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# Stakeholder engagement in infrastructure projects through Art in Infrastructure Delivery

Panel on Public Participation and Democratic Legitimacy of Public Infrastructure Projects

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## Introduction

Government is a major client of infrastructure projects and can exert considerable influence on the industry sector through the government's regulatory power and the sheer scale of procurement of public works currently underway in Australia at the moment. Government can also seek to satisfy a range of different interests in the delivery of infrastructure projects in order to achieve multi-outcome objectives of government. However, the best way of engaging with stakeholders in the planning and delivery of public works has yet to be resolved, and is the focus of this panel.

To explore the engagement of stakeholders within the planning and delivery of public works in Australia, this paper will examine a distinctive aspect of the delivery of infrastructure projects in Australia – public art. Specifically, the paper examines how an innovative policy for integrating the acquisition and creation of public art into public infrastructure projects in Western Australia can serve as a mechanism for understanding how to engage stakeholders in the planning and delivery of infrastructure projects in a democratic polity.

Public art in infrastructure projects in Western Australia is implemented through a Percent for Art policy. The Western Australian Percent for Art policy mandates a percentage of the funding for an infrastructure project be allocated to the development of public art. The public art works are typically integrated into the function or form of the infrastructure itself and have a practical as well as aesthetic purpose. An outcome of the Percent for Art policy is the requirement to engage stakeholders normally excluded from decision making in the procurement process, particularly the users and wider community associated with infrastructure projects.

Watermayer (2000) suggests that procurement linked to social objectives may produce positive economic benefits including acting as a stimulant to economic activity, improving competitiveness with other sectors, redressing regional disparity, promoting employment of those in disadvantaged employment groups, allowing environmental sustainability and developing markets for locally sourced labour and products. However, the mix of market and state-driven imperatives in contractual arrangements is not without problems. Potential difficulties identified by Watermayer (2000) include issues of overburdening administrative capacity of governments in procurement oversight, creating unfair competition, compromising value for money in projects, creating a situation in which the private sector is unable to deliver efficient and effective projects and exposing government to high level risk.

Based on qualitative case study research, this paper argues that the Percent for Art policy provides a mechanism that engages key stakeholders into decision making processes concerning infrastructure projects which would not occur without the policy being in place. The stakeholder engagement will be demonstrated to result in a number of unique outcomes that includes increased ownership of the asset, reduced vandalism, and enhanced function of the asset. The outcomes are largely a result of the way that the engagement occurs under the Percent for Art policy and how the policy practically influences the perceived legitimacy of the infrastructure project. This research project examines in detail these potential benefits and costs from the perspectives of a variety of stakeholders. This paper investigates public works procurement policies in Western Australia with the embedded social objectives of the provision of public art, particularly how such policies facilitate the engagement of a larger range of stakeholders than would otherwise be the case.

An overview of public art and percent for art from an economics perspective is undertaken in the next section which will provide a suitable foundation for a detailed analysis of the costs and benefits of this policy from the perspective of a variety of stakeholders.

### *What is public art?*

Public art is aimed at the general community and is designed for open access viewing rather than viewing in galleries (Miles 1997; Fleming and Goldman 2005; Hein 2006). Public art exists in different contexts and mediums which include traditional art, sculpture and installations as well as visual technological art pieces (Lacy 1995). Public art is typically installed in public space and public buildings (Armajani 2004). It is this very public, and often non-optional, viewing of public art which is a key distinction to private art which people choose

to see. The classic example of this is that of a person who chooses to enter an art gallery and view the art on display there, as opposed to the person who enters a public building for another purpose, but must view art on display in that location (Fleming and Goldman 2005). A particular challenge results from the propensity for art to challenge and critique the status quo, which clashes with the role of public space as an open community space that is free from confronting imagery<sup>1</sup> (Levine 2002). The visibility of public art thus creates difficulties due to its 'inescapability' (Sharp, Pollock and Paddison 2005).

Various funding mechanisms exist for the procurement of public art. The main approaches to the funding of public art are either through direct funding, in the form of tenders, subsidies, grants, and the various percent for art schemes, or to indirect funding, where government provides incentives or tax benefits for individuals and firms which subsequently invest in public art (Strom and Wyszomirski 2004). This paper examines the percent for art program as a specific funding mechanism for public art.

Percent for art policies that require artworks to be included as part of the contractual arrangements for the construction of public buildings are prevalent in many countries of the world and form a significant part of funding for the visual arts (Hall and Roberston 2001). Buenders (2007, 49) notes that 'percent of art' policies in most countries in the West require that a certain percentage of the construction costs be spent on public, functional art in or outside a public building, and that these policies "were all about changing the environment – and the citizens themselves – for the better". As with the other public policies under examination in this paper, the inclusion of functional art is part of the contractual arrangement for the procurement of public works by government. Thus, percent for art policies are explicitly concerned with achieving multiple social outcomes through the procurement of public works.

### **Application of theoretical framework to percent for Art projects**

As was noted earlier, embedding of social outcomes in public works procurement contracts raises a number of challenges, as it adds to the complexity of the deliverables for a given contract, and percent for art is no exception to this rule. Adding a requirement to produce functional, public artworks to the specification of contracts for the construction of public buildings is an innovative but complex policy instrument. Firstly, the specification of the artwork is difficult as perceptions of the quality and style of the artwork is not easy to distil from the 'public'. It is argued 'good art' is difficult to achieve contractually beforehand (McCarthy 2006) due to different perceptions between stakeholders about what 'good art' looks like. Even after completion, considerable controversy can surround a particular piece of art (Heartney 2005), and this can result in ongoing expense to improve or remove the artwork (Conner, Brockway and Henning 1994). The difficulty in specification leads to what Globerman and Vining (1996) describe as task complexity. Another element which exacerbates the complexity of contracts is the specificity of the asset (Globerman and Vining 1996). Where the asset is highly specific to a particular locality, as is the case with percent for art (Fleming and Goldman 2005), this can greatly increase potential bargaining costs and risks, as the asset cannot be easily relocated or removed. The final issue which adds to the complexity of embedding public art in public works procurement contracts relates to the presence of significant externalities, whereby the main beneficiaries of public art are community members, not the immediate contract participants. These aspects are expanded on in the rest of this sub-section.

### ***Perspectives on Percent for Art from Economic Theory***

The work of Globerman and Vining (1996) provides a useful framework for examining procurement contracts, particularly their concepts of task complexity, contestability and asset specificity which have particular applicability to the delivery of multi-outcomes through the percent for art process, which is embedded in public works contracts. These concepts, together with a discussion of how social outcomes are achieved through public works contracts which include a percentage for public art, are discussed below.

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<sup>1</sup> It is this propensity for public art to confront and provoke, which can prove to be a major difficulty for government funding of public art, a point which shall be returned to later.

### Task complexity

According to Globerman and Vining (1996) task complexity increases with the difficulty in specifying and measuring the quality of a particular service or product. For public art the specification and measurement of 'good art' is exceedingly difficult, as there can often be a difference of opinion between artists, government and community as to what constitutes 'good art'. The differences of opinion as to what is 'good' or 'poor' art takes a number of forms:

- Public art that is viewed by artists as bland, or user friendly art (McCarthy 2006). The limitation here is that stakeholder bargaining sessions embedded in the procurement of percent for art process, tend to result in art that is more palatable to the majority of the public and is therefore less confronting or objectionable (Hein 2006), and, to artists, less like art.
- A second difference of opinion is where public art which is viewed by the community as objectionable (McCarthy 2006). Here the artist produces art without taking into consideration the needs, desires, or views of the community. It is when public art is objected to by its intended audience that governments have the most difficulty, particularly as it was paid for by public funds (Brooks 2001). Many authors have argued that the best way to overcome this potential detrimental outcome, is to engage representatives of the community as stakeholders in the decision making process early and throughout the process of creating the public art (Lidman and Bisesi 2005).
- A third difference has been termed the 'commoditisation of art' (Miles 1997), where art is viewed as a commodity as opposed to meaningful expression of the artist or local community. The commoditisation of art involves artwork that does not hold any meaning for the local community and is art for art's sake, rather than public art.
- A fourth difference is where public art as a replication of official aims of the public sector (McCarthy 2006), and not necessarily of the community it is placed within. Examples of this might be Soviet Realism which furthered the objectives of a given government, which meant that it is government art, or public sector art, rather than public art. Finally,
- The last difference is where the art has multiple interpretations. The multiple interpretations may result in difficulty in reading and understanding public art (Hein 1996), or to a polarisation of the public perceptions on a particular piece of art.

Summarising these differing views then, Brecknock (1992, 6–7) argues that

...the big question with regard to true Public Art is how to achieve a blend between high standards of artistic merit while at the same time developing public ownership of the work. The challenge is to find ways of providing mechanisms for community consultation and participation in decision making process. Without doubt this is one of the most complex issues facing the government agencies; they are caught between a rock and a hard place.

Percent for art as a policy attempts to address this difficulty as the art work is procured as a percentage of a larger suite of public works, which means that the procurement of the artwork often involves the inclusion of a large range of stakeholders – the owners of the building, the architect, the department of public works who are managing the construction process, together with end users of the building (Department of Culture and the Arts 2003). It is this "partnership in public procurement" (Erridge and Greer 2002) which is held to enhance trust and other positive externalities, important elements which shall be returned to at a later point.

One of the potential sources of difficulties however, in engaging multiple parties to decision making process in percent for art projects, occurs when there are differing goals between artists, government and the public who are the end beneficiaries of any piece of public art (McCarthy 2006). Difficulties in this relationship emerge as the various stakeholders have different goals and these goals are in conflict (Trimarchi 2003, 373). The end outcome of a given percent for art project is also typically quite difficult to specify contractually, due to potential differences of opinion among those who are involved in the process (Brecknock 1992, 6–7). In this sense, the outcomes of public art projects are considered highly complex and in Globerman and Vining's 1996) analysis

this complexity raises bargaining costs and risks. This may undermine the efficiency of percent for art schemes.

### Information Asymmetry

Another difficulty noted in principal-agent theory is that any procurement, including the procurement of public art, can involve information asymmetry (Trimarachi 2003), as differing stakeholders have different information about relevant aspects of the contract under negotiation. The withholding of this information can result in significant bargaining costs (Globerman and Vining 1996). In percent for art projects, these information problems are typically compounded by the relatively large number of parties involved in the development of the art work. Parties include the artist, who is contracted to provide the art work; the art coordinator, who provides expert advice on the planning and delivery of percent for art; community representatives – who provide specific information about the site, including information on the locality's history and inhabitants; the architect – who has to accommodate the percent for art into the overall project, and the public works coordinator who has overall supervision of the construction process (Department of the Arts 1990).

However, weighed against these contracting complexities are a number of other considerations. First, many percent for art schemes aim to promote an open dialogue between artists and the community members (Lidman and Bisesi 2005). That is, percent for art schemes aim, in part, to maximise the number of participants and should, therefore, be evaluated, in part, against this objective. Fleming and Goldman (2005) argue additionally that the involvement of multiple individuals in the decision making process improves the quality of the art work (Fleming and Goldman 2005). Supporting this, a number of authors have identified that the inclusion of community via percent for art schemes helps reduce the risk of 'plop art' or 'plonk art', that is, artwork that is neither integrated to the building nor into the culture of the community, and is therefore derided by the community it was meant to benefit (Conner, Brockway and Henning 1994; Heartney 2005; Anderson 1998). Adams (1997) asserts further that community participation within the commissioning process of public art provides benefits for the community members. Specifically, the experience of being part of the development of public art may provide the opportunity for community members to develop "their capabilities as active citizens in shaping the environment in the future" (Adams 1997, 237).

In summary, whilst Globerman and Vining (1996) argue that when there are multiple stakeholders involved in the delivery of a project, there is an opportunity for one or other party to take advantage of the information asymmetries that inevitably arise. Against this, engagement with the community, the artist, and government is considered essential to ensure that the art is relevant to the local community and thus is considered good art. The resolution of this dilemma requires a high level of trust in order for the various parties to work effectively (Erridge and Greer 2002). The challenge here is how to provide appropriate incentive mechanisms which reduce information asymmetry and improve social outcomes (Mazza 2003).

### Asset specificity

Percent for art potentially adds further complexity to the bargaining of public construction contracts due to the high level of site specificity of public art. Unlike private art, public art is typically restricted to a single physical location. This lack of mobility adds to the risks associated with contracting the art work. That is, there is little to no ability to disinvest in an investment in a percent for art project. However, against this, it can also be said that the unique local characteristics of a particular public art project maximises community involvement in the commissioning process, and a strong relationship is able to develop between the context of the building, environment, and the artwork (Fleming and Goldman 2005). The strong relationship enables the public artwork to take into account the site's symbolic, social and political meanings to ensure the site-specificity of the artwork (Deutsche 1998). In this way, public art will work with the 'social content' of the community (Armajani 2004, 70).

### Contestability

Limits to the contestability of the 'market' for percent for art projects also adds to the potential costs and risks of these schemes. As was outlined in earlier sections, contestability refers to the ability of new market

participants to compete effectively for contracts. It is a key component of market competition, which, of course, is commonly linked to market prices and efficiency.

Generally, there is very little evidence of a shortage of artists. However, the number of artists with the business and other skills needed to compete effectively for public art contracts may be relatively small and this may contribute costs and risks. The design of percent for art schemes may be critical in ensuring that a sufficient pool of potential artists is available.

### Externalities

Globerman and Vining (1996) argue that the presence of externalities in contract outcomes is yet another source of complexity in government contracts. This issue is particularly relevant to percent for art because the primary benefits derived from this scheme are, in fact, external benefits. That is, the benefits of public art, in the main, accrue to (and are intended for) community members who are not included directly in the negotiation of the building contract (Frey 1999)<sup>2</sup>. However, as is outlined in the paragraph below, consideration of external benefits contribute a highly positive perspective on percent for art schemes.

Phillips (2004) suggests that the key external benefits of public art projects include improvement in the amenity and aesthetics of a community. As a major proponent of public art, Robbins (1963) argues that a key external benefit is the cultural development of communities – who would not otherwise have access to public works of art. Specifically he argued that the beneficiaries of public art provision:

are not restricted to those immediately prepared to pay cash but diffuse themselves to the benefit of much wider sections of the community in much the same way as the benefits of the apparatus of public hygiene or of a well-planned urban landscape (Robbins 1963, 59)

The external benefits of public art have been grouped in the relevant literature under six category headings: amenity; artist benefits; building benefits; community benefits; economic benefits; and social psychological benefits.

Amenity is one of the main beneficial outcomes from public art. Amenity includes aesthetic and decorative benefits, the benefits obtained from reduced vandalism, and also benefits from increased public ownership. Public art is argued to improve the visual appeal or amenity of buildings. As any building can take on a drab and dour form, percent for art aims to improve the amenity of the building so that it is 'charming, sociable inspired and provides a decorative richness' (Gopnik 2005, 11). As Robbins (1963, 55) noted "why should public buildings be the only buildings to be unadorned?" Integration of artwork into the use and design of the public buildings or space can aid in the enhancement of public buildings and spaces, and also the physical environment (Eccles 2004). The artwork is able to enhance the visual quality of the building, community and place through providing aesthetic and decorative features to the building (Adams 1997; Miles 1997, 113). Public art is also argued to be useful in maintaining the appeal of the public spaces through alleviating graffiti and vandalism (Hall and Robertson 2001). Public art is able to reduce building wear and tear and the level of building vandalism through the increase of building pride and ownership (Adams 1997, Lally 1998; Sharp et al. 2005).

Public art can also provide benefits to the public building itself beyond pure aesthetics. Public artwork has been argued to benefit buildings by enhancing the purpose for which the building was built. For example, artwork can be used to promote health benefits within hospitals or education outcomes with schools (Taylor 2002). Secondly, the public artwork has also been argued to assist with the de-politicisation and de-institutionalisation of public buildings (Roberts and Marsh 1995; McCarthy 2006). Public art incorporated into

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<sup>2</sup> Some economists have argued that there is no such thing as an externality for the arts, and therefore there is no need for government to support the arts (Grampp 1989), although this view is not shared by a majority of economist (Frey 1999).

buildings has been stated to reduce the harshness of past architecture to create a more pleasant and user friendly environment (McCarthy 2006), which enhanced productivity of its inhabitants.

One of the more apparent benefits achieved from schemes that fund public art is the economic benefit for artists. For percent for art projects, artists are contracted to design and deliver artwork. Apart from the immediate financial benefits, artists also stand to gain from skill development and also future employment opportunities (Kins 1998; Sharp et al. 2005). Artist skill development is a broad category that encompasses interpersonal skills, communication skills, and artistic skills. Through working on a Percent for Art project, artists have been argued to obtain the opportunity to development business skills. Interpersonal skills are able to be developed through the experience of working in collaborative project teams, which can involve the artist working with the architects, construction teams and clients (Taylor 2002). Communication skills are also able to be gained through the artist working across disciplines for example with architects and engineers (Hein 2006).

Another espoused benefit of public art that it can provide memorial, historical, and education benefits to the community. Memorial benefits arise from the artwork being able to act as a reminder of past events or memorialise significant historical events (Hein 1996; Hein 2006; Eccles 2004, 12). The artwork can also provide community education and other benefits by providing a focal point for community history (Phillips 1995; McCarthy 2006)<sup>3</sup>.

Public art is also held to be able to provide economic benefits through helping the regeneration of urban areas (Miles 1997; Sharp et al. 2005; McCarthy 2006; Coakley 2007). Cultural tourism<sup>4</sup>, promoted through the creation of public art can also provide important economic benefits for local communities (Hall and Robertson 2001). Public art has also been linked to enhanced land values and the attraction of local investment (Sharp et al. 2005; McCarthy 2006).

Increased employment or marketing of a specific community can arise from the cultural investment in public art (Roberts and Marsh 1995; Adams 1997; Kins 1998). Public art is perceived to assist with the branding and marketing through creating a point of difference for the community and creating a community characteristic and community expression (Sharp et al. 2005; McCarthy 2006).

Public art is also held to provide psychological benefits. Psychological benefits include the enhancement of civic pride and identity, and social inclusion. Public art is argued to increase civic pride and identity through a combination of enhanced visual quality, local distinctiveness and awareness of a community (Adams 1997; Miles 1997; Goodling 1998; Sharp et al 2005; McCarthy 2006). Similar to economic benefits, the promotion of the city image not only helps tourism but also the development of a sense of community and place, by attracting community members through creating more visually pleasing environment (Miles 1997; McCarthy 2006). Public art can also promote civic awareness by enhancing the building and environment. The artwork is able to create a sense of place or identity and may also alter the community perception about the place (Adams 1997; McCarthy 2006). In particular, the artwork has the ability to link individual and collective identities to enhance community members' sense of belonging (McCarthy 2006).

Social inclusion is held to be another benefit of public art, in particular, when the community is involved within the commissioning process of the project. The involvement of community members within public art has the ability to integrate marginalised groups and encourage community engagement (Sharp et al 2005; McCarthy 2006). Therefore, public art also been argued to provide social and emotional satisfaction for community members. Public art is able to deliver social and emotional satisfaction through providing a sense of identity,

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<sup>3</sup> An example of this is the maritime town of Cobh in Ireland which uses public art as a memorial to a number of important maritime incidents which the town played a part, particularly the *Lusitania* and *Titanic* disasters (Coakley 2007).

<sup>4</sup> An example of this is the major annual public art displays at Rhode Island, which resulted in significant growth in tourism, and a flow on of economic benefits to the wider community, valued in the millions of dollars (Goldblatt and Perry 2002).

engaging the non-verbal parts of the mind, enhancing and enriching the natural and human made environment, providing pleasure and enjoyment, and also the ability to stimulate higher levels of consciousness (Dissanayake 2001, 27-28).

Percent for art appears to be a useful vehicle for the delivery of many of these social benefits associated with public art, due to the engagement of key stakeholders in the procurement process and the embedding of the artwork into specific public works project. These elements of the percent for art process result in community engagement, relevant artworks, income for artists, and input from building owners and architects in the delivery of artwork which is functional, attractive, and well regarded – positive externalities which are critical to consideration of the art work as 'good'.

Table 1: Public Art – Benefits identified from the literature

Benefits	Description
Amenity	Enhanced public spaces – aesthetically, functionally, and by adding meaning
Artist	Skill development, employment opportunities, and creative opportunities
Economic	Tourism and urban regeneration and flow on effects to suppliers and manufacturers. Local branding or marketing benefits.
Building	Building design and complement architecture.
Community	Provide memorial, historical, and education benefits. Importantly to promote an appreciation of the arts in the wider community, promoting new relationships and new audiences for art.
Social psychological	Enhancement of civic pride and identity, through the specificity of the artwork. Enhancement of social inclusion, emotional satisfaction and enjoyment.

#### *Summary of Economic Perspectives of Percent for Art*

This section has outlined the potential value of Globerman's and Vining's (1996) framework in guiding an examination of the costs and benefits contributed by percent for art schemes. The literature that has been summarised suggests that percent for art schemes potential add to the costs and risks associated with asset specificity, task complexity, information asymmetry and low contestability. Globerman and Vining (1996, 582) indicate that, as such, the environment for contracts associated with percent for art schemes "is the most problematic environment in which to contract out, because all forms of bargaining and opportunism costs are present". In order for these problems to be addressed, Globerman and Vining advocate the development of 'new' approaches to such contracting environments, such as the use of prototypes, multiple sourcing and joint governance arrangements.

However, the literature summarised in this section also indicates that the costs and risks associated with percent for art schemes may also be balanced by important benefits. A wide range of external benefits are associated with public art. Furthermore, the objectives of percent for art schemes clearly extend beyond asset procurement and include, importantly, community involvement and development. As such, concerns for the added contract complexity caused by percent for art needs to be weighed against its positive contributions to the community.

#### **Methodology**

Qualitative methods (specifically, in-depth interviews) were used to collect data from industry participants on the costs and benefits of the various other policies. The recruitment of participants was achieved through purposive selection, whereby informants who were able to provide information on the issue under investigation were selected initially. Further individuals were identified through snowball sampling. Policy documents provided secondary data sources.

#### *Percent for Art in Western Australia*

This section sets out an analysis of the Percent for Art scheme in Western Australia – focussing on the costs and benefits of such a scheme as perceived by the various stakeholders. The costs and benefits associated

with the WA Percent for Art policy are analysed based on data collected through interviews with significant financial and non-financial stakeholder groups, including Artists, Art Coordinators, Building User Representatives, Clients, DHW Contract Managers, DHW Policy Officers and Project Architects. This data identified each group's perceptions of the costs and benefits involved with the policy.

### **Overview of the % Art Policy in Western Australia**

In 1989 the WA government adopted a Percent for Art scheme as a policy to stimulate the incorporation of public art into the built environment. The public art strategy involved the following key areas:

- The percentage of the construction costs of public building scheme, commissioning scheme, townscape enrichment scheme and corporate sector scheme.
- The percent for art scheme involved a percent for the total construction costs being spent on artworks, in particular, art that was integrated into the building. Capital works projects over \$2m must allocate 1% of total costs to art and under \$2m the percentage is up to the agency's discretion.
- WA also developed a ministerial taskforce on public art that was designed to oversee the selection process, implementation, advise government, develop advocacy material and provide role models for the private sector.

The aims of the WA public art strategy were to enhance the aesthetics of public buildings and create employment opportunities for artists in WA (WA Taskforce 1993). The purpose of the scheme was to commission local artists to develop artworks to be integrated into contracted public buildings and to improve the environment in which people live and work. Pragmatically the policy enabled the engagement of a large number of stakeholders in the provision of buildings through the percent art process.

### **Stakeholder Perceptions of Costs and Benefits of the Policy**

The costs and benefits associated with the Percent for Art scheme varied depending on the stakeholder group which was being identified. Within the paper, costs and benefits mentioned are considered significant if the costs and benefits have occurred across at least three interviewees within each interview category.

#### **Stakeholders identified in the project**

The following stakeholders have been identified in the project:

- Art Coordinators
- Artists
- Building user representative
- Client representatives
- DHW contract manager
- DHW Policy Officers
- Project Architect

#### Costs Associated with the Percent for Art Scheme in Western Australia

Costs tended to be viewed differently, depending on the stakeholder who was interviewed, although time was the predominant cost identified. These aspects are discussed in detail below:

##### Art Coordinators

Aside from the actual direct costs associated with the delivery of the artworks themselves, the major cost involved within the implementation of the WA Percent for Art policy was time – particularly the time involved in preparing for, and travel to, meetings and the time required to managing and coordinate the percent art selection process. The arts coordinators also noted that there were costs involved within the WA Percent for Art policy due to the need for the maintenance of the artwork, which often was not included in the original budget. The time costs involved were principally due to administration time, time costs from clients, and the time required to prepare for, travel to, and participate in Artwork Selection Committees, which included the time of submission preparation for the artist. Interestingly, although the majority of Art Coordinators stated that

time was the largest cost involved within the implementation, everyone involved within the project did not raise significant objections to this cost, primarily due to the enjoyment and benefits gained from the WA Percent for Art projects.

According to Art Coordinator 1, engaging with the art projects within the Percent for Art policy is an 'infectious' process. Art Coordinator 1 continued by stating that although extra time was involved within the implementation of the Percent for Art projects, the enjoyment and positive attitudes of all involved influences people to "go the extra mile".

Art Coordinator 5 suggested that occasionally the art work itself suffered from the consultative process, so the more controversial art was filtered out in the process. They also suggested that the lure of government contracts could detract from the generation of a portfolio of artworks which could be displayed in a gallery, so the cost was the lost opportunity of developing and displaying an independent body of work.

### Artists

The major cost involved within the WA Percent for Art policy is the large learning curve that the policy imposes upon the Artist. A learning curve refers to the amount of self education that the Artist must undergo to be able to participate within the WA Percent for Art project. The learning curve imposes extra challenges onto the Artist above and beyond their training as artists.

Examples of the types of additional skills required are:

- Conduct of research
- Competitive tendering – including communication and presentation skills
- Working with government, subcontractors and builders
- Contract management
- Small business management
- Learning to work with new materials

At present, comprehensive formal training is not provided to artists to work on public art or within programs such as the WA Percent for Art policy. As a result, working on the WA Percent for Art policy is a steep learning curve for an artist as they are constantly learning and developing new skills.

According to Artist 2 "Public art is difficult in that there really isn't any training for it, and you have got to be able to be an artist and come up with ideas and be critical, you have also then got to be a communicator of those ideas, otherwise you are not successful in public art".

Artist 2 continued by stating "You have got to learn new things all the time, there are certain materials, you have got to learn how building materials work, and what the difference is between that grade of stainless steel and that grade of stainless steel beside cost, and stuff like that, you have got to learn to be a small business person, you have got to take on all those kinds of insurances, taxation, employ people, superannuation".

Moreover, the learning curve also involves the extra challenges that can arise from working with builders or cooperating with building programs, and also working with different materials and building strategies compared to the 'normally' considered art materials. For example "building materials are not traditionally used for making art. One difference is that building materials generally last 30 years compared to art materials that last a life time. When buildings and artworks are integrated, the art work is required to be made from building materials. As a result the art can suffer due to the building materials, and creates an extra challenge for the artist". According to Artist 2 "to be successful, have to be reasonable artist and operate skills of artists in a new context".

Learning curve also involves the costs from technical complications. Artist 1 stated that they have made a point of researching all the possibilities that could go wrong with miscommunication from business materials. It

was only from past experience and a steep learning curve that the artist has learnt to research. During the learning curve the artist underwent financial and psychological stress costs. This involves miscommunication between the artist and the builders that results in incorrect art work surfaces prepared.

The majority of Artists stated that another major cost involved within the WA Percent for Art projects is learning how to work within a competitive environment. In particular, the Artists were referring to learning how to deal with rejection and the increasing level of competition involved within the WA Percent for Art projects. Dealing with rejection can also be difficult process. Competition is also increasing. However, the opportunities for artists are also increasing with percent art projects as, according to one interviewee "artists are becoming more aware and directing their creative abilities, because they know it is an area where you can get real work".

#### Building user representatives

Time considerations were the largest cost described by the majority of interviewees and refer to the financial and stressful costs that arise from the extra time required to implement the WA Percent for Art project. All building user interviewees stated that although time was an issue and encompassed both tangible and intangible costs, they did not begrudge it as the Percent for Art project is a 'fun process'.

Building user representative 1 stated that the time that people spent on the WA Percent for Art process was a high cost. However the Building user representative 1 also stated that "I don't think people thought of that, as it was kept as a fun process involving the staff and kids". Building user representative 1 further stated "it was time, but it was time that people felt was well spent because the end product was beneficial to the school".

Building user representative 2 also stated that time was a high cost. For example Building user representative stated "that the primarily cost is the budget and the time, but I don't at any point of time begrudge the fact that the budget was going into art work, I think that is a positive thing, so do I support Percent for Art? Absolutely. I think it is a great policy, and I think having a good process to follow, I don't see too many downsides to it, it can be lengthy, a bit complicated, can be challenging to get your head around, but I think the eventual outcome is a very positive one, and there is some very good public art work as part of school buildings".

#### Client representatives

Time and maintenance were the major costs recognised by the client representatives. The majority of interviewees reported that the extra time required within the implementation of the WA Percent for Art policy was a significant cost of the policy. Similar to the other responses, the client representatives found that although there were real time issues within the implementation, no one really minded.

According to Client 1 "the project budget does not include the time of the people sitting on committees. However because everybody really sees it as art, and we all bend the rules to accommodate it, it is just one of those funny things". Client 7 also acknowledged the time comment costs involved within the implementation of the WA Percent for Art policy. However, Client 7 stated that the time commitment was "nothing different to any other policy", and was therefore was not viewed as a problem.

Client 2 represented education and stated that the biggest time problems were faced by the end user representative. For example it was reported that "most of the meetings tended to be held during school time. This meant that the parent representatives would have to be available to get away from work and teachers representatives away from class". Likewise the participation of students required their absence from other classes.

Another cost involved within the WA Percent for Art policy is the extra costs involved with the maintenance of the artwork. According to the Clients, maintenance of the artwork is a financial cost. For example, Client 5 "as a client group, we are reluctant to do maintenance on something that we did not want to have in the first place".

Moreover, according to Client 6 “problems arise with the Percent for Art projects when the artwork is too complicated”. For example, one project featured music, however the music failed to play and maintenance became too expensive. The result was that the artwork was turned into a static display. In this way, the art became more ‘Plonk Art’ because the majority of the meaning was located within the music which didn’t work, so the art was no longer understandable in that context. Client 5 also mentioned that the art work did not have any meaning for the anticipated users of the building, and they felt the money could have been better spent on equipment. It is worth noting that these concerns were a minor refrain in the interviews, and in general ‘plonk art’ was avoided in the arts projects.

#### DHW contract managers

The major costs involved within the implementation of the WA Percent for Art policy was the time involved with policy implementation. However, similar to the results within the other stakeholder groups, the enjoyable process and the benefits achieved from the WA Percent for Art policy outweighed the costs incurred from the extra time. For example, according to DHW Contract Manager 3, “the implementation does take a little more time, because of our briefing and coordination, but it is not huge, and the returns that we get for it is one hundred fold”.

#### DHW Policy Officers

Time and resources were listed by the majority of DHW Policy Officers as the major costs involved within the implementation of the WA Percent for Art policy. According to the DHW Policy Officer 3, the costs involved within the WA Percent for Art policy include costs to the agencies, their budgets, and time costs. However, it was acknowledged “the costs involved are the direct costs that are budgeted for so there is no stress on that”. The DHW Policy Officer 3 stated that the only problem is on high value projects, “where one percent of the construction cost equals close to \$10million. That is the only time there is project resistance”.

Similar to the responses of the other stakeholder groups, the majority of DHW Policy Officers concluded that although time was a definite issue, no one minded because of the enjoyment gained from participating within the WA Percent for Art policy.

According to DHW Policy Officer 2, although there was time and resources problem, it’s a ‘fun process’. DHW Policy Officer 2 stated that “the process is really fun and everyone wants to do it. It kind of runs itself, because people make the extra time”.

DHW Policy Officer 1 argued that respect was the key requirement to overcome the costs incurred from the extra time of implementation. According to the DHW Policy Officer 1 “The onus of the scheme is to convince a person that that is the most valuable way they could possibly spend that hour, and to make sure you don’t waste any time. You make sure it is respectful of people’s time, you know and I find that if you respect people’s time, you respect their position, their burden, their responsibilities, they will be very receptive and very grateful for that, I think there is a lot of communication that goes on today, that lacks that basic implied respect”.

#### Project Architect

The major costs described by the project architect involved the coordination and distance of projects. Project Architect 1 states “There are certainly coordination issues there with Percent for Art, and ensuring, because artists work at one level and we work at another level at times, and we are very technical about things, and so they don’t quite understand that it is not just leave a space out there, and things like that, it is not as easy”. However, Project Architect 1 stated that interacting early with the artist team was really important to achieving an integrated building artwork.

According to the Project Architect 1, “Distance is also another issue. The remoteness of building locations and make the process a little bit more difficult. The problem of distance is then compounded when the implementation team is uncoordinated”

### *Summary of Costs*

The actual percentage of funding involved in percent for art is the most obvious direct cost involved in the implementation of the Percent for Art scheme. In line with the observations made in the previous section, additional costs are generated via the scheme's contribution to low contestability, high asset specificity and high task specificity involved in contracting for the provision of public art.

The low contestability of percent for art contracts was borne out in the interviews – particularly with artists who argue that in order to tender for government projects in the percent for art scheme successfully, a range of additional skills need to be developed. However, competition is increasing as more and more artists become aware of the funding opportunities and see the potential of earning income from government contracts.

Limits on contestability are, however, also a formal feature of Percent for Art policy, in that there is a short list of artists and their proposed artwork. This feature of the scheme may be justified by a concern to minimize the transaction costs associated with reviewing a large number of proposals. The risks of low contestability are also reduced by having the Art Coordinators scan the art environment for new work.

Numerous interviewees noted that the main costs associated with the percent for art policy include that of time. For project officers this was time involved in managing of the project. For artists, it is the time needed to develop the proposals, and build the specified business and team –working skills to carry out the art project.

The requirement to invest time in developing a highly specific piece of public art necessitated the involvement of a large number of individuals in the planning and delivery of the piece of art, which resulted in unique pieces of artwork which are highly locality specific. Interestingly, this was not seen as a cost, but rather a benefit by interviewees. One of the outcomes and controversies which emerge from the specificity of the public art asset focus on whether the art is 'poor art' either because it does not provide a high level of artistic endeavour, or it does not meet community expectations. This cost was not mentioned by interviewees, and instead a picture emerges of high level of creativity and collaboration in the development of percent for art in Western Australia.

The large number of individuals involved (principals and agents), who held differing information (information asymmetry) and the inability to specify outcomes in contracts from the start greatly increased the task complexity. Hence, time was indicated from the interviewees as one of the main costs associated with participation. A summary of the costs indicated in the interviews is provided in Table 8:

**Table 2: Costs of the Percent for Art Policy According to Key Stakeholder Groups**

<b>Stakeholder group</b>	<b>Costs</b>
<b>Art Coordinators</b>	Time – planning, preparation, travel and coordination
<b>Artists</b>	Learning curve to develop new skills for tendering, management and delivery of the public art work Time – to prepare and submit proposals, cope with rejection and the competitive environment Having to adjust schedules to work with construction teams
<b>Building user representative</b>	Time involved with participation of the artwork selection committee
<b>Client representatives</b>	Time – involved with the artwork selection committee Artwork maintenance
<b>DHW contract manager</b>	Time – additional responsibility of managing the artwork on top of the rest of the building contract
<b>DHW Policy Officers</b>	Time and resources to implement and monitor the policy
<b>Project Architect</b>	Time - Coordination and travel time involved in the artwork selection

### *Benefits of the Percent for Art Scheme in Western Australia*

The major benefits derived from the WA Percent for Art policy were the economic benefits, a range of benefits for artists, for benefits for the amenity, quality and functionality of the building. Additionally the extended collaborations across industry and developed appreciation of the arts in society were noted.

### Art Coordinators

The majority of Art Coordinators interviewed also stated that the WA Percent for Art policy provided direct benefits for the artists. Artist benefits were either in the form of economic benefits or skill development benefits. The WA Percent for Art policy is argued to provide a real income for WA Artists. According to Art Coordinator 3 "In terms of Percent for Art in WA, you definitely have to say that artists have benefited in a monetary sense in being able to make a living from working on public art projects. There is a lot of money being spent on public art".

The generation of financial income for artists was an important part of the percent for art scheme, as was the extended supply of finances from percent art projects to a wider supply chain of sub-contracted personnel was noted by arts coordinators. Additionally, the skill development of artists themselves was seen as a positive outcome from the percent art policy. These skills included tendering and submission preparation, and negotiation in arts projects. Arts Coordinator 3 also noted that the opportunity for participation in percent for art projects means that artists work was seen by a greater number of people, which helped to provide additional work opportunities for artists. This concept has not been noted in the literature to date.

The second benefit for Artist was described as skill development. Skill development refers to the artist gaining a range of diverse skills through their experience working on a WA Percent for Art project. Skills include time management, presentation and interpersonal skills. According to Art Coordinator 3, "These benefits for artist are obtained from the new working collaborations. The projects enable the artist to work more collectively and bring the artists in contact within people and out of isolation. The policy enables artist to work with people from different disciplines compared to the traditional isolating system of art that involves the individual artist working alone in their studio. It really brings them into contact with other people, and I think that is really exciting".

The skill development of artists was also likened by the Art Coordinators as assisting the artist to engage within society. According to Art Coordinator 5 "It is important for artists to contribute back into society rather than solely in studio. This concept challenges the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century vision of arts as a sole agent or the romantic ideal of struggling artist. The WA Percent for Art policy introduces different spheres of life to the artist, and can change the artist's perspective from inward to outward"

The majority of Art Coordinators also stated that another benefit from the WA Percent for Art policy was the multidisciplinary collaboration between the different construction disciplines. The interaction required within the implementation of the WA Percent for Art policy created the opportunity for previously separated construction and art disciplines to collaborate.

The majority of Art Coordinators stated that the WA Percent for Art policy provided benefits for the building in which it was located as well. These benefits related to increased aesthetics of the building itself, and an improved quality of the building as an entirety. The other benefits for the building was that the percent for art project increased community ownership of the building, strengthening of community identity or increasing community engagement. There is an increased pride and ownership of the art work and the building to which it is integrated that filters back throughout the community. The increased sense of pride is created during the implementation process of the WA Percent for Art project. Furthermore the WA percent for Art projects are able to benefit the community through creating the opportunity for engagement with the art. According to Art Coordinator 3, "Public art is about encouraging public engagement. It is not always a comfortable process". The engagement with the art increases the sense of ownership and pride to the building.

According to the Art Coordinator 1, through the implementation process, people constantly go the extra mile and as a result the outcome from the artwork is often more than expected. The Art Coordinator 1 provided an

example of a small project where the all people involved went the extra mile that resulted in the achievement of unexpected social outcomes – the preservation of history. Art Coordinator 1 provided a detailed example:

“DHW was applying the Percent for Art Policy to a hostel for mentally impaired men on the site of the hospital. The significance of the hostel was that it was to be open to anybody in the community, even though the house where the hostel was being built was historically a place that had a reputation for people never got turned away. DHW had attained the house on behalf of St Vincent de Paul. For the Artwork, they wanted to preserve basalt stones that been mounted used as ballast in some ship, and they wanted to have a plaque with the original owners of the nursing home. The Artist designed a bench as a seat, and made a metal grid on legs sitting in the landscape. The hostel inmates got all this ballast from the flatbed, and their job was to chip off the mortar and clean it all up. The Artist then took the ballast because it was cut into squares, and dropped it into the grid and he made a really nice little photo edged plate that told the story. By then the project had run out of money and we had to fabricate the metal, so the Artist approached a local ship building company. One of the directors was very supportive and volunteered their pattern cutters. So the project artwork was able to be welded, and so we have got a very nice outcome, a very modern sophisticated bench, but it has got all those things that tug at the heart strings for the St Vincent de Paul people, and a plaque as well, so we have managed to I suppose make that money behave functionally in a way, contribute to the aesthetics and use of the place, and we have involved people in it, so they have a sense of pride”

Here the artwork preserves historically important artifacts, as well as providing a functional bench.

According to Art Coordinator 5, “relationships developed between the different construction and art disciplines from working closely together – particularly artists and sub contractors and landscape architects” Art Coordinator 5.

An important by-product of all of the benefits of the percent for art program in Western Australia is the development of a wider appreciation of the arts by the public (Arts Coordinator 3 and 5). Additionally the percent art policy functioned as a ‘flagship’ program which prompted other local councils and private developers to include a percent for art in their developments, even though they were not required to by the policy. It is these wider externalities which have been held by various economists to provide the strongest support for public art projects (e.g. Robbins 1963).

### Artists

The major benefits cited by this group of stakeholders included: the scale of the project and its ownership; artist skill development; working with people and increased artist network (2/3); and the economic benefits for artists.

The scale and ownership of the project refers to the benefit that is achieved from being able to work on own projects not possible without the WA Percent for Art scheme. The benefit is both economic and intangible. According to Artist 3, the opportunity to develop a large scale art project is rare and that the opportunity provided by the WA Percent for Art project to have your own large scale project is really special. Artist 3 also stated that with the Percent for Art project “You have time to get through your work and they let you have a project. It’s great”. According to the Artist 2 “the WA Percent for Art project has been beneficial in terms of exposure, and being able to create art work on a much larger scale. I have been able to tackle issues that I only dreamt about, engaging landscape, how people walk through work”.

Artist 2 provided an example of this by stating “I could work in the studio and nobody would ever know I am here. Perhaps every two years, I would have an exhibition somewhere and if I am successful, I might sell half of it, you know, the pinnacle of my life would be getting a \$30,000 grant that I am meant to live off for a year with a family. Or doing public art, I can actually expand my practice, so instead of having \$7 000 and playing

with stuff in here, I've got \$70 000 to make some great big thing in front of people. That's great. That strokes the ego, just to be able to have that".

Furthermore, the large scale of the art projects also provides trickle down effect of artist employment. According to the Artist 2 "the WA Percent for Art policy has also helped in all other sorts of areas, most artists actually employ other artists when they have got large projects on, so that is beneficial, as it has got quite a sort of trickle down effect. For example, a few years ago, I was working on a project and I employed another artist just to do the small project I had at the beginning. He earned more money doing art work for me, than he had ever earned through his own art. So it is very beneficial".

The Artists skill development refers to the development of small business and interaction skills learnt by the artist from their involvement within the WA Percent for Art policy. Benefits from the WA Percent for Art policy include the development of skills in developing and delivering presentations, along with the development of skills in application writing. According to Artist 3 "Presentations are a great skill to learn, I find them quite creative when I get started on them.". Artist 3 also notes that research is an important part of preparing for the tender process, and with each application better skills are developed.

The development of communication, presentation, application and small business skills is a real benefit from the WA Percent for Art policy. According to the Artist 2 "The more skills you develop, the more you grow, and whether you remain a sort of artist that sits in their studio all alone or you actually become a quasi small business person and you are out there doing all sorts of other interesting things".

The majority of Artist stated that another benefit gained from the WA Percent for Art policy was the opportunity to work within different collaborations. The Artists were referring to the collaboration of Artist with Artist, and the cross cultural collaboration. Participating within the WA Percent for Art projects provides the opportunity to meet with and also see what other WA Artists are working on and creating. The Percent for Art policy also provided the opportunity for cross cultural collaborations and work teams.

According to Artist 1 stated that the cross cultural collaboration as "a hugely empowering to produce artwork together". Artist 1 was particular referring to the inclusiveness of local Indigenous people in the art projects. The art projects not only joined the Indigenous and non Indigenous people together, but also joined other Indigenous tribes together. Artist 1 concluded that this was an important prospect for WA.

Economic benefits refer to the opportunity provided by the WA Percent for Art policy for the artist to earn a liveable income. According to Artist 2 "The other real benefit is that for the first time in a long time, artists can actually earn a real wage, and engage with the real world. They (the artist) can buy a house; have kids etc which are things that artists haven't been able to take up, because you are basically pretty poor".

Moreover while economic benefits finish with the completion of the Artwork they continue on through the economic benefits gained from recognition. According to Artist 2 "there are benefits for recognition, you see it out there a lot longer, you get to meet fairly interesting and important people and that might create a roll on effect, somebody might ring you up because they are putting together a submission for a hotel and they suddenly think oh okay, we could call so and so, we know that person, because we've seen their work. Architects, you know suddenly start ringing up and saying we have got this interesting project, so recognition is important for it as well"

This expanded opportunity for developing increased business opportunities from a network of contacts developed through percent for art projects, what has been called a 'roll on effect' is an element which has not been noted in the literature to date. Roll-effects, especially those achieved by policy diffusion through private contractors undertaking functional art projects without Percent for Art prescriptions is a critical indicator of the utility of the policy in shaping better contracting regimes.

## Building Users

The major benefits cited by this group included: artist benefits; and the benefits to the public building purpose or design, which included the artwork enhancing the school curriculum, or the wellness of patients within hospitals.

The majority of building users interviewed stated that artists benefited from the WA Percent for Art projects in terms of enhanced skill opportunity and development, and flow on effect of employment opportunities for artists. Artists were argued to benefit both economically and skill developmentally.

Building user representative 3 stated that benefits for artists also included a flow-on effect of employment and training to other artists. The influx of working artists has resulted in flow on employment and training opportunities for other artists. Thus the benefits do not just flow to an individual artist, but benefit a wider network of artists both financially and in providing opportunities for skill development of nascent artists. For example, building user representative 3 stated that "Some of our staff go out and do work at the Prison, one of the sisters goes out there Monday and Friday. One of the big rehab forms out there I suppose for prisons is art. They've got public artists go out there and teach the prisoners. That would never happen previously".

The majority of Building user representatives stated that a main benefit derived from the WA Percent for Art policy was the artwork enhancing the design and purpose of the building, or by adding another dimension to the building. For example, Building user representative 1 stated that "the art project provides educational opportunities for children to learn about art from real artists".

Building user representative 2 also mentioned the educational benefit achieved through the WA Percent for Art projects. According to Building user representative 2, "the development of educational processes about what art was always a major benefit from the program. The Artwork was able to impact on curriculum and provides educational program.

Building user representative 3 provided a health example by discussing how the artwork created within the WA Percent for Art projects are able to further the health outcomes of the hospital. According to Building user representative 3 "art provides soothing benefits. Patients will sit there and look at it, and it will take their mind off what they are currently thinking about, their illness. Basically, the visitors and patients come out and it is something different for them to do, those that are bedridden come out in a wheelchair. Art is strongly realised as holistic health. Art impacts on the wellness of the person and on their frame of mind". Percent for art thus enhances the purpose of the building in which it is built – whether providing education opportunities in education buildings, or health benefits in health facilities. In this sense, art does more than make a building look nice – it enhances the functionality of the building itself to achieve the purpose of the building.

Building user representative 2 stated that "art can add a dimension to a building, gives a heart to it. We tend to get caught up into boxes and squares and bricks and mortar, and I think having an art project in it can be an exciting project, to sort of bring it to a conclusion and can add so much more richness to the building project. I think it makes the school a richer place, art after all is a very important curriculum in a school. It is built into it".

Other benefits which were only noted by a small number of building users included the opportunity to record history of a particular place or activity (Building User 1).

## Clients

The major described by the client representative included: increased community ownership; increased building design and purpose; and artist benefits.

The majority of Client interviewees stated that the Percent for Art project creates benefits such as increased building ownership and pride, and also creating community icons. The incorporated building artwork also increases community ownership. For example, Client 2 who works in education stated that the artwork

incorporated into the school building “has value because the artwork adds another dimension to the institution. The artwork is a point of difference for the school”. Client 2 also stated the having the artwork within the community building not only impacts on the users but filters through the entire community. The community is able to gain new perspectives on art which impacts on the way people perceive life. According to the interviewee “interaction with the art can change the way people look at things”.

Client 3 also states that “the community is able to benefit from ownership and pride. Ownership of the artwork and building is important as it can work to reduce building and art vandalism and graffiti. According to Client 4 “the Percent for Art policy provides benefits for the community through enhancing community identity and awareness”. Also similar to Client 3, Client 4 stated that the Percent for Art policy can also increase community ownership “through being able to create their own image”. Community can also benefit through aesthetically pleasing artworks.

According to Client 6, the Percent for Art project can enhance community engagement. For example, “the Percent for art projects involve the community within the fun and colourful process”. Client 6 also stated that the Percent for Art policy can enhance the culture of the local community. According to Client 6, public buildings are all the same, and the Percent for Art policy is able to make people start thinking about their own culture and community. This process has been a positive change”.

Furthermore, the artworks created under the WA Percent for Art scheme become local icons that increase local identity and tourism benefits. For example, according to Client 1 “there is one artwork that is a Pink Sea Container that is half in and half out. People often use the artwork as an iconic meeting point “I will meet you at the pink sea container”.

Similar to the previous stakeholder response, the majority of client interviewees stated a major benefit gained from the WA Percent for Art policy is the enhancement of the building design and purpose. For example, Client 1 represented education within several WA Percent for Art projects and discussed how incorporating the artwork into the school can enhance the purpose of the building. “The school community probably get the most benefit from the Percent for Art project, either the artwork is useful where the children can play on it, or the artwork is used in science, or it is used in the curriculum, within Art, English, or even in Math Classes.”

From their experience within education, Client 2 stated that the Percent for Art policy can create learning opportunities for the students. For example “the artist will engage with the students through workshops of presentations which will form the basis of student assignments or projects”. Client 2 also argued that while percent art enhanced the aesthetics of the building, having to incorporate a percent for art project helped the project team to consider a range of additional issues which improved the overall quality of the building itself.

For Client 7, who was involved within sport and recreation, the biggest benefit of the WA Percent for Art policy was the ability of the policy to enhance the purpose of the building. According to Client 7, “the percent for art policy provided the opportunity to for non sporting people to gain an appreciation of local sporting achievements, also provide the opportunity to sell sports facilities to the community, sell the sporting identity, and provide a change to reinvigorate sports”.

The majority of clients interviewed also stated that another major benefit gained from the WA Percent for Art policy was for the Artists. According to Client 5 “the Percent for Art policy creates benefits for the artist in terms of exposure and commissions”. Furthermore, Client 7 stated that that the WA Percent for Art policy creates unique opportunities for artists through the scale and diversity of the artworks.

#### DHW contract managers

The majority benefits achieved from the policy identified by this stakeholder group include: artist benefits; community benefits; and client and end user benefits.

The majority of DHW Contract Managers stated that one of the major benefits achieved from the WA Percent for Art policy was for the artists via the skill development opportunity that is provided. For example, according to DHW Contract Manager 1, "I think the WA Percent for Art scheme has done wonders for the art community through having this opportunity which is part of Government policy".

According to DHW Contract Manager 5, Artist benefits include development of business skills, such as interaction, negotiation, pitching and marketing, supply chain, managing groups and sub contracting. Also it was considered to provide economic benefits for the artist. Moreover, DHW Contract Manager 4 stated that the skill development is coupled with the knowledge development gained from working with different material.

The majority of interviewee stated that the WA Percent for Art policy provided benefits for the community in the shape of increased building ownership and would help towards enhancing public access to public buildings and enhanced community identity. Community benefits also include the benefits of increased tourism and building aesthetics.

DHW Contract Managers have argued that the increase in building ownership that occurs through the WA Percent for Art process has been linked to the decrease in vandalism on WA Percent for Art buildings. Increased ownership and pride have acted as a deterrent for the usually high amount of building vandalism.

An example of enhanced building ownership was provided by the DHW Contract Manager 3. According to the DHW Contract Manager 3 "I always remember the first one I did at a child care centre, the kids came out of their activity spaces internally and went outside to the playground, and everyone wanted to be next to, it was a carving of Indians or something, their power poles had been carved out, they all wanted to stand there, and touch and feel and hug it. There were swings and slides, but they wanted to go to the art, I thought wow, this is good".

Moreover, the WA Percent for Art policy has been argued to help enhance public access to public buildings. According to the DHW Contract Manager 2, "the WA Percent for Art projects combined with developments in architecture and design are working to deinstitutionalise public buildings. Back in the 60's and 70's government buildings were gaunt, dark, no colour, people went in and never come out, everyone was in black suits and white shirts, it is a more lively space that is being created now, spaces which draw people into, they become interesting and exciting to wander through and look at, a nice feeling, hotel like for hospital".

Furthermore, the majority of DHW Contract Managers stated that the community benefit from the WA Percent for Art policy has been evident within the community reactions. For example, DHW Contract Manager 2 stated "People are now accepting and looking for Percent for Art in their buildings and as a part of their work. They are not saying that we could spend the \$80 000 on extra computers, they are saying the opposite, we want the Percent for Art, and we want to be part of that process".

Another benefit gained from the WA Percent for Art policy is the ability of the artwork to further the purpose and design of the public building. According to DHW Contract Manager 4, "the incorporated artwork provides aesthetic benefit while also providing benefit to the building through adding the function of the building and helping achieve its social outcomes. For example aids learning with schools". In other words, while improving aesthetics, percent for art also improved the building as a whole, and enhanced the ability of the building to achieve its purpose. This is exemplified by DHW Contract Manager 5 who noted that within a mental health institution, the art can be used as therapy for the patients.

#### DHW policy officers

This group cited some additional interesting benefits obtained from the WA Percent for Art policy. These included: the benefits achieved to aid the purpose of the building; and the citizen versus consumer debate.

The majority of DHW Policy Officers stated that the major benefit from the WA Percent for Art policy was the enhancement of the building's design or purpose. According to the DHW Policy Officer 3, the WA Percent for Art policy provides benefits for the community. For example, "It is interesting that it's really low impact to implement, but it has such a big impact on the community, like everyone was talking about what the art does for them, it becomes an icon, it gives the school an identity".

Moreover, the DHW Policy Officer 3 stated "It becomes part of the building, the Indigenous art work, it makes the place beautiful, a safe place to come, you get all those sorts of stories, that is what stops the vandals from destroying it, because there is some sort of cultural identity with the building. It is quite a successful policy".

Similar to the response provided by Building User representative 2, who stated that the artwork created from the WA Percent for Art policy can add another dimension to the building, DHW Policy Officer 2 stated that the artwork can help transform previously sterile buildings into a pleasant environment. DHW Policy Officer 2 stated that the art was also described as the 'props to life'. The public art being able to soften the harsh architect styles of public buildings to create a softer and more pleasant environment.

### Project architect

The major benefits achieved by the WA Percent for Art project involved ownership and pride and improvement to school retention. Community ownership and pride

According to the Project Architect 1, reduced school vandalism is a benefit obtained from the WA Percent for Art policy. For example, "within one primary school project, there was some graffiti very early on in the process, and it was the kids who actually raised it with the teachers". The example demonstrates the strong connection and school pride that is achieved from the WA Percent for Art project. Increased ownership of the building can also improve attendance and retention.

According to the Project Architect 1, the WA Percent for Art policy can also enhance the function of the building. For example, the WA Percent for Art policy process can be used as education for school children.

A number of benefits from the Percent for Art policy have been identified through the interview process.

These are summarized in the Table below.

**Table 3: Benefits of the Percent for Art Policy According to Key Stakeholder Groups**

Stakeholder group	Benefits
<b>Art Coordinators</b>	Social benefits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Community engagement with the arts</li> <li>○ Increased pride in the building due to the artwork</li> <li>○ Development of a local / community identity</li> </ul> Artist skill development – <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ particularly engagement with the community</li> <li>○ collaboration with other artists and building contractors</li> <li>○ tendering, presentation</li> </ul> Artist economic benefits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ income for artists and for their subcontractors</li> </ul> Enhanced appreciation of the arts in the wider community Adoption of the percent art policy by local governments and private developers Preservation of history
<b>Artists</b>	Large scale of art project Artist skill development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ small business skills</li> <li>○ tendering and presenting to government</li> <li>○ employment and mentoring of other artists</li> </ul> Work collaborations

Stakeholder group	Benefits
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Artist and artist</li> <li>○ Cross cultural</li> </ul> Artist economic benefits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Direct to artist and also for subcontractors</li> </ul> 'Roll on' effect where initial large scale works promote the artist in the community leading to additional work
<b>Building user representative</b>	Artist skill development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Direct to the artist, and also to sub-contractors</li> </ul> Artist economic benefits Building design and purpose <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Aesthetics of the building itself</li> <li>○ Enhancing the purpose of the building itself</li> </ul>
<b>Client representatives</b>	Community benefit <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enhanced engagement with the community</li> <li>○ Development of local identity</li> </ul> Building design and purpose <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Reduced graffiti and vandalism</li> <li>○ Better buildings as a result of percent for art</li> </ul> Artist benefits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Direct income</li> <li>○ Additional work due to increased visibility in the local community</li> <li>○ Scale and diversity of the work</li> </ul> Enhanced appreciation of the arts by community
<b>DHW contract manager</b>	Artist benefits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enhanced skills – particularly business and contracting</li> <li>○ Enhanced sources of income</li> </ul> Community benefits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Increased ownership of the building</li> <li>○ Enhance public access to public buildings</li> <li>○ Increase cultural tourism</li> </ul> Building design and purpose <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enhanced aesthetics of buildings</li> <li>○ Reduced vandalism</li> <li>○ Enhancement purpose of the building (eg health institute using art to promote healing)</li> </ul>
<b>DHW Policy Officers</b>	Building design and purpose <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enhanced functionality</li> <li>○ Reduced vandalism</li> </ul>
<b>Project Architect</b>	Community ownership and pride Building design and purpose <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enhanced functionality of buildings</li> </ul>

*Summary of Costs and Benefits of the Percent for Art Policy in Western Australia*

The literature concerning principal agent theory focused on the costs and ways of minimizing risk in the procurement of public art. The authors of the paper cannot help but be impressed by the level of support and enthusiasm which the Percent for Art policy has been implemented in Western Australia, and note that the policy has been adopted beyond state governments into local governments as well (Baxter 1998). While costs were noted in the interviews, the outcome was almost invariably seen as worth the investment. A point made by a number of respondents was that the whole process of procuring public art through the percent for art process was that it was fun – a concept which was not identified at all in the literature review.

There are a number of recurrent themes in the interviews of the Percent for Art policy in Western Australia. It is important to identify recurrent themes in qualitative interviews as this helps to ensure the reporting is not biased by one particular group or other. These costs and benefits are summarised in the following table.

Table 4: Overall summary of the costs and benefits of the WA Percent for Art Policy compared to the literature review

WA Percent for Art Outcomes	
Costs	Benefits
Time (expected) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ while time for the volunteers was expected, the additional time of the arts coordinator, clients, artists and project coordinators was not expected. It should be noted that this time was not begrudged and contributed to beneficial outcomes.</li> </ul> Artwork maintenance (unexpected) Artist Learning curve (unexpected) The competitive environment (unexpected) % of the building cost (expected)	A fun process (unexpected) Artist skill development (expected) Artist economic benefits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Direct income from percent art schemes (expected)</li> <li>○ 'Roll on' effects due to enhanced visibility as an artist (unexpected)</li> <li>○ Income for other artists and suppliers sub-contracted to main artist (unexpected)</li> </ul> Buildings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Aesthetics (Expected)</li> <li>○ Enhancing the functionality and purpose of the building (unexpected)</li> <li>○ Enhancing the overall quality of the building (unexpected)</li> </ul> Community benefits and engagement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Increased ownership of public buildings (unexpected)</li> <li>○ Enhanced public access to public buildings (unexpected)</li> <li>○ Increased cultural tourism (expected)</li> </ul> Enhanced community appreciation of arts (expected) Adoption of the Percent art policy by local authorities and private developers (unexpected) Work collaborations (unexpected) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Artist and artist</li> <li>○ Cross cultural</li> <li>○ Getting stakeholders together</li> </ul>

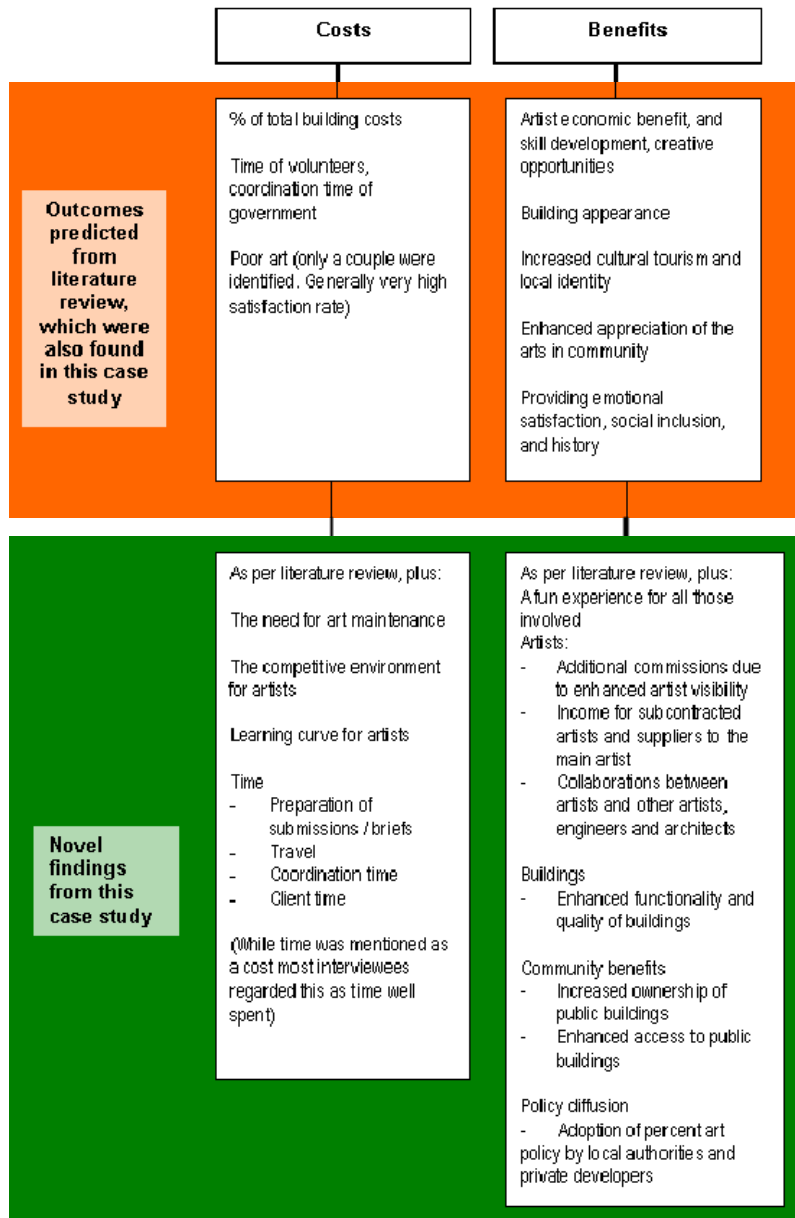
When a comparative analysis of the costs and benefits identified in the literature review and the interviews undertaken in Western Australia, there are a number of unexpected costs and unexpected benefits alongside those that were expected.

Those elements which were expected were clearly identified in either the literature review, or were predicted by the economic framework which has framed the analysis of these social policies. Those elements which are labeled 'unexpected' were not identified in the literature review, but rather are novel findings of the research project.

#### *Expected and Unexpected WA Percent for Art Outcomes*

The diagram below (Figure 14) illustrates the comparison between the expected and unexpected costs and benefits involved within the WA Percent for Art policy. The expected costs and benefits are derived from the previous national and international Percent for Art policies, and the unexpected outcomes have been derived from the WA Percent for Art research findings.

Figure 1: Costs and Benefits of Percent for Art: Comparison between the expected outcomes identified from the literature and additional outcomes from this case study



Globerman and Vining (1996) proposed in their framework that contracting in a situation which comprised information asymmetries, externalities, high task complexity and high asset specificity was a high risk proposition. They proposed that the development of prototypes and the establishment of joint governance mechanisms were ways of coping with the complexity and minimizing risk.

The Western Australian policy required that each art project involved an initial submission of a number of concepts or ideas, which were then short listed to prepare detailed prototypes of the actual final artwork. This correlates with the proposition advocated by Globerman and Vinning (1996) that joint governance be incorporated into the procurement process.

The other interesting element in the Western Australian policy was that it ensured adequate representation of stakeholders in the development of the artwork for a specific building. This strategy overcame the difficulties noted in the literature review concerning the ownership of the art by the intended audience, and the difficulties in specifying outcomes in contracts. In so doing, another cost was introduced into the process – that of

expenditure of time, which was mentioned by every stakeholder group. What is interesting here though is that this cost was not considered significant – and simply part of the process in ensuring there was a good outcome for all involved. In other words the indirect costs of the involvement of representatives of the community in the planning and delivery of the public art work ensured that the externalities were positive in the delivery of a highly specific public asset.

The case study on percent for art in Western Australia, has thus demonstrated that principal agent theory and extensions such as those proposed by Globerman and Vining (1996) have considerable utility in the examination of public art projects such as the percent for art project in Western Australia.

Importantly while numerous costs and benefits have been proposed by various proponents of public art and percent for art Hall and Robertson (2001), these have now been largely validated through a specific empirical case study – Percent for Art policy in Western Australia.

A number of the anticipated costs and benefits predicted by the academic literature have been validated. Additionally, some novel findings enable a modest extension to the theory.

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