate, protest art is a strong method of expression against both of these issues.

1.2 Research Objectives

It is important to question why protesting occurs and why protest art develops alongside protest actions. What are the artists hoping to achieve in creating these artworks? How does protest art fit into our larger understanding of public space and

2 Maggie Dickinson, "The Making of Space, Race and Place: New York City's War on Graffiti, 1970—the Present," *Critique of Anthropology* 28, no. 1 (March 1, 2008): 27–45, https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X07086556.

community placemaking? This thesis aims to investigate these topics further, while focusing on two case studies of protest art movements in the Capitol Hill and Pike/Pine neighborhoods of Seattle, WA. The primary research questions to be addressed in the following research are as follows:

1. **How has neighborhood identity been reflected in protest art in Capitol Hill, Seattle, WA?**

2. **How should government officials respond to protest art that is meaningful to the community?**

My goal is to explore the intersection of protest art, community identity, and urban design by focusing on two important case studies in Seattle. The Pike/Pine and Capitol Hill neighborhoods have a long history and reputation for being areas that incite social change.[3] The area is known locally as a place of acceptance, progressive politics, and counterculture movements. This reputation developed out of years of struggles for the marginalized communities that have called Capitol Hill home.[4] This sort of concentration of social communication is represented in the built environment in a variety of manners, notably through protest art, and it speaks to a strong neighborhood identity tied to outspoken community members. This discussion is framed within the context of the municipal public art plan and other city-driven initiatives to promote cultural placemaking.

This thesis is divided into six chapters including an introduction, literature review, discussion of methods, case study analysis, policy analysis, and discussion. Chapter 1

3 John Caldbick, "Seattle Neighborhoods: Capitol Hill, Part 2," June 3, 2011, https://www.historylink.org/File/9841.
4 Ibid.

introduces public and protest art as it relates to urban planning and design and the role it plays in placemaking. Chapter 2 examines the literature on the topic, placing the research into perspective within the existing discussion. Chapter 3 reviews and explains the methods undertaken to conduct this research. Chapter 4 analyzes two case studies that are critical in understanding how protest art has manifested in Capitol Hill, including the anti-gentrification art by John Criscitello and the Black Lives Matter art during the Capitol Hill Occupied Protest (CHOP) in June 2020. Chapter 5 is a policy analysis that reviews the policies relating to protest art in Seattle. Chapter 6 puts forth recommendations for policy relating to protest art and concludes with lessons that can be learned from these case studies.

1.3 Literature Review

The literature review focuses on three key topics of importance: placemaking, protest art, and funding. The first section looks further into the theories and discussion surrounding placemaking, community identity, and wellbeing. This is the primary focus of the literature review, as placemaking is one of the key goals of good urban design practice. There is a significant relationship demonstrated in the literature between urban design and placemaking, with art being one of the threads connecting the two topics. The following section addresses the differences between various forms of public art, specifically identifying what protest art is and what purpose it serves. Frequently protest art serves as an outlet for expressing community frustrations, such as rampant and unabated gentrification and displacement of longtime community members. Finally, the literature reveals some of the issues surrounding funding public art and protest art, as well as the debate on ownership and legality. Additionally, criminalization of protest art is a controversial topic frequently debated in the literature, and the literature review touches on the roots of why cities have addressed protest art in the ways that they historically have.

1.4 Methods

This research utilizes an exploratory case study method of qualitative research. The methods of this research are focused on approaching the topic from three angles: archival research, first-hand field work, and limited interviews. Firstly, my case study and policy research collect information from numerous secondary sources including news articles, feature articles, academic journal articles, city documents, and other publicly available content. This information is illustrated further with my own first-hand field work, which includes visiting the study area. Lastly, any gaps in the research are supplemented with information from interviews with key city leaders who have a better understanding of how protest art is acknowledged in our urban form. This insider knowledge reveals the nuances to public art and urban design, especially as they relate to community relations. I have taken the necessary Covid-19 protections to ensure that my research will not harm or potentially expose anyone by wearing a mask outdoors in public space and conducting interviews via video conferencing or email. Through these three primary methodological approaches, I aim to understand protest art in the context of placemaking and the role of urban neighborhoods.

1.5 Purpose

The purpose of this research is to examine how protest art is meaningful to community identity and to better understand how cities can respond to unsanctioned art. This research is intended to guide city leaders, including public art officials and urban planners, in their strategy for responding to unsanctioned art that is meaningful to the community. The conclusions for this work will be best applied to cities with a similar political climate to Seattle, as protest art will likely be more accepted in cities that embrace progressive politics and counterculture movements. However, it is important to note that the following case studies are highly unique and might not be widely generalizable. Public

art is extremely place based and reflective of its environment, which is clear in Criscitello's work. On the contrary, the Black Lives Matter movement is a national movement that saw iterations of the prominent street mural and George Floyd memorials in various cities across the country. The case studies illustrate how protest movements may evolve in the future as activists seek to make grander statements and broaden our understanding of protest. Additionally, expectations for political change are more pressing now, and cities will need to address growing calls for action from activists in the near future.

1.6 Limitations

This research builds on past research regarding neighborhood identity, creative placemaking, and street art. The intention of this research was not to address every aspect of these themes. Instead, this thesis looks at two case study examples of how these themes intersect and comments on how they relate to the built environment from an urban design and planning perspective. Though cultural planning and policy are the focus of this research, it is strongly rooted in urban design and placemaking practices that urban planners prioritize in their work.

Additionally, time constraints limited the number of interviews that I was able to arrange, and Covid-19 safety precautions eliminated the ability to meet interviewees in person to have a more personal discussion, particularly from city officials. This research also intended to protect the identity of the anonymous artists from the CHOP. Instead of focusing on the artists themselves, this research placed more weight on the art and the symbolic expression it contributed. I elected not to contact the CHOP organizers, in order to protect their identities and to focus discussion on the collective understanding of the CHOP and not the details behind leadership and organization. This shifted the focus on the CHOP as a collective unit of expression indicative of neighborhood identity.

1.7 Future Research

There are a number of opportunities for future research that could enhance the information collected from this study. First, there are additional important case studies of protest art in Capitol Hill that could further illustrate the connection between this type of art and community identity. A temporal examination of the evolution of protest art would be an excellent way to examine how it has changed over time. Additionally, it could be beneficial to speak directly with longtime residents and newer residents to better understand why they choose to live in the neighborhood. For longtime residents, it would be interesting to gather information on their perception of neighborhood change over time. For newer residents, it might be useful to question how they perceive their own presence is or is not contributing to overall neighborhood identity. Another avenue to explore is precedent studies from other countries that have also cultivated strong protest art movements. Lastly, there is an opportunity to discuss the connection between urban informality and street art, particularly as we transition into a digital age of increased surveillance.

Chapter 2 | Literature Review

The following literature review focuses on placemaking, protest art, and financial considerations of public art. At the root of my research is the connection between art and placemaking, which fits within a broader understanding of urban design. Planners and urban designers seek to build places that have strong community ties and foster feelings of wellbeing and belonging. Admittedly, this is a difficult, constantly changing, and seemingly impossible ideal to reach, though there are demonstrated ways that planners and designers can work towards this goal. In many cases, urban planners address public art through the lens of placemaking, though this is generally a formalized, top-down approach.

Protest art, which falls within the larger topic of public art, is one of the many ways that community members have historically taken matters into their own hands and attempted to enact change on the built environment themselves. Protest art differs from other forms of public art, and it is studied and understood differently in the literature. It is frequently looked at through a lens of resistance and illegality, as protest art does not typically fall within the formalized approach to cultural planning that many municipalities have developed. Resting somewhere in the middle of all of this is the role of the city as a government entity representing the wants of the people. It is unclear how the city can successfully be a part of the delicate conversation between protest artists, public arts administrators, and urban planners, though the following literature review sheds light on this issue.

The literature regarding this topic generally leans qualitative, though there are some quantitative studies available. Additionally, many academic research articles are very specific case studies of art installations, projects, or cities. Many scholars approach public art from a public policy, economic, or psychological perspective. Fewer researchers focus solely on public art and the built environment. Even fewer focus on specific forms of public

unsanctioned art such as graffiti or protest art. Community engagement is a frequently addressed topic when discussing public art projects. At a more localized level, there is little information regarding the links between protest art and community identity in Seattle.

2.1 Placemaking

Placemaking – an umbrella term that encompasses community identity, neighborhood identity, sense of place, wellbeing, and belonging – is one of the key goals of good urban design practices. Planners and designers recognize that communities are more than just the structures that make up the built environment, and that fostering placemaking is an important aspect of creating vibrant, livable, and equitable cities. Historically, placemaking was not always embraced as a primary concern for planners, though efforts to incorporate art into our built environment to foster sense of belonging have become a popular tactic for urban planners more recently.

Placemaking theory began appearing in academic discussion in the late 1960s and flourished in the 1970s, with authors including Christian Norberg-Schulz reflecting on the sensory experiences of place in his essay "The Phenomenon of Place" (1976). Placemaking has more direct roots in 1976 with Edward Relph's first description of place as a part of human interaction with our built environment. Other early thinkers on the topic include Ray Oldenburg and Rem Koolhaas in the 1980s and 1990s, who both reflected on declines in urban design quality in post-war development trends. Authors del Aguila et al. speak on theory of place and placemaking in public space in their 2019 article, "Theory of Place in Public Space."[1] Though placemaking theory has evolved significantly over time, planners have been slow to effectively incorporate placemaking theory into design practices. Del Aguila et al. attempt to put forth a modern interpretation based on past research as well as new research collected with survey responses from public space users in Wellington, New

1 Mark Del Aguila, Ensiyeh Ghavampou, and Brenda Vale, "Theory of Place in Public Space.," *Urban Planning* 4, no. 2 (June 1, 2019): 249–60, https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v4i2.1978.

Zealand. The researchers found that "the affective image of the physical setting provid[es] a gateway to the cognitive appraisal of design elements and/or the character of the setting for anticipated behavior."[2] The authors find that a person's image and understanding of public space is influenced by their interactions with the space over time, meaning it is accumulated after numerous interactions. Planners and designers tend to create spaces with specific purposes, though the novelty of these purposes fade over time without continuous refreshing. Concluding this research, the authors argue that public space should not be prescribed by what users prefer in one moment but should instead allow for different interpretations and uses of that space by different users at different times.

Sarah French et al. (2014) examine neighborhood sense of identity and the built environment based on research collected in Perth, Australia.[3] The researchers hypothesized that more walkable neighborhoods would correlate with a stronger sense of identity. They used multivariate linear regression models to understand the relationship between sense of place and walkability. Sense of community in this experiment was based on a modified version of their Neighborhood Cohesion Index.[4] The researchers concluded that there are many factors to sense of place and more research needs to be done on the other influences. Though this article does not specifically touch on public art, it still broadly speaks on neighborhood identity and the connections one develops with frequent interaction with public space.

Creative placemaking is a term discussed in detail by Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa in their 2010 and 2020 white papers for the National Endowment for the Arts. Planners use creative placemaking to describe how a community utilizes the arts to

2 Aguila, Ghavampou, and Vale, "Theory of Place in Public Space."
3 Sarah French et al., "Sense of Community and Its Association With the Neighborhood Built Environment," *Environment and Behavior* 46, no. 6 (August 1, 2014): 677–97, https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916512469098.
4 John C. Buckner, "The Development of an Instrument to Measure Neighborhood Cohesion," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 16, no. 6 (December 1, 1988): 771–91.

develop a sense of identity and even to provoke community-led change.[5] It generally applies to sanctioned art projects that go through formalized processes. There are various stakeholders involved in creative placemaking, including residents, local artists, activists, government officials, and funders, among others. The relationship between these partners is complex but grounded in the mutual understanding that communities thrive when everyone is represented. One very common approach to fostering and protecting cultural identity is to incorporate public art into the public realm. This is done in a variety of ways, usually with a public arts master plan or through landmark designation. Most major American cities have a designated public arts office or department that manages the creation, maintenance, and funding of public art pieces. Seattle has a dedicated Office of Arts and Culture (ARTS) whose mission is to, "activate and sustain Seattle through arts and culture."[6] ARTS is committed to racial equity and aims to achieve this by developing an arts program that supports people of color and builds arts-integrated tools that center inclusivity. As part of this overarching goal, ARTS participates in the citywide Race and Social Justice Initiative (RSJI), a cross-departmental goal to end institutional racism at the Seattle city government level and to support equity in government practices.[7] This commitment steers much of the work that ARTS does, and it is evident in the city's Municipal Art Plan and other more specialized plans that the ARTS office developed. The Municipal Art Plan is the guiding document that informs how public art is incorporated into the built environment.[8] This plan is supported by 1% Percent for Art and 4Culture, two of the primary government funding sources for public art.

Dolores Hayden discusses placemaking extensively in her 1995 book titled, "The

5 Anne Gadwa and Ann Markusen, "Creative Placemaking," White Paper (National Endowment for the Arts, 2010), https://www.idsa.org/sites/default/files/CreativePlacemaking-Paper.pdf.
6 "About Us - Arts | Seattle.Gov," accessed November 19, 2020, https://www.seattle.gov/arts/about-us.
7 "Race and Social Justice Initiative - RSJI | Seattle.Gov," accessed March 23, 2021, https://www.seattle.gov/rsji.
8 "Seattle Municipal Art Plan" (Seattle Office of Arts and Culture, 2016), https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Arts/Downloads/Arts-Plans/2016MAPFINALCorrected.pdf.

Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History."[9] The book examines how social and spatial components contribute to a historical understanding of place over time. Much of this is accomplished through storytelling, public history, public art, and urban preservation. On the subject of public art, Hayden confidently states that "no public art can succeed in enhancing the social meaning of place without a solid base of historical research and community support."[10] In Hayden's understanding of effective public art implementation, the community is central to its development. In other words, the art must be meaningful in order to actively contribute to placemaking. What Hayden does not address is whether the public art must go through sanctioned processes in order to achieve this, but the implication is that it would not matter if the art was sanctioned or not - it simply needs to be authentic and representative of urban history.

Some of the literature focuses more closely on case studies that link placemaking and community art projects. Anne Mulvey and Irene Egan (2015) focused on a set of 15 temporary women-led and community driven art pieces in Lowell, MA, which is a unique place with women's history relating to the Lowell textile mill workers.[11] Given this history and connection to women and feminism, it is a unique narrative of social justice art development that challenges dominant cultural norms. In this way, the art projects became a way to express collective storytelling. The article breaks down 15 years of themed art projects by highlighting four specific years on the following topics: context and theme, outreach and publicity, the art and the exhibit, indices of success, and viewer's response. The authors conclude that a shared goal and theme led to a strong community bonding experience where participants increased their sense of belonging. Another case study

9 Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995).
10 Dolores Hayden, in *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), 75.
11 Anne Mulvey and Irene M. Egan, "Women Creating Public Art and Community, 2000-2014," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 55, no. 1–2 (March 2015): 115–27, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-014-9689-4.

analysis from authors Elizabeth Thomas, et al. (2015) seeks to identify connections between community placemaking and the arts in Memphis, TN.[12] The researchers observe the possibilities and challenges of community-based art for inclusive community building and creative placemaking by focusing on an arts organization and a neighborhood revitalization project. They found that more intentional work in developing art ideas from the community and the people are extremely important when considering programming. It is clear from these two cases that a top-down approach that is heavily rooted in community engagement is a common tactic for incorporating more authentic public art projects into the public realm to reach the overarching goal of placemaking.

Henry Zhang et al. (2018) conducted a quantitative study, not frequently seen in the literature, that examined how community members perceive their outdoor environment with their sense of place.[13] The authors surveyed public housing residents in Taiwan and performed regression analyses against the data to find correlations between satisfaction of public outdoor space and sense of place, and community participation. The results found several significant relationships worth noting, including that small-scale features were associated with higher levels of place attachment, social interaction, and community participation. This research shows that planners have flexibility with the scale of the interventions they implement, and smaller public art pieces could be one avenue to achieve a stronger sense of place.

The literature connecting protest art and placemaking is not quite as strong as the literature discussing sanctioned public art projects or creative placemaking tactics. Author Arielle Brown discusses protest movements in public space as a way to reclaim space for

12 Elizabeth Thomas, Sarah Pate, and Anna Ranson, "The Crosstown Initiative: Art, Community, and Placemaking in Memphis," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 55, no. 1 (March 1, 2015): 74–88, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-014-9691-x.
13 Heng Zhang, Rodney H. Matsuoka, and Yu-Jan Huang, "How Do Community Planning Features Affect the Place Relationship of Residents? An Investigation of Place Attachment, Social Interaction, and Community Participation," *Sustainability* 10, no. 8 (August 2018): 2726, https://doi.org/10.3390/su10082726.

the Black community in a 2017 article.[14] The performance art pieces highlighted in this article are examples of strong protest statements in response to increased attention to instances of excessive police force. Brown emphasizes the powerful meaning behind taking to the streets to protest in public by stating that "our resistance in public is therefore a counter-cultural creative act."[15] There are many opportunities for arts and community organizations to support this form of protest art in the public realm including forming creative coalitions, funding public research initiatives, commissioning local artists, and operating artist residency programs. Brown concludes that "Black site-specific performance and community-based performance projects have the capacity to deeply engage current residents in communal witnessing and disruptive encounters to facilitate radical social transformation."[16] This is a strong statement linking performance protest art pieces and community building and placemaking.

Graffiti and placemaking are connected in a few instances in the literature, though the focus is on all types of graffiti and not protest art specifically. Authors Usingarawe, Tsoriyo, and Chirisa speak on the connection between graffiti and placemaking in Zimbabwe.[17] This chapter illustrates that the benefits of graffiti include increasing social connectivity within neighborhoods, voicing the unheard, and improving the public realm. The authors propose policy solutions including reshaping the legal framework of graffiti, engaging the business and property-owning community to embrace and fund graffiti art, and linking graffiti art with other placemaking tactics. There is a clear connection between urban placemaking and graffiti art that could be better supported in Zimbabwean public

14 Arielle Julia Brown, "Listening to the Land/Playing off the Crowd: Black Public Performance Interventions in Artmaking and Placemaking," *Public Art Dialogue* 7, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 230–41, https://doi.org/10.1080/21502552.2017.1343613.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Geraldine Usingarawe, Wendy Tsoriyo, and Innocent Chirisa, "Urban Graffiti: Epitome of Place-Making, Property Value Enhancement or Socio-Political Resistance," in *Aspects of Real Estate Theory and Practice in Zimbabwe* (Langaa RPCIG, 2019).

spaces, though much of the discussion on this topic could be applied elsewhere, including Seattle. Additionally, the authors recognize that there could be potential support for graffiti art in the real estate market, so long as the art is considered legitimate and not nuisance graffiti.

Further discussion on the significance of graffiti shows how difficult it is to define. Dovey et al. describe the debate over graffiti as either a form of contemporary street art or vandalism, recognizing the unique and challenging place it holds as either meaningful art or criminal activity.[18] This debate folds into the larger discussion regarding urban informality, which refers to the practices seen in urban spaces that are not sanctioned or planned but instead appear to fill roles that are not covered by legal or established routes. As such, many examples of urban informality are not addressed in an official sense and can be easily overlooked in planning processes. The researchers embrace graffiti and seek to understand the role it plays in placemaking, neighborhood identity, and how it contributes to "symbolic capital." The researchers focus on the role graffiti plays in Melbourne,Australia, which has a reputation for embracing graffiti as part of the city's identity, though this is not the formal stance of Melbourne's political leadership which denounced graffiti as a tourist attraction in 2008. The author breaks down the various forms of graffiti in Melbourne and highlights the unique balance graffiti writers find between location, risk, and visibility, as graffiti is meant to be seen. Graffiti writers also consider the various built form characteristics of their chosen location in order to achieve longevity with their pieces. In this regard, legal ownership of the location is not always the first consideration for where an artist chooses to place their art. The research briefly touches on how graffiti contributes to urban character, acknowledging that there is no one definition for this measurement.

18 Kim Dovey, Simon Wollan, and Ian Woodcock, "Placing Graffiti: Creating and Contesting Character in Inner-City Melbourne," *Journal of Urban Design* 17, no. 1 (February 2012): 21–41, https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809.2011.646248.

Generally, the researchers found that positive responses to graffiti are associated with location and artistic quality. The authors conclude that "graffiti is produced from intersecting and often conflicting desires to create or protect urban character and place identity."[19] Additionally, the authors admit that policy does not protect graffiti and that "graffiti cannot be fully defined or preserved without becoming purified and killed; a quality it shares with urban character and place identity."[20] A key takeaway from this research is that graffiti and neighborhood identity will always linger between informality and criminalization and that any adjustments to this balance will likely affect the perceptions of the art form.

There is limited literature specific to the Seattle area, though there are two important pieces of literature that discuss the evolution of neighborhood planning in the city. In the 2004 book *Neighbor Power: Building Community the Seattle Way* author Jim Diers explores community building and organizing at the neighborhood level.[21] The book details the roots of Seattle's Department of Neighborhoods, of which Diers was appointed the first director and served for 14 years under three mayoral administrations. The book chronicles the many successful strategies Diers implemented during his tenure at the city including the P-Patch community gardening program and the Neighborhood Matching Program, which provides funding for community self-help projects. Diers makes the compelling argument that neighborhoods thrive when they work together to build creative and involved communities. There is a clear message here that neighborhoods serve as powerful sources of wellbeing and belonging, and planners should be learning from the lessons Diers outlines. Author Carmen Sirianni offers an additional perspective to the community placemaking debate in a 2007 article that examines democratic neighborhood planning

19 Dovey, Wollan, and Woodcock, "Placing Graffiti."
20 Ibid.
21 Jim Diers, *Neighbor Power: Building Community the Seattle Way* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

in Seattle.[22] Sirianni approached this research with the understanding that neighborhood planning is historically tricky and can "other" people and become very exclusive, ultimately being ineffective. This is especially true in Seattle where neighborhood planning was prioritized in the 90s during the time that Diers was leading the charge, then centralized in the early aughts, and is now making a resurgence once again. The researchers aimed to analyze the way that government officials can interact with neighborhood leaders and residents to democratically and collaboratively improve their neighborhoods.

The literature reflects how difficult it is to come to concrete conclusions regarding the best approach to placemaking. Nonetheless, there are demonstrated avenues and tactics that show how placemaking can be achieved. Additionally, placemaking tactics are well-recognized and formalized approach to urban design that engages public art, but protest art is not necessarily included in this practice. There are clear gaps in the literature connecting protest art specifically to placemaking. The closest connections of these two topics focus on graffiti art, which tends to include protest art in addition to other types of street art. This thesis will contribute to the literature by connecting placemaking and protest art explicitly, while framing them within the context of Seattle and neighborhood planning. Embracing neighborhood planning, particularly in Seattle, has shown strong success in the past and may be worth dedicating more attention in the future.

2.2 Protest Art

Art in the built environment cannot be classified equally, and there are clear differences in the way that art is treated depending on its origin and purpose. From a broad perspective, public art is seen as the art in public space and visible in public space. It encompasses both sanctioned and unsanctioned art, and it can take many forms. Examples may include permanent sculptures, temporary installations, murals, advertisements, or

22 Carmen Sirianni, "Neighborhood Planning as Collaborative Democratic Design," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 73, no. 4 (December 31, 2007): 373–87, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944360708978519.

graffiti, among others. Graffiti is often seen in our public spaces as there is little barrier to entry. It is inexpensive, easy to access, and the canvas can be any exterior surface. The following literature reveals the complex nature of how art is treated differently, and explores the question: what is protest art, exactly?

The Tate defines activist art as "art that is grounded in the act of 'doing' and addresses political or social issues."[23] To build on this, it is important to understand why protest art is created and what purpose it serves. As the literature shows, oftentimes protest art is a reflection of collective frustration. It can be a way for disenfranchised community members to engage in the public realm, especially if they do not otherwise have a powerful role in decision making for their communities or are not involved in public participation. Protest art can be both a provocative expression before an issue has become widespread or it can be protesting something that has already occurred. It is also noteworthy that much protest art is anti-government art, which makes its role as unsanctioned art even riskier for the artist.

Descriptions of protest art in the literature are focused on street art that is highly locationally specific. Articles and books on protest art movements focus on the Arab Spring, Russia, Latin America, South Africa, and Ireland. These areas have experienced significant trauma in terms of protest movements on the streets of cities. In a 2017 essay on art that developed out of the Arab Spring, author Saphinaz Amal Naguib describes how street art in Egypt transitioned from being mainly used for advertising on public facades pre-uprising to expressions of protest during and after the Arab Spring.[24] In a separate article, author Pedro Buendia describes the significant contribution to the socio-political discussion across the Middle East and North Africa, with many anonymous artists and activists taking to the

23 Tate, "Activist Art – Art Term," Tate, accessed April 23, 2021, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/a/activist-art.
24 Saphinaz Amal Naguib, "Engaged Ephemeral Art: Street Art and the Egyptian Arab Spring," *The Journal of Transcultural Studies* 7, no. 2 (2016): 53–88, https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.ts.2016.2.23590.

walls to communicate their opinions on the political situation of numerous Arab nations.[25] Naguib describes how protest art from the Arab Spring grew from precedents in hip hop culture in western countries, particularly New York City in the 1970s. A unique new form of art, "calligraffiti," combines the expression of social unrest with a more traditional form of street art seen in Egypt. In this way, protest art blends with traditional forms of public art to create a unique definition of protest art highly specific to Egypt. The art that developed out of this movement was as much an expression of political sentiment as it was a method of communication alongside social media channels that mobilized the movement.

These days, a particularly sharp piece of protest art will draw crowds of social media photographers, art critics, and gawkers. The works of Banksy, an anonymous protest street artist whose works can be seen around the world, are some of the most famous examples of protest art. Banksy comments on a variety of political topics including environmental, geopolitical, and labor, among others. The artist, a Bristol native, has chosen to remain anonymous to avoid the legal ramifications of his work, which in most instances is considered illegal graffiti subject to prosecution as a crime.[26] Today we look at protest art in a positive light, praising brave artists for speaking out on injustices and instigating discussion and change. But protest art, which many will reduce to "tagging," has not always been well received.

Starting in the 1970s and throughout the 1990s, New York City saw an increase in graffiti in the built environment – on subways, bus stops, building facades, and almost anywhere exposed to high foot traffic. Many New Yorkers saw this as a representation of increased crime and the overall crumbling of urbanism. Leaders also listened to the objections by business owners against graffiti art, despite the fact that this art form was a

25 Pedro Buendia, "Urban Art, Public Space, and Political Subversion: The Egyptian Revolution through Graffiti," *Regions and Cohesion* 2, no. 3 (December 22, 2012): 84–118, https://doi.org/10.3167/reco.2012.020306.
26 Peter N. Salib, "The Law of Banksy: Who Owns Street Art?," *The University of Chicago Law Review* 82, no. 4 (2015): 2293–2328.

significant cultural expression of the time and served to create a meaningful experience for much of New York City's youth.[27] In 1972, city council president Sanford Garelick went so far as to declare a war on graffiti as an example of visual pollution.[28] In the 1990s under Mayor Rudy Giuliani's administration, New York created the Anti-Graffiti Task Force by executive order to address the growing art form.[29] It was one of the hallmarks of his support of "broken windows" policing, which punishes minor crimes as if they are stepping stones to more serious offenses. He also led the program Graffiti Free NYC which created a direct line of communication between private property owners and the police to report graffiti.[30] The "broken windows" psychological theory refers to the thinking that punishment of low-level infractions such as broken windows, graffiti, and jaywalking lead to a reduction of incidences of serious crime including homicide, rape, and armed robbery.[31] Though there is no clear evidence of this relationship existing, many city policies still heavily criminalize these sorts of crimes.[32] In actuality, Broken Windows Theory is highly associated with abusive and discriminatory police practices, especially against communities of color and low-income communities.[33] It is a top-down approach that manifests in seemingly high rates of misdemeanor offenses committed by people of color. Though it is epitomized by 1990s New York City, these policies permeated throughout the United States and are still in

27 Maggie Dickinson, "The Making of Space, Race and Place: New York City's War on Graffiti, 1970—the Present," *Critique of Anthropology* 28, no. 1 (March 1, 2008): 27–45, https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X07086556.
28 Maggie Dickinson, "The Making of Space, Race and Place: New York City's War on Graffiti, 1970—the Present," *Critique of Anthropology* 28, no. 1 (March 1, 2008): 27–45, https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X07086556.
29 Daisy Alioto, "How Graffiti Became Gentrified," *The New Republic,* June 19, 2019, https://newrepublic.com/article/154220/graffiti-became-gentrified.
30 Daisy Alioto, "How Graffiti Became Gentrified," *The New Republic,* June 19, 2019, https://newrepublic.com/article/154220/graffiti-became-gentrified.
31 Brandon C. Welsh, Anthony A. Braga, and Gerben J. N. Bruinsma, "Reimagining Broken Windows: From Theory to Policy," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 52, no. 4 (July 1, 2015): 447–63, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427815581399.
32 Brandon C. Welsh, Anthony A. Braga, and Gerben J. N. Bruinsma, "Reimagining Broken Windows: From Theory to Policy," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 52, no. 4 (July 1, 2015): 447–63, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427815581399.
33 Brandon C. Welsh, Anthony A. Braga, and Gerben J. N. Bruinsma, "Reimagining Broken Windows: From Theory to Policy," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 52, no. 4 (July 1, 2015): 447–63, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427815581399.

place in most major cities. After years of selective enforcement of these policies, which are largely ignored in wealthier White communities, instances of police brutality and calls for police reform have exploded.

All of this came to a head after the murder of George Floyd at the hands of Officer Derek Chauvin during a stop for using a suspected counterfeit bill to make a purchase in Minneapolis, MN on May 25, 2020.[34] In response to yet another civilian death, the country erupted in protest movements including marches, murals, and community calls for police reform. It is clear that the effects of Broken Windows Theory and the subsequent poor relationship between the Black community and the Seattle Police Department is one of the primary reasons the Capitol Hill Occupied Protest was based in the area surrounding the Seattle Police Department East Precinct building. This significant protest movement and the art that developed out of it are highlighted in detail in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

There is some discussion in the literature on the success of public art based on artist intent. Using public art as context, researchers Luca Visconti et al. (2010) conducted an ethnography to examine how consumers extract meaning from public space. The article discusses the many intersections between private and public space, and how they can be exploited by the market. The authors note that public goods are not often attended to by consumer research, and that it is still a good that can be measured. Additionally, the authors delve into how street art can be reflective of neighborhood sentiment in an extremely authentic way. In this regard, artist intent is important for gauging whether the art is successful. Self-serving, meaningless art is not positively received, but creative resistance art is seen as being a welcome addition to public space.

Recently there has been more dedication to deconstructing the role that unsanctioned urbanism practices fit into our larger understanding of communities and the

34 The New York Times, "What to Know About the Death of George Floyd in Minneapolis," *The New York Times,* March 23, 2021, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/article/george-floyd.html.

built environment. Graffiti and other forms of protest art encompass a large part of this discussion, but terms such as DIY urbanism, tactical urbanism, guerilla urbanism, refer to a wide variety of practices. Tactical urbanism is described in a 2015 book by authors Mike Lydon, Anthony Garcia, and Andres Duany.[35] Authors Bishop and Williams write about the "temporary city" in their 2012 book, which refers to an experimentation with less regulated, looser planning practices.[36] Many of these experiments intend to improve our urban environments when there is seemingly a lack of attention or failure from the formalized processes of the government. Do-it-yourself urban design grew out of frustration from the community that problems were not being addressed and that the community could fix these issues more quickly and effectively than the city could.[37] Jeffrey Hou (2010) describes how citizens are reclaiming the public domain to include "self-made" spaces in addition to the typical parks, plazas, and streets. In many cases, marginalized communities are the forces behind this redefinition of public space, as many communities do not feel accepted or represented in the traditional sense of public space. In this informal understanding of public space, temporary events or experiences can also constitute expression in public space. Protesters frequently challenge the definition of public space, with the CHOP in Seattle being a key example of how public space was reclaimed in a do-it-yourself manner.

2.3 Funding

From a top-down level, public art tends to be a target for funding cuts due to controversy over cost or content of the art.[38] National organizations like the National Endowment for the Arts have received criticism for their choices in art selection and funding, and more recently have gone through budget cuts that threaten programs to

35 Mike Lydon, Anthony Garcia, and Andres Duany, *Tactical Urbanism* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2015), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/washington/detail.action?docID=4505133.
36 Bishop, Peter, and Williams, Lesley. *The Temporary City*. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.
37 Gordon C. C. Douglas, "Do-It-Yourself Urban Design: The Social Practice of Informal 'Improvement' Through Unauthorized Alteration," *City & Community* 13, no. 1 (2014): 5–25, https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12029.
38 Dana Michael Harsell, "My Taxes Paid for That?! Or Why the Past Is Prologue for Public Arts Funding," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 46, no. 1 (January 2013): 74–80, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096512001266.

support public art. Similar statewide or even city funding organizations have received increased scrutiny as lawmakers look at how to balance budgets. However, there is ample research to support that the arts are a viable economic opportunity for cities, and the creative sector contributes significantly to the economy.[39]

Funding of public art projects is frequently discussed in the literature from a public administration and policy perspective. Dana Harsell's article *My Taxes Paid for That?! Or Why the Past is Prologue for Public Arts Funding* (2013) illustrates policy issues surrounding funding public art.[40] The author explains how the United States has a decentralized approach to arts and culture policy, which leads to more states and local agencies cutting funding for arts and leaving them without federal protections. That, in addition to frequent public scrutiny and a tendency for Americans to lower taxes at all costs, has led to a dramatic decrease in public arts funding in recent history. But this loss in funding also corresponds to a loss in social capital, which creates bonds and connections to community.

The US runs into many issues with public arts funding as there are many interpretations about what the government can fund – and therefore promote ideologically. Lewis et al. in the article *A Question of Morality: Artists' Values and Public Funding for the Arts* (2005) explain that the "culture wars" of the late 1980s led to a backlash against the NEA.[41] Congress typically tries to distance itself from any arts decision making by delegating much of the decision making process to local artists and arts councils. However, the backlash cannot get in the way of artistic freedom. The authors argue that some amount of controversy is necessary to protect that freedom and save the arts.

In a 2020 white paper, authors Gadwa and Markusen examine the NEA and

39 Gadwa and Markusen, "Creative Placemaking."
40 Dana Michael Harsell, "My Taxes Paid for That?! Or Why the Past Is Prologue for Public Arts Funding," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 46, no. 1 (January 2013): 74–80, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096512001266.
41 Gregory B. Lewis and Arthur C. Brooks, "A Question of Morality: Artists' Values and Public Funding for the Arts," *Public Administration Review* 65, no. 1 (2005): 8–17.

ArtPlace's *Our Town* initiative that linked public art to placemaking.[42] The authors take a broad look from budget cuts in the 1990s, to economic implications in the early 2000s, and finally to the *Our Town* initiative of 2011. They offer analysis of policies, their rationales, and implementation. The authors describe that it is difficult to measure the contribution of the arts in economic terms, especially in a cost benefit analysis, as much of their contribution is not measurable in this way. Ultimately, in taxpayer funded arts initiatives, it is important to be able to demonstrate contributions and outcomes, which can be very difficult with creative projects. The authors conclude in declaring that the NEA should not be defunded, and the arts are still an important policy objective.

Art has also been linked to anti-gentrification tactics, though it is unclear how successful this approach is. With an increased interest in indigenous art as part of community revitalization projects, authors Teréz Szőke and Kate Parizeau (2019) conducted a case study analysis to understand how community-led public art was implemented in an area of Vancouver, BC to combat gentrification.[43] The findings of this article show how difficult it is to use public art and community support to slow market developments and gentrification. Ideally, more support and funding for such projects would make them more viable.

To better understand how the community engages with protest art, we must also understand what constitutes public space and the public realm. Public space can be interpreted widely but is generally thought of as the area that anyone can occupy, including streets, parks, plazas, and publicly owned natural areas.[44] Prominent Danish urban designer and theorist Jan Gehl defines public space as the space and life between

42 Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa Nicodemus, "Arts and The City: Policy and Its Implementation," *Built Environment* 46, no. 2 (May 14, 2020): 22–38, https://doi.org/10.2148/benv.46.2.182.
43 Teréz Szőke and Kate Parizeau, "Community-Based Public Art and Gentrification in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver," *GeoHumanities* 5, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 157–77, https://doi.org/10.1080/2373566X.2018.1543554.
44 Xuefan Zhang and Yanling He, "What Makes Public Space Public? The Chaos of Public Space Definitions and a New Epistemological Approach," *Administration & Society* 52, no. 5 (May 1, 2020): 749–70, https://doi.org/10.1177/0095399719852897.

buildings, discussed in his 1987 book "Life Between Buildings."[45] These are the places where people interact and connect freely. Of course, there are limitations to the behaviors allowed in public spaces, and public safety regulations do provide some boundaries as to what is permitted. There are also privately owned public spaces, such as malls and plazas that are technically on private property – the latter is frequently seen in the South Lake Union neighborhood of Seattle. Despite this ambiguity, many communities develop strong connections to place and with each other through the built environment regardless of ownership of the space in which interactions occur. Many times, this is developed through the expression of protest art on building facades of private property. Though it can be argued that the art is public, as many people will see it from the public realm, issues arise due to the fact that it is placed on private property. This can create tension between property owners, artists, and the public. Ownership of the art is not clear cut. Does the public have a right to art that is visible in the public realm, or does the property owner have all control over that space? Cathay Smith (2016) wrote about the relationship between public art and property rights.[46] The article is primarily a legal interpretation of the impact of destruction of public art, especially when landmarks are taken away because of their placement on private property. Smith explains some legal options, many underutilized, for preventing the destruction of public art on private property. The author concludes by arguing for legal protection of landmarks that trumps private property rights because of an artwork's strong connection to community identity, though recognizing that there are limits to this sort of intervention.

2.4 Conclusion

This thesis builds on the information and data gathered by the many authors and contributors who have studied placemaking and protest art. It is clear that both

45 Gehl, Jan, and Koch, Jo. *Life between Buildings: Using Public Space*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1987.
46 Cathay Y. N. Smith, "Community Rights to Public Art," *St. John's Law Review* 90, no. 2 (2016): 369–414.

researchers and government officials are beginning to better understand the importance of both placemaking and tactical urbanism through public art. The literature surrounding placemaking and protest art is not expansive, but there is still significant information that can inform further research. There is also quite a broad range of geographic knowledge on the subject, though more research in the pacific northwest or Seattle specifically would better inform the conclusions of this thesis.

Chapter 3 | Methods

3.1 Methods Overview and Framework

This thesis explores how protest art is currently treated and how it should be addressed in the future in the built environment in Seattle, WA by utilizing a qualitative research design. Through a close examination of key case studies and an analysis of policy backed by a thorough review of the literature, this thesis aims to better understand how protest art manifests in the built environment, how it relates to placemaking theory, and how urban planners and other government professionals can respond to this specific type of contemporary art. To accomplish this, I approached this research through three primary methods including archival research, field work, and interviews.

When considering how to approach the research design on the topic of protest art, it is important to select a theoretical framework that aligns with the subject. Given the understanding that art is a highly subjective field heavily influenced by the lived experience of its creators, it is appropriate to approach this subject with an understanding that human experience should be central to the research. Therefore, a qualitative research design with a constructivist worldview is able to integrate human and emotional data that would not be easily quantified in another research design. There is a strong focus on context, social, and historical understanding of a situation when a constructivist worldview is adopted.[1] This was critically important when considering the layers of social and cultural history that permeate Capitol Hill as a neighborhood and protest art as a topic. A constructivist worldview and qualitative research design lends itself to an inductive reasoning process that puts priority on gathering information before coming to conclusions. Additionally, the process was highly iterative in that the research was continually reassessed during the process to inform future data gathering and filling gaps that were necessary to have a

1 Michael Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process* (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1998).

complete understanding of the cases. The process of data collection and the conclusions gathered are both important parts of the research as a whole, and the researcher is equally interested in understanding the "why" when coming to conclusions based on the data.

3.2 Positionality

Because of this research design selection, the primary data-gathering instrument is the researcher. This can introduce ethical issues if the researcher is unable to separate themselves from the data since it is primarily interpretation of language. It is important to recognize and take steps to reduce researcher bias. However, using personal experience to guide the process of data collection can also be a factor in selecting a research question. I acknowledge that my role as the researcher and primary data collector will be influenced by my background. I have undergraduate degrees in public relations and history, and my introduction to urban planning and design began in 2019 as a Master of Urban Planning student. Previously, I worked as a fundraising professional in museum membership at an art museum in Houston, Texas. Though I have worked adjacent to art in an administrative capacity, I am not an artist or curator. I am not nor have I ever been a resident of Capitol Hill, Seattle, though I lived in a neighborhood in Houston (Montrose) that could be described as facing many similar pressures as Capitol Hill. Montrose, Houston is a historically LGBTQ+ neighborhood that led many of the early fights for LGBTQ+ issues in the mid-to-late 20th century. It has since become a target for gentrification and displacement due to its reputation as a trendy residential area, popular nightlife destinations, and proximity to downtown Houston. The neighborhood struggles with a loss of identity as the area is rapidly redeveloping, and there is a movement to protect the existing community from being displaced further. Examples of protest art, graffiti, and street art are common in this area and are a contributing factor to how the neighborhood is perceived. These experiences and my connection to a neighborhood facing many of the

same external forces as Capitol Hill may inflict bias on my research, though I will take the necessary steps to reduce this bias.

3.3 Methods Approach

To build a thorough case study and policy analysis, I conducted my research from three approaches: archival research, first-hand field work, and interviews. News articles constitute the bulk of information that I reference in the case studies, as both case studies are highly publicized. In the case of the CHOP, there are numerous local news articles that include fine details of the events, in addition to national articles that look at the event in the context of the wider Black Lives Matter movement and the Summer of Racial Reckoning, as it is already being referenced. Some of the local publications referenced include The Seattle Times, The Stranger, Crosscut, Capitol Hill Seattle Blog, Seattle P-I, and MyNorthwest. It is important to note that some of these publications have political leanings, and as such should be cross-referenced in order to gather a holistic point of view on the subject matter. Feature articles that contain more editorial narration are also referenced, with the same understanding that opinion pieces typically take a political stance. Photography included in this thesis is used with permission from the photographers and credited, with the exception of John Criscitello's artworks. Photography of Criscitello's pieces was taken from his personal website on May 20, 2021 and is used without permission, as I was unable to contact him.

The archival research is supplemented with first-hand field work and integration of my own experiences viewing the art. Taking the necessary Covid-19 precautions including wearing a mask and staying outdoors, I was able to visit the study area to gain a better understanding of the cases and seek out the protest art that is still remaining. Before I began work on this thesis, I visited the CHOP as a spectator, which gives me an understanding of the context to the protest art that developed from the event. Because I

have limited photos from my visit to the CHOP, I also collected photos from my peers in the MUP program. I posted an announcement on the MUP Slack workspace calling for photo submissions. Additionally, I generated a graphic to post on social media, namely Instagram, for others to share. Figure 3.1 shows the graphic that I created to gather photos. This was effective, and I was able to collect numerous high quality images from my peers Caleb Diehl and Art Lansing that are included in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

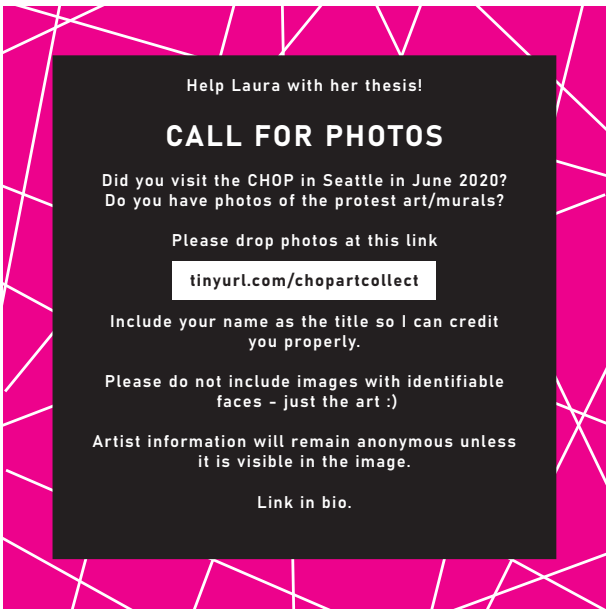

Figure 3.1 Call to action for photo submission.

I gathered additional information through interviews with key officials in the Office of Arts and Culture, including Randy Engstrom, who headed the department from 2012-2021, and Kristen Ramirez, who serves as a liaison between ARTS and SDOT. These subjects were chosen in order to better understand the critical role that ARTS played in the response to the CHOP and to better understand public art policy in the City of Seattle. Though I was only able to interview two individuals, these interviews served to fill in gaps of my archival research collection from secondary sources. My goal was to focus on the quality of the information they provided and not to gather interview data

from more sources less familiar with my thesis topic. Particularly in the case of the CHOP, there was much media attention and conflicting information that circulated as the media attempted to cover the day-to-day changes of the situation. My interview with Randy Engstrom helped to clarify that information and my analysis is enhanced by his viewpoint. Importantly, these interviews were critical in gaining perspective on the relationship between ARTS and the community, which is interestingly more positive than other city departments. These interviews were also necessary to understand how the city reacted in real time to an exceptional situation, where the actions that occurred did not follow any formalized process or precedent. The information they provided gave insight into the real decision making processes that go into a complex situation, and this is information that would not otherwise be at my disposal. I was connected to these two members of city leadership through my own academic and professional connections, which helped in securing consent. I have included direct quotes from Randy Engstrom, to which he verbally consented. The information provided by Kristen Ramirez is integrated into my policy analysis without taking direct quotes. The interviews were conducted via video conferencing (Zoom) and email in February 2021, in order to reduce any unnecessary exposure to Covid-19. I have included a copy of the interview questions in the appendix.

3.4 Study Area

Both case studies are located within the Capitol Hill and Pike/Pine neighborhoods, which allows for a better understanding of the area as a background to both cases. Though primarily focusing on the Pike/Pine commercial heart of the area, the political commentary of the protest art can be extrapolated to the larger Capitol Hill area and some of the Central District. For clarity and simplification, this thesis refers to Capitol Hill and Pike/Pine together as Capitol Hill, as it is colloquially referred to and frequently blurred together. It is important to understand contextually the role that neighborhoods

have played in the planning and development of Seattle. Heavily dependent on direction from mayoral administrations, Seattle has gone back and forth between focusing on decentralized neighborhood planning and taking a more centralized approach of planning citywide. Currently, The Department of Neighborhoods (DON) and The Office of Planning and Community Development (OPCD) work separately though cooperatively to achieve many of the same goals of engaging the community, developing the built environment, and planning for the future.[2,3] Mayoral administrations have taken different approaches to determining the best way to integrate the roles and responsibilities of these two departments, and they have been reinvented numerous times since the 1990s, especially after Washington State adopted the Growth Management Act in 1990 and the first Seattle comprehensive plan was adopted in 1994. The city approved and published 38 separate neighborhood plans in 1998 with varying goals, objectives, and policies, as neighborhoods in Seattle have strong identities and operate as independent communities. However, administrative changes led to a more centralized approach that is now housed in the Office of Planning and Community Development. Neighborhood plans, which were created independently and did not coordinate, were folded back into the city's comprehensive plan to indicate a new focus on unity and growth together. The city is currently working under the direction of *Seattle 2035*, the most recent comprehensive plan adopted in 2015 and updated in 2020. The Seattle comprehensive plan aligns with the regional plan *Vision 2050*, produced by the Puget Sound Regional Council (PSRC), the metropolitan planning organization that oversees the entire Puget Sound region. Understanding the layered planning structure and fragmented history of neighborhood planning is one of the primary reasons that Capitol Hill was selected as the case study location in order to narrow the

2 "About Us - OPCD | Seattle.Gov," accessed February 15, 2021, https://www.seattle.gov/opcd/about-us.
3 "About Us - Neighborhoods | Seattle.Gov," accessed February 15, 2021, https://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/about-us.

scope of this thesis.

The case studies detailed in Chapter 4 of this thesis were chosen because of their relevance to Capitol Hill, neighborhood identity, urban design, and policy. John Criscitello's art on gentrification and displacement were not part of a purposeful exhibition or series, and the pieces ranged in size and location. The time period for these pieces was over the course of many years, as opposed to the CHOP which was installed, run, and dismantled within a month. The CHOP was a more organized and collective approach to protest art, not limited to one artist but instead collectively organized around a shared national movement. Both case studies are located within the Pike/Pine neighborhood, though their commentary relates to the greater Capitol Hill neighborhood.

3.5 Policy Analysis

Finally, the research is framed to encourage planners to enact meaningful change by way of policy. Policy, though not the only necessary component of good planning, is the primary way that planning is implemented. As such, policy is the basis for future decisions and planning practices. It is codified, supported by elected officials, and meant to be representative of the wants and needs of the community – though that is arguably not always the case, which is why consistent policy review is a necessary part of a city's responsibilities. I elected to conduct a policy analysis that primarily focused on reading through local policy enacted by the City of Seattle. Local policy addresses the type of art in my case studies more explicitly than any state or national policies. I looked both at municipal code, which is openly available online, and I referred to arts plans developed by the city that are also published online for anyone to review. Additionally, I referred to the city's other major plans including the comprehensive plan which is available online.

3.6 Literature Review

The literature review places my case study and policy research into the context

of the larger discussion of my main topic areas. It was conducted primarily through the University of Washington Library system, Google Scholar, and through recommendations from my advisors and peers. I focused my literature review on the following key areas of research highlighted in my research questions: placemaking, protest art, neighborhood identity, tactical urbanism, and public art policy. Within these broad topics, I searched specific terms relating to my case studies to better understand their context. Some examples of search terms I used in my search include: “tactical urbanism,” “public art,” “protest art,” “graffiti art,” “community identity,” “placemaking,” among other terms. In order to find the best information, I typically selected peer-reviewed academic journal articles or published books. After finding a relevant article, I consulted the reference section to widen my search and find other similar articles. This allowed me to find several articles that were highly relevant and complemented each other. I continued this process until I found enough literature to be able to form reasonable conclusions about the discussion regarding my topic area.

Chapter 4 | Case Studies

This thesis focuses on two instances of protest art in the built environment that contribute to a sense of neighborhood identity. John Criscitello's anti-gentrification protest artwork and the artwork that developed out of the CHOP in June 2020 are both unique examples of protest art that communicate a strong message through visual media. Though these cases appeared in the same area of Seattle, they differ in terms of temporal framework, size and shape, artist(s), purpose, and longevity, among other factors. Notably, these examples highlight the unique role that protest art has in shaping and retaining the identity of the greater Capitol Hill area.

Collectively, these case studies reveal how protest art is embraced by Capitol Hill residents. Residents have come to expect to see political and social commentary on the streets. It makes the neighborhood feel grittier, more real, and engaged with community sentiment. Oftentimes new development lacks personality and depth. New buildings do not integrate well into the existing feel of the neighborhood which creates a disconnect between the built environment and the community. Street art helps to fill this void by adding a layer of nuance to the area that deepens and strengthens connection to community. Individually, each case explores more than just protest. Criscitello's pieces are indicative of a cultural shift due to significant changes in the built environment. The CHOP demonstrates the area's dedication to protest movements and strong political leanings. The CHOP also illustrates the relationship between residents and city officials, with residents taking a strong-arm approach to enacting permanent change on the built environment while bypassing typical processes. The cases also demonstrate differences in temporal framework, with Criscitello's pieces intentionally meant to be temporary and constantly revolving and the Black Lives Matter street mural meant to become a permanent part of the neighborhood.

The cases also differ in terms of scale, with Criscitello's pieces focused on localized issues and the CHOP a part of a larger national movement. Criscitello's art comments on the specific changes that are occurring in Capitol Hill as a result of gentrification and the influx of tech workers. Though there are many neighborhoods experiencing similar issues in other cities, Criscitello makes no attempt to nationalize his commentary. The CHOP organizers mostly focus on the national movement with Black Lives Matter and George Floyd imagery. Still, there is a localized element to the CHOP as well, and some memorials were dedicated to local residents who were victims of excessive force.

There are also differences in actual scale of the art. The street mural is best appreciated from a bird's eye perspective, though this is not a natural way to take in our built environment. In this way, the mural is a strong statement that takes up a large piece of physical space in the public realm. Criscitello's pieces on the other hand are best witnessed up close as a pedestrian, and they are somewhat unexpected. Regardless, it is notable that these two instances of protest art flourished in the same very small area despite communicating very different messages. Another significant difference in the messaging is the role of inclusivity and exclusivity that the pieces are expressing. The Black Lives Matter mural is meant to be an inclusive message, implying that the Black community is welcome here. Criscitello's pieces provide a more exclusive perspective, implying that some folks are not welcome.

4.1 Introduction to the Study Area

This study area fits into the larger context of Seattle and the Puget Sound region as it is a highly imageable area with a distinct reputation and identity. It is also centrally located with direct access to downtown Seattle, and it is serviced by a light rail station that connects the area to the larger region. Its unique location and history make Capitol Hill one of Seattle's most recognizable boroughs and a cultural anchor. Figure 4.1 shows

The Study Area

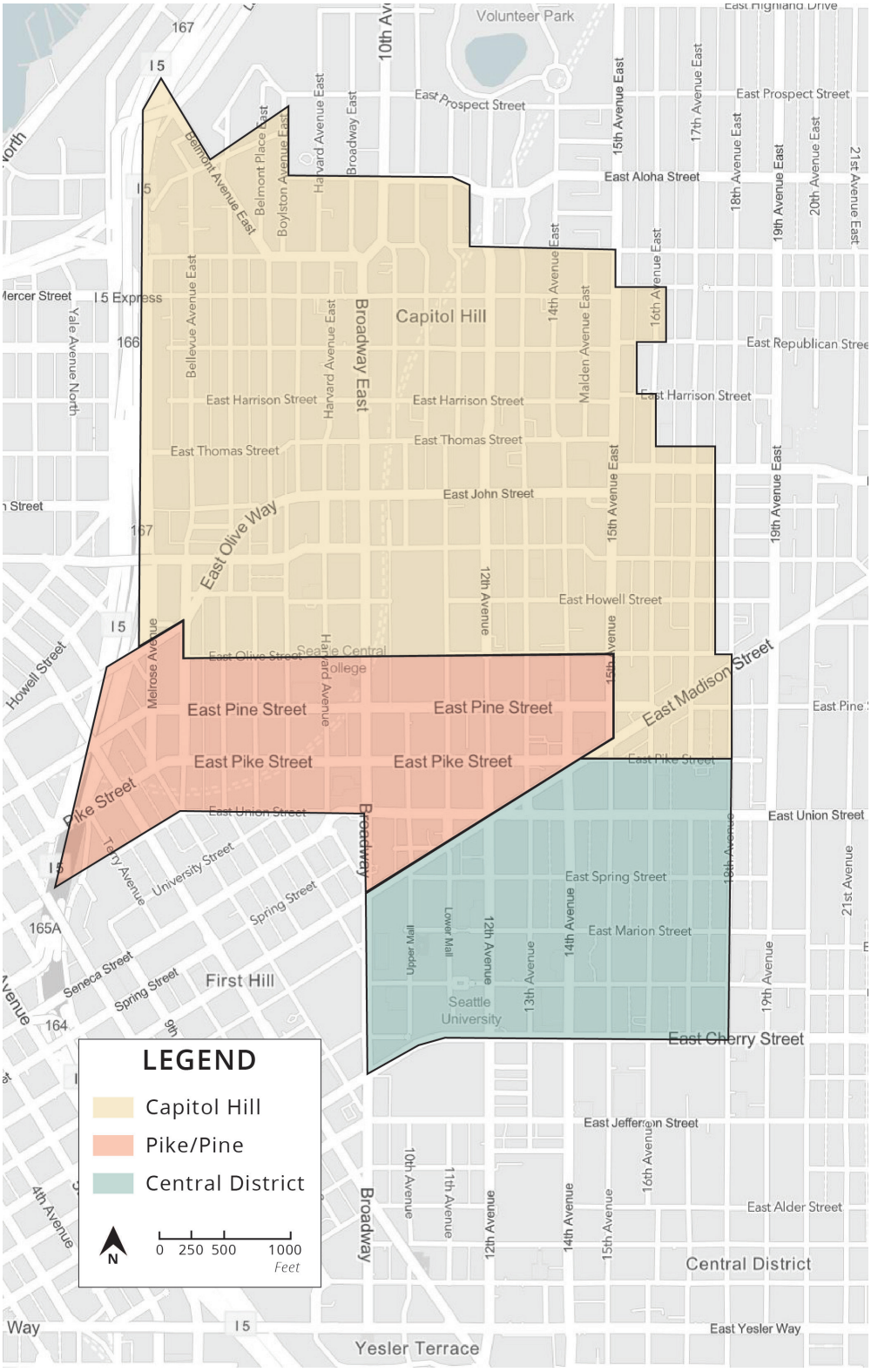

Figure 4.1 The study area sits at the intersection of Capitol Hill, Pike/Pine, and the Central District.

The Study Area in Context with Seattle

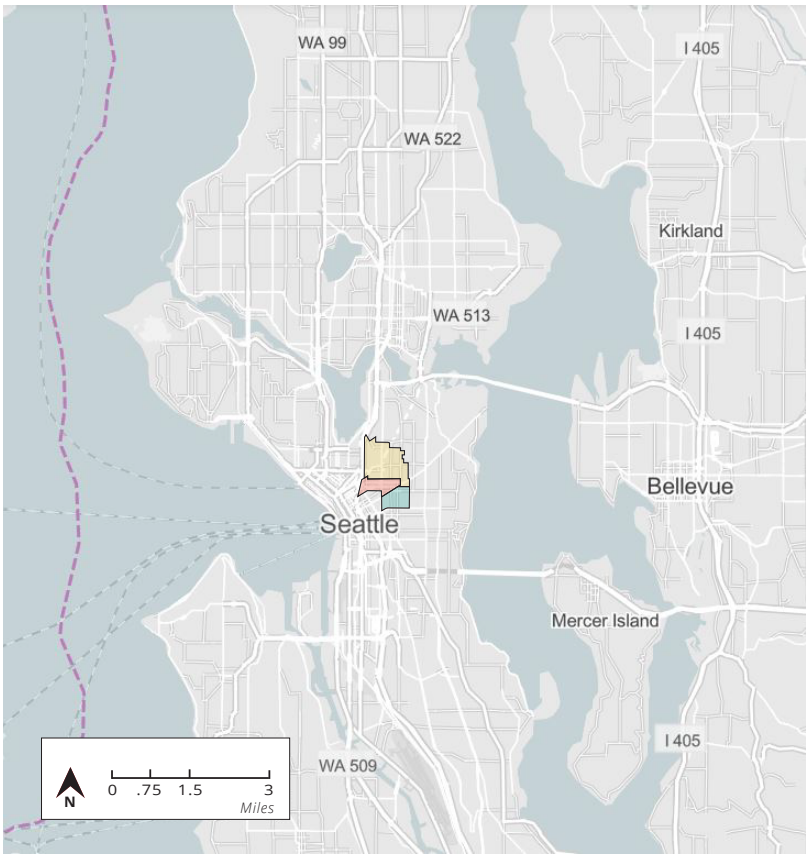

Figure 4.2 The study area is in central Seattle, just east of downtown.

the study area for this thesis, which includes the boundaries for the Pike/Pine and Capitol Hill neighborhoods, as defined by *Seattle 2035*, and a selection of the Central District. The Central District, also referred to as the Central Area, covers a large part of east Seattle and has its own strong neighborhood identity. As such, only a small portion of the Central District that typically blurs boundaries with Pike/Pine and Capitol Hill is included in the study area.

The Pike/Pine neighborhood is the commercial and cultural core of the study area, with the majority of the roughly 35 block neighborhood comprised of mixed-use retail and

residential buildings.[1] Recent development has added new structures to the neighborhood, though there are also many older buildings and a mix of design styles. It is notably one of the city's densest areas with pedestrian activity, sidewalk activation, and frequent transit access.[2] The area is well known for its eclectic mix of bars and nightclubs, music venues, restaurants, coffee shops, trendy retail, vintage and thrift stores, and tattoo parlors. Though many communities have called this area home over the years, Pike/Pine gained recognition for its role as the hub of the gay rights movement from the 1960s to the 1980s.[3] In the 1990s, Pike/Pine and the wider Capitol Hill neighborhood gained national recognition for its role as the center of grunge music. Residents of the area tend to be younger, though racially it is comparable to the rest of the city.[4] Gentrification and redevelopment in recent years has led to a high turnover in both residential and commercial occupants, though there have been more recent efforts to preserve the cultural legacy of the built environment.

Capitol Hill to the north of Pike/Pine is primarily a residential area, with a diverse mix of housing options and building types. There are many mid-rise structures, multifamily complexes, some historic single-family homes, duplexes and fourplexes, as well as townhomes, to name a few of the prominent building types visible in the area. Though similar to Pike/Pine in many of the same cultural qualities, the neighborhood reads a bit slower and quieter. Broadway, which runs north/south, is the commercial core of the neighborhood, and it connects to the Capitol Hill light rail station. Cal Anderson Park (figure 4.3) serves as an important bridge between the residential sector of Capitol Hill and the more bustling commercial core in Pike/Pine. Parts of Capitol Hill are more affluent,

1 Manish Chalana, "Balancing History and Development in Seattle's Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation District," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 82, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 182–84, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2015.1136566.
2 Chalana, "Balancing History and Development in Seattle's Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation District."
3 John Caldbick, "Seattle Neighborhoods: Capitol Hill, Part 2 -- Thumbnail History," June 3, 2011, https://www.historylink.org/File/9841.
4 Chalana, "Balancing History and Development in Seattle's Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation District."

Figure 4.3 Cal Anderson Park is a cherished neighborhood greenspace and gathering area.
LAURA NAUERT

particularly to the north, and Volunteer Park signals a transition into the wealthy Montlake neighborhood.

The Central District is a large area with many subdistricts that stretches from the eastern edge of First Hill to the edge of Lake Washington Boulevard. A small portion is included in the study area for this analysis as it is frequently blended with Capitol Hill and Pike/Pine and faces many of the same issues. The Central District is a historically Black neighborhood with a vibrant community and culture distinct from the rest of the city. Historic redlining shaped the history and cultural development of the area, and it served as an important meeting place for civil rights leaders and the fight for equal justice.[5] However, today the area's Black population is rapidly declining, alarming longtime residents. In 2019 the Central District's Black population was projected to make up less than 20% of residents, down from 73% in 1970.[6] Though this rich history is not the focus of this thesis, the case studies will show how Capitol Hill and the Central District together have played important

5 Mary T. Henry, "Seattle Neighborhoods: Central Area -- Thumbnail History," March 10, 2001, https://www.historylink.org/File/3079.
6 Gene Balk "Historically Black Central District Could Be Less than 10% Black in a Decade," The Seattle Times, May 26, 2015, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/data/historically-black-central-district-could-be-less-than-10-black-in-a-decade/.

roles in fighting for justice for marginalized communities.

Though neighborhood identity in Capitol Hill and Pike/Pine have been shaped by many factors, it is notably the hub of Seattle's lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer community (LGBTQ+), and the neighborhood has historically been a place that embraced countercultural movements.[7] In the 1950s and 1960s, Seattle's LGBTQ+ community moved away from the Pioneer Square area to Pike/Pine and Capitol Hill. With this transition developed a new neighborhood identity that rested on tolerance, acceptance, diversity, and counterculture.[8] In 1969, the Dorian House was the first organization to open its doors as a center to provide counseling and employment services to the gay community.[9] This would be followed by many organizations aimed at supporting the LGBTQ+ community, contributing significantly to the area's role as a safe space for a marginalized community. Additionally, the Pride Parade marched along Broadway for 25 years until moving to downtown Seattle in 2006. These are just a few examples of how Capitol Hill has solidified its identity as a tolerant and diverse neighborhood where everyone is welcomed.[10]

Visitors to the neighborhood will see many visual indicators of this identity. The city painted rainbow crosswalks at various intersections along E Pike Street and E Pine Street in June 2015 to celebrate the queer history of the neighborhood.[11] Though originally intended to be a temporary installation, they have become staples in the neighborhood and were restored in 2019.[12] Notably, Cal Anderson Park was renamed in 2005 to honor the state's

7 Caldbick, "Seattle Neighborhoods."
8 Ibid.
9 Greg Lange, "Dorian House, Pioneering Gay Counseling Service, Opens in Seattle on July 7, 1969. - HistoryLink.Org," March 13, 2003, https://historylink.org/File/5408.
10 Caldbick, "Seattle Neighborhoods."
11 jseattle, "Mayor Murray Set to Unveil 'Rainbow Crosswalks on Capitol Hill' — UPDATE: Unveiled!," CHS Capitol Hill Seattle, June 22, 2015, https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2015/06/mayor-murray-set-to-unveil-rainbow-crosswalks-on-capitol-hill/.
12 "CHS Pics | Rainbows Restored in Pike/Pine," CHS Capitol Hill Seattle, June 5, 2019, https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2019/06/chs-pics-rainbows-restored-in-pike-pine/.

Figure 4.4 A woman walks across a rainbow crosswalk at the intersection of E Pike St and 11th Ave in Pike/Pine. LAURA NAUERT

first openly gay legislator who represented Capitol Hill during his tenure.[13] A walk through the neighborhood is dotted with rainbow pride flags, Black Lives Matter signs, and signage denouncing hate or discrimination. Graffiti and mural art are visible throughout the area as well, highlighting Capitol Hill's prominence as an artistic center. But this identity is at risk due to gentrification, and in 2014-2015 an escalation of violence brought attention to rising intolerance in the neighborhood.

4.2 John Criscitello's Anti-Gentrification Art

John Criscitello (b.1967) is a mixed-media artist based in Seattle's Capitol Hill neighborhood. Though originally from New York, Criscitello has been working in Seattle since 2010, and has since become a neighborhood activist and artistic leader. Criscitello's artwork plays upon a wide range of varying themes, though this thesis will focus on his

13 David Wilma, "Cal Anderson Becomes Washington," March 13, 2003, https://www.historylink.org/File/5407.

work that comments on "gentrification and homogenization of urban life."[14] Some of Criscitello's best known work is his public art and street art pieces that passersby may see on building facades or city electrical boxes. He does not embrace the term "street art" and has instead labeled his pieces as "public art without a review."[15]

It is clear through Criscitello's straightforward messaging that he is frustrated. It is also clear that these frustrations are not just his own, but that Criscitello is speaking for the many longtime Capitol Hill residents that are growing weary of bearing witness to constant cultural change. What is unclear is who holds blame for the frustration. Some pieces bear an almost aggressive and accusatory tone that places blame on new residents. In other pieces, it is clear that the frustration is aimed at developers who build luxury apartment complexes with little to no character. Sometimes the blame is placed directly onto Amazon, which serves as a catch all for tech companies and the influx of "tech bros." Importantly,

Figure 4.5 John Criscitello poses with two of his artworks in 2015. AMELIA BATES

14 John Criscitello, "John Criscitello," accessed May 12, 2021, https://johncriscitello.com/home.html.
15 Casey Jaywork, "On the Streets of the Capitol Hill Arts District, 'Contemporary Artists' and the Woo! Girl Creator," CHS Capitol Hill Seattle, November 14, 2014, https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2014/11/the-woo-girl/.

Criscitello's protest art is being used as a communication tool, and it is a reflection of community-wide sentiment. To fully understand John Criscitello's art, we must dig deeper into the root cause of the frustration: gentrification.

With renewed interest in urban living and urbanization, American cities are experiencing a level of change that threatens the social and cultural fabric of their identities.[16] Gentrification is a frequently discussed topic that elicits strong reactions from longtime residents of urban neighborhoods who are seeing their communities change rapidly and seemingly uncontrollably. Neighborhoods and communities of color are particularly vulnerable to gentrification, which not only threatens the built environment but also the demographic makeup of the area.[17] Displacement of these community members and the subsequent influx of new residents creates a gap between the historic and cultural identity of a place and the people who are currently occupying it. Though the understanding that cities are constantly evolving is not a new concern, if left unchecked this change can erase decades of work done to build community identity and placemaking in urban spaces. This can affect the mental health and wellbeing of residents, as well as measures of livability, which are important goals for urban planners.[18]

In Seattle, gentrification and cultural placemaking are at odds with each other. Seattle has been one of the fastest growing cities in the United States for a decade now.[19] This influx of new residents corresponds with development patterns that are increasing the cost of living in many neighborhoods, and there are rising concerns of displacement

16 Carl Grodach, Nicole Foster, and James Murdoch III, "Gentrification and the Artistic Dividend: The Role of the Arts in Neighborhood Change," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 80, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 21–35, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2014.928584.
17 Jackelyn Hwang and Lei Ding, "Unequal Displacement: Gentrification, Racial Stratification, and Residential Destinations in Philadelphia," *American Journal of Sociology,* n.d., 53.
18 Sarah French et al., "Sense of Community and Its Association With the Neighborhood Built Environment," *Environment and Behavior* 46, no. 6 (August 1, 2014): 677–97, https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916512469098.
19 Gene Balk, "Seattle Drops out of Top 5 for Growth among Major U.S. Cities; Here Are the New Leaders," The Seattle Times, May 21, 2020, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/data/census-seattle-drops-out-of-top-5-for-growth-among-major-u-s-cities/.

of longtime community members.[20] In the decade between 2010 and 2020, the city's population increased by 136,000 – a staggering 22% increase in a decade.[21] This can be compared to an increase of just 116,000 over the course of the previous 30 years (1980-2010).[22] There were also changes in the ethnoracial makeup of the city and suburban areas. In a 2018 study on gentrification relating to light rail development, areas with light rail access closer to the inner city saw increases in White residents between 1980 and 2014, whereas similar suburban areas saw increases in minority residents.[23] Additionally, data from the Cost of Living Index shows that prices have increased significantly, with Seattle claiming the sixth highest cost of living among large US cities in 2018 – up from the 35th spot just six years earlier.[24] Many of these changes are associated with the influx of tech workers and the rise of the tech industry between 2010 and 2020, and the title "software developer" became the metro area's number one job title in 2019.[25] This corresponds with an increase in Seattle's median household income, which was over $100,000 in 2019.[26] The city has many programs and policies dedicated to tackling these complex issues, though there is still a significant amount of responsibility placed on community members and community groups to mitigate the effects.

In Capitol Hill, gentrification is visible in the built environment. New mid-rise developments and ubiquitous "five-over-ones" lack charm and utilize an architectural style that could be seen not just anywhere in Seattle, but anywhere in the United

20 Gene Balk, "The Decade in Demographics: Top 5 Changes in the Seattle Area," The Seattle Times, December 30, 2019, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/data/the-decade-in-demographics-seattles-top-5-changes/.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Chris L. Hess, "Light-Rail Investment in Seattle: Gentrification Pressures and Trends in Neighborhood Ethnoracial Composition," *Urban Affairs Review* 56, no. 1 (January 1, 2020): 154–87, https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087418758959.
24 Balk, "The Decade in Demographics."
25 Ibid.
26 Gene Balk, "Seattle's Median Household Income Soars Past $100,000 — but Wealth Doesn't Reach All," The Seattle Times, September 25, 2020, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/data/seattles-median-income-soars-past-100000-but-wealth-doesnt-reach-all/.

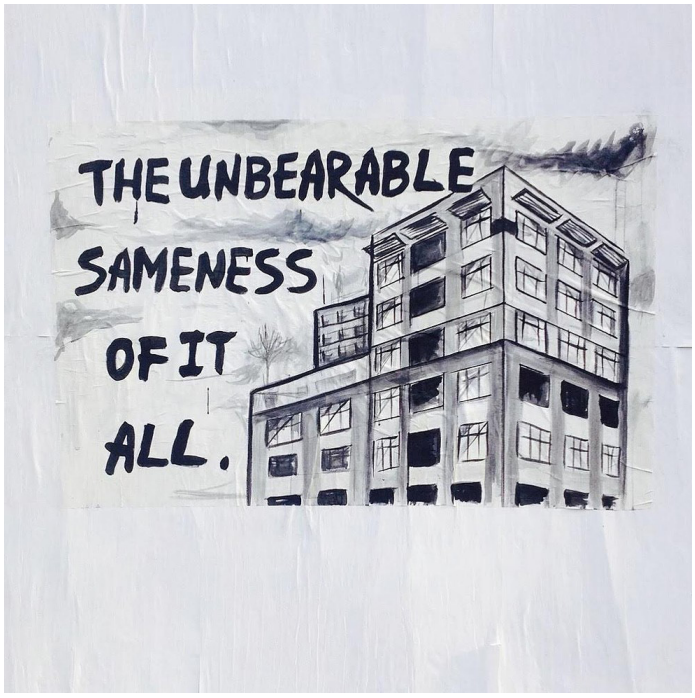

Figure 4.6 Criscitello's work often comments on architectural styles. JOHN CRISCITELLO

States. Criscitello laments this homogenization through his artwork, as seen in figure 4.6. Gentrification brings more change on a neighborhood than just new buildings, and the area was also experiencing a culture shift. In 2014 and 2015, around the same time Criscitello began creating his public protest art, violence was on the rise in the neighborhood. Adé Cônnére, a prominent Seattle drag performer, was assaulted in Capitol Hill as she was leaving neighborhood landmark and gay bar Pony wearing a dress.[27] The attack attracted attention as a hate crime, though Cônnére ultimately did not press charges. Regardless, the incident was indicative of a larger issue of rising bias incidents and a fear of the straightening of the gayborhood. The police precinct that covers Capitol Hill reported 35 bias incidents in 2014, and residents were becoming fearful of the rising homophobic sentiment.[28] Four years on in 2018, the Northwest Network Pink Shield Project

27 Tricia Romano, "Cultures Clash as Gentrification Engulfs Capitol Hill," The Seattle Times, March 13, 2015, https://www.seattletimes.com/life/lifestyle/culture-clash-on-capitol-hill/.
28 Tricia Romano, "Cultures Clash as Gentrification Engulfs Capitol Hill," The Seattle Times, March 13, 2015, https://www.seattletimes.com/life/lifestyle/culture-clash-on-capitol-hill/.

Figure 4.7 The "woo" girl is one of Criscitello's most recognizeable pieces. JOHN CRISCITELLO

Figure 4.8 Criscitello's "woo" girl on view on Pike Street in 2014. JOHN CRISCITELLO

hosted a neighborhood forum to continue discussing the rising tension and violence.[29] Participants lamented the gentrification and subsequent inequality that has led to an uptick in violence and policing, particularly against the LGBTQ+ population and people of color.[30] Research by Amin Ghaziani indicates that prominent gay neighborhoods across the country are losing LGBTQ+ residents. In his book *There Goes the Gayborhood?* Ghaziani provides commentary on the evolving nature of neighborhoods that originally provided a safe space for sexual minorities.[31] Though these places are losing that identity, Ghaziani argues that these neighborhoods still remain important places for sexual expression despite increased integration. Still, the tension in Capitol Hill is palpable. This is particularly true on weekend

29 Jake Goldstein-Street, "Forum Discusses Connections between Gentrification and Violence on Capitol Hill," CHS Capitol Hill Seattle, August 31, 2018, https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2018/08/forum-discusses-connections-between-gentrification-and-violence-on-capitol-hill/.
30 Goldstein-Street, "Forum Discusses Connections between Gentrification and Violence on Capitol Hill."
31 Amin Ghaziani, There Goes the Gayborhood?, Princeton Studies in Cultural Sociology (Princeton, New Jersey; Oxfordshire, England, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

nights when partygoers from other parts of the city descend on Capitol Hill's nightclub scene. Tension between the new "tech bro" and "woo girl" culture and longtime residents led to a number of visual expressions of frustration. Some bars posted signs in their windows expressing themselves as anti-homophobia spaces and the "we came here to get away from you" sentiment only further intensified. The "woo girl" characterization has become one of Criscitello's most recognizable pieces, as shown in figures 4.7 and 4.8.

Criscitello made headlines in Seattle when he began placing posters around the neighborhood in 2014. Residents across the city were shocked by the boldness and unabashed directness that pointed fingers in a way that is meant to make the targets of his art feel embarrassed and self-conscious. Though his art is a bit tongue and cheek, there is a very real and serious emotional meaning behind it which clearly resonated with

Figure 4.9 A typical piece by Criscitello is visible on electrical boxes. JOHN CRISCITELLO

many residents in the neighborhood given the positive response to his art. It feels as if he is speaking on behalf of the residents who are growing increasingly frustrated, as a peek at the comment section of any of the numerous articles written about his art will show.[32] The hostility between old timers and new residents combined with the onslaught of new developments is emotionally tiresome for many residents. In a 2015 interview with Capitol Hill based alternative newspaper The Stranger, Criscitello highlighted the emotional effect of gentrification:[33]

> **"The other part of this late-stage gentrification is that it creates a particular malaise. It makes people feel displaced and uncertain of their futures."**

The implication here is that gentrification will increase living costs to the point that moving is the only option, in what could be described as an economically forced eviction. This is the crux of gentrification – the displacement that coincides the phenomenon leads to real emotional damage. This creates a situation where neighborhood identity is lost and is difficult to revive. Despite being a goal for urban planners and designers to maintain neighborhood character, it is largely outweighed by the economic benefits of new development. Emotional benefits, as it turns out, do not earn profit. Criscitello continued to point out the difficulties small business owners face due to gentrification:[34]

32 Casey Jaywork, "On the Streets of the Capitol Hill Arts District, 'Contemporary Artists' and the Woo! Girl Creator," CHS Capitol Hill Seattle, November 14, 2014, https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2014/11/the-woo-girl/.
33 Kelly O, "The 'Woo Girls' Street Artist Is Not Hiding from Anyone," The Stranger, February 27, 2015, https://www.thestranger.com/features/feature/2015/02/27/21792732/the-woo-girls-street-artist-is-not-hiding-from-anyone.
34 O, "The 'Woo Girls' Street Artist Is Not Hiding from Anyone."

> **"It's also pretty obvious, when these fancy new buildings come in, that there's no way you, or I, or most people who were already living here could open up a new business—especially a business like a record or used clothing store or, heaven forbid, a new art gallery. In these new buildings, it's like $60 a square foot."**

Small businesses are often the casualties of new development. What replaces them is corporate chains that have the ability to pay a premium on commercial rent at a new development. Criscitello also points out how many of these new businesses are not engaging with the streets, and they lack a vibrancy that small businesses provide the landscape. One example is banks, which are often seen in new developments:[35]

> **"Who even goes to a brick-and-mortar bank anymore, anyway? Don't people just do banking online? You ever notice when you walk by these banks in the bottom of all these brand-new buildings, that there's nobody but employees in the lobby?"**

This statement rings true as new developments look to fill their ground floor retail spaces with entities such as banks, high end fitness studios, and leasing offices. Legacy businesses are slowly closing up shop completely or relocating to the next artist enclave – a

35 O, "The 'Woo Girls' Street Artist Is Not Hiding from Anyone."

cycle not unique to Capitol Hill, but nonetheless disheartening. The negativity associated with gentrification is more than just a resistance of new buildings and more housing. Most urban advocates would agree that more housing is good, and that newer buildings are needed to reach urban infill and density goals. The true problem is related to the timing, pricing, and subsequent displacement. There is a sentiment that things are just changing too quickly, and there is not enough time to catch up. Housing prices and commercial rents do not balance out, even when there is an abundance of luxury housing. Still, developers recognize that they can find tenants for these new developments, in the form of tech workers who are willing to pay a premium for amenities and location.

When considering the urban environment of Capitol Hill, it makes sense that Criscitello's art is concentrated in the Pike/Pine district where most of the pedestrian traffic is. Still, the feelings expressed through Criscitello's art are applicable to the larger study area. Despite regularly criticizing new developments, he has stated in interviews

Figure 4.10 A view of Criscitello's art at the corner of 12th Avenue and E Pike Street.
JOHN CRISCITELLO

that he chooses locations strategically so as not to be a vandal.[36] Speaking on his choice of locations, Criscitello stated:[37]

> **"I don't want to be a vandal, even though I would love to go up to one of these brand-new buildings and plaster it. But I won't do that. There are plenty of viable spaces."**

It is unclear what exactly Criscitello means by "viable spaces," though the implication is that this is property where either laws are unenforced, such as electrical boxes and corner-store building facades, or it is legal to post signage such as private businesses that have explicitly allowed it. Larger pieces will be placed with adhesive on private building facades that are frequently covered with posters. It is important to note that Criscitello works openly and does not remain anonymous. Though his work does serve as activism, the primary purpose of working openly is to drive traffic to his gallery where he works as a full-time artist.[38] This allows Criscitello to continue to live and work in the same neighborhood, despite rising costs of living.

Criscitello's work is recognizable in style, with a unique use of a mostly black and white color palette that relies heavily on line work. Occasionally, color is added to the imagery when necessary, such as adding an orange arrow when referencing Amazon. There is an understated humor to the art that makes you laugh, but also cringe and reflect on your role in the issue. The art relies heavily on words and phrases, which are distinctly concise and slightly aggressive or accusatory. Words are written in a large block typeface which makes it easily legible from a distance. He typically uses paint on paper which is then

36 O, "The 'Woo Girls' Street Artist Is Not Hiding from Anyone."
37 Ibid.
38 Jaywork, "On the Streets of the Capitol Hill Arts District, 'Contemporary Artists' and the Woo! Girl Creator."

Figure 4.11 Large, bold text is visible from a distance. JOHN CRISCITELLO

Figure 4.12 Criscitello frequently targets tech workers. JOHN CRISCITELLO

applied to the surface of a wall or electrical box with an adhesive glue. He has stated that he does not use wheat paste, which is a commonly utilized natural adhesive and style of sign posting in the street art community.[39] Notably, his work is not spray painted, which can leave a much more permanent mark on the surface and is difficult to remove by city officials, which may draw more attention to the questionable legality of his work.

Despite the hostility and occasional violence of the culture clashes in Capitol Hill, Criscitello wants you to know that the queer performers and artists of Capitol Hill are not victims. The piece "We Bash Back" (figure 4.13) is a message of strength and a show of unity for a community that has been harassed for decades. In a powerful collaboration, Criscitello joined with Adé Cônnére in a performance art piece with participants wearing

39 O, "The 'Woo Girls' Street Artist Is Not Hiding from Anyone."

Figure 4.13 We Bash Back is a powerful message of strength. JOHN CRISCITELLO

Figure 4.14 Adé Cônnére, center, participates in a performance art piece. JOHN CRISCITELLO

"still here, still queer" attire walking down the streets of Pike/Pine (figure 4.14).[40] In this way, his work serves to inform new residents of the history of the place they are inhabiting. In an interview with the Seattle Times, Criscitello criticizes his new neighbors by bringing an "unawareness of history" into the neighborhood.[41] This is a frustration shared by the many people who created an accepting, tolerant, and diverse neighborhood. What the artist laments in a loss of culture is also a loss of respect of the area's rich history.

Criscitello's protest art on the streets of Pike/Pine are a bold way to reclaim public space and community identity. The artist's proactive approach and risky practices reflect the thoughts and sentiments of longtime residents, and it is clear that urban planners and other city officials need to be paying attention. Though Criscitello's work does not attract the same amount of media attention in 2021 as it did in 2014-2015, the issues are still highly relevant and increasingly worsening. Further change in the neighborhood

40 John Criscitello, "John Criscitello – Public and Street Art," accessed May 16, 2021, https://johncriscitello.com/artwork/4676954.html.
41 Corinne Chin, "Culture Clash: 'We Came Here to Get Away from You,' Says Capitol Hill Art," The Seattle Times, March 13, 2015, https://www.seattletimes.com/photo-video/video/artists-message-to-woo-girls-in-capitol-hill-we-came-here-to-get-away-from-you/.

has contributed to more loss of community identity, despite the community's outspoken attitude and the attempts at preservation tactics by city officials. Additionally, the ripple effects of Covid-19 will need to be studied further to understand just how much identity was lost due to the pandemic. Regardless, it is important to recognize that the area is still a hub for freedom of expression, which allows Criscitello's work to be on display with little fear of repercussions from city officials.

4.3 Capitol Hill Organized Protest (CHOP) Art

In June 2020, exasperated Americans gathered in droves amid a global pandemic to protest another issue that kills scores of American citizens every year: police brutality and systemic racism. What initially began as protests against the death of George Floyd at the hands of four Minnesota police officers for an innocuous and nonviolent crime ascended into nationwide protests against racial injustice and police brutality. In nine minutes and 29 seconds, Derek Chauvin served as judge, jury, and executioner to the astonishment

Figure 4.15 A memorial for George Floyd spills out onto the sidewalk. ART LANSING

of witnesses, and video footage of the tragic event spread online in a matter of days.[42] Marches, candlelit vigils, looting, violent clashes with police, and artistic expressions of frustration erupted across the country in solidarity. Protesters expressed themselves in every way possible, which led to heated political discourse and clashes from both ends of the political spectrum. What emerged from the Summer of Racial Reckoning was a greater discourse on racial injustice and a demand for accountability in the US political system. Americans painfully reflected on past failings to protect and serve all residents, regardless of their identity.

Official data on police killings is limited and unreliable, with laws requiring police departments to report instances of police shootings widely unenforced.[43] A University of Washington and Cornell University study from 2018 indicates that police killings are

Figure 4.16 A sign at the entrance to the CHOP clearly communicates protester's demands. CALEB DIEHL

42 Eric Levenson, "Former Officer Knelt on George Floyd for 9 Minutes and 29 Seconds -- Not the Infamous 8:46," CNN, March 30, 2021, https://www.cnn.com/2021/03/29/us/george-floyd-timing-929-846/index.html.
43 James Bovard, "Under Four Presidents, the Feds Neglected Duty to Collect Statistics on Police Killings," USA TODAY, June 11, 2020, https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2020/06/11/george-floyd-police-killings-violence-neglected-federally-column/5320501002/.

CHOP Boundary and Landmarks

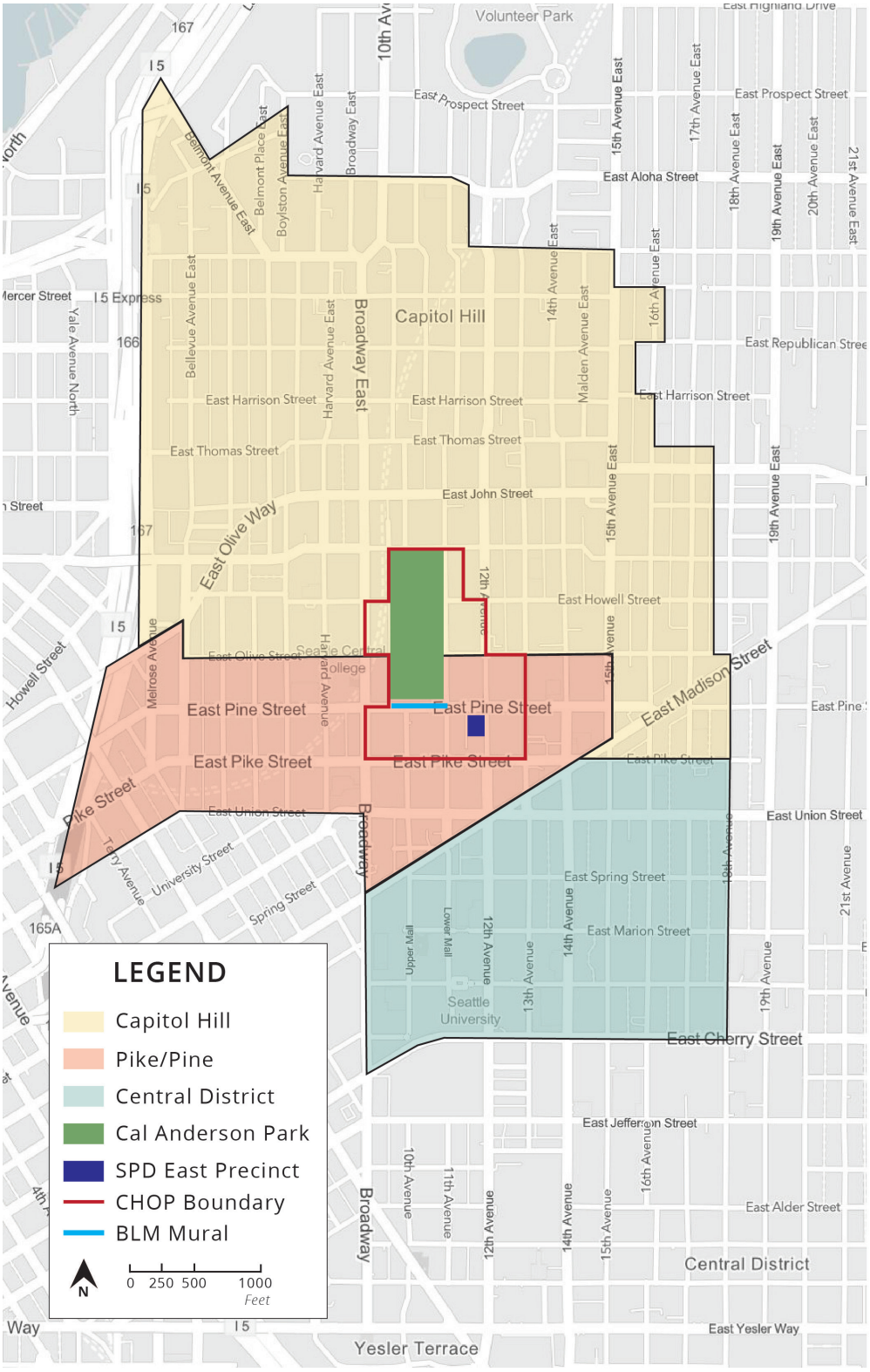

Figure 4.17 The SPD East Precinct building and Cal Anderson Park served as anchors and meeting points in the CHOP.

being seriously underreported, with nearly twice as many deaths as officially reported.[44] The research also shows that Black men are killed nearly three and a half times as often as White men. As a result of this underreporting, the media tends to bring attention to these police killings, and there is a sentiment that these incidents are ever increasing. Additionally, the rise of cell phone video recording capabilities has put these deaths into the spotlight, with undeniable evidence and shocking footage circulating on social media. These incidents do significant harm to police and community relationships, which is particularly true in Seattle.

In the aftermath of George Floyd's death, some urban centers became political battlegrounds and demonstrations spiraled into unforeseen territory. This is most evident in the emergence of the Capitol Hill Organized Protest or CHOP (originally named the

Figure 4.18 The Seattle Police Department East Precinct building became the focal point of Seattle's BLM protests. LAURA NAUERT

Figure 4.19 A view of protest art at the SPD East Precinct. ART LANSING

44 Frank Edwards, Michael H. Esposito, and Hedwig Lee, "Risk of Police-Involved Death by Race/Ethnicity and Place, United States, 2012–2018," *American Journal of Public Health* 108, no. 9 (September 2018): 1241–48, http://dx.doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2018.304559.

Figure 4.20 George Floyd was a central figure in many of the protest art pieces. ART LANSING

Figure 4.21 Signs and posters were stapled to wood boards. CALEB DIEHL

Capitol Hill Autonomous Zone) in Seattle which became a peaceful gathering space for protesters to express their frustration, create protest art, and mourn.[45] The CHOP was established on June 8, 2020 by a group of activists after eight days of continuous violent clashes between protesters and Seattle police at the East Precinct building in the heart of Pike/Pine. After receiving national media attention for the escalating violent response to protesters, Seattle police vacated the building and CHOP organizers blocked off a roughly four block area, announcing that the newly constructed "autonomous zone" was police-free and self-governed. Street barricades physically separated the CHOP from the surrounding area to prevent vehicular attacks, which were later reconfigured by the Seattle Department of Transportation to allow emergency vehicles access to the area. To avoid further violence, Mayor Jenny Durkan ordered police to stay away as elected officials listened to the

45 Becca Savransky, "How CHAZ Became CHOP: Seattle's Police-Free Zone Explained," seattlepi.com, June 15, 2020, https://www.seattlepi.com/seattlenews/article/What-is-CHOP-the-zone-in-Seattle-formed-by-15341281.php.

Figure 4.22 A "No Cop Co-op" offered free food and featured protest signage. CALEB DIEHL

Figure 4.23 Some protest graffiti was more permanent than others. ART LANSING

protesters' demands.

In Seattle, it is only fitting that this concentration of political discourse occurred within the bounds of the Capitol Hill neighborhood. Mayor Durkan visited the CHOP a week after it was established and commented that Capitol Hill has always been "autonomous," describing a strong community identity tied to countercultural movements and political activism.[46] In fact, it is notable that the CHOP manifested in the Capitol Hill neighborhood instead of the Central District, which has historically been the center of the fight for equal rights for Black Americans and contributed significantly to the Civil Rights Movement in Seattle. In this instance, protesters took aim at the Seattle Police Department's East Precinct building as police brutality became the focus of protests. This branch of Seattle

46 Savransky, "How CHAZ Became CHOP."

Clockwise from top left:

Figure 4.24 Artists in the process of painting the Black Lives Matter street mural. LAURA NAUERT

Figure 4.25 Visitors avoid stepping on the mural. CALEB DIEHL

Figure 4.26 The Black Lives Matter mural is now a part of the City of Seattle's permanent art collection. MEGAN FARMER

PD also serves a large part of east downtown, including both Capitol Hill and the Central District. Thus, the junction between nearby Cal Anderson Park and the East Precinct Building became a natural fit for the CHOP and the Black Lives Matter street mural.

Within the CHOP boundaries, protest art flourished. Expressions of frustration and anger manifested in a variety of artistic forms including murals, tagging, posters, zines, and stickers. Building facades and wood paneling, meant to protect the windows of businesses temporarily closed due to the pandemic, became canvases. A 16 artist collective now known as the Vivid Matter Collective painted the Black Lives Matter street mural on Pine Street just south of Cal Anderson Park.[47] The art collective was formed through this experience, though it has grown to be a successful collaborative group that supports artists of color.[48] Each artist approached the imagery in their letters from a unique and personal perspective. Their individual burgeoning careers took off as a result of the success of the mural, and the collective now holds a pop-up shop at a small retail space directly across from the mural and Cal Anderson Park. The park became a gathering space for activists to discuss steps moving forward and provide education about the Black Lives Matter movement. A "no cop co-op" offered free food to visitors (figure 4.22), and conversation corners sparked dialogue about how to address deep seated racism in American culture. Activists screened movies and set up booths for residents to write to elected officials.

Most of this protest art was meant to function temporarily as memorials, and all of it was unsanctioned. Taking cues from the national movement, Seattle protesters painted a Black Lives Matter street mural on E Pine Street that was widely photographed and shared online. BIPOC artists were chosen to paint each letter in their own style, and cones

47 Lewis Kamb, "How the Black Lives Matter Street Mural Came Together on Seattle's Capitol Hill," The Seattle Times, June 11, 2020, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/how-the-black-lives-matter-street-mural-came-together-on-seattles-capitol-hill/.
48 Margo Vansynghel, "16 Artists, 1 Message: Seattle's Black Lives Matter Mural a Year Later | Crosscut," June 2, 2021, https://crosscut.com/culture/2021/06/16-artists-1-message-seattles-black-lives-matter-mural-year-later.

surrounding the mural made it clear that this was not to be stepped on.[49] The mural was painted quickly without the intention of becoming permanent. However, some organizers did hope for the art to remain and become part of the City of Seattle's permanent collection. Notably, organizers contacted the City of Seattle's Office of Arts and Culture to discuss how a hand off might occur.[50] Former ARTS director Randy Engstrom spoke with me about the relationship between protesters and the city department, saying that the CHOP council reached out to ARTS because they are one of the city's most trusted departments. In September 2020, the Black Lives Matter street mural was repainted in a way that signaled its permanency with the financial support of the city.[51] In the time since Engstrom began as Director in 2012, ARTS made it an integral part of their mission to build strong relationships with the community. The department was not afraid to align with social issues, something that would not have happened even a decade earlier:

> **"We want to show up and advocate for artists of color. Ten years ago, I don't think we would have done what we did with the Black Lives Matter mural."**

Other murals and protest art pieces were created on the walls of the East Precinct building, particularly along the west wall facing the alley. There was internal coordination between the Mayor's office, SPD, and ARTS to determine whether or not these pieces could be considered art and should be maintained. At the very least, the city recognized the need to document the pieces, and the work was photographed. Engstrom acknowledges how difficult it is to build policy around this type of art, and he emphasizes that everything

49 Kamb, "How the Black Lives Matter Street Mural Came Together on Seattle's Capitol Hill."
50 Randy Engstrom, Public Art Interview, February 8, 2021.
51 Elise Takahama, "Artists Repaint Black Lives Matter Mural on Capitol Hill," The Seattle Times, October 4, 2020, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/artists-repaint-black-lives-matter-mural-on-capitol-hill/.

comes down to relationships:

> **"Trust is the highest form of currency for the government"**

The art itself was angry and accusatory – a reflection of the emotional turmoil many Americans feel about police brutality and use of excessive force. Some of the art was created by established community artists who bravely signed their names, but much of the art was anonymous. Pieces ranged in size and style, with some pieces more labor intensive than others. Words were integral to the messages of the art, in a way similar to John Criscitello's protest art. These pieces are strongly communicative, and memorials were highly specific. Though George Floyd was often the central image in many of the murals, names and faces of other police shooting victims keep their legacies alive and ensure that they do not fade away with history.

The CHOP came to an end on July 1, 2020 as criminal incidents within its boundaries highlighted the cracks of the almost utopian occupation.[52] Multiple murders and sexual assaults cracked the shiny veneer of the once peaceful protest, but still the message remained clear. In the months following the CHOP, many of the art pieces were removed and the neighborhood slowly went back to its pre-CHOP state. When police cleared the area, murals on plywood were taken away and are now currently sitting in storage with the Seattle Department of Transportation.[53] There are ongoing discussions about who owns the pieces and who should be able to collect, purchase, or sell them. Museums and community organizations have a clear interest in preserving this monumental public art movement, but the uncertainties have made it difficult to move forward with plans. What

52 Brendan Kiley et al., "Seattle Police Clear CHOP Protest Zone," The Seattle Times, July 1, 2020, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/seattle-police-clearing-chop-protest-zone/.
53 Margo Vansynghel, "Saving Seattle's Pandemic and Protest Murals | Crosscut," accessed May 17, 2021, https://crosscut.com/2020/07/saving-seattles-pandemic-and-protest-murals.

remains of the protest art on building facades is limited, though much of it is immortalized in photography.

The art that proliferated in the CHOP demonstrated a strong sense of anger at police and the larger police brutality issue. The messages depicted were messages of frustration and resentment of how the police treat the community. There is a healing aspect to the artwork and a need for the community to send a strong message to the city: the community has lost faith in the police department's ability to "protect and serve." Protest art sends a strong and peaceful message that change needs to occur. Calls to defund the police by 50% and convert the East Precinct building into a community center gained significant support among community members. Ultimately, former Seattle Police Chief Carmen Best was ousted as a result of police response to protests, and a measure to defund the police did pass with the support of city council members.[54] Still, the relationship between the community and police is as fraught as ever, and it will take time and significant change from within to establish trust again.

54 Daniel Beekman, "Seattle Police Chief Carmen Best Says She Will Retire amid Protests, City Council Cuts," The Seattle Times, August 10, 2020, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/politics/seattle-police-chief-carmen-best-may-retire-amid-protests-city-council-cuts/.

Chapter 5 | Policy Analysis

As is clear from the case studies, Capitol Hill is a unique part of Seattle that has developed a strong identity and sense of place. It is a neighborhood where activism and individualism are encouraged and embraced, and residents will not let this identity fade away quietly despite many threatening external forces. Though Capitol Hill's reputation developed naturally over time, it is also the result of numerous policies and planning strategies that shaped the area's identity today. The following chapter analyzes some of the most notable policies relating to neighborhood identity and protest art in Capitol Hill.

5.1 Neighborhood Planning in Seattle

Seattle is a city of neighborhoods, and residents are proud of this identity. Neighborhood planning in Seattle reached peak support in the 90s, as communities reclaimed power over the decisions being made for their neighborhoods. This came after the city released its 1994 comprehensive plan *Towards a Sustainable Seattle*, which integrated Washington's 1990 Growth Management Act.[1] This landmark policy set urban growth boundaries and required population projections for municipalities across the state. *Towards a Sustainable Seattle* received pushback from neighborhood groups, as the authors did not engage in participatory planning with communities because of strong NIMBYism in the 1980s and a perceived tension between neighborhood groups and city council. The subsequent uproar from neighborhood planning advocates forced the city to respond by establishing a Neighborhood Planning Program in 1994 to improve the relationship between the city planning offices and individual communities. Additionally, city council established a Neighborhood Planning Office in the mayor's office. A separate Department of Neighborhoods was already established in 1988 and worked independently from these other endeavors. Jim Diers was the first director of the Department of Neighborhoods

1 Carmen Sirianni, "Neighborhood Planning as Collaborative Democratic Design," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 73, no. 4 (December 31, 2007): 373–87, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944360708978519.

and led the charge for 14 years. His insights into neighborhood planning are summarized in his book titled *Neighbor Power,* which indicates that participatory planning processes are essential to building community cohesion.[2] There is power in the small communities in which we live, and it is clear that Seattle's emphasis on building strong neighborhoods provides the framework for integrating protest art into community programs and policies.

Seattle has a strong mayor, which implies that approaches to citywide planning swing back and forth between centralized, with the focus on comprehensive plans, and decentralized, with the focus on neighborhood plans. In 2021, Seattle is back to a centralized approach to planning that puts less emphasis on neighborhood plans, though the Department of Neighborhoods is still active and works to support individual communities. Figure 5.1 describes the many layers to neighborhood planning and the long timelines that accompany a participatory planning process in the 90s.[3]

Years	Planning Phase	Major Activities
1994	Comprehensive plan	• City council approval • Neighborhood protest • NPO and process designed
1995	Neighborhood visioning	• NP groups established • NPO project managers and NP groups trained • Stakeholder analyses • Topical dialogues (land use, housing, open space, etc.) • Consultants
1996–1997 (varies by neighborhood)	Draft plan components	• Topical committees • Public forums • Surveys • Consultants • Components integrated
1997–1999 (varies by neighborhood)	Validation and approval	• Alternatives fair • Validation mailer • Validation meeting(s) • City council and department tours, review, approval
Post-1999	Implementation and update	• Bonds, levies • Departmental decentralization • Interdepartmental sector teams (IDTs) • Stewardship groups • DON used neighborhood development managers until budget cut in 2003, when duties shifted to district/ neighborhood service center coordinators

Figure 5.1 Timing of Seattle neighborhood planning (Carmen Sirianni, 2007).

2 Diers, *Neighbor Power*.
3 Sirianni, "Neighborhood Planning as Collaborative Democratic Design."

5.2 Comprehensive Planning

The city maintains a comprehensive plan, which is intended to guide future development and land use regulation. It is state mandated, and cities must update it regularly in order to receive state and federal funding. During Seattle's neighborhood planning boom in the 90s, many neighborhoods developed their own plans separate from the comprehensive plan. This proved to be disjointed and imbalanced, and the city phased out this arrangement. In the current comprehensive plan, *Seattle 2035*, individual neighborhoods are addressed with specific goals based on their unique needs.[4] In this way, neighborhoods still receive individual attention, but the emphasis is placed on how their goals fit into the larger citywide plan. The Seattle Office of Planning and Community Development is currently working on planning policies that support the city's "Urban Village" strategy. Urban Villages are similar to neighborhoods, with the focus on commercial districts and areas where infill development and increased density can occur.[5] The Capitol Hill study area sits within a large Urban Center, according to the city's future land use map and the comprehensive plan. This indicates that the area can expect further development and change over the next fifteen years as developers take advantage of new building incentives and allotments. This also means that gentrification and change will likely continue at a rapid pace, and placemaking may continue to suffer at its expense.

The comprehensive plan recognizes the deep importance of supporting arts in our public realm, noting that they "play a vital role in defining Seattle's sense of place and the character of its neighborhoods." Numerous policies in the Arts and Culture section of the plan, which applies to citywide initiatives, indicate the city's dedication to supporting sanctioned public art projects. As is expected, unsanctioned art is not mentioned in the policies of the plan. The goals for public art listed in the plan can be categorized into three

4 City of Seattle, "Seattle 2035 Comprehensive Plan," 2015, http://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/OPCD/OngoingInitiatives/SeattlesComprehensivePlan/CouncilAdopted2020.pdf.
5 City of Seattle, "Seattle 2035 Comprehensive Plan."

A Selection of Relevant Policies from *Seattle 2035*

Category	Policy ID	Policy
Arts & Culture	**AC 1.3**	Prioritize locations for new public art where it is desired by the community, can be accommodated safely, and will be enjoyed by many people in locations throughout the city.
Arts & Culture	**AC 1.5**	Strengthen the diversity of expression in public art to embrace a variety of artists, sites, disciplines, and media to fully reflect the cultural diversity of the city.
Arts & Culture	**AC 1.6**	Encourage public participation in the planning and implementation of public art projects.
Arts & Culture	**AC 4.9**	Create a toolkit, in partnership with City departments and communities, to assist communities in making their own art, music, and culture.
Arts & Culture	**AC 4.10**	Establish creative placemaking as part of local area planning.
Arts & Culture	**AC 4.11**	Encourage the creation of cultural spaces for informal gathering and recreation, especially in more densely populated urban centers and villages and in communities of color that lack cultural spaces.
Capitol Hill	**CH-P8**	Enhance and protect the character of the diverse residential districts.
Capitol Hill	**CH-P23**	Support arts and cultural activities as an integral part of community life.
Pike/Pine	**P/P-P1**	Strengthen the neighborhood's existing mixed-use character and identity by encouraging additional affordable and market-rate housing, exploring ways of supporting and promoting the independent, locally owned businesses, seeking increased opportunities for art-related facilities and activities, and encouraging a pedestrian-oriented environment.
Pike/Pine	**P/P-P5**	Collaborate with other organizations in the creation of an attractive, safe, clean, pedestrian-friendly environment in which businesses thrive.
Pike/Pine	**P/P-P14**	Promote community connections and cohesion by encouraging opportunities for people to come together, interact, support, and get to know each other and participate in a range of activities.
Pike/Pine	**P/P-P15**	Seek to improve communication between people, organizations, and communities dealing with human needs and human development issues.
Pike/Pine	**P/P-P39**	Promote the establishment of a community-based arts organization that would function in an integrated role with other Pike/Pine organizations and those in surrounding neighborhoods.
Pike/Pine	**P/P-P40**	Support and promote arts events and projects in the Pike/Pine neighborhood.

Figure 5.2 Policies from *Seattle 2035* regarding placemaking and protest art in the study area.

main themes:

1. Expand the city's civic art collection.
2. Engage the community in art selection, placement, and implementation.
3. Support artists of color and include BIPOC community members on selection panels.

Additionally, the plan addresses cultural space and placemaking, referencing creative placemaking as a way to bring vibrancy to a neighborhood. These goals are connected to community gathering spaces for the arts, and less associated with landmarks and public art pieces. The most relevant policies from the comprehensive plan relating to protest art are highlighted in figure 5.2. These goals and policies are meant to be applicable citywide, and policies specific to Capitol Hill and Pike/Pine are not as explicit when speaking on public art. Instead, the policies for these neighborhoods generally speak on protecting the character of these diverse areas.

5.3 Arts and Cultural Planning

> **The 1% for Art Ordinance**
> *20.32.010 Purpose*
> The City accepts a responsibility for expanding public experience with visual art. Such art has enabled people in all societies to better understand their communities and individual lives. Artists capable of creating art for public places must be encouraged and Seattle's standing as a regional leader in public art enhanced. A policy is therefore established to direct the inclusion of works of art in public works of the City.

Seattle has had a percent-for-art ordinance since 1973, one of the first of its kind in the US.[6] The 1% for Arts Funds states that one percent of eligible capital improvement

6 "Public Art - Arts | Seattle.Gov," accessed May 19, 2021, https://www.seattle.gov/arts/programs/public-art.

project funds is slated for public art projects – a strong commitment to the city's arts and cultural future. The city coordinates this program with the Race and Social Justice Initiative, another citywide measure that lays out a plan to achieve racial equity in city government.[7] Additionally, 4Culture is the cultural funding agency for arts and cultural projects in King County, which includes Seattle.[8] 4Culture supports the arts in a variety of methods, including providing grants to artists, artist groups, and arts organizations which are funded by taxpayer funds including lodging taxes and 1% for Art funds. Many murals have been funded by 4Culture, though these murals go through a permitting and design process before they are created. Seattle's permanent civic art collection is comprised of over 400 permanently installed pieces and 3,000 additional works, which are selected through a public process that includes input from community members, local artists, and arts advocates.[9]

Arts commissions are orchestrated through a public process that encourages the public's involvement. The Seattle Arts Commission is a 16 member group of arts advocates from a variety of backgrounds and interests that seeks to support arts engagement and policy in Seattle. Additionally, the Washington State Arts Commission serves a similar purpose and operates statewide. The 4Culture Board of Directors and advisory committees also work to select and nurture arts activities in King County. Though these are all great resources for public art, it is important to recognize their limitations. Namely, these advisory boards must operate within the realm of sanctioned art that goes through the necessary permitting process to be implemented. This means that unsanctioned art is not recognized or funded by government agencies.

As one of the primary departments that works with public space, the Seattle

7 "Race and Social Justice Initiative - RSJI | Seattle.Gov," accessed March 23, 2021, https://www.seattle.gov/rsji.
8 "About 4Culture," 4Culture, accessed May 19, 2021, https://www.4culture.org/about-4culture/.
9 "Public Art - Arts | Seattle.Gov."

Department of Transportation has significant influence over the art in our public realm. For this reason, it is extremely important that SDOT address how art is incorporated on the property it manages. SDOT operates a Vibrant Communities program that issues free permits for public space amenities including parklets, street furniture and decorations, neighborhood pole banners, signal box artwork, street murals, and right-of-way planting.[10] In conjunction with the Office of Arts and Culture, SDOT released an art plan in 2020 guiding the development of municipal arts projects in the future.[11] The last such report was compiled in 2005. The report was written by Art & Enhancements Project Manager and local Seattle artist Kristen Ramirez, who compiled the information after years of experience with project management for the city and a deep understanding of the working relationships between various city departments. This major step from SDOT and ARTS signals how important the arts are to the future of the city, and it is encouraging to see movement toward a stronger and more inclusive investment in public art. The plan begins with three immediately actionable recommendations to diversify and expand the city's approach to art and culture:

1. Decouple the 1% for Art from capital projects.
2. Revisit and rewrite the 1% for Art municipal ordinance to allow for all types of art-making.
3. Divert all 1% for Art funds to art investments in recovery from the dual public health crises of Covid-19 and racism.

The second actionable item might apply most directly to protest art, as there would need to be city support in recognizing protest art and other street art as legitimate community-developed art. Still, this is unlikely to occur given the nature of protest art, which typically comments on an issue with the government.

10 "Vibrant Communities - Transportation | Seattle.Gov," accessed June 6, 2021, http://www.seattle.gov/transportation/projects-and-programs/programs/public-space-management-programs/public-amenities.
11 Kristen Ramirez, "SDOT Art Plan," June 2020.

5.4 Historic Preservation and Neighborhood Conservation

Historic preservation is one of the strategies Seattle utilizes to keep our heritage and cultural landmarks in the built environment intact.[12] The Seattle Landmarks Preservation Board oversees the process of designating historic landmarks in Seattle, which must be at least 25 years old and meet additional criteria. Generally speaking, the proposed landmark must have some historical, political, or cultural significance associated with an event, movement, or architectural style. This designation is typically used for buildings but can also include objects or other structures. In Seattle, there are over 400 designated historic landmarks and eight historic districts. The study area does not currently sit within a historic district, which exposes vulnerabilities. However, historic districts are not the only way the built environment can be protected from unimpeded development and erasure of historic streetscapes.

The Pike/Pine neighborhood is one of Seattle's smallest designated neighborhoods, covering roughly 35 square blocks with land-use patterns and an urban form that is quite distinct from the surrounding area. In the early 20th century, the area was home to many automobile show rooms and related businesses, which is evident in the architecture of the remaining buildings.[13] In 2004, after the city rezoned the area for denser development, these buildings were put at risk, and many were demolished and redeveloped. Sensing the rapid destruction of architectural history and neighborhood character, the city-initiated plans to protect the area from unchecked development. Currently, Pike/Pine is the only designated "neighborhood conservation district" in Seattle, which is achieved through the implementation of an overlay zone and serves as an alternative to historic preservation. The purpose of this approach to maintaining neighborhood character is that an overlay

12 "Historic Preservation - Neighborhoods | Seattle.Gov," accessed May 19, 2021, https://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/programs-and-services/historic-preservation.
13 Chalana, "Balancing History and Development in Seattle's Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation District."

zone balances the wants of both planners and preservationists, who often have conflicting goals. Through this overlay zoning tactic, the city can require additional standards for future development and implement strict design regulations. The stated goals of this tactic are to:[14]

1. Encourage creative ways to preserve existing buildings
2. Support small businesses
3. Preserve neighborhood character

Focusing on this last goal, preserving neighborhood character, might be the most direct way to legitimize protest art in the area. Neighborhood character can be difficult to define, but public documentation of the process describes character as fitting into five categories: architecture, uses, culture, housing, and community of neighbors.[15] Supporters of the conservation district see an opportunity to preserve the neighborhood's diversity of people and uses by prioritizing arts-related and LGBTQ+ aligned businesses, nightlife, entertainment venues, and third places such as coffee shops. A diversity of housing options and a mix of service and retail businesses also serve the goals. To accomplish these goals, advocates argue for small-scale developments, diverse housing options (which can be supported by Floor Area Ratio amendments and other building incentives), and designation of landmarks. Art is frequently mentioned as a goal for supporting neighborhood character, implying that there is a desire for the area to remain artistic and gritty. There is even a recommendation to expand the definition art and encourage innovative use of materials to promote further development of community character. A call back to the Pike/Pine neighborhood vision in 2014 mentions a goal to have "a well-defined community

14 "Pike / Pine Conservation District - OPCD | Seattle.Gov," accessed May 6, 2021, https://www.seattle.gov/opcd/ongoing-initiatives/pike-pine-conservation-district.
15 Lund Consulting, "Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation Study Phase 1 Report: Neighborhood Character and Recommendations," September 2008, https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/OPCD/Ongoing-Initiatives/PikePineConservationDistrict/PikePineConservationStudyPhase1.pdf.

identity, including distinctive community gateways and many examples of public art."[16] This is still a priority for the neighborhood conservation district, though unsanctioned art is not differentiated from sanctioned works.

Much of the actual development in Pike/Pine after the overlay zone's implementation could be described as facadism. In this practice the look and feel of the original building are partially retained, though the building is still changed enough to be akin to demolition. Additionally, housing development and commercial rental spaces are still increasing in cost, which indicates a priority to retain aesthetic character over the real human communities that inhabit neighborhoods. It is not clear that this overlay zone has produced the intended results of maintaining neighborhood character, and planners should find additional ways to bolster its success.[17]

5.5 Arts and Cultural Districts

The City of Seattle launched the Arts and Cultural Districts program in 2014, with Capitol Hill as the first recognized district in the program.[18] There are currently four districts that boast the recognition, and the city plans to slowly roll out more districts. The program worked with the Seattle Office of Arts and Culture and the National Endowment for the Arts' *Our Town* initiative, which seeks to promote creative placemaking in communities. The goal of this designation is to "nurture and protect the presence of arts and culture in neighborhoods."[19] The city provides arts organizations with a Toolkit and outlines the various ways that arts can be enhanced in the neighborhood, including painted crosswalks, way-finding signage, pop up space activation, and parklets. Though it is seemingly a random assortment of tools, it is a step in the right direction to provide city-sanctioned

16 Lund Consulting, "Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation Study Phase 1 Report: Neighborhood Character and Recommendations."
17 Chalana, "Balancing History and Development in Seattle's Pike/Pine Neighborhood Conservation District."
18 "Arts & Cultural Districts - Arts | Seattle.Gov," accessed May 21, 2021, http://www.seattle.gov/arts/programs/cultural-space/arts-and-cultural-districts#capitolhill.
19 Ibid.

support. However, critics argue that it does not go far enough in ensuring that the arts are protected from gentrification and displacement.

5.6 Neighborhood Design Guidelines

> **Neighborhood Design Guidelines: Integrating Art**
>
> Use art to animate the pedestrian realm including blank walls, sidewalks, entrances, walkways, etc. Engage artists early in the design process to integrate art into the building design, rather than simply applying art onto a finished design. Consider themes and artists that represent the Capitol Hill community. See CS3.2, Placemaking, for additional guidance on integrating art into projects.

Design guidelines are intended to provide recommendations and define the qualities of architectural, urban design, and open space development in an area. The Capitol Hill and Pike/Pine design guidelines build on Seattle's citywide design guidelines and provide more detail and refined recommendations for maintaining character in the built environment in the community. These guidelines are essential to developments that are subject to design review, which includes many large new developments in the study area. Like much of the other policies applicable to Capitol Hill, the design guidelines prioritize retaining neighborhood character based on the area's historical architectural development and fostering an inclusive environment for the LGBTQ+ community. The guidelines encourage call outs to the area's history and culture through unique signage, murals, or other visual embellishments. Design review boards can offer suggestions to developers and project architects on how to better incorporate distinct features into their projects. This means that many projects will go through multiple rounds of design review

before a project is allowed to go forth onto the next stage of development. Though this does effectively encourage developers to think creatively when designing projects in the area, it can become a costly aspect of a project as developers will need to reserve extended periods of time for rounds of review. Pushback from developers has focused on removing some of the levels of red tape involved in pushing a project through to completion. Though this is a valid concern, the design review process is necessary for meeting planners' goals of retaining neighborhood character in the built environment.

Art is mentioned in the design guidelines as a way to create vibrancy and reference the area's history and unique place in Seattle. Though this is an important step to encouraging mural art, there is little guidance to how art can be incorporated into a building at a later date or whether free walls would be permitted.

5.7 Unsanctioned Art

> **12A.08.020 - Property destruction**
> A. A person is guilty of property destruction if he or she:
> 1. Intentionally damages the property of another; or
> 2. Writes, paints or draws any inscription, figure or mark of any type on any public or private building or other structure or any real or personal property owned by any other person.

It is important to recognize the bounds of the above policies and programs the city has implemented. These policies are targeted at established arts organizations, artists, and sanctioned pieces of work that fit within a framework of legality and legitimacy. Protest art distinctly does not fit within this realm, and as such it is difficult to form policy around this particular subset of public art. Though these works of art become important landmarks in a community in a similar way to sanctioned pieces, questions still surround who can claim

ownership and whether there is justification for protection. Ownership is a particularly tricky issue, though Seattle tends to defer ownership to property owners.

There are few high-profile examples of protest art that illustrate the complexity of ownership and protection. The work of international protest artist Banksy may give some insight and provide some precedence. In Banksy's case, there have been numerous reported disputes of ownership that have made it clear just how ambiguous this topic is. Banksy's work has been removed from its original location and sold at auction on numerous occasions, bringing about further discussions on who is the true owner of the art. As protest artists typically operate outside the realm of sanctioned art production, it is rare that the artist themselves claim ownership over the art, though not altogether unheard-of. Banksy himself settled an ownership dispute between the Broad Plain Boys' Club and the City of Bristol, UK for the possession of his piece *Mobile Lovers*.[20] The Boys Club, a community group focused on providing after-school care for children, removed the painting with the intention of auctioning it and using the proceeds to support the Club's programming. However, the Bristol City Council swiftly stepped in to lay claim to the piece, as it was technically painted on public property. The city hoped to display the art in a municipal art museum for all to see. In a rare intervention, Banksy wrote a letter supporting the Club's claim to ownership, and the city respected this determination and returned the piece to the Club. This complex example highlights the numerous stakeholders that are part of the conversation surrounding landmark pieces of protest art.

In Seattle, there was much discussion on how to transition the protest artwork from the CHOP into the city's purview. As mentioned in the case study, CHOP organizers contacted ARTS to facilitate a hand over to the city to ensure that the BLM street mural would be protected and conserved in the future. The city has an interest in participating

20 Peter N. Salib, "The Law of Banksy: Who Owns Street Art?," The University of Chicago Law Review 82, no. 4 (2015): 2293–2328.

in this sort of exchange, and the policies outlined above clearly support actions that foster neighborhood character in the form of artistic expression in the built environment. Questions still remain concerning ownership over the art that was removed when the CHOP was cleared. Discussions are still taking place about how best to memorialize this art, though the city will likely document the pieces through photography at the least.

5.8 Seattle's Graffiti Response

Officially, Seattle takes a hardline stance against the writing, painting, or drawing on property without explicit permission from the owner. Unofficially, the city struggles to keep up with the amount of graffiti and is lax when it comes to prosecuting offenders. It is illegal in all instances to create graffiti and violators are subject to fines and jail time. Additionally, the city adopted a Graffiti Nuisance Ordinance in 1994 that requires property owners to remove graffiti within 10 days of being notified by the city, though no property owners were fined for this offense in 2019 according to an SPU spokesperson.[21] Graffiti removal on city properties is part of the responsibilities of Seattle Public Utilities' Graffiti Rangers. The Graffiti Rangers respond to reports of graffiti across town, giving priority to the removal of hate messages. A 2010 audit of these practices indicates that the city spent roughly $1.8 million on graffiti removal in 2009. The budget for SPU's graffiti rangers in 2020 was $1,056,000.[22]

The legality of graffiti and other forms of street art falls on a spectrum. Figure 5.3 illustrates how street art can be categorized on a spectrum. Tagging, which is the most commonly seen form of graffiti according to the 2010 audit, is illegal in nearly all instances. On the opposite side of the spectrum are commissioned murals, which are city sanctioned

21 Brendan Kiley, "COVID and Black Lives Matter Brought an Explosion of Street Art to Seattle. But Graffiti Was Already Having a Moment," The Seattle Times, August 22, 2020, https://www.seattletimes.com/entertainment/visual-arts/covid-and-black-lives-matter-brought-an-explosion-of-street-painting-to-seattle-but-graffiti-was-already-having-a-moment/.
22 Kiley, "COVID and Black Lives Matter Brought an Explosion of Street Art to Seattle. But Graffiti Was Already Having a Moment."

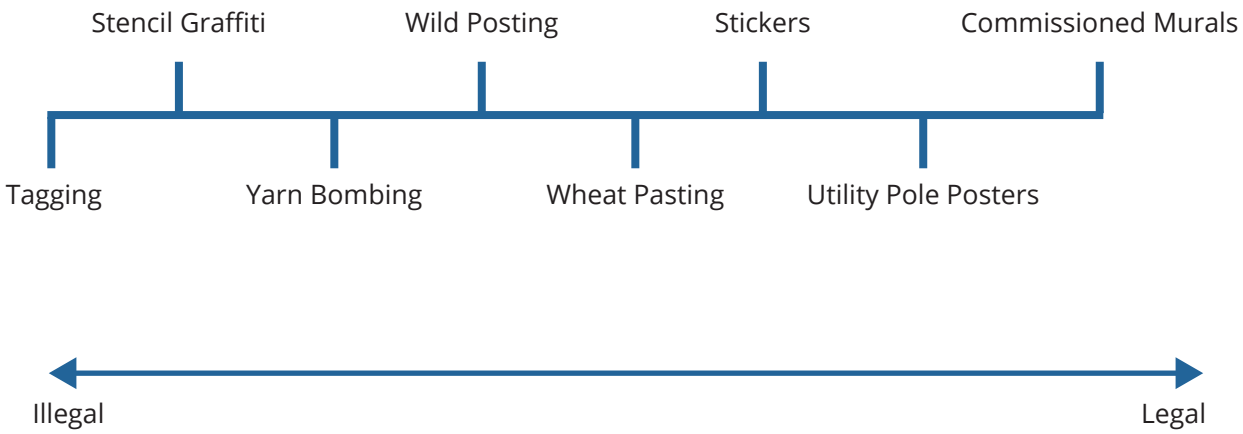

Figure 5.3 Street art falls on a spectrum of legality/illegality.

and sponsored. These are especially important because artists are paid for the work in commissioned murals, whereas payment is rarely guaranteed in other forms of street art. Stickers are technically not included in the criminal code, and therefore can be understood as legal, though not as socially accepted. Wild posting and wheat pasting are forms of guerilla advertising that many companies will utilize to promote a product or event. Wild posting involves using glue to adhere larger posters onto a building facade or construction barricade.[23] Wheat pasting creates a natural adhesive material by mixing flour and water, and posters are typically placed on electrical boxes.[24] The rules surrounding the legality of wild posting and wheat pasting in Seattle are difficult to decipher. To make things more complicated, there are even local companies who sell wheat pasting and wild posting services as part of guerilla advertising campaigns. First amendment protection has been cited as a defense against vandalism charges in the post with mixed success. In 2002,

23 Gino Sesto, "Wild Posting Advertising, Wheat Pasting," March 18, 2016, https://wildposting.com/wild-posting-outdoor-advertising/.
24 Ibid.

Seattle found that posting signs on publicly owned utility poles is an acceptable expression of first amendment rights, so long as the signs below are removed to avoid build up. In 2004, the Supreme Court overturned this ruling, comparing signage to graffiti and not protected.[25] Wild posting is generally acceptable only on properties that explicitly allow it. It is important to note that much of the street art and signage we see in the built environment is technically not legal but unenforced. Many frequent street artists, such as John Criscitello, cite a certain "code of ethics" for helping to determine where and how to post their art. Operating within this illegal-but-unenforced territory is the safest way to place art in the world without serious concern for repercussions.

Many graffiti advocates show support for the creation of city sanctioned "free walls." These are spaces, usually building facades, that allow anyone the opportunity to create art without repercussions. The SODO free wall became such a popular destination that it had a location tag on Google Maps, though it has been closed for at least three years. Nearby, the SODO Track, sponsored by 4culture, is an ambitious public art piece that commissioned murals from 60 artists for 32 walls over the course of three summers.[26] Though a great example of community-led public art, it is not a space where new artists can experiment in the same way that a free wall is. Other community organizations have taken it upon themselves to nurture young artists and allow them the ability to create graffiti without fear. 206 Zulu, a local nonprofit organization that celebrates Hip Hop culture, hosts an annual graffiti tournament called Off the Wall.[27] A panel of judges awards cash prizes to artists who are selected to create murals. These artists are judged based on originality,

25 Neil Modie, "High Court Upholds Seattle's Old Poster Ban on Utility Poles," seattlepi.com, September 10, 2004, https://www.seattlepi.com/seattlenews/article/High-court-upholds-Seattle-s-old-poster-ban-on-1153831.php.
26 Brendan Kiley, "See 2 Miles of Outdoor Murals by 60 Artists — for Free — at Seattle's SODO Track," The Seattle Times, August 9, 2018, https://www.seattletimes.com/entertainment/visual-arts/sodo-track-dozens-of-artists-from-around-the-world-create-two-miles-of-outdoor-murals-in-seattle/.
27 "Off The Wall 2020 Recap | 206 Zulu," accessed May 21, 2021, https://www.206zulu.org/off-the-wall-2020/.

theme, color and composition, can control, and unity.[28] The organization receives funds from ARTS and 4culture. This example shows how the city can bridge the gap between graffiti art that is both tolerated and funded.

Though Seattle has historically been focused on graffiti reduction and criminalization, former Seattle graffiti investigator Detective Christopher Young sees a change in mindset about graffiti in 2021. Detective Young, who worked as graffiti investigator from 2011-2019, admits that graffiti over the past year has seen a change in purpose. Speaking with the Seattle Times' Brendan Kiley, Detective Young mused:[29]

> **"It's a new era. The graffiti at CHOP? Wow. I'm not happy they ran us out of the precinct, but the art was impressive."**

The pandemic brought new canvases to the built environment in the form of plywood window coverings. Artists seeking cathartic relief from pandemic stressors treated these new canvases as though they were legal, despite not always asking permission from property owners. Low risk of enforcement and the perception that creating art on these plywood boards does not constitute vandalism led to an impressive public art display for everyone to see. Artistic expression in the public realm has become a normalized way for citizen artists to process the heavy emotional toll of a year of death and violence. The messages became more direct and more powerful in a year when both pandemic and police brutality compelled many to speak up.

28 "Off The Wall 2020 Recap | 206 Zulu," accessed May 21, 2021, https://www.206zulu.org/off-the-wall-2020/.
29 Kiley, "COVID and Black Lives Matter Brought an Explosion of Street Art to Seattle. But Graffiti Was Already Having a Moment."

Chapter 6 | Discussion

6.1 Recommendations

The case studies illuminate the pressing need for the City of Seattle to reevaluate its relationship with graffiti, street art, and protest art. Particularly in the wake of the Summer of Racial Reckoning, we have seen that protest art is a meaningful and important part of community identity and cohesion. Capitol Hill is a hub for artistic expression and counterculture, and the neighborhood should be allowed the freedom to continue supporting this culture. As the policy currently stands, permissions and permits are typically necessary to create any type of public art. However, protest art takes on a much less rigid process. The following recommendations can begin to address the various ways that unsanctioned protest art and neighborhood identity can be better cultivated in planning and in municipal practices.

Recommendation 1: Allocate more legal space for protest artists to create public art.

As shown in the case studies, protest artists typically choose their locations based on relevance for the message and to increase exposure to the art. This means that privately owned businesses and buildings will inevitably become canvases for expression. Though it is difficult to imagine any city taking away rights to building facades from property owners, there can be a way for the city to encourage use of building facades as artistic spaces. I recommend that the city include building facades for use of unsanctioned mural creation in the neighborhood design guidelines. In existing communications, it is clear that the city approves of murals and other works of sanctioned and commissioned art. For property owners who do not have the ability to pay for commissioned murals, an alternative would

be to register their walls as “free walls” so that artists can have a legal outlet for expression. Benefits to the property owner include increased traffic to their business, exposure to their services, and cultivation of neighborhood character. Additional free walls should be set up by ARTS and a roster of locations should be easily accessible. Many young graffiti artists need legal space to practice their craft, and city sponsored and designated areas would be beneficial for fostering artistic expression in the built environment.

In the United States, there are many examples of free walls that allow the unrestricted creation of graffiti and street art.[1] In Austin, TX, the HOPE Outdoor Gallery became a staple in the historic Clarksville neighborhood, situated just northwest of downtown Austin. Graffiti Park, as it was known, served as the backdrop for music videos, portrait sessions, and social media posts for nearly a decade. In 2019, the property owners announced the wall would close to make room for new development, and the nonprofit organization that manages the HOPE Outdoor Gallery quickly identified a new location in far east Austin.[2] The new location will include food and drink stalls, small artist shops, and plenty of free space to practice graffiti art. Still, many lament the loss of the original location, which was closer to central Austin and served as a neighborhood landmark.

Some countries have decided to quit their battle with graffiti artists altogether, and instead embrace the works as meaningful public expression. In a bold move in 2009, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil legalized street art on private buildings with explicit permission of the building owners without the need of a permit.[3] Though this was a notable first step, the city took an even bigger leap in 2014 by legalizing all graffiti on city property that does not have a historical designation. Rio de Janeiro is well known for its vibrant street art, much of

1 Tom McGhee, “‘Permission Walls’ Help Create a Canvas for Managing Graffiti,” The Denver Post (blog), February 10, 2011, https://www.denverpost.com/2011/02/09/permission-walls-help-create-a-canvas-for-managing-graffiti/.
2 Marisa Charpentier, “A Reincarnation Of Austin’s Beloved ‘Graffiti Park’ Is Revving Up To Open This Summer,” KUT Radio, Austin’s NPR Station, April 27, 2021, https://www.kut.org/life-arts/2021-04-27/a-reincarnation-of-austins-beloved-graffiti-park-is-revving-up-to-open-this-summer.
3 “Brazil’s Legal Graffiti,” CBS News, March 25, 2014, https://www.cbsnews.com/pictures/brazils-legal-graffiti/.

which is political commentary, and these policy changes signaled that the city was willing to acknowledge the important meaning that street art has for the city's identity.

Recommendation 2: Diversify the definition of public art and distinguish between nuisance graffiti.

There is clear confusion between what is enforced as "nuisance graffiti" and unenforced "street art." Though it is unlikely that Seattle will ever allow all types of graffiti, it is still unclear what forms are tolerated over others. A clear, concise message from city officials and a unified approach to redefining what street art is and how it should be allowed in our public realm would allow artists the ability to create work without fear of criminalization. There has been a clear shift in the way the public interacts with street art, and many are more tolerant and welcome the expression in a way that does not deface private property. The city should take a proactive approach to recognizing this change in mindset and update municipal code to distinguish between public street art and nuisance graffiti subject to criminalization. Additionally, ARTS should address the proliferation of street art with a report and guidelines for how the city will address it in the future, instead of ignoring the art altogether.

There are few examples of clear government messaging on whether or not there is a difference between nuisance graffiti and street art. The issue with ambiguous messaging is that it creates a sense of fear for artists who then develop their own code of ethics to reduce risk of prosecution. In one case, the Government of Western Australia does a good job at defining graffiti and providing a clear message.[4] In their definition, the primary

4 "What Is the Difference between Graffiti Vandalism and Urban Art," Western Australia Police, July 27, 2020, https://www.goodbyegraffiti.wa.gov.au/Schools/Facts-for-Students/What-is-the-difference-between-graffiti-vandalism-and-urban-art.

difference between the art forms is whether the artist gained permission from the property owner before creating the work. This seems to be the most common distinguishment, though I argue that art should be examined from a perspective beyond that of legality.

Recommendation 3: Create a set of guidelines and a process for transitioning protest art from illegal to legal.

The city should formulate a process for transitioning unsanctioned art into sanctioned art or create a set of limitations for determining if protest art is legal from inception. This may involve creating a community-led panel of artists and art advocates who are responsible for designating pieces of protest art or other street art as community landmarks. This designation could fill the gap for art that sits somewhere in between illegal graffiti and sanctioned public art. The panel may also bridge discussions between street artists and owners of new developments to create space for street art on new buildings in the name of community character. This panel should be neighborhood specific and apply only to unsanctioned street and protest art, so as to not take on the responsibilities of the Seattle Arts Commission or the 4Culture advisory boards.

There is precedence for government support of street art in this manner. The City of Toronto, ON established a Graffiti Management Plan in 2011 that is intended to address vandalism graffiti while also supporting street art that positively contributes to the public realm.[5] There is careful wording in city municipal code to distinguish between nuisance graffiti and legitimate street art, and there are methods for street artists to create art on building facades with building owner permission through the Graffiti Art Mural Exemption.

5 “Graffiti Management,” City of Toronto (City of Toronto, November 17, 2017), Toronto, Ontario, Canada, https://www.toronto.ca/services-payments/streets-parking-transportation/enhancing-our-streets-and-public-realm/graffiti-management/.

The city also instituted a Graffiti Panel comprised of city staff in cross-department roles to review pieces of work to determine if they meet the mural art exemption. Additionally, StreetARToronto (StART) is a selection of programs within the Graffiti Management Plan that works to support street art and reduce instances of nuisance graffiti by providing grants to street artists. The message that the City of Toronto is sending is clear: street art is welcome, so long as it contributes to community identity and is not hateful. By taking a positive approach to street art, the city was able to reduce instances of nuisance graffiti and support community expression in the public realm.

6.2 Lessons for Practice

This thesis is intended to showcase how two unique instances of protest art in the public realm are reflective of community identity. Both John Criscitello and the artists from the CHOP created works that will be long lasting in the hearts and minds of Capitol Hill residents. Despite straddling the line between legal and illegal, art in any capacity in the public realm should be recognized. Though protest art does not receive the same protections as sanctioned art, there is opportunity for the city to adjust its response to this type of meaningful art, particularly in an area that is recognized across the region for its strong alignment with artistic expression. Capitol Hill would not be the beloved neighborhood it is today if it did not embrace and support the work of protest artists who bravely speak out on injustices they witness. This identity is under threat, and it is imperative that planners and other city leadership take a unified stance on how to best address protest art in the future.

Capitol Hill, in many ways, exists in nearly every city across the country. Neighborhoods known for being the center of the LGBTQ+ community and hubs of artistic expression and culture are increasingly being gentrified and commodified at the community's expense. John Criscitello's example discusses the community-wide frustration

that not enough is being done to protect these identities and fears that widespread displacement or removal of cultural landmarks is inevitable. The CHOP case study reveals how protest movements may look in the future, as protesters become increasingly skeptical of police and city leadership. Both examples highlight how residents choose to reclaim the public space in their communities and remove layers of regulation that have made public spaces sanitized. There is an opportunity for more informality, particularly in neighborhoods where informality is part of the neighborhood identity.

Most medium to large cities in North America can look to Capitol Hill's example as precedence for what will likely continue to occur in the future in similar places. Additionally, the country's eyes are on how Seattle's leadership chooses to respond to these cases. Though there will always be missteps and opportunities lost, it is important to recognize that cities are limited in their reach and political careers are fickle. Precedence may be Capitol Hill's most significant contribution, as other cities begin to face the same pressures and protest movements.

The literature review also provides strong lessons for practice for similar neighborhoods. There has been much discussion about creative placemaking and protest art in the public realm. These important themes are gaining traction in community placemaking studies, and city planners, cultural planners, and other officials can look to this literature to improve their own community placemaking strategies.

6.3 The Future of Protest Art

One could discount these cases as being unique to Seattle and therefore not applicable to other cities. To do so would reduce the nature of the progression of protest. Particularly in the case of the CHOP, it is clear that protest movements have evolved past the marches and memorials of previous generations. There is an element of performance art and spatial occupation that is tied to the larger movement, and organizers

are demanding more direct action from city leaders. With increased urbanization and polarization of our societies, there is the potential for this type of protest to become a global phenomenon, and it is an early indication that public space is increasingly contested space. To keep up with the shifting attitudes towards protest, democracy in public space, and public art, officials will need to learn how to integrate protest and protest art into our public spaces in a more tolerated manner. International municipalities that have dealt with strong protest movements such as Cape Town, Berlin, Northern Ireland, and Rio de Janeiro may serve as examples for how to move in this direction.

In this vein, it is important to recognize that formalizing protest may take away power from those who are creating the art. This tension between formalized recognition and the unsanctioned approach currently accepted is difficult to reconcile. Formalizing may ultimately discourage protest artists from participating in government allowed practices, pushing them into further illegal territory. This is the risk of formalizing, which must be acknowledged.

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Appendices

Interview with Randy Engstrom, Former Director of Seattle's Office of Arts and Culture (ARTS) 2012-2021

February, 8, 2021 | 3:00pm

1.) The city has overseen many efforts to increase funding for the arts and culture, especially for smaller and BIPOC-led organizations, during your tenure. But it is important to note that these sanctioned expressions of art are not the only way that art manifests in the built environment. What is the role of the city government in treating street art/protest art? What are the current policies around that?

2.) SPU and SPD are generally tasked with dealing with graffiti and street art, which in many instances includes forms of protest art that become meaningful to the community. Are there lines of communication between these entities and the Office of Arts and Culture or Office of Planning and Community Development to address art that communities would like to protect?

3.) Can the city play a role in "legitimizing" a piece of street art so that it is afforded protections from criminalization? Is there a process that already exists, or could it be better classified as something that is addressed on a case-by-case basis?

4.) Do you see any opportunities in improving the current situation so that protest art is addressed in a way that respects the communities' wishes?

5.) How did the city address the murals and art that came out of the CHOP?

Appendix 1 Randy Engstrom Interview questions.

Interview with Kristen Ramirez, Seattle Department of Transportation Art & Enhancements Project Manager

February 15, 2021

Preface

The city has overseen many efforts to increase funding for the arts and culture, especially for smaller and BIPOC-led organizations. These investments are extremely important and a great way to foster neighborhood identity through the built environment. But it is important to note that these sanctioned expressions of art are not the only way that art manifests in the built environment. The following questions will touch on the ways that community members have expressed themselves and their frustrations through art in the public realm.

Note: The following questions will refer to "protest art" and "street art" as a form of contemporary art and expression reflected in public space, particularly associated with an issue affecting the community. These forms of art can manifest in many ways, but oftentimes it is seen in graffiti or mural art, though there are no limitations.

5.) What is the role of the city government in treating street art/protest art?
6.) What are the key policies around this type of art? Are they enforced?
7.) Do you see an opportunity within the powers of the City to better address the response to this type of art through policy?
    a. If so, can you describe what that might look like?
    b. If not, can you explain why you think this sort of art is better left unaddressed by policy?
8.) As a liaison to both the Office of Arts and Culture and the Seattle Department of Transportation, what are your goals and priorities in bridging these two departments?

The following questions refer specifically to the CHOP in June 2020. There was a proliferation of meaningful protest art that emerged from the CHOP. Some of that art is still visible in the area months after it was dismantled, and the mural will become permanent.

4.) Can you describe the events that happened during this time and the communication between the CHOP leaders and the city?
5.) How was the communication between different offices within city government? (OPCD, Arts and Culture, SDOT, Dept. of Neighborhoods, Mayor's Office)
6.) What are some of the key lessons learned from this event?

Appendix 2 Kristen Ramirez interview questions.

THE NEW RULES OF PUBLIC ART

1. **It doesn't have to look like public art.**

   The days of bronze heroes and roundabout baubles are numbered. Public art can take any form or mode of encounter. Be prepared to be surprised, delighted, even unnerved.

2. **It's not forever.**

   Artists are shaking up the life expectancy of public artworks. Places don't remain still and unchanged, so why should public art?

3. **Don't make it for a community. Create a community.**

   Be wary of predefining an audience. As Brian Eno once said, "sometimes the strongest single importance of a work of art is the celebration of some kind of temporary community."

4. **Create space for the unplanned.**

   Commissioning public art is not a simple design-and-build process. Artworks arrive through a series of accidents, failures and experiments and open up the potential for unforeseen things to happen.

5. **Withdraw from the cultural arms race.**

   Towns and cities across the world are locked into a one-size-fits-all style of public art. In a culture of globalised brands and clone towns, we hanker after authentic, distinctive places. If we are place-making, then let's make unusual places.

6. **Demand more than fireworks.**

   Believe in the quiet, unexpected encounter as much as the magic of the mass spectacle. It's often in the silence of a solitary moment, rather than the exhilaration of whizzes and bangs, that transformation occurs.

7. **Don't embellish. Interrupt.**

   We need smart urban design, uplifting street lighting and landmark buildings, but public art can do so much more than decorate. Interruptions to our surroundings or everyday activities can open our eyes to new possibilities.

8. **Share ownership freely, but authorship wisely.**

   Public art is of the people and made with the people, but not always by the people. Artists are skilled creative thinkers as well as makers, trust their judgment, follow their lead and invest in their process.

9. **Welcome outsiders.**

   Outsiders challenge our assumptions about what we believe to be true of a place. Embrace the opportunity to see through an outsider's eyes.

10. **Don't waste time on definitions.**

    Is it sculpture? Is it visual art? Is it performance? Who cares. There are more important questions to ask. Does it move you? Does it shake up your perceptions of the world around you, or your backyard? Does it make you curious to see more?

11. **Suspend your disbelief.**

    Art gives us the chance to imagine alternative ways of living, to disappear down rabbit holes, to live for a moment in a different world. Local specifics might have been the stepping off point – but public art is not a history lesson. Be prepared that it might not always tell the truth.

12. **Get lost.**

    Public art is neither a destination nor a way-finder. Artists encourage us to follow them down unexpected paths as a work unfolds. Surrender the guidebook, get off the art trail and step into unfamiliar territory.

SITUATIONS

Appendix 3 "The New Rules of Public Art" manifesto from UK based arts organization Situations (now defunct) sparked much discussion and debate when it was published in 2013.

Chapter 20.32 - ART IN PUBLIC WORKS CONSTRUCTION

20.32.010 - Purpose.

The City accepts a responsibility for expanding public experience with visual art. Such art has enabled people in all societies better to understand their communities and individual lives. Artists capable of creating art for public places must be encouraged and Seattle's standing as a regional leader in public art enhanced. A policy is therefore established to direct the inclusion of works of art in public works of the City.

(Ord. 102210 § 1, 1973.)

20.32.020 - Definitions

"Office" means the Office of Arts and Culture.

"Commission" means the Seattle Arts Commission.

"Construction project" means any capital project paid for wholly or in part by the City to construct or remodel any building, structure, park, utility, street, sidewalk, or parking facility, or any portion thereof, within the limits of The City of Seattle.

"Eligible fund" means a source fund for construction projects from which art is not precluded as an object of expenditure.

"Municipal Arts Plan" means the plan required by subsection 20.32.040.A.

"Administrative costs" means all costs incurred in connection with the selection, acquisition, installation and exhibition of, and publicity about, City-owned works of art.

(Ord. 124539, § 12, 2014; Ord. 121006 § 11, 2002; Ord. 117403 , § 1, 1994: Ord. 105389 § 1, 1976: Ord. 102210 § 2, 1973.)

20.32.030 - Funds for works of art

All requests for appropriations for construction projects from eligible funds shall include an amount equal to one percent of the estimated cost of such project for works of art and shall be accompanied by a request from the Office of Arts and Culture for authorization to expend such funds after the same have been deposited in the Municipal Arts Fund. When the City Council approves any such request, including the one percent for works of art, the appropriation for such construction project shall be made and the same shall include an appropriation of funds for works of art, at the rate of one percent of project cost to be deposited into the appropriate account of the Municipal Arts Fund. Money collected in the Municipal Arts

Appendix 4 Seattle, WA Municipal Code detailing the One Percent for Art policy.

Fund shall be expended by the Office of Arts and Culture for projects as prescribed by the Municipal Arts Plan, and any unexpended funds shall be carried over automatically in the Municipal Art Fund for public arts purposes.

(Ord. 125636 , § 1, 2018; Ord. 124539, § 13, 2014; Ord. 121006 , § 12, 2002; Ord. 105389 , § 2, 1976; Ord. 102210 , § 3, 1973.)

20.32.040 - Office of Arts and Culture—authority

To carry out its responsibilities under this chapter, the Office of Arts and Culture shall:

A. Prepare, adopt and amend with the Mayor's approval a plan and guidelines to carry out the City's art program, which shall include, but not be limited to a method or methods for the selection of artists or works of art and for placement of works of art;

B. Authorize purchase of works of art or commission the design, execution and/or placement of works of art and provide payment therefor from the Municipal Arts Fund. The Office of Arts and Culture shall advise the department responsible for a particular construction project of the Office's decision, in consultation with the Seattle Arts Commission, regarding the design, execution and/or placement of a work of art, funds for which were provided by the appropriation for such construction project;

C. Require that any proposed work of art requiring extraordinary operation or maintenance expenses shall receive prior approval of the department head responsible for such operation or maintenance;

D. Promulgate rules and regulations consistent with this chapter to facilitate the implementation of its responsibilities under this chapter.

(Ord. 124539, § 14, 2014; Ord. 121006 , § 13, 2002; Ord. 105389 , § 3, 1976; Ord. 102210 , § 4, 1973.)

20.32.050 - Municipal Arts Fund

There is established in the City Treasury a special fund designated "Municipal Arts Fund," into which shall be deposited funds appropriated as contemplated by Section 20.32.030, together with such other funds as the City Council shall appropriate for works of art. Expenditures may be made from this fund for the acquisition and exhibition of works of art consistent with the plan specified in subsection 20.32.040.A, and for Office of Arts and Culture staff costs and administrative costs (as defined in Section 20.32.020) that are associated with developing and implementing the Municipal Arts Plan including the cost of maintaining City-owned artwork, which maintenance cost may be paid from eligible sources as may be specified by ordinance. Separate accounts shall be established within the Municipal Arts Fund to segregate receipts by source or, when so directed by the City Council, for specific works of art. Disbursements from such fund shall be made in connection with projects approved by the Seattle Arts Commission on vouchers approved by the Director of the Office of Arts and Culture.

Appendix 4 Continued

(Ord. 125492 , § 20, 2017; Ord. 125094 , § 1, 2016; Ord. 124539, § 15, 2014; Ord. 121006 § 14, 2002; Ord. 117403 , § 2, 1994; Ord. 116368 , § 242, 1992: Ord. 105389 § 4, 1976: Ord. 102210 § 5, 1973.)

Appendix 4 Continued

City of Seattle Anti-Graffiti Efforts:
Best Practices and Recommendations

City of Seattle
Office of City Auditor
http://www.seattle.gov/audit/

Report Highlights, July 2010

Why We Did This Audit

We conducted this performance audit of the City of Seattle's (City's) anti-graffiti efforts at the request of Seattle City Councilmembers Tim Burgess and Tom Rasmussen. Specifically, they asked us to examine how the City handles graffiti removal, prosecutes offenders, and educates the public about graffiti. They requested this audit based on feedback from citizens who expressed concern about not feeling safe in their neighborhoods, and their concerns about "street disorder" in Seattle. According to recent academic studies, there is a connection between visible environmental disorder and higher rates of crime.

What We Did

To complete our audit, we reviewed City ordinances and laws; interviewed City and community stakeholders; reviewed relevant City policies, procedures, and studies; observed Seattle Public Utilities' (SPU's) Graffiti Rangers; attended a regional anti-graffiti conference; performed a physical inventory of graffiti in four sample areas in two Seattle neighborhoods; implemented and analyzed the results of an electronic survey of a broad range of community participants; researched best practices from other jurisdictions, non-profit organizations and academic research; and traced a sample of SPU Graffiti Hotline calls to verify abatement response times.

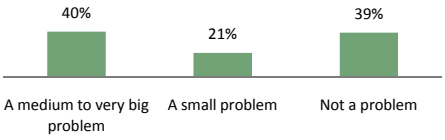
What We Found

Graffiti in Seattle
Writing, painting, or drawing on public or private property without the owner's permission is not permitted under the law in the City of Seattle (Seattle Municipal Code 12A.08.020). In addition, the City of Seattle also has a Graffiti Nuisance Code (Seattle Municipal Code 10.07) that requires property owners to promptly remove graffiti found on their property after notice from the City of Seattle. During our audit we collected a wide variety of views about the impact of graffiti. A web survey of over 900 Seattle residents, businesses and organizations revealed a range of public opinion, with 39% indicating that graffiti was not a problem and 40% indicating that graffiti was a medium to very big problem. These results appear to reflect how often respondents had been the victim of graffiti: 37% percent had never been victims, while 33% had been victimized at least several times a year.

Our systematic, single-day, physical count of graffiti in four sample areas in two Seattle neighborhoods (each .7 miles) captured 556 instances of graffiti including 551 common tags* and five that appeared to be gang graffiti. We found that public property was nearly twice as commonly tagged as private property, with traffic/street signs, utility poles, and pay stations as common targets.

A Seattle Public Utilities Graffiti Ranger removes a tag reported by a resident.

Views on graffiti were mixed among over 900 survey respondents



Costs of Graffiti in Seattle
The City of Seattle spent approximately $1.8 million dollars in 2009 abating graffiti from public property. Also, the nearly 300 survey respondents who reported graffiti damage spent a total of $232,000 to remove graffiti in 2009.

Profile of Graffiti Vandalism (Adult Misdemeanors)
Based on our analysis of 2007 and 2009 data on persons charged with graffiti vandalism in the City of Seattle, we found the following:

Of the 18 offenders whose cases were closed in 2009:
- 17 (94%) were male
- Their median age was 24 (ranging from 20 – 34 years old)

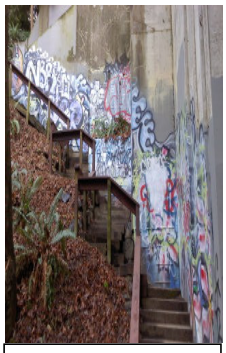
Of the 40 offenders charged in 2007:
- 22 had criminal charges in addition to a graffiti vandalism charge
- These charges included: assault, theft, obstructing an officer, carrying a concealed weapon, criminal trespass, reckless endangerment, harassment, and violation of a domestic violence protection order

Vancouver B.C. has studied its persistent offenders (those with 5 or more graffiti-related police contacts) and found that among this group:
- 63 % have police contacts related to violent offences
- 29% have five or more criminal charges
- 23% have a drug or alcohol related offence as their first offence

*"Tags" are simple names or symbols, often written in a stylized manner found in high volumes and in high-visibility locations. Tags range from small single-color marks to large elaborate "pieces" in multiple colors and bubble-lettering. Seattle officials indicate that "tagging" is the City's most common graffiti. Nationally, about 78-80% of graffiti is common tags; 10% is gang graffiti; 5% are "pieces," or large elaborate tags; and the remaining 5-7% include hate, message (e.g., Class of '09), political, and artistic graffiti. Source: GraffitiHurts.org

Appendix 5 Seattle report on anti-graffiti efforts, July 2010.

What We Recommend



A community mural in West Seattle covered with tags.

Graffiti walls, murals, and restrictions on the sale of spray paint were not included in our recommendations due to lack of evidence about their efficacy in preventing graffiti. Murals may be effective for areas that are frequently tagged, and graffiti walls might provide a creative outlet for youth. However both require monitoring and maintenance.

Contact Us:
To obtain a copy of the full report, please visit our website:
http://www.seattle.gov/audit/

City of Seattle
Office of City Auditor
700 5th Avenue Suite 2410
PO Box 94729
Seattle, WA 98124-4729

206/233-3801

Based on our research and analysis, we developed 14 recommendations. **The first five are directed at the City Council and Mayor**:

1. Develop a clear policy statement on graffiti in accordance with current City laws. If the Mayor and City Council decide that addressing graffiti is a policy priority, they should:

2. Establish clear directives about who in the City is authorized, responsible, and accountable for anti-graffiti efforts;

3. Develop specific outcome goals for the key components of Seattle's anti-graffiti program (e.g., a 50% reduction in graffiti in three years);

4. Require departments to gather baseline data before new policies and procedures are implemented; and

5. Require an annual physical inventory of the graffiti in Seattle to evaluate the effectiveness of the City's efforts and to measure outcomes.

These five recommendations, if implemented by City leaders, will provide direction and momentum for City departments and community stakeholders to work together to implement nine additional specific recommendations.

Summary of Specific Recommendations
The next nine recommendations address each of the questions posed by the City Council in their audit request. The recommendations utilize existing City resources, leverage volunteers and partnerships, or have minimal cost.

We identified three jurisdictions that have experienced a significant decrease in graffiti over time that is supported with quantifiable, data-supported outcome measures. Each of these jurisdictions use a multi-faceted approach to graffiti that includes:

1. Eradication,
2. Enforcement, and
3. Engagement/Education.

Our recommendations are designed to strengthen these three elements for the City of Seattle. They include:

1. Amend Seattle Municipal Code (SMC) 12.A.08.020 (Property destruction) to include stickers in the list of prohibited materials.
2. Amend SMC 12.A.08.020 (Property destruction) to add a clause stipulating the elements that should be included in calculating restitution for violations of the code.
3. Strengthen recording of graffiti by having Parking Enforcement Officers (PEOs) and other City employees photograph and report graffiti they discover in the course of their work.
4. Strengthen the Seattle Police Department's ability to analyze graffiti crimes by creating and maintaining a photographic database.
5. Strengthen the City's ability to apprehend, and prosecute graffiti vandals by creating a pilot program with a dedicated graffiti detective (redeploy existing resource).
6. Work with the City Attorney's Office prosecutors familiar with the Community Court's Diversion program and chronic graffiti offenders to develop diversion programs that are effective for this population, based on their knowledge of the population and the results of evidence-based research on effective programs.
7. Redeploy resources to help ensure that graffiti on parking pay stations is abated within the 6 day target goal set by the City.
8. Implement a three-part model to enhance community involvement and public education, consisting of:
   - A broadly-based coalition of City and other public employees, community organizations, businesses, and residents,
   - A comprehensive community outreach plan, and
   - A strategic plan for public education about the costs and impacts of graffiti.
9. Conduct further study of the business improvement area (BIA) programs for graffiti removal based on comparing physical inventories in BIA and non-BIA locations, while continuing to support SPU grants to BIAs.