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GRAFFITI IN HALIFAX: POLICY AND PRACTICE

SUMMARY

Graffiti is a constant in urban life with business owners and municipalities spending hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to remove. With so much of city resources being spent on combatting graffiti, municipalities try to instill policy which can deter graffiti and manage their resources in the most cost effective way possible. Best practice states that in order for policy to be effective it must first understand the context of graffiti in the city.

This thesis will strengthen the knowledge of the graffiti context in Halifax through policy analysis, an inventory of graffiti in two study areas, and interviews with local graffitists, business owners, and city staff. The collected knowledge will be analyzed for common themes and used to make suggestions for better policy in HRM that might better manage resources while meeting the needs of the residents. National and International case studies will be used as a guide for successful policy suggestions.

CONTENTS

SUMMARY	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	v
INTRODUCTION	1
PROJECT STATEMENT	2
BACKGROUND	2
LITERATURE REVIEW	3
History	3
Ownership - Private vs. Public Space	6
Ownership and Respect	7
Creative Cities	7
Place-Making	8
Benefits of Graffiti	8
Case Studies	9
Best Practice for Policy Summary	
GOALS AND OBJECTIVES	14
Goal	14
Objectives	14
RESEARCH APPROACH	15
STUDY AREAS	15
METHODS	
Review of Current Graffiti Policy & Programs	
Graffiti Inventory	
Interviews	
WHAT IS THE CURRENT GRAFFITI POLICY IN HALIFAX?	19
WHAT IS THE CURRENT GRAFFITI SITUATION IN KEY AREAS OF BUSINESS DISTRICTS IN HALIFAX?	21
Location	21
Management Strategies	23
Art vs. Vandalism	

Social Factors27
Motivation
Graffiti Community
HOW CAN A GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEXT INFORM THE POLICY?
Vandalism
Public Art
CONCLUDING REMARKS
WORKS CITED
APPENDICES
Appendix A: Policy Data Collected42
Appendix B: Graffiti Inventory Data Collected45
Appendix C: Interview Data Collected47
Appendix D: Quinpool Graffiti Location Analysis Map57
Appendix E: Waiver Forms
Appendix F: Graffiti Inventory Photos Online63

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LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: Image of a "tag"	4
FIGURE 2: Image of a "throw up"	4
FIGURE 3: Image of a "piece"	4
FIGURE 4: Quinpool BID Study Area Map	16
FIGURE 5: Halifax BID Study Area Map	17
FIGURE 6: Density of Graffiti in Study Areas	22
FIGURE 7: Location of Graffiti in Quinpool Map 1	22
FIGURE 8: Location of Graffiti in Quinpool Map 2	22
FIGURE 9: Inventory Results Graph Relative to Study Area Size	24
FIGURE 10: Image of poor graffiti removal in the Quinpool BID Study Area	25
FIGURE 11: Inventory Results Graph	26
FIGURE 12: Melbourne Graffiti Lane	32
FIGURE 13: Nuschool mural created in 2013	34

INTRODUCTION

Graffiti clean-up for business and property owners is a fact of life in many urban centres. In Canada, individual businesses spend thousands of dollars annually removing graffiti, often to see it to reappear days later (Atchison, 2013). Police say that graffiti removal costs \$1.4 billion of tax payers' money yearly in Canada, and over \$12 billion a year in the United States (Faze, n.d; Weisel, 2002). These figures suggest that current policy is not as effective as desired, and resources could be better allocated to deal with the problems of graffiti art.

Original policy regarding graffiti was based on criminalization of graffiti art and took a zero tolerance stance (Dickson, 2008). As municipalities continue to struggle to control graffiti, finding the most cost efficient and effective method has become important to maximize available resources. Over the years graffiti has become a popular research topic, with researchers aiming to better understand the roots and motivations behind graffiti (Erickson, 1987; Brewer, 1992; Gomez, 1992). This research has led to policy suggestions for more effective policy that leaves opportunity for urban art. These policy suggestions often suggest that managed graffiti offers many benefits to the artists and the city. Many now believe that graffiti policy requires an understanding of motivation and context in order for policy to be effective (Gomez, 1992).

Graffiti become a noticeable problem in Halifax in the 1990s (Turner Drake, 2003). Since then Halifax has spent significant resources on graffiti abatement. Last year the municipality spent approximately \$400,000 in graffiti removal. This number does not include the funds spent on education initiatives, or the costs to private owners. As Halifax does not have unlimited resources to spend on graffiti clean-up, it is in the city's best interest to control graffiti as efficiently as possible. Based on best practice research, it can be deduced that it is a wise decision for HRM to understand the context of graffiti in Halifax to aid in the creation of better policy. This project looks at the graffiti situation in Halifax to gain a better understanding of the context specific details with the hope of offering suggestions for the creation of more effective policy- saving the municipality resources, and offering artists the chance to develop skills and promote urban art.

PROJECT STATEMENT

Graffiti has been a topic of concern for municipalities since the early 1960s. It has become a popular research topic, with researchers aiming to better understand the roots of graffiti (Erickson, 1987; Brewer, 1992; Gomez, 1992). Many now believe that policy requires an understanding of motivation and context in order for the policy to be effective (Gomez, 1992). I will look at the context of graffiti in Halifax to understand how graffiti is produced and regulated to see if there are opportunities for policy to accommodate graffiti art in the city.

This project will address the current lack of information on graffiti in Halifax with a systematically completed case study. Three questions guide this research:

- What is the current graffiti policy in Halifax?
- What is the current graffiti situation in key areas of business districts in Halifax?
- How can a greater understanding of context inform the policy?

BACKGROUND

We know little about the present graffiti situation in commercial districts in Halifax, including who is writing graffiti, what type of graffiti is most prominent within the city (tags, throw-ups, or pieces), and what the writers' motivations are to create graffiti in Halifax. Paul Erickson completed a study on graffiti in Halifax in the 1980s focused on the occurrence of tagging in the city and classifying the different types of tags, such as romantic or political (Erickson, 1987).

Erickson states that his curiosity about the occurrences of graffiti in Halifax came about because the graffiti that occurred was becoming "more conspicuous" (Erickson, 1987, p. 28). Research by Turner Drake and Partners (2003) says that in the 1990s and 2000s graffiti in Halifax had become a noticeable problem; which correlates with Erickson's observation. As graffiti grew in abundance during the turn of the century the municipality reacted accordingly. This started a wave of policy creation and discussion in the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM).

Erickson's study begins to explore the graffiti context in Halifax. From the data he collected, Erickson looked at correlations between building type, material, and graffiti occurrence and style. He also briefly analyzed a collection of interview responses from 14 and 15 year olds who were asked their opinions on graffiti. Erickson's study is of interest to this project as it occurs before the graffiti management strategies, while my study will be occurring after the implementation of these strategies. His work serves as a comparison tool for the effectiveness of the management strategies HRM has been implementing.

LITERATURE REVIEW

HISTORY

Graffiti has been a topic of concern for municipalities since the early 1960s when hiphop graffiti erupted in New York. The Oxford English Dictionary Online (2013) describes graffiti as "writing or drawings scribbled, scratched, or sprayed illicitly on a wall or other surface in a public place". It consists of 'tags', 'throw-ups', and 'pieces'. Tags are often simple lettering of a signature or nickname, and each tag has its own unique style.



FIGURE 1: Photo taken by Elora Wilkinson, February 2014.

Throw-ups are more detailed, involving stylized lettering and the use of multiple colours

(Gomez, 1992).



FIGURE 2: Photo taken by Elora Wilkinson, February 2014.

The final category of graffiti includes pieces, or murals, which are elaborate 'masterpieces' using significant detail and colour, often completed by a group, or crew (Gomez, 1992).



FIGURE 3: Photo taken by Elora Wilkinson, February 2014.

Those who participate in the act of creating graffiti are referred to as graffitists, graffiti writers, or graffiti artists.

Hip Hop graffiti, which is the classification of modern day graffiti, began in New York City in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Gomez, 1992). It began in the form of tagging, as a way for the lower class youth of New York to dictate ownership of a place and construct an identity for themselves (Gomez, 1992). Taki 183 was the first tag to be seen around New York. His tags were seen from one end of the city to the other, along subways and city walls. He was eventually identified as a teen-aged Greek immigrant who lived in a blue collar neighbourhood in Manhattan, on 183rd Street (Gomez, 1992).

Subsequently, tags appeared throughout the city, including Frank 207 and Chew 127. As the popularity of graffiti exploded in the area, styles were created and evolved, including the Manhattan style of long slim letters and the Bronx style of bubble letters, both of which remain prominent today. Subway trains quickly became the preferred canvas as they reached a large audience as they moved around the city. (Gomez, 1992).

As quickly as graffiti appeared in New York, the rebuttal from city officials came just as fast. The rise of graffiti occurred at the end of a time of financial instability and those in power saw removal of graffiti as a visual way to measure their success improving and rebuilding the city (Gomez, 1992). New York City's Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) saw graffiti as a threat towards local authority. Public authorities rejected graffiti in the city (Austin, 2001). Because of this, divisions between graffiti as an art form and graffiti as vandalism have been debated since the development of hip hop graffiti. Graffiti has since expanded globally, with debates surrounding its place in the city occurring in many parts of the world.

Current graffiti management strategies involve zero tolerance stances, criminalizing all types of graffiti with jail time and fines, and/ or implementing mandatory education and community involvement. Writers often cannot afford the fines. Jail sentences are often seen as

a harsh punishment for what the judicial system sees as a petty crime. Incarceration runs the risk of pushing a person down a bad road. Further, these strategies are often ineffective in stopping graffiti from occurring. As more laws are implemented to control public spaces, the likelihood of resistance to control in the form of graffiti rises (Ferrel, 1995). Community service and education programs are often relatively effective as they can redirect youth into more socially acceptable activities (Gomez, 1992). However, the most commonly used strategy is the quick removal of graffiti from surfaces to dissuade writers from tagging, often removing work before it is seen. All of these methods are cost intensive. Consequently municipalities prefer to deter unwanted graffiti from the start rather than addressing the problem after the fact.

Graffiti discourse surrounding social elements such as motivation, ownership, and creativity have increased in popularity, complexity and significance. These debates highlight an alternative view to that held historically, which prioritizes the criminalization of graffiti and sees graffiti solely as a form of vandalism. These new debates have shaped the recent literature and consequently are influencing new policy and management strategies imposed by municipalities. The current discourse highlights motivation as an extremely important element in graffiti management (Gomez, 1992; Brewer, 1992). Literature suggests that graffiti vandalism and graffiti art should not be addressed as equivalent in policy because they do not come from the same motivation (Gomez, 1992). If we better address the reasons behind the creation of graffiti in cities, such as ownership and art, in addition to protest to authority, policy can be created that is more effective in encouraging the type of art we want in our cities while discouraging vandalism (Gomez, 1992).

OWNERSHIP - PRIVATE VS. PUBLIC SPACE

One of the most prominent topics in the debate surrounding motivation in graffiti creation is ownership. Graffiti writers, business owners, policy makers, and residents try to define what a public space is, who it is for, how it should be used, and how it should look (Docuyanan, 2000). Public spaces have significant and diverse emotional, social, and physical

attachments that make them highly contested. The debate between what is considered private space versus public creates a division between writers and graffiti opposition. What some consider private, the artists may misinterpret as un-owned and feel they are improving the space (Docuyanan, 2000). On the other hand, what many may consider public space, such as streets or parks, become private in the sense that some groups, including graffiti artists, are not welcome. If public space is so heavily regulated, and its uses dictated, is it really public space at all? (Docuyanan, 2000)

OWNERSHIP AND RESPECT

A common parallel between graffiti writers and property owners is the desire for respect (Docuyanan, 2000). Respect of other writer's pieces is of extreme importance in graffiti culture. Painting over another's work or 'claimed area' is disrespectful. When municipalities order graffiti removed writers feel this same disrespect (Docuyanan, 2000). Property owners feel that graffiti writers are disrespectful by vandalizing property. However, graffiti writers interviewed in *Governing Graffiti in Contested Urban Spaces* were under the impression that they were marking on un-owned or public spaces (Docuyanan, 2000). Regulating graffiti in urban spaces becomes difficult when both parties feel they can claim ownership over an area. The lines between what is public space and what is private have become increasingly blurred. The influence of laws, social norms, and regulations serve to blur these lines even further (McAuliffe, 2012).

CREATIVE CITIES

Laws have influenced our perception of how a public space can be used and what is considered unacceptable. From the start graffiti culture was not welcomed in cities. Artistic benefits were overlooked as graffiti was publicized as vandalism; however, more recently creativity within cities is being valued and encouraged (McAuliffe, 2012). This serves to further blur the lines between graffiti and public art, what we want to encourage in our cities and what we want to discourage. As cultural planning encourages opportunity for public art, and jobs flourish in the creative sector, the message governments and the media send graffiti artists is unclear and more complex than it was when graffiti originated (McAuliffe, 2012). The boundaries between what is acceptable within a public space and what is not are shifting, leaving graffiti artists unsure of where their place is in society (McAuliffe, 2012). Graffiti policies may now accept some forms of graffiti and street art, in contrast to previous zero tolerance policies. Inconsistencies in beliefs related to street art versus graffiti make it difficult for writers to distinguish what is right and wrong for art in public spaces. Currently there is a clash of opinions about property and about art.

PLACE-MAKING

Public art, including commissioned murals and graffiti, are often cited as a positive way to change a forgotten area into a vibrant place. This idea aligns with the discourse gaining popularity that graffiti artists are involved in the practice of 'place-making' (Docuyanan, 2000). Graffiti is often described by artists as a way to make something beautiful. "What you call vandalism, I call neighbourhood pride" stated one writer (Docuyanan, 2000). Graffiti can give a benign area a new identity, and create a means for connecting those who create art and the viewers (Docuyanan, 2000). One of the main problems residents have with graffiti is the type of graffiti that occurs; most residents have a higher respect for artistic pieces over tagging (Webster, 2005). Graffiti artists generally also respect high quality work, and given the time, most would prefer the creation of pieces to tagging. However, because of the current laws in place, artists do not have the time, money, or opportunity to create the quality pieces that residents and writers would prefer, pieces that would aid in place making (Webster, 2005).

BENEFITS OF GRAFFITI

In addition to place making, graffiti offers many interconnected, overlooked benefits to writers. Manfred Max-Neef lists creation, participation, leisure, understanding, identity,

Page 9

subsistence, and protection as seven of the nine requirements to meet human needs (Webster, 2005). Graffiti, murals, and other forms of street art are argued to meet these seven needs of humanity both for writers and for those who view the finished pieces. When graffiti is labelled simply as a crime we overlook the unique opportunity to address these requirements creatively (Webster, 2005). The documentary Style Wars (1983) highlights benefits that can be found through graffiti. The documentary follows several artists involved in the graffiti movement as graffiti became increasingly criminalized in New York City and plays a prominent role in dismantling the stereotype of artists as criminals, portraying them as artists instead. The film focuses on the dynamic between the members of a crew and shows how crews are often comparable to families, with members mentoring each other and watching out for one another. Graffiti offers crews opportunity for self-expression, companionship, and a chance to cultivate creativity in young artists (Silver & Chalfant, 1983).

CASE STUDIES

When studying graffiti the situations that do require criminalization, such as when the graffiti is created with malice or is intended as vandalism and destruction of property, cannot be overlooked. Both graffiti art and graffiti vandalism occur, and case studies show us the benefits of differentiating the two types of graffiti and acknowledging the history of graffiti in the area. A case study based on interviews with elite artists from both New York City and Los Angeles demonstrates how different history and context can affect which management strategies are best suited (Brewer, 1992). The purpose of the study was to understand what policies graffiti artists thought would be most successful in effectively managing graffiti, why and how the different graffiti scenes' context affected the opinions of the writers (Brewer, 1992). Writers in Los Angeles found legal graffiti walls and graffiti programs most effective, whereas artists in New York believed that criminalization would be most effective. Different history of criminalizing graffiti. Graffiti is only considered 'real' if it is illegal (Brewer, 1992). In Los Angeles, however, graffiti is more superficial and aesthetic, and legal walls are just as attractive to

writers as illegal. Making graffiti illegal has influenced and continues to influence the direction graffiti takes and the actions and beliefs of writers (Brewer, 1992).

Other case studies have been undertaken, most notably in cities in Australia and New Zealand, which study the graffiti context before implementation in order to better understand the situation and make informed decisions on policy, as well as to analyze the success of the policy implementation (Halsey & Young, 2002; Ninnes, 1998; Young, 2010). These case studies show the need for reassessing of the stereotypes applied to graffiti and suggest that regulatory bodies become involved in the complex culture of graffiti in order to find a solution that brings out the positive in the graffiti culture while minimizing the negative aspects (Halsey & Young, 2002; Ninnes, 1998; Young, 2010). Further, case studies offer the opportunity to measure how effective different policy management techniques are and to study how well the policy is suited to the graffiti occurring.

BEST PRACTICE FOR POLICY SUMMARY

Research and learning from other cities demonstrate the likeliness of success when implementing different management strategies. Researching case studies and the documentation completed by cities as they try to better manage graffiti in their city allows for best practices to be compiled. The following is list of strategies that have been proven successful in a wide range of cases and are thought of as effective in managing graffiti. These techniques summarize the trends and findings from many case studies and completed research.

Task Force:

The creation of a task force is a technique used extremely often in graffiti management plans. A task force involves a group of people from a variety of backgrounds, often including businesses, schools, neighbourhood groups, police staff, council members and other members of municipal government (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). A task force aims to create partnerships which work together to address specific community problems such as graffiti.

Education:

Education is often cited as crucial to effective graffiti management strategies (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). The focus is to educate youth and communities on the negative impacts graffiti has on their environments and communities, as well as the importance of civic pride and respect for public spaces to ensure welcoming and well maintained communities (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). This tool often involves going into schools and/or creating awareness campaigns.

Graffiti Hotline:

Most successful management plans have created either an 800 line or website where residents can call to have graffiti removed (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). Communication between residents and graffiti management employees is crucial to timely graffiti removal. A hotline offers a way for residents to play a role in graffiti clean-up, and promotes a feeling of responsibility and pride for their neighbourhoods (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). As residents are able to find graffiti in their neighbourhoods better than a clean-up team, cooperation allows for more graffiti to me removed in less time.

Local Anti-Graffiti Laws:

It has been found that having some sort of law or policy in place to apprehend individuals taking part in the creation of graffiti is effective in deterring the occurrence of graffiti (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). The Graffiti Hurts Program (2014) states that a "fear of getting caught" is often a common response to why taggers would stop tagging. It also serves as a guideline for communities as to what the stance of the municipality is, and what is considered a criminal act. A firm stance encourages residents to take pride in their neighbourhood which helps to remove graffiti. Co-operation between local law enforcement and graffiti management teams and task forces create stronger management plan implementation.

Adopt-a-Spot:

The adopt-a-spot technique in graffiti management is growing in popularity (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). It serves to reduce the resources the city must spend to monitor an area as community members take responsibility for a certain area. It also serves as an education and engagement tool, as community members feel more pride towards their neighbourhood and want to keep it welcoming and well maintained. By providing volunteers with graffiti removal kits this technique often benefits the neighbourhood and the municipality.

Conduct a Local Graffiti Assessment and Keep a Database:

A graffiti assessments and databases are key to effective graffiti management programs as they track the progress and patterns that are occurring and changing in the community. It is found to be helpful to collect data on the graffiti that is currently around the city, as well as when it is removed, costs for removal, and any other relevant data (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). It helps to evaluate the techniques that are being used, offers opportunities for removal, and can help to improve residents' opinions on the work being done and their perception of their environments. It also helps monitor areas that are "hot spots" and keeps track of reoccurring tags. A database can benefit all parties involved in graffiti management.

Engage at Risk Youth:

Many communities combine enforcement techniques with community involvement practices such as social programs and mural initiatives (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). These programs are often found to improve civic pride in youth and in neighbourhoods. The murals help to beautify a neighbourhood and deter graffiti as it demonstrates the area is cared for. Additionally, graffitists will usually respect another's art work.

Removal Kits:

Offering free removal kits for community residents and businesses is a common technique found in many management strategies (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). It offers private owners the resources to maintain their property. Graffiti removal is costly and in some cases outside of the budget of property owners. It also promotes property owners taking the responsibility to clean up their property and encourages neighbourhood pride. By showing that the municipality wants to help the residents, the residents feel more supported which can encourage better cooperation between the city and property owners.

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED):

CPTED stands for Crime Prevention through Environmental Design and is a design process that promotes the creation of safe and secure spaces by designing areas that decrease the opportunities for crime to occur (NCPC, 2003). CPTED has four main principles: Maintenance and Management, Territorial Reinforcement, Natural Access Control and Natural Surveillance (NCPC, 2003).

Maintenance and Management: Well-maintained spaces can create a sense of respect for the place, and dissuade unwanted activities from occurring. The "image" of an area can have a large impact on deterring crime.

Territorial Reinforcement considers the effects pride and ownership of a place has on behaviour. People are more likely to protect an area they feel ownership for; likewise people are more likely to respect an area they feel is owned by another.

Natural Access Control involves designing an area so that physical features such as entrances, fences, landscaping and lighting deter illegitimate users from accessing the space and discourage criminal opportunity. Illegitimate users in this context is defined as someone who is not using the area the way it was programmed, or enter the area with the intention of causing crime.

Natural Surveillance involves designing an area so that the designated uses of the space put "eyes on the street". Aiming to deter illegitimate users by enhancing the feeling that offenders are under surveillance.

Hot Spots:

Targeting "hot spots" and areas that are often tagged is a popular way to manage resources, while still maintaining a graffiti abatement plan. It also emphasizes in the community the municipality's stance on graffiti and demonstrates a graffiti removal action plan. Hot spots are often found through database information collection and local graffiti assessments (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014).

While each of these techniques offer some effectiveness on their own, the most successful cases are those that offer a comprehensive and multi-faceted approach to management and abatement (Graffiti Hurts Program, 2014). Best practices for "good policy" varies, but successful policy is policy which addresses the needs of the community and makes use of the available resources.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

GOAL

To understand where, how, and why graffiti is produced and policed in Halifax in order to inform a graffiti policy that would respect graffiti art while reducing graffiti vandalism

OBJECTIVES

- To identify the types of graffiti occurring within selected study areas
- To assess current policy regulating graffiti and policing practices related to removing graffiti
- To understand the motivations of graffiti writers
- To understand the concerns of businesses whose activities may be affected by graffiti and approach those managing graffiti
- To explore possible revisions to graffiti policies and practices

RESEARCH APPROACH

This study employs a multi-staged, mixed methods approach with both qualitative and quantitative methods. The study included the following methods:

- A review of current graffiti policies and abatement programs set in place by Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM);
- The completion of a graffiti inventory; and
- Interviews of Halifax area graffiti artists, HRM staff, and business owners located in the study area

STUDY AREAS

I have selected the Halifax Business Improvement District and the Quinpool Business Improvement District as the two study areas for this study. The Halifax BID has a higher occurrence of city owned property and partnerships with the municipality while Quinpool BID consists of business and private property owners. I hope that the differences in these two study areas will show the strengths and weaknesses in the current policy and how the different stakeholders address graffiti on their property. Business Improvement Districts were chosen as they offered a predetermined boundary. Additionally, since this study considers business owners opinions, I felt areas where the business owners have proven to be involved in their community would be the most beneficial.

The study areas are delineated on the following pages.

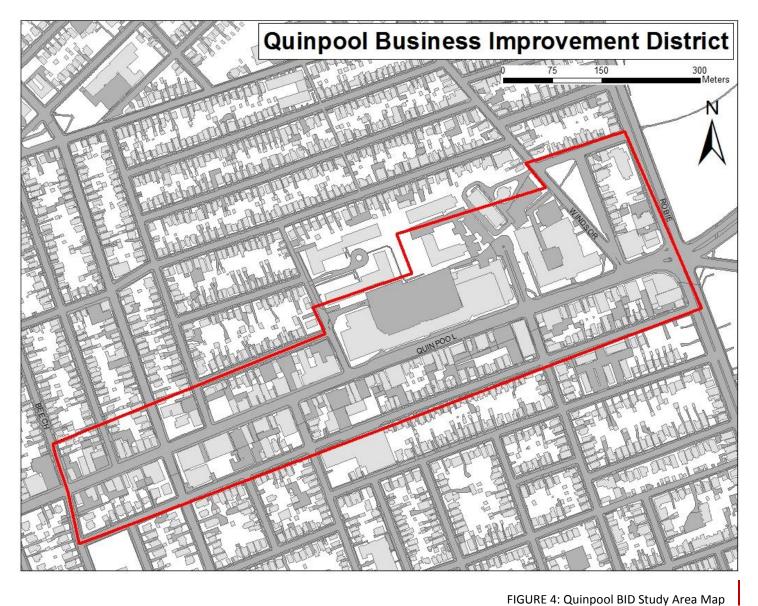


FIGURE 4: Quinpool BID Study Area Map

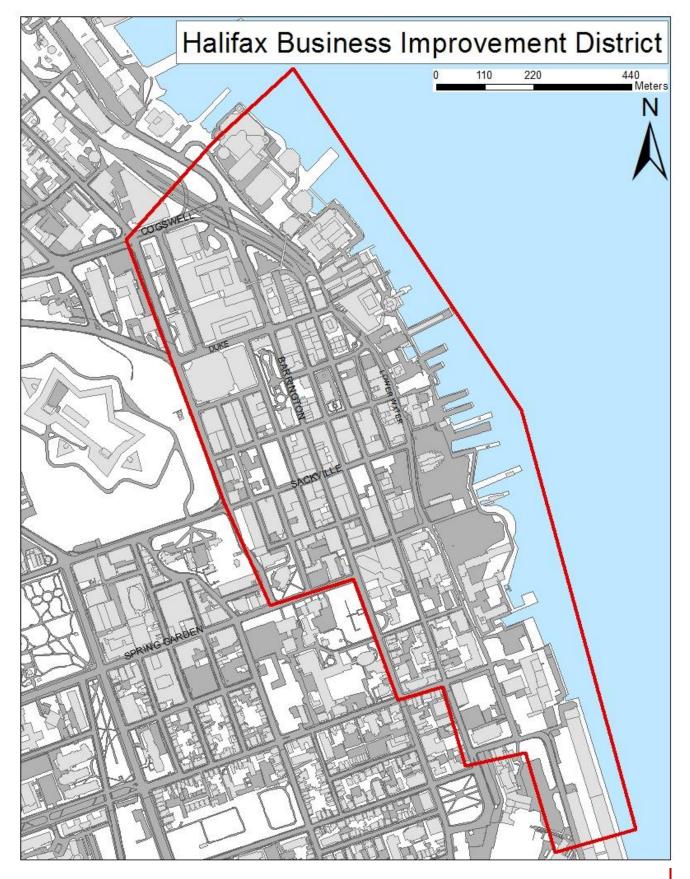


FIGURE 5: Halifax BID Study Area Map

METHODS

REVIEW OF CURRENT GRAFFITI POLICY & PROGRAMS

A review of documentation outlining graffiti policy and abatement programs currently enacted in Halifax Regional Municipality was completed. This included (a) all documents outlining and/or addressing current policy on graffiti; and (b) descriptions of the different graffiti abatement programs legislated. All documentation was found available online. This included policy instated in 2002 and all amendments made up to this point in time.

GRAFFITI INVENTORY

A systematic inventory of the graffiti in selected study areas in Halifax was completed to collect data on (a) what type of graffiti occurs (tagging, throw-ups, or pieces); and (b) where is graffiti most often occurring. This inventory included the documentation of all graffiti, including tags, throw ups, and pieces, within these study areas. Documentation was completed by photographing the graffiti with geo-locating cameras, which allowed me to track the locations of graffiti. Geo-located photos were placed in Google Earth to visually showcase the completed inventory. This method was ideal as it allowed me to highlight the importance of both the type of work and the location of the work. After the documentation phase, the data was analyzed based on type of graffiti and the location to understand where the most graffiti is occurring within the areas and what type of graffiti is most prominent.

INTERVIEWS

This case study included a qualitative collection of data through the completion of interviews with graffiti artists, business owners within the outlined study areas and HRM staff. Prior to the start of interviews, ethics clearance was sought and approved. This study relied on

the Snowball Method to gain participants. The Snowball Method is when one participant refers another who refers another, and so on.

Graffiti artists were required to be Nova Scotia residents, as this study aims to focus on those who shape the graffiti scene over a period of time, rather than university students from abroad who are not permanently involved in the community. Qualitative data collected consisted of (a) what are the demographics of the writers (age, sex, education); (b) what is the motivation behind the graffiti; (c) what were individual writer's reasons for getting involved in graffiti and why do they continue to write; (d) what are the writer's opinions on illegal graffiti; and (e) what are the writer's opinions on current policy (if any).

Business owners and HRM staff were asked (a) their opinion on whether graffiti can be considered art or if it is vandalism, (b) how their opinions shape their motivations related to policy creation, and (c) their opinion on the effectiveness and appropriateness of current policy.

The data was collected using a voice recorder and/or digital notes, and the results of these questions were categorized based on theme and common entities. These common themes were arranged to study the popular trends and similarities between the different interviewees. The findings were analyzed based on how well they answered the research statement guiding questions.

A summary of all data collected can be found in Appendix A.

WHAT IS THE CURRENT GRAFFITI POLICY IN HALIFAX?

The first guiding question to be answered is "What is the current graffiti policy in Halifax?" This question was answered through the completed policy analysis.

Halifax created the Community Response Team (CRT) in 2002 to lead in graffiti abatement strategies. The CRT was responsible for all community crime prevention and was not able to focus adequately on graffiti removal. In 2003 the first graffiti management plan was enacted. Policy has been evolving and improving in Halifax since. Currently the Halifax Regional Municipality has instated the Graffiti Abatement Plan, which is the most detailed graffiti policy to date. This plan was enacted in 2012 and takes the place of the 2006 Graffiti Management Plan. There were two main changes in this Graffiti Abatement Plan. The first was that the plan focused on delineating specific tasks to organizations and making them accountable for results. The Transportation and Public Works Business Unit, the Halifax Regional Police, and Municipal Operations were given lead responsibilities, with additional supporting stakeholders. The Graffiti Abatement Plan outlined clear accountability in regards to results and communication efforts. The second main change was the removal of all urban art projects related to graffiti management strategies. All previous management plans had included urban art initiatives to engage graffitists and youth in graffiti education and community building. The 2012 Graffiti Abatement plan removed this section of the plan, stating that the city felt urban art projects were not an effective graffiti deterrent.

The 2012 Graffiti Abatement Plan recognizes all of the Halifax Regional Municipality as a zero-tolerance zone. It supports this stance with a three day removal policy for all graffiti on HRM's property within the municipality's core. Additionally, HRM regularly monitors the city for graffiti and manages a community call line. The municipality offers the community support through free graffiti removal kits for the use of private property owners and takes a lead role in organizing community clean-ups. Education and accountability programs are run through the city to bring awareness to the zero tolerance stance towards graffiti in the municipality and to demonstrate the need for civic mindedness from all community members. This approach aims to reduce the occurrence of tags by teaching all members of the community, including graffitists, pride towards their neighbourhoods.

The municipality believes enforcement and prosecution are key parts in the success of the recent Graffiti Abatement Plan. HRM staff quotes half a dozen to a dozen convictions this past year, which is an increase from previous years. They aim to show graffitists that the city is dedicated to removing the occurrences of graffiti in Halifax. Halifax has documented a reduction in the quantity of graffiti around the city and attribute this to the quick removal of graffiti. Improvements towards clear and accurate reporting of clean-up, costs, and organized activities have allowed the municipality to document trends related to the success and downfalls of the graffiti abatement plan and make adjustments accordingly.

WHAT IS THE CURRENT GRAFFITI SITUATION IN KEY AREAS OF BUSINESS DISTRICTS IN HALIFAX?

The current graffiti situation is a combination of what graffiti is on the ground, who is creating graffiti, why they are creating it, and what the residents of the city think about graffiti in Halifax. Themes arose from the inventory and interview results collected. The following themes were used in organizing and analyzing the collected data: location, management strategy techniques, art vs. vandalism, social factors, motivation and graffiti community.

LOCATION

Graffiti is a spatial incidence and therefore location has significance in its manifestation. Where graffiti is found offers insight to the considerations of both the graffitists and property owners. The two study areas selected have different street layouts, offering a larger variety of placements for graffiti. A trend that arose was that the majority of graffiti, especially throw-ups and pieces, were found in areas with infrequent pedestrian traffic such as back alleys. This can be seen in Figures 6-8. An additional map illustrating a closer look at graffiti occurrence in all of Quinpool is included in Appendix D.

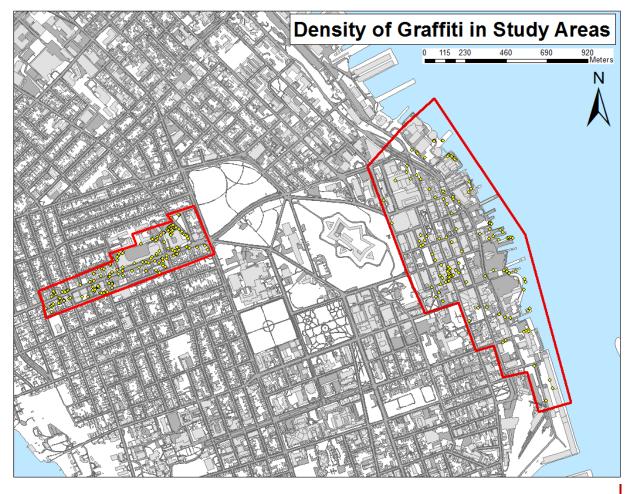


FIGURE 6: Density of Graffiti in Study Areas

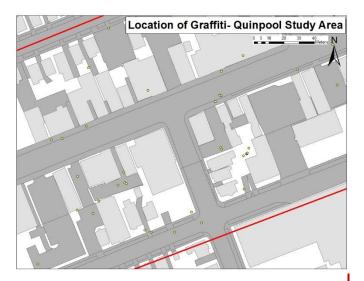


FIGURE 8: Location of Graffiti

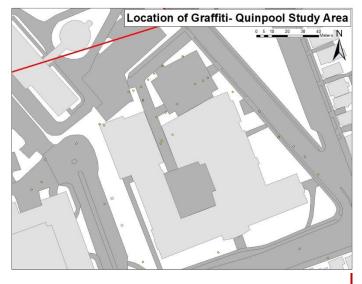


FIGURE 7: Location of Graffiti

The back alley trend can be attributed to three factors. The first is that graffitists want to practice their technique and develop their abilities to create throw-ups and pieces. As these pieces are more elaborate than a tag it takes the graffitists more time to complete. The second factor is that HRM's zero tolerance stance makes it so graffitists must find places where they will have time to complete a piece without someone walking by and catching them. The final factor is that graffiti removal is timely and costly for property owners. While ideally all graffiti would be removed immediately, realistically graffiti that is not going to be seen by customers and neighbours will become a lower priority for removal as it will not have the largest impact on the area. The interaction between these three factors make it so that more graffiti will be found in an area infrequently occupied by residents and customers.

MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

While most participants did not have much knowledge on HRM's graffiti policy they did have opinions on effective methods to manage graffiti. The graffitist did not believe that policy would be effective and management strategies were futile, stating "If people have been creating graffiti throughout history, what makes you think policy will change it?" However, he described the thought process of a graffitist in relation to graffiti being removed, explaining that painting over graffiti quickly deters him and others from painting in that spot again. If his effort is removed before he has a chance to go back and see it he probably won't paint there again. However, if it takes time for the mark to be removed he is likely to go back and paint over that spot again. This compliments the management strategies demonstrated by both HRM's 3 day removal policy and that taken by business owners removing graffiti as soon as possible.

Though all participants agreed that quick removal would deter subsequent tagging, capabilities for realistic implementation was not as consistent. Financial resources and partnerships with the municipality affected how quickly graffiti was removed, and how tidy the removal was. It was found that related to size of study the Quinpool BID had significantly more graffiti that the Halifax BID, as can be seen in Figure 9.

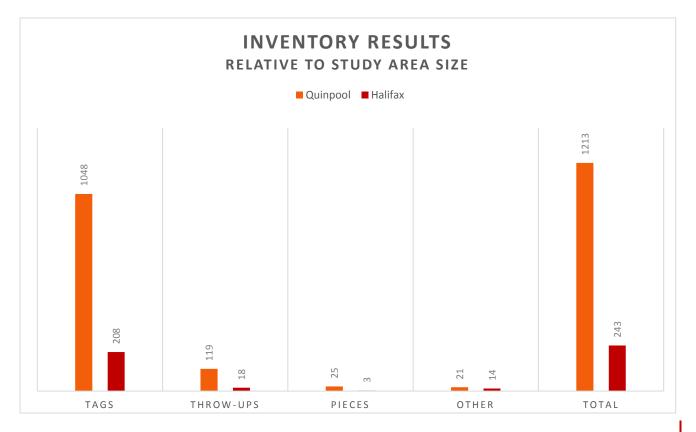


FIGURE 9: Graph illustrating differences in the occurrences of graffiti between the two study areas relative to size.

The inventory also showed that graffiti on HRM property was done quickly and thoroughly, which is appropriate as the municipality is able to allocate the most resources to graffiti removal. The waterfront, located within the Halifax BID, also completed graffiti cleanup quickly and thoroughly. Through the interviews it was found that though much of the waterfront is privately owned. The Waterfront Development Corporation has worked out a partnership with HRM where graffiti on the waterfront is removed by the HRM contractor when graffiti is removed off of city property. Contrariwise, Halifax private property owners often do not have the resources to ensure timely graffiti removal. This was seen in both the Halifax BID and the Quinpool BID. Graffiti was not always removed and when graffiti was removed by private owners' part of the tag could still be seen. There were occurrences where either the outline of the tag was still visible, or a large different coloured section where the graffiti was repainted was obvious.



FIGURE 10: Example of poor graffiti removal in the Quinpool BID Study Area.

Photo taken by Elora Wilkinson, February

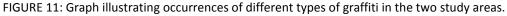
Both business owner and HRM staff highlighted a desire for HRM to step in with graffiti removal on private property. HRM wants graffiti off private owners' buildings as it negatively effects public perception of their success in managing graffiti and the overall appearance of the city. The city went as far as trying to amend the Halifax Regional Municipality Charter to include graffiti in the category 'Dangerous and Unsightly' so that the city could remove graffiti if a private owner refused. However, this amendment was not approved as it was protected by the property owners' freedom of speech. A business owner participant felt that stricter policy for private owners would be effective in forcing private owners to take responsibility for removal on their properties and would like added HRM support through fining for non-removal and funding to give private owners more resources for better removal.

ART VS. VANDALISM

Opinions surrounding what is art and what is vandalism are extremely passionate. Many participants highlighted a difference between vandalism and art, and the majority felt that if graffiti was unsolicited it did not qualify for art- no matter how skillful the piece. Most participants agreed that HRM's zero tolerance stance on graffiti was appropriate. Many expressed strong feelings towards tagging and all except for the graffitist want to remove the occurrence of tags and vandalism in the city. With the desire for the removal of unsolicited graffiti there was also the support for increased solicited public art. Many participants viewed public art projects as a way to deter graffitists, get youth involved in solicited art creation and increase the vibrancy of Halifax as a community.

From the inventory collected it was found that graffiti pieces are few and far between in the two study areas. As Figure 11 illustrates, tags were the most predominant, with throw-ups interspersed occasionally.





The lack of throw ups and pieces in the two study areas made me question why there weren't more artistic pieces being created. Is it because the law does not permit time for creating pieces in these highly populated areas or is there no desire to create pieces on the side of the graffitist? The reason differs depending on person and interest, however graffitists I have spoken with generally would prefer to see pieces and would like to acquire the skill to create pieces themselves. These findings makes me think that the lack of pieces can be attributed to lack of opportunity due to current policy.

Free walls were recurrently brought up as a way to find a median between vandalism and the techniques of lettering and graffiti art. The participants who had previously been involved with the implementation of free walls in the city had found them successful in decreasing the tags on surrounding buildings. Graffitists' in Halifax made use of free walls as they gave them a chance to practice their skill without risk. This is especially true for the graffitist's who see graffiti as an art and would like the chance to create mural pieces in the community. Free walls were also stated as a way to involve the community in public art as anyone is welcome to paint.

SOCIAL FACTORS

Graffiti was repeatedly described as a problem that is a result of many indirect social factors outside of graffiti. These entwined social factors must be considered when addressing management solutions. Respect and social environment were the two prominent societal themes raised by Haligonian participants.

Respect:

The desire for respect is one of the motivators behind graffiti. Youth want respect and believe they can demand it by impacting their environment through tags. They demand respect from others by tagging with skill, often, and in difficult spots. This respect is given in the graffiti community when other graffitists' do not tag over another's work- recognizing each other's time and effort. This culture of respect was supported in the inventory completed. While graffiti often occurred in the same area, it was very rare that any tags or pieces would overlap in anyway. Conflictingly, respect is also a concept that property owners feel graffitists lack. One business owner explicitly stated that she feels violated and infuriated when she is tagged- that the graffitists don't respect her property and the money that goes into maintaining that property.

Environment:

The environments that youth grow up in were mentioned as concerns and beliefs for the creation of new generations of graffitists. One participant whom had worked with youth and graffiti artists observed that graffitists view their environment with a different lens. This lens shows them possibilities to tag and allows them to interact with their environment differently. There is concern with the lack of respect graffitists' show to their environment. One participant suggests the need for more community support for youth, and takes this suggestion a step further by suggesting the creation of graffiti is linked to how youth are taught or not taught to respect their environments and those of others around them. This suggestion is backed indirectly by statements from both the business community and graffitists. Many parents know their children are involved in the creation of graffiti, and many don't get actively involved in discussions with their children. An additional concern that arose is why graffitists feel that need to gain respect and power through dominance over their environment. One participant questioned what society teaches that causes youth to feel that to be respected and powerful they must be dominant over others.

MOTIVATION

From discussions with graffitists and those who have worked with graffitists in Halifax, common reasons stated for graffiti creation were the desire for power, independence and the feeling of invincibility. Sneaking out, going places they're not supposed to, and being able to see their work in public and not get caught all serve to promote these feelings of power and invincibility. These feelings, and the subsequent adrenaline rush, is a reason many continue and find it difficult to stop. Pride acts as a motivator for graffiti creation as the graffitists are proud in the work they create.

GRAFFITI COMMUNITY

'Graffiti community' is a term often used in the literature. One of my goals was to understand the Halifax graffiti community. Opinions varied, though most participants felt that there was not a graffiti community, especially in comparison to other cities in Canada and around the world. However, one graffitist did talk of a community element, though it appeared in a smaller more personal context. For the graffitist, graffiti became a social activity, with more skilled friends teaching the newer artists. They would receive input on their designs and suggestions on techniques. Graffiti was also the basis of friendship, where they would spend time together before going out, plan the night, discuss designs and hang out. The community became a support group based around graffiti, and was strengthened by the secrecy behind graffiti creation.

HOW CAN A GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEXT INFORM THE POLICY?

Best practice suggests that an understanding of a city's graffiti context should be the starting point for policy creation if that policy is to be effective (Brewer, 1992; Gomez, 1992). With the information that has been collected in terms of policy analysis, inventory and interviews, policy suggestions for Halifax can be made. Respecting that graffiti art and the desire to create public art, and graffiti vandalism come from different motivations and should not be treated the same in policy, I have separated my recommendations depending on whether they deter graffiti vandalism or if they encourage public art.

VANDALISM

With the minimal graffiti found on HRM property around the city, discussions with city workers, and the policy analysis completion, I found that Halifax has a good hold on graffiti management and removal. The policy procedures outlined are implemented by the city and as a result there is very minimal graffiti around Halifax.

The area that offered the most opportunity for improvement was the potential for cooperation between private owners and the city to ensure the complete and timely removal of graffiti on private owners' property. Both business owners and HRM staff mentioned a desire for more city involvement with graffiti removal on private property. There are issues of freedom of speech and liability related to HRM removing graffiti from buildings other than their property. Currently it is not feasible for HRM to take responsibility for removing graffiti on private property. A method used by Cambridge, MA in the United States and North Sydney in Australia may address these issues of liability and offer partnership opportunities for the municipality and private owners. Both case study cities needed a way to provide private property owners with assistance removing graffiti and prioritized a graffiti-free city, similarly to the Halifax Regional Municipality.

In this method the city offers to remove graffiti off of private property. In some case studies, the graffiti must meet certain requirements, such as it can be seen from a street. In other cities there are no restrictions. The key element in this co-operation method is that the property owners must complete and submit a waiver form to the city. This waiver form informs the city of the location of the piece of graffiti and gives the city permission to remove graffiti off of the property and explicitly removes liability from the city in terms of damages to the building. This waiver form policy addresses the issues of freedom of speech and liability held in Halifax.

Cost must be considered in the feasibility of the city taking on more graffiti removal. As the municipality already has a contractor removing graffiti around the city, the increase in cost is not as substantial as business owners individually hiring graffiti removal contractors. As well, as the city is removing the graffiti on behalf of the property owners, there is opportunity for fundraising, allocation of taxes, as well as a fee for property owners. While a fee for property owners still hinders private owners with financial difficulties, the city would be able to offer residents a discounted rate in comparison to a private owner hiring a contractor independently. This policy suggestion can be implemented a variety of ways, however in all cases it offers the private owners support for graffiti removal and gives the city an element of control to remove more graffiti. Example waiver forms from these cities are included in Appendix E.

A combination of my research completed and Erickson's study on graffiti in the 1980's (Erickson, 1987) finds that a large portion of Halifax's graffitists are young adults. A second policy suggestion is taken from Cambridge, MA to address underage graffitists. Cambridge, MA has had similar issues to Halifax with youth creating graffiti. One element of Cambridge's graffiti management laws is to remove the driver's license of any graffitists prosecuted in exchange or in addition to fines and other traditional forms of criminalization. Fines are not always an effective deterrent to youth and young adults creating graffiti because the fines are often paid for by guardians. Driver's license suspension personally impacts the individual creating graffiti. Additionally, this punishment may deter older graffitists who may not be able to afford having their license suspended as it would impact work and day to day errands.

PUBLIC ART

Participants highlighted a desire for more public art in the city. This is an area where Halifax has recently taken a step back, as they have removed all art initiatives related to graffiti management in the Graffiti Abatement Plan. Best practice suggests that public art and youth engagement in the creation of public art is a successful way to deter the creation of graffiti (Gomez, 1992). The City of Melbourne has embraced the potential that street art offers. They have become internationally renowned for their vibrant culture resulting from street art, which attracts local and international visitors (City of Melbourne, 2012). It is often said that good art pushes people to stop, think and feel while encouraging healthy debates among its viewers (Irons, 2012). The hope with the following policy suggestions is to promote art, and the consequent discussion and thought among the residents of Halifax, while simultaneously engaging graffitists in the creation of public art and deterring vandalism. Many of the following policy and program suggestions have been taken from other cities who have implemented these programs with success.

Business Involvement:

The City of Melbourne Council's work demonstrates the benefits that can arise when a municipality forms relationships with graffitists and business owners in the community to create street art rather than solely removing tagging (Melbourne, 2012). Melbourne's graffiti policy arose partly due to the design of the city- a large portion of the city is based along laneways which offered an ideal location to create graffiti (Irons, 2012). These issues related to the form of the urban environment is relevant in Halifax. Areas such as the Quinpool Business District offer the same ideal locations to create graffiti.

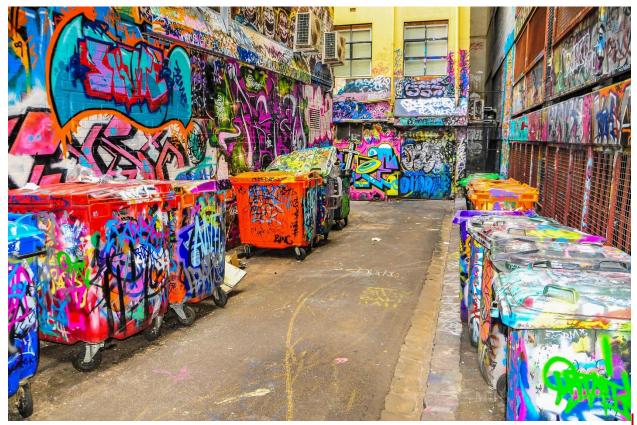


FIGURE 12: Melbourne Graffiti Lane. Photo by Mark Boltman, 2013

Page 33

A common technique implemented in Melbourne involves the use of these laneways and public exhibitions for graffiti. Both the Halifax BID and the Quinpool BID have many walls that would be excellent for this purpose. One possibility for implementation in Halifax is the opportunity to work with businesses and local owners to promote art in the city. This method could involve the creation of an application form by the municipality, which would allow businesses to apply for funding to make use of their blank walls as canvases for art in the public realm. The funding would cover the cost of materials and preparing the wall for the mural. A business tax cut could also be a potential way to encourage businesses to take the initiative to make use of their walls for public art. Another option would be for the municipality to organize the creation of a piece and seek out business owner approval for the use of wall space.

Another way for the city to involve graffitists and promote artful pieces over tagging is for the city to organize graffiti galleries. These can be organized indoor events where a selection of graffitists are asked to contribute pieces and the gallery is open to the general public. This offers the graffitists the chance to display their work in a legal way, and addresses their motivations behind illegal graffiti creation. This event offers graffitists the recognition, independence and respect that they try to gain on the streets. Alternatively, this graffiti gallery could be implemented in an outdoor setting. I suggest that the municipality set aside a wall space for the graffiti gallery and create a process whereby council can accept ongoing submissions from local graffitists and other artists. These artists would receive a permit to paint in that space. This method allows the pieces to be up for a period of time before they are replaced by a new applicant. This gives council control over the content of what is painted, while still respecting elements of graffiti culture such as the importance of the graffiti being seen and the fact that graffiti is constantly changing in its natural form. Alternatively, Melbourne Council offers both new and retrospective permits to protect graffiti murals in the city. Artists are able to apply for a street art permit to create a piece, or to protect a piece already created. The city protects these pieces from removal and keeps this database of permits publicly on their website (Irons, 2012).

Nuschool and NSCAD:

Halifax has a unique advantage for public art with the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCAD) located in the downtown core. There is the opportunity to engage these up and coming artists in the creation of public art in the city and in the mentoring of graffitists who would like to improve their skill and technique. This mentoring process has been done extremely successfully in Iqaluit by an organization called Nuschool Design Agency. Nuschool started in 2009, and has become well known for their dramatic murals throughout the eastern Artic (Dawson, 2012). These murals occur both indoors and outdoors. The content for these murals are based on ideas from the community, giving residents the opportunity to contribute to the public art created, and creating meaningful contributions to the community (Dawson, 2012).



FIGURE 13: Nuschool mural created in 2013 paying tribute to a recent death in the community.

Nuschool murals add to the community by involving local youth in the creation. The murals are often done in two stages, with the first portion being completed by youth. This allows them, as Jonathan Cruz the owner of Nuschool states to "take ownership of the space" (Dawson, 2012). Cruz would have the younger artists complete the mural by filling in outlines, similar to a "paint-by-number", followed by himself and more experienced artists free-styling over the base. This technique allows youth to gain artistic, stylistic and material based skills in a positive, legal environment. It also allows the group to finish a mural that would normally take a month to complete in a week (Dawson, 2012). Nuschool consistently participates and runs

workshops in the community to teach youth artistic skills, as well as to demonstrate the legal possibilities that are available with spray paint as a medium. Nuschool has been able to create a fun environment that helps youth feel welcomed and gives them an opportunity to contribute to their community. While Nuschool is based on a commercial business, a similar program can be implemented by the municipality, learning from the structure of Nuschool and considering the opportunity for cooperation with NSCAD students.

Website:

In order for these policy and program suggestions to be effective in deterring vandalism by giving graffitist alternatives, the graffitists must be aware of these alternatives. My suggestion to improve awareness of programs would be to improve the HRM graffiti website. This suggestion comes from Jessica Irons' master's thesis: *Spray Away: Making the case for legal graffiti as a legitimate form of public art in Sydney,* where she makes specific suggestions to improve Sydney's government website. If Halifax were to transform their website to offer a comprehensive graffiti page where youth and residents can learn about all available legal programs in one space, public art programs created to engage graffitist's would be more widely known through the community. This would offer two benefits: 1) there would be a better chance that graffitists would get involved in these programs and be deterred from creating graffiti illegally, and 2) there is the possibility that general community support, volunteers and funding would increase. Currently public art programs are specifically targeted to certain groups in the Halifax region, and this comprehensive website would remove the boundaries for participation that arise from targeting certain groups and could address all graffitists and public artists equally.

The Halifax Regional Municipality has previously worked with the Waterfront Development Corporation and other organizations to create areas where street art is displayed. However this was before public art as a deterrent for tagging was removed from the policy. I suggest re-implementing public art in the Graffiti Abatement Plan and allocating more funding for the suggested programs and installations to make them more common and celebrated within the city. Public art can benefit Halifax culturally and socially, and should receive funding appropriate for the amount of people who enjoy it and benefit from it. Halifax's removal of public art as a management plan demonstrates the city's undervaluing of art in public spaces and the engagement opportunities it offers youth. If Halifax were to allocate more funding to

promote public art in the city it would be a positive step towards making Halifax a more vibrant city through increased culture and creativity.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Whilst many general conclusions have been made about the context of graffiti in Halifax, supplementary study and public consultations are recommended to further this understanding of motivation and policy that considers the need of graffitists, residents and property owners.

In conclusion, the Halifax Regional Municipality has made good progress in the last decade to address problems related to graffiti in the city. Recent changes to the policy pushed the municipality forward in terms of removing and documenting graffiti, but it has also taken a step back with the removal of public art as a method for graffiti deterrence. HRM must now act on the opportunities it has to improve the vibrancy of the city and encourage the growth of graffitists and other members of the community through skill building and education in the form of public art initiatives. If Halifax moves forward and builds on the opportunities for cooperation with business owners, graffitists and property owners it will minimize the costs of graffiti removal for the municipality in the long term.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Policy Data Collected Appendix B: Graffiti Inventory Data Collected Appendix C Interview Data Collected Appendix D: Quinpool graffiti location analysis map Appendix E: Waiver Forms

APPENDIX A: POLICY DATA COLLECTED

A policy analysis was completed on the documentation of HRM graffiti policies since 2002, tracking all amendments to current policy and new policies implemented.

Community Response Team- 2002:

The Community Response Team (CRT) was created in 2002 to deal with all community crime prevention, and lead in graffiti abatement strategies.

Graffiti Eradication Program- 2003:

HRM's first graffiti management effort was called the Graffiti Eradication Program and was enacted in 2003. It categorized graffiti as vandalism and the program focused on the creation of murals to deter vandals. It focused on developing the 5 E's: Eradication, Education, Empowerment, Enforcement, and Economic Development.

Graffiti Management Plan- 2006/ 2009:

HRM's second graffiti management effort was the Graffiti Management Plan. It was approved by council in 2006, and updated in 2009. This plan built on the Eradication Program, and continued to focus on the 5 E's. The Plan built on the groundwork implemented by the Eradication Program by creating specific policy. This policy consisted of Seven Strategic Areas of Focus which were:

- Zero Graffiti Tolerance
- Rapid Removal and Monitoring
- Community Awareness and Education
- Prevention and Diversion
- Active Enforcement
- Community and Corporate Partnerships
- Understanding and Engaging Graffiti Sub-Culture

The Graffiti Management Plan took a "whole community approach" with management responsibilities lying with all the stakeholders. A leadership role was given to the Community Response Team (CRT) and the plan outlined the creation of a Graffiti Task Force designed to monitor graffiti eradication.

The Graffiti Management Plan included a mural program as part of the seventh strategic areas of focus, to promote urban art and the graffiti culture.

In co-operation with the Graffiti Management Plan the terms of Reference for the Graffiti Task Force were detailed November 2010. The document outlined that the Task Force was created to implement the Management Plan and the policies created within the document. Its role was to organize all stakeholders and the community in a multi-faceted approach to move implementation forward. It consisted of council members, corporate partners and staff representatives.

In May 2011, a request to amend the Dangerous and Unsightly section of the HRM Charter was made. The purpose of this was to include graffiti in the definition of dangerous and unsightly, and would allow HRM to remove graffiti on property other than HRM owned. The decision was based on the theory that graffiti is a social problem, and similarly to the Broken Window Theory, that occurrences of graffiti encourage additional graffiti. However this amendment was not approved, as the choice to leave graffiti on a private property is one protected under Freedom of Speech.

Graffiti Abatement Plan-2012:

The current policy enacted by HRM is the Graffiti Abatement Plan put forward in a report to council in 2012. This report suggested the removal of the 2006 Graffiti Management Plan and the disbandment of the Task Force. The report included a suggested new plan, the Graffiti Abatement Plan and the creation of an Operational Stakeholder Group. The plan focuses on delineating specific tasks to organizations and making them accountable for results.

The Transportation and Public Works Business Unit, the Halifax Regional Police, and Municipal Operations were given lead responsibilities, with additional supporting stakeholders. The Graffiti Abatement Plan focused on similar policies and guiding principles from the Graffiti Management Plan, however it outlined clear accountability in regards to results and communication efforts. While the plan continued to hold the zero tolerance stance on graffiti, it removed all instances of urban art from the plan as the city felt urban art projects were not an effective deterrent. Included in their zero-tolerance stance, HRM outlines:

- Recognize all of HRM as a "zero tolerance zone"
- 3 day removal for all graffiti on HRM property within the municipality's core;
- Regularly monitoring for graffiti by the city, as well as a community call line;
- Offers of support and free graffiti removal kits for the use of private property owners; and
- Lead role in organizing community clean-ups
- Lead education and accountability programs to bring awareness to zero tolerance stance and the need for civic mindedness
- Enforcement and prosecution a key part in success
- Clear and accurate reporting and communication of clean-up, costs, and activities completed required

APPENDIX B: GRAFFITI INVENTORY DATA COLLECTED

The following is a summary documentation of the findings from the inventory completed in each study area. These inventories were completed over a series of days in February. The Quinpool Business Improvement District required two days, spending three hours each day, noting graffiti. The Halifax Business Improvement District required 4 days. Again with approximately three hour intervals in the field.

Quinpool Business Improvement District:

- 255 Tags
- 29 Throw-ups
- 6 Pieces
- 5 other (work not falling under a Tag, Throw-up or Piece category)
- Total of 297 occurrences of graffiti
- Re-occurring and prominent tags were found, with certain tags occurring over 20 times throughout the area, and extending into the Downtown Halifax BID.
- Majority of graffiti occurred in the back alleyways behind businesses and residences
- Only smaller tags were seen directly along Quinpool
- Lots of evidence of graffiti removal (either the tag was traced over in paint leaving an outline, or the paint did not match the colour of the surface accurately)
- Throw-ups and larger tags would occur in areas often empty of pedestrians, e.g. behind the closed education centre
- Tags often occurred in groups, if one person tagged, others would follow in a similar area
- Tags often occurred on garbage bins (personal and commercial)
- Tags were still found to occur on top of electrical boxes with a city mural
- The majority of the street had graffiti- graffiti was evenly distributed down the length of the study area

Halifax Business Improvement District:

- 208 Tags
- 18 Throw-ups
- 3 Pieces
- 14 other (work not falling under a Tag, Throw-up or Piece category)
- Total of 243 occurrences of graffiti
- Very minimal graffiti along waterfront municipal owned
- Graffiti clean-up was not very obvious along waterfront, more visible downtown
- Reoccurring tags were found in the area, some only downtown and some only along the waterfront. However these tags weren't as prominent as they were along Quinpool
- Tags were more in the open, no back alleys to tag in most situations
- Tags often occurred on Bell payphones and newspaper boxes
- Noted: A tag along a large blank area on property up Bishop St, was removed when I went back 2 weeks later. However when I went back down to the area recently it was replaced by two new tags.

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW DATA COLLECTED

Participants were interviewed to find out how different stakeholders in graffiti discussions felt about graffiti. The interviews were held to find out their understandings of policy, their opinions, and the motivations of themselves and other stakeholders. Before the results could be analyzed the collected material first had to be summarized and categorically organized into themes.

Who	
Business Owner	 Understanding that they are responsible for their own property Don't want to take part in creating a negative impact on the neighbourhood Irritated and feel violated If I remove graffiti quickly then they won't tag in that spot again
Graffitist	 When you start tagging it's really hard to stop. It's exhilarating, you get an adrenaline rush from it. Desire to be as good as everyone else motivates you to practice Becomes a social thing. Graffiti was, especially when I was younger, staying up- my parents knew I wrote but they didn't know I was sneaking out- staying up, waiting, sneaking out, going to places you're not supposed to be, putting work in to get to weird places where nobody else would want to do. Hanging around before going out and planning. Made you feel invincible, like no one can touch you. Felt really good to walk by a piece you did and nobody knows it was you that did it. Sense of accomplishment knowing you didn't get caught.
<i>Community Artist</i>	 Trying to create something beautiful for myself /and the client and public. For graffiti: So hard to state, depends on person/piece. E.g. Banksy: I don't think you can pin it down. Is it mainly for a political statement, for fun, do they want someone to buy it, are they just drunk? I love to create, it's my passion.
Municipal Staff	 Apprehend more individuals Keep better records of the graffiti removed, the costs, and who is caught Be as cost effective as possible Want the public to have a positive, graffiti-free perception of the city

Municipal Staff #2	 We want more opportunities for youth to make contributions legally, if you want to make a mark, make it legally. Projects to get the graffiti community involved, trying to create a network with graffiti artists. Tried to develop relationships with young graffiti artists and understand what graffiti is to them Try to stop them before things turn troublesome- Have education programs to show them the connections between graffiti and other elements in their life Focus on place-making projects.
Corporation	 Own old warehouses along Dartmouth Cove, hard to maintain, cheap rents, were getting tagged often, lots of people would complain because they were along the waterfront trail. Cost a lot of money to repaint and remove the graffiti. Wanted a new alternative To remove tagging on other buildings left a free wall open Want to get the best out of people; create opportunities for those who have talent and want an opportunity to practice in a way that's acceptable and encouraged.

Location	
Who Business Owner	 Didn't spend money to clean up tag on back of building where no one can see it Anything on someone else's property is vandalism- not art. If you want to be an artist buy a canvas or your own property Support public art if there was a space city owned or given permission, not squiggly lines. Graffiti has a bigger impact on businesses in Halifax than it does in NYC. NYC has so many people that graffiti isn't as noticeable. Haligonians have a different mentality and are a really finicky population, the smallest thing will set us off and affect our businesses. Graffiti doesn't matter in NYC the same way it matters here.
Graffitist	 Used to spend lunch time painting on a legal graffiti wall near the high school Less tolerated in HRM than in other cities in Canada, etc. The skilled graffiti artists will use free walls to create more elaborate pieces because it's a spot where they can dedicate time without getting in trouble. Beginner taggers can't go over senior artists (respect) Get a rush going to places you know you're not supposed to be Spend time planning and mapping out where they would go
Community Artist	 Create art within the public realm, add colour and give a little extra rather than a grey wall Put up a concrete wall in a park and organize to have it constantly repainted Lots of wall space that could be made use of

Municipal Staff	 Remove graffiti on HRM property and partnership property Tried to get graffiti in the Unsightly and Dangerous act, didn't go through due to freedom of speech so can't clean up graffiti on someone else's property. Agreement to leave the graffiti in the bowl at the Commons Thinks quality pieces on the sides of businesses looks nice
Municipal Staff #2	 Free walls need to be in a place that is often frequented, with eyes on the street and well maintained. Taggers are less likely to tag a place that they feel is cared for. Gain respect from artists by tagging often and in difficult places. Place-making discussions, and discussions surrounding environment they grow up in Different lens for how graffiti artists see the world
Corporation	 Dartmouth Cove- old warehouse buildings really run down, covered in graffiti Along main trail where people walk, lots of people see the murals Free wall, separate from murals with a respected graffiti piece
Inventory	 Graffiti is most prominent and likely to occur along back alleys Larger pieces such as Throw-ups and Pieces are more commonly found in places not highly used by pedestrians Smaller tags occur in prominent areas, such as benches, tables, mail boxes. Graffiti cleanup is more noticeable on private property, especially along Quinpool, while it is harder to notice previous clean-up along the waterfront Tags would re-occur within areas Very little graffiti was found on municipal owned property Tags often occurred in groups, if one person tagged, others were likely to follow There was more occurrences of graffiti within the Quinpool BID than in the Halifax BID, even though the Halifax BID is a much larger area. Tags were still found on electrical boxes with murals on them, though the occurrence was less likely than on unpainted infrastructure. Tags were more likely to occur in the open in the Halifax BID- there are not many back alleys to tag, unlike Quinpool BID

Who	
Business Owner	 It's the property owner's responsibility. If enough people call HRM and complain HRM should come clean it up if the business owner doesn't. I think it should be law that if the business owners don't clean it up the graffiti HRM should fine them. I remove any graffiti on my property right away, even if it is cold out. Usually paint over it- keep extra paint on the property. As long as there is graffiti on buildings the current policy isn't effective Property owners should get rid of graffiti within 7 days. City should either make it law, or put more effort into campaigns/ads/education to make business owners take more initiative in graffiti removal. Quinpool BID organized a fundraiser for graffiti removal because not all business owners would remove graffiti - over \$6000 to remove the graffiti Need stricter policies and fines, if most are under 18 they don't care about the implications, need to make parents responsible and involved
Graffitist	 Free walls won't be effective enough that you would slow down graffition change it- they'd do a piece because it takes time and they'd rather do it on a free wall because they won't get caught during the length of time it takes to make a piece Painting over graffiti quickly is the best way to piss off a graffiti artist. If it' done quickly they probably won't paint in that spot again. If it takes a long time to remove then they will go back. If people have been creating graffiti throughout history, what makes you think policy will change it? Don't like policy so I won't give suggestions Policy won't be effective unless you make repercussions extremely severe If they start trying to catch people based on the tags, artists will just start
Community Artist	 tweaking their style Impossible to create policy that affects everyone's needs Governments need to allocate more funding for urban mural projects, create more programs Encourage urban art/murals/modern lettering within the city- legally Need to have a proper lobbying group in government for public art Any new development needs to have a certain percentage directed towards public art Have an application that businesses with a certain amount of wall space, capital, etc. can apply to get funding to create public art on their property

Municipal Staff	 I believe current policy, strategy and operation is effective: Amount of graffiti has been reduced, if you can remove it quickly it doesn't reappear. Get to it quickly and remove it, 3 days, 24 hours for offensive. Our numbers are down (tags); our education piece is there. ~ ½ a dozen to a dozen convictions a year. The policy is comprehensive from his perspective. Won't clean up graffiti depending on weather, occasionally will repaint instead of removing More cost effective to use a contractor than in-house. In house workers patrol "hot spot" areas Proactive management strategy, few calls in during the year. Offer partnerships with some corporations to remove graffiti for them Offer private property owners graffiti removal kits
Municipal Staff #2	 Need to continue to work with the community justice society and work on educating the youth. Ned to have a back and forth dialogue with artists, creating trust. To gain a better understanding of the motivations you need to have fuller community support. What do they want, what is graffiti to them, what do they need? Believes graffiti is a symptom of the environment children are raised in, need to address the larger social issues. Free walls need to be in a place that is often frequented, with eyes on the street and well maintained. Taggers are less likely to tag a place that they feel is cared for. Education: Have artists going through education program take paper leaves with words on them and discuss what the word means to them and through the lens of graffiti. And then they only put the words on the tree that would lead them to being a better version of themselves. I.e. Respect. Consider the impact it has on your life, does it impact family, does graffiti make the world fall off the tree, if so how far off. Target youth artists through building graffiti networks, and have them sign contract if they are paid to do a mural for the city that they cannot create graffiti illegally. If they are caught creating graffiti they will never be hired again.
Corporation	 Give opportunity for youth to make mark legally, contribute to society HRM removes graffiti along the waterfront Reoccurring mural programs incorporating graffiti artists and other local talents. Include free walls Use the graffiti culture (respect of good work) to manage the free wall-prominent artists mural separating local murals and free wall Hopscotch festival- promoting hip-hop culture, including graffiti

Current Policy	 All of HRM a zero tolerance zone 3 day removal for all graffiti on HRM property within the municipality's core
	 Regularly monitoring for graffiti by the city, as well as a community call line Offers of support and free graffiti removal kits for the use of private property owners
	 Lead role in organizing community clean-ups Lead education and accountability programs to bring awareness to zero tolerance stance and the need for civic mindedness Enforcement and prosecution a key part in success Clear and accurate reporting and communication of clean-up, costs, and activities completed required

Business Owner	 If it's not your property it is vandalism It looks terrible and it makes the neighbourhood look like a slum. I believe even one tagged building permeates to the entire neighbourhood. It's all negative energy coming from a tag, even if it's artistic, still negative Don't make your issue someone else's problem, some people have a cause- it causes the city money It pisses me off. I feel violated and it costs so much money. Its infuriating and frustrating I have more respect for someone who would steal from my shop rather than graffiti, at least they'd use the thing, graffiti is just destruction
Graffitist	 You want to develop your own style and become skillful. You practice so you can become good. Mentors to help develop skill, want each one to be unique, but still has techniques and rules Some have taken the skills to jobs, NSCAD, etc.
Community Artist	 Love the medium of spray paint, lettering work and urban murals Opportunity for young artists (graffitists) to make a career in art Graffiti causes more problems than benefits, if you want to paint there are opportunities for public art and engagement Doesn't support graffiti work, but big advocate for urban murals , can't just paint wherever you want
Municipal Staff	 Tags are offensive and not art, but I would consider a nice mural artistic and wouldn't mind that on the side of my business if I had one. Public perception is important- they think its vandalism

Municipal Staff #2	 I think when public art is made, whether legal or not, that to me it is about whether it is a gift for the people to see. Is it about bringing something to the lives of those that see it, and/or can it be a stimulus for discussion? Tagging is not a gift to other people, it is about promoting the individual at the expense of others. Doesn't add to the discussion Individual vs. collective Lots of cute graffiti around town
Corporation	 Hired a graffiti artist to organize the art side of the event Hold mural events open to everyone, spray paint murals welcome 2nd mural project more focused on "contemporary art" which is more inclusive of graffiti, and targeted younger, less developed artists
Current Policy	 Zero Tolerance: all marking is illegal The difference between art and graffiti is that art is done on property with the permission of the property owner. Art is a creative and productive form of expression. Graffiti is a crime. Graffiti is writing, drawing, or symbols applied to any surface without the permission of the property owner. Graffiti is an act of vandalism that places a significant burden on the Municipality's budget. Graffiti may also cause local property values to decrease and can result in a heightened fear of crime in the community.

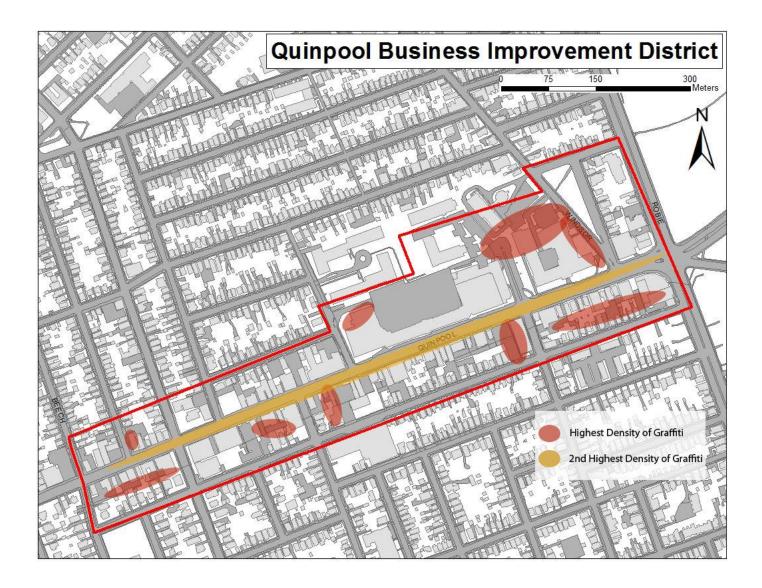
Who	
Business Owner	 Individuals are responsible for their own property, in terms of clean up, their decisions to clean up or not affects the appearance of the neighbourhood Different mentality in Halifax, has less people, more finicky, graffiti has a larger impact on the success of businesses If you want to be an artist buy a canvas, don't make your problems other people's problem and cost them money. Graffiti crosses a lot of social issues and a lot of different views Their actions are causing other people money, and it's frustrating and infuriating. Graffiti is just destruction of someone else's property

Graffitist	 Developed relationship with another writer who taught him the basics of outlining and input to improve his work. Would learn the "rules and regulations to follow" Friends would go down and paint on a free wall during lunch time in high school, wouldn't even eat lunch Stopped painting because other things in life became more important and the risks of being caught stopped being worth it. Graffiti not accepted in Halifax There is a community, mentorship; older more experienced writers give tips, and suggestions. Desire to be as good as others, social hierarchy based on how skilled you are Can see the influences of mentor writers in the styles of new writers Respect for the more skilled artists work, won't paint over someone's tag. Usually only the skilled artists will go down to free walls, and the less experienced won't tag over it. If a punk kid scratches it out, the same skilled artists will go back and repaint. I won't paint on a free wall because I'm not skilled enough Part of the scene was going to Canadian tire and stealing paint, but that always stopped as soon as you turned 18 Became a social thing, we would sit around together before going out and plan what we would do and map where we would go, and give each other input, and just hang out
Community Artist	 Opportunity for young artists to make a career coming from graffiti background Visual arts are generally underfunded and underweighted in importance Businesses could offer to put murals up on the sides of their businesses, but that is out of their pockets because it is privately owned Public murals are a good way to start social interaction, get conversations going, aesthetically beneficial, most people enjoy the art work. Start a dialogue between members of the public and public and the artist. Graffiti causes more problems than it creates benefits, if you want to paint there are opportunities, and opportunities within relationship building I don't think we have a graffiti community, yes some people take part in graffiti, but not a large issue, don't see it often in the community , I don't think there is a network of graffiti artists Opportunity for it to interact with a large population, can be considered sustainable community development, give a little extra in your community rather than a grey wall Opportunity for relationships between public, partnerships, organizations and the government
Municipal Staff	 Partnerships created to help with graffiti removal costs and management Dangerous and unsightly amendment-didn't go through, due to concerns of freedom of speech. Therefore HRM can't remove graffiti anywhere else (aka Quinpool businesses) Public perception of graffiti and removal effectiveness is important to HRM, can't remove graffiti on businesses but it effects the public's perception on the removal work HRM is doing

Municipal Staff #2	 Want to have an opportunity for youth to make their mark in society, but legally Find ways to reach out to graffiti artists to take part in mural projects By talking to graffiti artists we found some reasons they take part in graffiti. Such as a desire for power and independence. It is a draw to them, that they can do what they want, similar to a superhero, someone invisible. It makes life exciting, having some independence, and taking action themselves to create that. It also calms anxiety, it acts as a stress release, and is something stabilizing when things are going bad. It helped some from doing more drugs, they'll go do graffiti instead. It also changes the screen that you use to see your environment, they are always looking for spots and how fast they could tag without anyone noticing. Respect is often a big deal, kids want respect from it, demand other people's respect, and feel they gain respect for doing it [creating graffiti] often, in difficult places, and by doing it well. Need more community support for kids. An issue related to graffiti is how youth view their environments and how they respect them and others around them. This has a lot to do with how they are raised and what we are telling them. Need to teach them they don't need to prove anything, e.g. what does it mean to be a man- kindness not power over things/others Hard for task force to address these larger society issues. Graffiti isn't just expensive to remove, but should also consider the costs of the issues arising from these larger societal issues not being addressed, i.e. need social workers, people not contributing to society. Is the graffiti valuing the individual over the collective I think that when public art is made, whether it is legal or not, that it's about whether it is a gift or other people who see it. Is it about bringing something to the lives of those that see it? Can it be a great stimulus for discussions, i.e. political?
Corporation	 Support event promoting hip hop culture Tried to get a variety of people to take part in mural projects, targeted youth for one project to get them involved. Good public feedback: " I don't know what it is but I like it" Have a group of graffiti artists work together on a mural Murals with a theme to promote the city I don't know if I would call the graffiti community a "community" Have a graffiti artist create a piece to buffer the murals and the free wall, showing an understanding of graffiti culture on respect. Mural project helps promote awareness for all art in the public realm Testament to the community that these murals have such a longevity, don't get tagged over, Creates opportunity for them to make use of their skills, not just bums on the street with spray cans Want to have a way to encourage those graffiti artists with skill and interest and help get the best out of them

Policy Knowledge	
Who	
Business Owner	 Don't know much about it So long as there's graffiti on buildings it hasn't been effective. Property owners should get rid of graffiti within 7 days
Graffitist	 Painting over graffiti is the best way to piss artists off. It is a lot of work to go out and paint- and then you wake up its already gone. If people have created forms of graffiti since the dawn of time, what makes you think a policy is going to stop it? Policy won't ever be effective.
Community Artist	 Graffiti Task Force is no longer relevant I think current policy is effective. We need to have something in place to regulate graffiti management. Some businesses remove graffiti, some of the population won't remove it, and some think graffiti is ok.
Municipal Staff	 I believe current policy, strategy and operation is effective and comprehensive Amount of graffiti has been reduced- if you can remove it quickly it doesn't reappear. The key is to get to it quickly and remove it (3 days, 24 hours for offensive tags). Our numbers are down (tags) and our education piece is there. ¹/₂ a dozen to a dozen convictions a year. Task force has been disbanded.
Municipal Staff #2	 I think when public art is made, whether legal or not, that to me it is about whether it is a gift for the people to see. Is it about bringing something to the lives of those that see it, and/or can it be a stimulus for discussion? Tagging is not a gift to other people, it is about promoting the individual at the expense of others. Doesn't add to the discussion Individual vs. collective Lots of cute graffiti around town
Corporation	 Have not read the final policy- I know council wanted to keep the art program part of the policy which was highlighted as being cut, but I don't know what the final decision was. Previous management plan was effective as we got to develop a relationship with young artists and learn what graffiti was about for them, what they wanted.

APPENDIX D: QUINPOOL GRAFFITI LOCATION ANALYSIS MAP



APPENDIX E: WAIVER FORMS

- North Sydney, Australia
- Cambridge, MA

AGREEMENT

REMOVAL OF GRAFFITI FROM PRIVATE PROPERTY BY NORTH SYDNEY COUNCIL



PARTIES TO AGREEMENT

North Sydney Council

200 Miller Street

Property Owner/s:

NORTH SYDNEY NSW 2060

Phone: (02) 9936 8100

Phone:

DESCRIPTION

The property located at ______ (the **Property**) has been a target for illegal graffiti.

Under this agreement, North Sydney Council will address the problem of recurring graffiti on the Property by undertaking to remove graffiti as soon as possible following it being reported to Council. Graffiti will only be removed by Council if:

- It can be seen from a public road, public park or other land the general public is allowed to use.
- Its removal can safely be undertaken by a two-person crew without the aid of scaffolding or other specialised lifting equipment.
- Its removal can safely be undertaken with limited traffic control equipment that can be reasonably carried in the vehicle being used by the two-person crew.

Removal of any graffiti from surfaces on the subject property will be undertaken by Council at no cost to the property owner.

CONDITIONS OF AGREEMENT

- 1. Under this agreement the Property Owner gives Council authority to remove any graffiti from surfaces on the Property at the sole discretion of Council and without prior consent from the property owner on each occasion.
- 2. This agreement excludes the removal of engraving or glass etching graffiti.
- 3. The Property Owner is required to phone through reports of graffiti on their property to Council's Customer Service on (02) 9936 8100.
- 4. All works carried out by Council to remove graffiti will be undertaken at no cost to the Property Owner.
- 5. Upon signing this agreement the Property Owner will provide Council with any relevant information which may affect Council or the Property Owner in regard to removal of graffiti from the Property. Such information may include paint codes for colour matching purposes or details of any protective coatings previously applied to the agreed surfaces.

Agreement for Removal of Graffiti from Private Property by North Sydney Council

- 6. On each occasion, Council's Contractor will make reasonable attempts to inform the Property Owner of its intention to remove graffiti from the Property prior to commencing any graffiti removal works.
- 7. Council will use "best practice" to remove any graffiti from the Property. However Council will not be held liable for any damage caused by these practices in the graffiti removal process.
- 8. Either party may terminate this agreement upon providing to the other party 14 days written notice, in which case the parties are released from all obligations under this agreement.
- 9. Should the Property Owner sell the property the subject of this agreement, the owner will forward to Council, details of the purchaser of the property within five business days following the sale.
- 10. Council will provide public liability insurance cover for all graffiti removal activities occurring under this agreement.

Signed for an on behalf of North Sydney Council:

Signature:	Date:
Name (print):	
Witness:	Date:
Signed by the Property Owner of : Signature/s:	Date:
Name/s (print):	Address:
Witness:	Date:
Name (print):	Address:

PRIVACY STATEMENT

Personal details requested on this form will only be used for the purpose of processing your application. The supply of information by you is voluntary. If you cannot provide or do not wish to provide the information sought, the Council may not be able to process your application. Access to the information is restricted to Council officers and other authorised people. You may make application for access or amendment to information held by Council. Applications by members of the public to view Council's records are subject to the provisions of Council's Privacy Management Plan, *Section 18 Government Information (Public Access) Act 2009 & Schedule 1 - Government Information (Public Access) Regulation 2009.*

I have read and understand the Privacy Statement				
Signed:	Date:			

REMOVAL OF GRAFFITI AGREEMENT

AND RELEASE OF LIABILITY

The City of Cambridge ("the City") at its sole expense agrees to remove graffiti insofar as practicable on the exterior of the building owned by me/us ("the Owner") identified below. The Owner hereby authorizes the City, its employees, agents and/or contractors to remove the graffiti from the building owned by Owner.

Building with graffiti:

Address

The City may use such equipment, machinery, materials and processes, including grinding with abrasive, sandblasting, or water pressure, which the City in its best judgment deems most efficient, practical and appropriate for the purpose of removing the graffiti, but only after consultation with the Owner.

The Owner understands that the City is willing to undertake this action at public expense to further the public purpose of beautifying the City's business districts and neighborhoods, but that the City's willingness to do so is expressly on the condition that the City shall assume no liability for any damage which may result from its action.

Accordingly, I/we, the Owner of the above-mentioned property hereby release, hold harmless and forever discharge the City, its officers, agent and employees, of and from any and all claims, actions, causes of action, liabilities, loss, damage, demands, costs, loss of profits or income, disruptions, or interruption of business, expenses or compensation, including attorney fees, on account of or in any way arising out of, directly or indirectly, any personal injury or property damage resulting from any act or omission of the City related to the work or activities undertaken or to be undertaken by the City in connection with the aforesaid removal of graffiti, except for acts of gross negligence or willful misconduct. By my/our signature below, I/we certify and affirm that I/we are the current legal title owner/s of the property containing the "building with graffiti" identified above and that I/we have the authority to execute this document, this ______ day of ______, 200__.

By:

Owner

Owner

Printed name

Address

Address

Telephone

Telephone

Printed name

For the City:

Commissioner of Public Works

APPENDIX F: GRAFFITI INVENTORY PHOTOS ONLINE

All geo-located photos collected during the study area inventories are available for public viewing online.

The Halifax BID study area photos are available at:

https://picasaweb.google.com/109857906610375124816/HalifaxBID

The Quinpool BID study area photos are available at:

https://picasaweb.google.com/109857906610375124816/QuinpoolBID