

## Public art: Attracting tourists or challenging one's perception?

A qualitative research on the value of top-down and bottom-up realized art in the public space

Student name: Isa Leijdekkers

Student number: 574356

Supervisor: Hanka Otte

Master Arts, Culture & Society

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication Erasmus University Rotterdam

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### ABSTRACT

*Artworks in the public space exist in many different forms and are commissioned or initiated for various purposes. They may be commissioned by municipalities to, for example, put the city on the map worldwide and attract tourists or to promote social cohesion, often existing within the regulations of the public space and the imposed governmental frameworks, characterized by a top-down approach and a hierarchical organization structure. Public artworks can also arise from a local problem or situation, outside of the regulations and rules imposed by authorities with a more horizontal organization structure, which can be considered as realized bottom-up. Within such projects, there is often more room for a more autonomous or critical attitude of the artist, and it offers the opportunity to articulate civil concerns and question existing policy and power structures that exist in the public space. In this thesis, a qualitative research on the value of top-down and bottom-up realized art in the public space is conducted, based on a multiple-case study of the top-down realized artwork Ling Zhi Helicopters and the bottom-up project Zandpoort, providing an answer to the following research question: To what extent and how is a top-down realized work of public art valued differently from a bottom-up realized work of public art? The analysis of the two selected public works of art consists of three different parts, including the initial goals of the work and the motivation for its realization, the goals and intentions of the artist, and the way the artwork is experienced and valued by individual residents, examining what predetermined extrinsic and intrinsic values of art are reflected in each of the stages. For the data collection of the first two parts, a multimethod research approach is employed, including semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and document analysis. To find out how residents experience and value Zandpoort and the Ling Zhi Helicopters, nine respondents for each artwork were interviewed. As this research shows, there seems to be little to no room for sustainable art in the public space with a pure bottom-up approach that evokes discussion and debate in the Netherlands, leading to the selection of a semi bottom-up project. Both artists have implemented the assignment as expected of them and adapted their designs to the imposed goals and rules. In the valuation of both artworks, mainly extrinsic values were reflected, but also various intrinsic values were expressed. Only Zandpoort seemed to be able to change the perception of the audience, as one of the important intrinsic values of public art, however, this did not happen from a critical attitude of the artist in which the local situation or policy was questioned, but in a way that it suited the municipality.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Public space, Public art, Top-down and bottom-up, Intrinsic and extrinsic values, Ling Zhi Helicopters, Zandpoort*

## **Table of contents**

Abstract and keywords	
1. Introduction	4
2. Theoretical Framework	8
2.1. Public space	8
2.2 Public art	10
2.3 Top-down and bottom-up	12
2.4 Extrinsic and intrinsic values	16
3. Case studies	23
3.1 Ling Zhi Helicopters and Zandpoort	23
3.2 Parameters	26
4. Method	27
4.1 Research design and method	27
4.2 Sampling and data collection	29
4.3 Data analysis	31
5. Results	35
5.1 Ling Zhi Helicopters	35
5.1.1 Goals and motivation	35
5.1.2 Realization process	38
5.1.3 Experience residents	41
5.2 Zandpoort	46
5.2.1 Goals and motivation	47
5.2.2 Realization process	50
5.2.3 Experience residents	53
6. Discussion	58
7. Conclusion	63
References	66
Appendix A - Documents	70
Appendix B - Overview respondents	73
Appendix C - Interview guides	74
Appendix D - Code trees	78

## 1. Introduction

In autumn of 2016, the artwork *Kissing Earth* by the world-famous Danish-Icelandic artist Olafur Eliasson was to be placed on the big square in front of Rotterdam Central Station (Sedee, 2016). The work consisted of two big globes, touching each other on the spot of Rotterdam. For this project, a special committee was formed by Rotterdam's former official of arts and culture Adriaan Visser, with Cees de Bruin, financier and investor, as the chairman. In 2014, they selected the work of Eliasson mainly because of its international character and monumental appearance (CBK, 2014; Municipality of Rotterdam, 2014). In addition, Olafur Eliasson was considered one of the most important artists of his generation, which played a central role in the selection as well, a letter from the Municipal Executive (2014) shows. As the artist explained, the artwork celebrates the interconnectedness and awareness along the world, and he referred to the big square as the gate of the bustling, international city of Rotterdam and as a prominent public space, where people from across the world come together (CBK, 2014). He considered the square as the perfect place to show what it means for a space to be public and democratic. Shortly after the news that *Kissing Earth* was chosen as the best design was released, the work stirred up a lot of resistance among the residents of Rotterdam and it became popularly called 'The balls of Rotterdam' (Sedee, 2016). About ten thousand people joined the protest page on Facebook, which was established with the aim to stop the project. In 2016 it was announced that the placement of the two kissing globes was canceled.

According to Beekmans and Zebracki (2014), the placement of public artworks can face strong opposition when the community is not seriously involved and a small group of high-ranking decide on behalf of the public what public art should be, where it should be placed and why. It can be said that the *Kissing Earth* project concerns an artwork in the public space that is realized with a top-down management and organization structure, initiated and commissioned by the municipality of Rotterdam, with the authoritative decision as the starting point (Matland, 1995). Initially, only the municipality, the special committee, and the artist were involved in the decision-making and realization process of the artwork, but it were the residents of Rotterdam who played a key role in the cancellation of the project. This example shows a tension, as the plans and interests of the municipality did not seem to match those of the people of Rotterdam and raises the question whether such a situation could be prevented by a more bottom-up organization structure, which is considered to be more reflective of the communal interest (DeLeon and DeLeon, 2002). As Becker (2004) argues,

“the process of creating public art necessarily involves interaction among many interests” as it is about “creating a common goal” (p. 6). He continues by saying that participation of people with different interests and perspectives, may result in public art that is more “dynamic, inviting, engaging, and sometimes contentious” (p. 6).

As Lijster et al. (2018) and Otte (2015) state, public art in the Netherlands is instrumentalized, as the focus is on its economic and social values. When such effects cannot be demonstrated, the government may see no benefit in granting subsidies, meaning that artists who are commissioned by the government or municipalities have to adapt to imposed frameworks, which can lead to the undermining of the artist's autonomous and critical position (Boomgaard, 2006; Otte, 2015). Pure bottom-up art, on the other hand, arise from human perspectives and, emerging from a local question or problem, and have the ability to articulate civil concerns (Gielen, 2017; Lijster et al., 2018; Otte & Gielen, 2019). Such projects may exist in the civil domain, in which citizens take actions that the government or municipalities cannot or do not want to take and for which there are no interested market parties, recognizing the public and thus more political value of art in the public space (Gielen, 2017; Otte & Gielen, 2019).

In this paper, the difference between the valuation of top-down and bottom-up realized public art will be explored, taking both the intrinsic and extrinsic values into account, of which the former can be understood as the values that arise from the mental connection of the participant with the art or cultural object (van Maanen, 2009). Extrinsic values, on the other hand, are independent of the user's mental connection with the artwork and are not directly linked to the specific characteristics of the object (Gielen et al., 2014; van Maanen, 2009). By taking both extrinsic and intrinsic values into account, it contributes to existing theory and studies on the value of arts and culture, which often focuses on the instrumental values related to measurable outcomes (McCarthy et al., 2004). As McCarthy et al. (2004) explain, “intrinsic benefits of the arts are intangible and difficult to define,” resulting in the reluctance of advocates of the arts to introduce them into the policy discussion, despite believing that these intrinsic benefits “are of primary importance” (p. 37-38). The white paper for The Mayors' Institute on City Design by Markusen and Gadwa (2010), for example, focusses on the livability and economic development as the outcomes of arts, culture, and creativity as placemakers. Besides this, looking specifically at art in in the public space, public art is rarely evaluated retrospectively, Jeroen Boomgaard (2012) notices. According to him, the importance of art is substantiated with expectations, but it remains uncertain whether works actually do something where they are, and what.

This research aims to contribute to a better understanding of the value of art and to provide an answer to the following research question: To what extent and how is a top-down realized work of public art valued differently from a bottom-up realized work of public art? To do so, a qualitative research is conducted, in which two carefully selected cases are examined. Based on existing studies on public space and public art, the difference between top-down and bottom-up public art is explored theoretically, resulting in the selection of the public artworks Zandpoort in the Reeshof and Ling Zhi Helicopters in Leidschenveen-Ypenburg. The former is created by the artists group Observatorium and initiated by one of the residents as the result of anger triggered by the felling of trees and nature, leaving the area bare and unattractive. Because of the emergence of the project from a local problem and the central role of residents in the realization of the project, Zandpoort can be considered a bottom-up realized artwork (Otte & Gielen, 2019; van Schaik, 2016). The Ling Zhi Helicopters, on the other hand, is realized top-down, as it was initiated and commissioned by the municipality of The Hague, which was responsible for the decision-making during the process (Girdwood, 2013; Matland, 1995). With the placement of an iconic artwork of international signature, they wanted to celebrate and mark the development of the area and put the district on the map worldwide.

The analysis of the two selected public works of art consists of three different parts: First, the goals and motivation as drawn up by the initiators, commissioners, committee, and mediating party are discussed, concerning the initial plans and ideas and the formulation of the assignment of the work. Thereafter, the focus will be on the stage of the implementation of the assignment and the realization process, in which the goals and intentions of the artist play a central role. Finally, the way the artwork is experienced and valued by individual residents is explored. For the data collection of the first two stages, a multimethod research approach is employed, including semi-structured interviews with the project managers and one of the artists and a document analysis of news articles, governmental documents, video's, podcasts, project plans, and internal documents that include information about the realization of the public works. To find out how residents experience and value Zandpoort and the Ling Zhi Helicopters, nine respondents for each artwork were interviewed, focusing on what they think of the project and what it does to them and the neighborhood. In the discussion of this thesis, it is discussed which predetermined intrinsic and extrinsic values are expressed in the three different stages and to what extent the values reflected in the first phase are expressed in the experience of the visitors. The outcomes of both projects are compared in the conclusion

to provide an answer to the research question to what extent and how a top-down realized work of public art is valued differently from a bottom-up realized work of public art.

## 2. Theoretical framework

### 2.1 Public space

The public space can be considered as publicly accessible, open spaces where people go for certain activities (Carr et al., 1992). These spaces can take various forms, as they can be open spaces in the open air without surrounding walls, such as streets and parks; indoor closed spaces that are shared, such as libraries or town halls; and intermediate spaces, such as clubs and associations confined to specific publics (Amin, 2008). According to Carr et al. (1992), a public space is ideally where people from various cultural backgrounds come together, interact with each other, and enjoy the space equally. When these spaces are managed and organized in a successful way, they have the ability to increase participation in activities and thus to “carry positive communal meanings” (Carr et al., 1992, p. 344). Public space can help people to satisfy their pressing needs, be shaped to define and protect significant human rights, and best convey special cultural meanings, the authors argue. However, they notice that the human perspective is often neglected in the design and management of the public space, as the focus is on the goals of space designers and managers and their ideas about what should be done, in which commercial reasons play a central role and people's needs are not addressed. For example, plazas are often designed to act as corporate emblems and parks as a symbol for the city, without having a connection with its citizens (Carr et al., 1992). When economic potential becomes the main concern of the management and production of the public space, it may lead to disconnection and social exclusion (Grodach, 2009).

For this form of public space that is controlled and managed by designers and managers, an alternative domain exists in which the human perspectives and needs serve as a starting point, referred to as *civil space*, which is shaped by certain efforts made by people, like “collective actions, initiatives and organizations”, in which particular thoughts and ideas are organized and expressed (Gielen, 2017, p. 136). This means that new ideas and people can obtain their position in society through self-organization in the civil space. The public space, on the other hand, is the space where these thoughts and ideas are exchanged among people (Gielen, 2017). Furthermore, a distinction can be made between civil space and *civic places*, of which the latter refers to places regulated and controlled by governments or authorities and are established through certain policies, education programmes or laws, whereas the civil space is open and thus offers the possibility for participation of citizens (Gielen, 2017). In the latter domain, civilians take certain actions that the government fails to take and for which there are no interested market parties. *Civil action* is in the grey area



between what is legal and what not, and at the moment of the action itself the initiators are unsure whether their practice will be "tolerated, embraced, or even passed into law, or rather not" (Gielen, 2017, p. 132). Following Lijster et al., 2018, "all civil action is born from emotion" (p. 137).

This self-organization and participation in the design of people's own living environment has started to play an increasingly important role (Knoop, 2017). A growth of socially sustainable and participative practices within the domain of heritage and the public space can be witnessed, which goes together with locality, collaboration, bottom-up governance, and circularity (Knoop, 2017; Schwarz, 2017). The focus shifts from an objective idea of space to relationships and connections between citizens and the places they inhabit, meaning that they experience and familiarize themselves with these environments by turning them into meaningful places (Schwarz, 2017). This trend is referred to as *placemaking*, in which the community plays a central role. Placemaking is concerned with the improvement of the qualities of certain places by taking the local identities and social values of the inhabitants into account, rather than with its functionality. As Schwarz states, placemaking initiatives can be considered successful when it goes together with building connections and forms of engagement. These collectively shared places that are run by communities are called *urban commons*, which, contribute to the sustainability of living environments, as they provide a platform for the expression of a multitude of cultural and social values and unique experiences (Schwarz, 2017).

This shift towards more collaborative and participatory practices in the public space is not embraced by everyone and has led to the emergence of various debates. Annemarie Kok (2017) for example, argues that the transfer of control and ownership from the government to local communities leads to the division of the city into smaller parts and the disappearance of connectedness. She considers it as defaming of professional politics and argues that the representative democracy is the only sensible collective hold. According to her, the increased commonality that is intended to promote social cohesion may even have negative consequences for the residents and often does not benefit the individual citizen. With her statement, she responds to city activist Jane Jacobs, who called for involvement of citizens in city planning and localized self-governance of neighborhoods in to increase the liveability of cities (as cited in Wendt, 2009).

## 2.2 Public art

Public art can be understood as a creative expression in the public space, either commissioned or unofficial, including various forms such as sculptures, street art, landscaping works, performance art, media installations, and sound art (Lossau & Stevens, 2014). Following Fisher (1996), public art may be *site-specific*, referring to the "product of artistic creativity designed and intended for a specific, publicly owned location," or *place-specific*, which can be understood as the creative product as the result of a collaboration between artists and a community (p. 43). A site, in this sense, represents the physical properties of a place, whereas a place is what fills the site out and make it work, referring to its "practical, vernacular, psychological, social, cultural, ceremonial, ethnic, economic, political, and historical dimensions" (Kelley, 1995, as cited in Fisher, 1996, p. 44). It can be stated that public art is directly linked to the public space, as the placement or performance of an artistic expression in the public space may affect the way the place is seen or experienced, and also how the work is seen by the audience (Fisher, 1996). Also, art in the public space depends on certain places and communities, and it "integrates, represents, and communicates vision, image, and space" (Boomgaard, 2017; Zebracki et al., 2010, p. 786).

Public art emerged as a distinct form of art practice in the late 1960s, with processes of communication with the public as an important element (Lossau & Stevens, 2014). Different than fine arts, public art was intended for a broad public and to be more connected to the world and its everyday needs, as Lossau and Stevens (2014) state. Related to the discussed changes in the realm of the public space in the Netherlands, visual art in the public space became increasingly social and personal in the 1990s and developed later towards a more political approach (Karskens, 2003). These transitions included that the viewer's position shifted to that of the participant, the process became more important than the final product, and elitism gave way to generosity" (Karskens, 2003, para. 5). The public that used to be considered as "an unstructured collection of individuals", was now referred to as "specific groups that all require a specific approach" (Boomgaard, 2017, p. 28-29).

According to Zebracki et al. (2010), public art refers to artworks that are commissioned for sites that are publicly accessible. However, such artworks are not limited to this definition and can either be commissioned or initiated, serving different purposes (Merx, 2017). Following Merx (2017), three functions of art in the public space can be distinguished. Firstly, public art is used in the design of the public space in order to positively enhance its experience, which is characterized by a top-down governance, regulated, commissioned, and controlled by the government and professionals. Artists, for example,

regularly are involved in landscape and urban development projects and are commissioned for the enhancement of new buildings "to give public spaces a more human face" (Boomgaard, 2006; Karskens, 2003, para. 2). Another function of public art is the design of alternative forms of the use of public space, where artists act as stimulators in the discovery and creative appropriation of these spaces, in which people find themselves and meet each other, that not, no longer, or do not function properly as such (Merx, 2017). Collaboration and cocreation between artists and residents are central elements in these forms of public art, and links to the discussed increased role of self-organization in the improvement of people's living environment. Lastly, art in the public space can have an intervening function, which can be explained as the domain of collective and artistic imagination of what the public space could be without any practical reality and limitations of policy frameworks (Merx, 2017). The artist intervenes in the public space in order to disrupt it temporarily by adding something to it, such as a critical question, suggestion, or thought (Merx, 2017).

When public art is being deployed in development processes of the public space, as is the case in the first described function of public art, this can lead to the undermining of the artist's autonomous position, which is, together with its complex relationship to the masses, one of main subjects in recent discussions about art in public spaces (Boomgaard, 2006; Karskens, 2003). The boundaries between, art, architecture, and design become more blurred, which leads to the confrontation of art with new obligations and duties. In the practical use of art in the public space, such as the enhancement of buildings, the artist often acts as a problem solver within the consensus model of experts, advisory committees, and commissions to artists that exists in the Netherlands that is often used in the top-down approach of art in the public space, which transforms art into a communication strategy (Boomgaard, 2006; Karskens, 2003). The artist must meet various requirements such as providing originality and surprise, and at the same time also meet certain expectations and take into account different wishes and be "grist of the mill of today's amusement economy - without appealing to autonomy or serving an agenda of its own" (Boomgaard, 2006, p. 9). It is the dissatisfaction with the dominance of capitalist codes and the regulation of the public space to which the intervening art, the third discussed function of art in the public space by Merx (2017), is a reaction (Karskens, 2003).

Following Otte and Gielen (2019), a similar criticism also exists in the realm of social-artistic projects in the public space, as such projects have a lot to do with official cultural policy in the sense that they are being subsidized or that the private sector is stimulated to carry out participative and *community arts* through all kinds of schemes. This

has the consequence that community art often comes into the legally regulated civic domain (Gielen, 2017; Otte & Gielen, 2019). This, in turn, results in the keeping of public art within policy frameworks, without recognizing its public and thus political value (Otte & Gielen, 2019). However, various artistic initiatives have emerged that, for various reasons, want to break free from this civic domain and end up in the previously discussed civil domain (Gielen, 2017; Otte & Gielen, 2019). Because the artists who express their political commitment in addition to the social domain often have to forgo sponsors, subsidies, and institutional support, they enter the domain of the commons, which Otte and Gielen (2017) consider as a societal space where free support for the work of the artist can be found (Gielen, 2017; Otte & Gielen, 2019). These *commoning artists*, as they call it, are generally more autonomous than community artists, as they work in an area that belongs neither to the market nor to the public domain of the government and thus are not dependent of government money (Otte & Gielen, 2019).

The quality of art then, as discussed by Jeroen Boomgaard (2011), is determined by its ability to make the various interests and motives visible in the complex struggle for power that exists in the public space and escape a place's functions and intentions. As there has been a transition in the public domain in the Netherlands from a democracy in which the public interest is central to a democracy characterized by individual interests, public art no longer represents the interests of the ruling class and the ideology of power, but rather plays that game for power ambiguously, taking the controversial artwork Turning House by John Körmeling as an example (Boomgaard, 2011). In 1999, the renowned artist was commissioned by the city council to create an artwork for a roundabout to put Tilburg on the regional and national map (Beekmans & Zebracki, 2014). He designed a turning house that would move on rails, making a statement about the houses that were demolished for the roundabout and criticizing the policy. This example shows that the meaning of art can go beyond the regulation of the public space, yet still appear to be subservient.

### *2.3 Top-down and bottom-up*

Top-down and bottom-up approaches are discussed in various disciplines, including policy implementation. Top-down implementation models consider policy designers as the central actors with the authoritative decision as the starting point, in which "centrally located actors are seen as most relevant to producing the desired effects" (Matland, 1995, p. 146). On the other hand, bottom-up models for policy implementation assume that policy is made at the local level, focusing on target populations and service deliverers (Matland, 1995). As

Matland (1995) argues, this last approach involves policy implementation on both a macro-implementation and micro-implementation level, as government programs are created by centrally located actors and adapted to local conditions by individuals or organizations, meaning that policy implementation arises from the interaction between policy and setting or context.

Following the above ideas on policy implementation, John Girdwood (2013) considers the top-down approach as “a clear-cut system of command and control – from the government to the project, which concerns the people”, discussing five different characteristics of this system (para. 2). The first one is that top-down implementation presents clear and consistent goals for a policy, produced at the top of the hierarchical structure. Another important aspect of the top-down system is the presence of knowledge of relevant causes and effects of the policy implementation, as well as a clear hierarchical structure of authority. Besides goals, rules are established at the top, which are expressed in policy. Lastly, the top-down system showcases resources.

The bottom-up approach, on the other hand, is characterized by the premise of discretion by agents (Girdwood, 2013). In this kind of system, the idea that “one size does not fit all cases” plays an important role, where discretion may enable the actual implementors to develop practices or programs appropriate to the local environment and its conditions, or to ignore policy that interfere with the purpose of the program (Girdwood, 2013, para. 5). This form of policy implementation can be considered as more reflective of the communal interest, as target groups participate by proposing a policy that will directly affect them, rather than being imposed on them by policy makers, as is the case with top-down implementation (DeLeon and DeLeon, 2002). As DeLeon and DeLeon (2002) state, bottom-up can be seen as “more realistic and practical” as well as democratic, since the individuals and organizations who are affected by the policy participate in the development of it (p. 478).

Another field in which top-down and bottom-up approaches are discussed is urban planning and development, in which a top-down government is replaced by multi-actor governance, having a more communicative and inclusive and less hierarchical character. (Cowley, 2015). As discussed previously, the emphasis has been placed on community engagement, which, according to Head (2007), can be understood as the building of institutional bridges between governmental and non-governmental sectors, such as the private business sector or the community, moving away from the attention to “the inherent elitism of professional bureaucracies and representative government” (p. 442). As the author states, citizen participation or engagement can be used to identify and solve social problems and can

take various organizational forms, ranging from weaker to stronger participatory forms. In his article, he distinguishes five different levels of citizen participation and empowerment, starting with information-based engagement, meaning that the government provides the public with objective information in order to help them understand the problem, opportunities, and solutions. The second discussed form is formal consultation to obtain feedback from the public through, for example, surveys or public meetings. Citizen involvement by working directly together throughout the process, in order to reflect the wishes and needs of the public is another participatory form. The fourth level is actual collaboration through a partnership between governments and the public, incorporating advice and recommendations of the citizens into the decisions. The last organisational form of participation is citizen control, placing final decision-making on implementation in the hands of the public (Head, 2007).

Top-down and bottom-up structures are also integrated in the world of the arts. As visual artist Edwin Stolk (2017) argues, art is often seen as a self-contained system that responds to other art, having mainly an individual interest as an object for the purpose of investment or city marketing. He rejects this top-down approach of art and emphasizes the importance of the relationship between an artwork and its environment or context, in which participation of the residents plays an important role. Marjo van Schaik (2016) speaks of a movement within the field of arts and culture in which more attention is paid to bottom-up initiatives, being in line with the government policy that likes to return tasks and responsibilities to the citizens. Such policies include the encouragement and support of participatory projects and community arts mainly for social purposes, including the improvement of social cohesion, as these projects are characterized by a higher level of social engagement, individual involvement of autonomous artists and locality (Otte & Gielen, 2019; van Schaik, 2016). In bottom-up projects, the focus is placed on artistry, engagement of citizens, and innovation, rather than on audience reach and economic benefit or development, which often play a central role in top-down art and culture projects. As van Schaik (2016) argues, existing boundaries between artists and the public, consumer and producer, professionals and amateurs become blurred, and there is more collaboration and co-creation between various stakeholders such as artists and communities.

However, the organization and management structure of, for example, commoning art, that exists in the civil domain and is no subject to wishes and interests of the market or the government, does not fit in the bottom-up approach as discussed above, in which policy and government frameworks play a role in the decision-making process and the realization

(Otte & Gielen, 2019). Rather than realized from an issue or question, and the associated subsidy, from the government, such *pure bottom-up* projects, arise from a local problem or situation in response to a public need that the government does not (yet) meet and are characterized by a horizontal, non-hierarchical organisation structure (Otte & Gielen, 2019; Schrijen et al., 2018). The Mobile Chicken Coop project by Cascoland serves as an example of this form of bottom-up realized art. Cascoland can be understood as a network of artists, designers, performers, and architects who promote "mobilisation, participation, and networking through artistic exchange and collaboration" and "empower the bottom-up development of public space" (Cascoland, n.d.-a). Cascoland had placed four mobile chicken coops in a formerly closed off park, responding to the desire of residents to keep chickens, "an inability of the municipality to facilitate this and the maze in legislation that allows for mobile trailers, with any desired function, to be place in public space" (Cascoland, n.d.-b). These coops were placed from 2010 to 2014 and included a light installation to provide light in dark times, as stated on their website. The municipality in this case, has the role of facilitator, instead of being part of the decision-making process.

The project of artist Gerrit-Jan Smit in the Zaaipark in Breda shows another example of an artwork in the public space that is considered to be actually realized bottom-up in this research. His work presents a new way of dealing with the public space and being critical, in which he confronts the municipality instead of going along with existing rules and frameworks. In the park, a demarcated piece of land can be found with a surface of 49m<sup>2</sup> that is no longer being maintained by the municipality (Witte Rook, 2016). The artist wanted to rid a piece of land of all the applicable rules in the public space that is managed and regulated by the state and started the project in 2015 with the municipality of Breda. With a nicely packaged and appealing story, Gerrit-Jan sold the work of art to the municipality for 2000 euros and a twenty-year contract signed stating that they were not allowed to do anything about it. In this way, the work is owned by authorities, but given to the public who can intervene in it by, for example, throwing waste.

According to Lijster et al. (2018), Dutch cultural policy is characterized by a top-down approach and its focus seems to be on "long-term, well-established and nationally oriented institutions and the bureaucratisation of subsidising and funding procedures," resulting in a blind spot for grassroots initiatives that favour a different approach, which can localise specific existing civil concerns and make them visible (p. 135). As discussed before, there has been a certain shift in Dutch cultural policy, as cultural participation and community art projects have come to play a more important role, related to *semi bottom-up*

*projects*. Although a more responsible and proactive attitude of citizens in regard to their living environment and community is expected, understanding arts and culture in a more social or civil way, a rather functionalistic approach is still implied, following Lijster et al. (2018). In this approach, art is either considered as a "form of social glue and a plaster on the wounds of the community (...) that were also often inflicted by neoliberal policy itself (...) or as some kind of creative problem solver" (Lijster et al., 2018, p. 136). When the discussed blind spot for pure bottom-up art initiatives leads to an increasing part of the population that no longer can relate or recognizes itself in the provision of art and cultural practices, this can be considered problematic and result in the feeling that the cultural sector is run by and intended for "a self-involved and self-sustaining 'elite'," Lijster et al. (2018) argue (p. 135).

Based on the above discussed literature, a gradation from pure top down, semi bottom-up and pure bottom-up can be made. In this study, top-down artworks are referred to as artistic projects in which authorities play a central role in the decision-making process and goals and conditions are established at the top of the hierarchical structure. These works of art are commissioned and controlled by local or national governments, presenting a vertical organizational structure, which requires command and compliance (Hamilton, 2000). Reaching a wide audience and economic development are often important drivers for the realization of the project, taking little account of local conditions and the context of the work. The semi bottom-up approach, on the other hand, includes community arts and participatory projects in which the focus is on organizations and individuals at the local level, who are actively involved and collaborate with artists and authorities. They have a less hierarchical character, but they do have to deal with imposed governmental frameworks and regulations. Unlike top-down projects, the interests of the residents and local conditions play an important role in the realization of the artwork, meaning that it is context dependent. Such projects are encouraged and subsidized by governments for social purposes. Moving to purely bottom-up realized projects, a more horizontal organizational structure applies including self-organization and self-regulation, in which governments or municipalities may take the role of facilitator or collaborator, rather than being the determining party. Such projects are initiated by artists or residents as a response to local needs that the government or municipality does not want or cannot meet, taking responsibility for their own living environment.

#### *2.4 Extrinsic and intrinsic values*

To examine the value of bottom-up and top-down realized public art, it is important to map out the various values of art that are discussed in existing literature, distinguishing extrinsic



and intrinsic values. In his book, van Maanen (2009) states that the value of art can be discussed at different levels, as it is possible to look at the role of art in a culture or society, or its significance for individuals or groups. It can also be studied on the level of artistic expression, to determine whether work can be considered artistic or not. Focussing solely on the first two levels, the author discusses the intrinsic and extrinsic values in aesthetic communication, which can be understood as artistic utterances and the reactions to them by recipients who observe them. Van Maanen (2009) refers to the intrinsic value of art as “that which is realised as a direct effect of the mental engagement with artistic communication and which emanates from the typical character of these utterances as well,” with the aesthetic experience in the viewer as the most common one (p. 150). This experience is complex and can affect individuals emotionally as well as bring about changes in personal attitude and perceptions in conscious and subconscious ways (Brown & Novak-Leonard, 2013). The extrinsic values, on the other hand, are not related to this mental connection with the work of art, but they can have to do with the experience of informative, relaxation, social, or economic values.

Extrinsic values, or instrumental values, are often sought in the economic and social domain (Otte, 2015). The economic value of art and culture can be related to the idea that it has to contribute to the local economy by, for example, by attract tourists, new residents, and businesses (Otte, 2015). Following Otte (2015), the instrumental social value includes, among other things, meeting other people through art expressions, sense of belonging to a certain group, and learning to behave according to the social rules of the art world. Increasing the liveability and the improvement of a neighborhood's image can also be considered as part of the social aspect of arts and culture, which can make people feel more involved and create a sense of pride, but also contribute to economic stimulation (Schrijen et al., 2018). According to van Maanen (2009), “social values help people to (re)discover or reinforce their place in a smaller or larger community” and include social cohesion, identity building, inclusion, and the generation of new social formations (p. 197). As additional extrinsic values, he discusses the informative value, in which understanding, knowledge, and insight are produced in educational and informative practices, and the relaxation, or restorative, one, which involves the temporary escape from the reality of daily life, initiated by the presence at the event or work, rather than by actual participation or interaction. In this sense, it does not make much of a difference what is being presented to the observer.

It is the instrumental values that play a central role in Dutch cultural policy, as the focus is on arts and culture as a tool for economic development or as a leisure activity and

also municipalities emphasize the economic importance of art (Lijster et al., 2018; Otte, 2015). In recent years, the social aspect of arts and culture plays an increasing role in cultural policy in the Netherlands, as also seen in the previously discussed stimulation of community arts and participatory projects. As the research of Hanka Otte (2015) shows, the government may see no benefit in granting subsidies when the desired social and economic effects of cultural policy cannot be demonstrated, or if they appear to be better achieved by other means.

Intrinsic values, on the other hand, are important to the aesthetic experience, which comes into being through interaction between the spectator and the piece of art (van Maanen, 2009). Van Maanen (2009) distinguishes three types of aesthetic experience: Decorative, comfortable, and, challenging (artistic), which he links to different intrinsic values. The intrinsic value in decorative aesthetic communication can be understood as “the enjoyment of perception of forms without the need to give meaning to them” (van Maanen, 2009, p. 193). The comfortable, or affirmative, aesthetic experience involves the activation of a familiar perceptual schemata which can result in the enjoyment of existing representations. Reliving and recognition play an important role in this type of experience. Finally, the challenging aesthetic communication challenges one’s perceptual schemata and calls for a reassessment of it. In this case, “imaginative powers play a mediating role in the encounter with [the discrepancy between form and matter]” (van Maanen, 2009, p. 191). The realised intrinsic value in this form of aesthetic experience is the enjoyment and pleasure of the use of these imaginative powers.

Bringing about an aesthetic experience that not only appeals to one's perception, but also challenges it is considered the most important intrinsic value of art, according to van Maanen (2009). When the viewer is challenged in his perception, it means that his previous observations are not confirmed and his imagination is cultivated, resulting in a new way of looking at reality as the observer experiences it to renew his perception (Gielen et al., 2014; Otte, 2015). These new perceptions may lead to an increased capacity for empathy, meaning that viewers can become more receptive to people, attitudes, and cultures they do not know by bringing new references (Otte, 2015; Twaalfhoven, 2008). According to McCarthy et al. (2004), this sympathetic imagination can lead to the questioning of one's conventional values and perceptions of the world.

Cognitive growth is another intrinsic value, which is referred to as the most important one by Twaalfhoven (2008), who thinks that the importance of art lies primarily in the interaction with art itself and the personal, subjective experience of the individual, and not in

the possible social or economic effects it has. This value of art includes the experience of enrichment and the broadening of one's horizon and conceptual frameworks, as art has the ability to enable experiences that are not available in one's own life, by presenting certain images, characters, events and other things (Gielen et al., 2014). It relates to intellectual growth as art may require one to be "receptive to new experiences and to relate them to our own knowledge of the world (McCarthy et al., 2004, p. 45). The viewer's active involvement and participation in the meaning making of the artwork can be considered part of this. As McCarthy et al. (2004) state, repeated involvement can make the audience "more capable of noticing and appreciating the details that make up an aesthetic whole and seeing how these details compare with those in other works and/or performances" (p. 50). This developed capacity, or aesthetic development, strengthens our powers of observation in everyday life (Brown & Novak-Leonard, 2013; McCarthy et al., 2004). Contemplation and reflection are also indicators connected to cognitive growth (Gielen et al., 2014). Cognitive growth includes the transition from observation to consideration and interpretation, emphasizing how things are observed, whereas in the instrumental informative value the focus is on what is observed (van Maanen, 2009).

Two other intrinsic values of art are often discussed in various studies on the benefit or the effect of art, including captivation and the rise of emotions. The former can be understood as "the initial response to a compelling work", evoking an uncommon feeling of "deep involvement, admiration, and even wonder" (McCarthy et al., 2004, p. 45). In addition, it may include amazement by the artist's achievement and full immersion in the experience as well as an imaginative flight, or "a departure from one's everyday self that enables one to imaginatively inhabit the created reality being presented" (McCarthy et al., 2004, p. 46).

Also, art has the ability to build a bridge between the inner and outer world, meaning that it can serve as an outlet for inner emotions and feelings, but it can also create new tensions (Twaalfhoven, 2008). An emotional response such as pleasure usually derives from the discussed form of captivation and is related to the feeling of enjoyment and delight in the experience of the new as well as the feeling of being moved (McCarthy et al., 2004; van Maanen, 2009). Besides such positive emotions, the aesthetic experience can also affect the emotional system evoking more negative emotions such as fear, anger, or sorrow (van Maanen, 2009). Following van Maanen (2009), emotions can either be evoked in the viewer by what the work represents or by its connection with history, which are more or less predictable, or consist of unfamiliar forms of emotions, which has to do with surprise (Gielen

et al., 2014). In addition, linked to the value of challenging one's perception, emotional response can take the form of "pleasure of the experience of new perceptions" (p.192).

When discussing the value of art in the public space, it is important to look at its role in civil society, rather than solely to the individual aesthetic experience. According to Lijster et al. (2018), this can be considered as a blind spot in Dutch cultural policy, in which the emphasize is on the effect of art on the individual level, rather than on the public or civil domain. As a result of the first and one of the most important intrinsic values of art, challenging one's perception, art has the ability to subjectify, as discussed by Gielen et al., (2014), meaning, among other things, that autonomous and alternating voices are encouraged and giving a place and also create space for discussion and debate and a more critical attitude, which ensures that culture and society keeps moving (Gielen et al., 2014; Otte, 2015). Following Gielen et al. (2014), art, in this sense, can have a disruptive effect, allowing it to transform and mutate familiar social order to a greater or lesser extent. Such a transformation from the individual to the collective level, and into the public domain, can take place on the basis of a shared emotion, such as anger, irritation, or a feeling of dissatisfaction about one's living environment, which in turn, can lead to civil action (Gielen, 2017; Lijster et al., 2018).

In this paper, the value of bottom-up and top-down realized art will be explored by looking at how it affects individuals as well as its possible role within society, just like in the discussed research of van Maanen (2009). Both extrinsic and intrinsic values will be taken into account in the examination of the initial goals and intentions of the artworks as well as in the exploration of the realization process and the experience of the residents and visitors. Based on the literature discussed above, four extrinsic or instrumental values and four intrinsic values can be distinguished that will be used in this paper, which are showed in Table 1, including the discussed indicators. Following van Maanen (2009), the former includes the economic, social, informative, and restorative or relaxation value, which are unrelated to the mental connection from the visitor to the work of art. The intrinsic value, on the other hand, has to do with the aesthetic experience of the visitor and its appreciation and valuation of the work itself, are related to challenging one's perception, cognitive growth, captivation, and the rise of emotions (Brown & Novak-Leonard, 2013; Gielen et al., 2014; McCarthy et al., 2004; Otte, 2015; Twaalfhoven, 2008; van Maanen, 2009).

**Table 1***Extrinsic and intrinsic values including indicators.*

	<b>Value</b>	<b>Indicators</b>
<i><b>Extrinsic</b></i>	Economic	Attract tourists; Attract new residents; Attract new businesses
	Social	Social inclusion; Identity building; Sense of pride; Social interaction; Sense of belonging; Increased liveability: Improvement of area's image
	Informative	Education; production of knowledge
	Relaxation	Resting point; escape from daily life
<i><b>Intrinsic</b></i>	Challenging one's perception	Cultivate one's imagination; Receptive to unfamiliar people, attitudes, and cultures; questioning conventional perceptions and values of the world; Discussion and debate
	Cognitive growth	Broadening of horizon and conceptual frameworks; Enrichment; Intellectual growth; Active participation in meaning making; Reflection; Contemplation; Aesthetic development; Consideration; Interpretation
	Captivation	Admiration; Wonder; Imaginative flight; Amazement by artist's achievement; Full immersion in the experience
	Rise of emotions	Enjoyment; feeling of delight; Evoke emotion such as pleasure, fear, anger, or sorrow; Pleasantly or unpleasantly surprised; Connection to history

In this paper, the aim is to explore to what extent and how a top-down realized work of public art is valued differently from a bottom-up realized work of public art. Based on the above, the hypothesis that bottom-up realized artworks in the public space are able to generate more intrinsic value than government-led public artworks is formulated. Top-down art is characterized by a vertical organization structure and decision-making process, in which authorities play a central role. Such projects arise from an issue or question from the government, and are often commissioned for economic or social purposes, as emphasized in Dutch cultural policy, which are related to the extrinsic values of art. As they exist in the civic domain and are funded and controlled by authorities, they have directly to do with

imposed governmental frameworks and regulations, which may affect the autonomous and critical character of the artists. This leads to the expectation that mainly extrinsic values are expressed in the initial plans and goals of the top-down realized artwork as well as in the experience of the residents, having the effect as was initially intended.

Bottom-up realized art, on the other hand, arises from a local need or question and is characterized by a more horizontal organization, meaning that the government or municipalities act as a facilitator rather than having the leading role in the decision-making process. Such projects leave space for alternative forms to use the public space and to articulate existing civil concerns, in which the audience may recognize themselves or can relate to, allowing the public to become more mentally connected to the work. Existing outside of or in confrontation with governmental frameworks, there seems to be more room for a more autonomous or critical attitude and for alternating voices, questioning existing policy and power structures that exist in public space. Artists may provide the public with a different view on certain aspects, evoking discussion and debate and challenging the perception of the audience, which can be considered as the most important intrinsic value of art and is related to civil action and the disruption of the familiar social order. To provide an answer to the research question and test the formulated hypothesis, the top-down realized project Ling Zhi Helicopters and the artwork Zandpoort, which is considered to be realized bottom-up, are examined. The following sub questions are drawn up: What are the goals and intentions of the public artworks? What are the goals and intentions of the artist? How are the artworks experienced by the visitors? Subsequently, the values expressed in the three stages are compared as well as the outcomes of the two case studies.

### 3. Case studies

#### 3.1 *Ling Zhi Helicopters and Zandpoort*

In this paper, the focus is on the value of bottom-up and top-down realized art in the public space. The research is based on a multiple-case study, including one top-down and one bottom-up realized public work of art. The artworks were carefully selected, taking into account their organization structure, initiator and its motivation, the way it is funded, the role of authorities and local people, the set goals and conditions, the relation to their context and residents, and the involvement of citizens. However, the selection process of suitable cases for this thesis was more difficult than expected, because artworks in the public space with a pure bottom-up approach often take the form of temporary projects, events, or performances. This has led to the selection of a semi bottom-up public work of art, which is considered as bottom-up by the municipality, next to a pure top-down realized project.

To start with the latter, the visual public artwork *Ling Zhi Helicopters* (see Figure 1), located in Leidschenveen-Ypenburg along the Wilhelmina canal, is created by the Chinese-French artist Huang Yong Ping and can be regarded as a work of art that is realized top-down. The initiative for the work came from the former Project Office Ypenburg and Development Company Leidschenveen (OBL), the two project offices that were responsible for the development of the area, and together with the municipality of The Hague they agreed to use the remaining amount of the budget for the development of the Leidschenveen-Ypenburg district, which was reserved for art, for the realization of an iconic artwork to mark and celebrate the completion of the area (Municipality of The Hague, 2017). The municipality took in the role of commissioner and asked the art center *Stroom Den Haag* to lead the project under certain conditions as a municipal advisor for art in the public space. A steering group consisting of the Education, Culture, and Welfare Department, the city district, and *Stroom Den Haag* was formed, which was responsible for the decision-making in the process. The assignment was formulated by an advisory committee of art professionals and residents, which had selected the *Ling Zhi Helicopters* because of its ability to strengthen the district's identity and function as a beacon. The members of this committee agreed that this work had a lasting appearance and could be considered as an iconic addition to the international collection of public works in The Hague (Municipality of The Hague, 2017). The artists chose the *Rijswijkse Landingslaan* as the location for his artwork from seven places designated by the advisory committee, after learning that the former airport was located there. Citizen participation took the form of an advisory committee that included five

residents and two art experts. In addition, local residents were informed about the artwork and invited for a conversation with people from the steering group.

In comparison to the Ling Zhi Helicopters, Zandpoort (see Figure 2) in the Reeshof by artist group Observatorium, can be considered a bottom-up realized artwork, according to the alderman of culture Marcelle Hendrickx (van den Boezem, 2020). However, based on the discussed literature, it can be stated that this project can be considered a semi bottom-up project, instead of a pure bottom-up one. The work emerged from a bottom-up approach as it was initiated and led by local residents who were angered by the previously damaged area of the project, which was once an attractive area. The damage was triggered by former construction projects that aimed to deepen and widen the main waterway (Wilhelmina canal) to allow for easier access for larger transport ships. This, however, resulted in the surrounding green spaces to be cut down, leaving residents with a rather bare, unattractive area (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). Reeshof resident Peter van Gils came up with the initiative to realize an artwork to compensate the clearing of the area and increase its attractiveness again and formed a residents' committee with other fellow residents who shared his anger.

Moving to a more top-down approach, this formed committee worked together with city laboratory CuPuDo which was set up by the municipality of Tilburg, to develop and realize the idea for an artwork along the canal (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). The city lab was responsible for the formulation of the assignment, the creation of suitable artists, and fund applications, meaning that the consensus model for art in the public space was used. The residents of the committee selected two works from a list of ten artists that was drawn up by people from CuPuDo. Other residents of the Reeshof were informed and offered the possibility to vote for their favorite artwork during an exhibition at the local library. In the development process, CuPuDo acted as commissioner and this role then shifted to the neighborhood council of the Reeshof (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). The municipality became the owner of the work and thus responsible for maintenance. Rather than a facilitating role of the municipality and a horizontal organization structure, which is characteristic for pure bottom-up projects, it can be said that there was a hierarchical structure present in the project in question, which among others Cowley (2015) refers to as a top-down property. The municipality played an important role in the realization of the project and the artwork had to be adapted to the permits and given frameworks, which means that Zandpoort should be understood as a semi bottom-up project.



**Figure 1**

*Ling Zhi Helicopters by Huang Yong Ping in Leidschenveen-Ypenburg*



*Note.* From *Stroom Den Haag*, by G. Schreurs, 2020,  
[https://www.stroom.nl/gfx/uploads/Ling\\_Zhi\\_Helicopters\\_Gerrit\\_Schreurs\\_courtesy\\_Stroom\\_Den\\_Haag.jpg](https://www.stroom.nl/gfx/uploads/Ling_Zhi_Helicopters_Gerrit_Schreurs_courtesy_Stroom_Den_Haag.jpg)

**Figure 2**

*Zandpoort by Observatorium in the Reeshof*



*Note.* From *Observatorium*, by G. van de Camp, 2019,  
[https://www.observatorium.org/observatorium/site/application/#/project\\_item\\_image/2957/0](https://www.observatorium.org/observatorium/site/application/#/project_item_image/2957/0)

### *3.2 Parameters*

In addition to the organizational structure, bottom-up or top-down, other parameters have also been drawn up on the basis of which the cases have been selected. Firstly, it was decided to focus only on sculptures, because the experience of space plays an important role in this research and this form of public art actually takes up space or adds something to it. Also, sculptures are more likely to be sustainable, compared to other artistic expressions in the public space such as performance art or street art, which made it possible to visit the artwork and examine the visitor's experience (Lossau & Stevens, 2014). Like public art, public spaces do not have a fixed form: they can be open or closed, or take the form of intermediate spaces (Amin, 2008). For the selection, solely artworks in open spaces were included, as closed and intermediate spaces often have limited access and serve a certain function, which may diminish the experience created by an unexpected encounter.

Another criterion for the selection of case studies was that they had to be realized in the last five years, so that possible changes in experience brought by the arrival of the artwork could be explored. In addition, when the project has been completed in the recent years, it is more likely that relevant documents and people involved would be available as a source of information. Lastly, it was important that the public works of art are located in a similar area, as the context of art projects in the public space plays an important role (Boomgaard, 2017). Both artworks are located in an area that is part of a walking and cycling route in a large Vinex neighborhood. It was decided to only focus on projects within the Netherlands, because the works had to be visited in order to interview visitors of the artworks. In addition, travel abroad was discouraged by the government at the time of the research, to prevent the spread of COVID-19.

## 4. Method

### *4.1 Research design and method*

As discussed before, the valuation of a top-down and bottom-up realized work of public art is central. Based on existing literature, the following hypothesis is formulated: Bottom-up realized artworks in the public space are able to generate more intrinsic value than top-down public artworks. To verify or falsify this hypothesis and to be able to provide an answer to the research question, a qualitative research strategy was selected. To be more specific, a comparative design was adopted, in which two case studies were analyzed and compared, in order to "examine the operation of generative causal mechanisms in contrasting (...) contexts" (Bryman, 2012, p. 74). Various aspects of a top-down and a bottom-up realized work of art were analyzed and compared: First, the goals and intentions of the realization of the artworks are explored, consisting of the initial plans and ideas as drawn up by the commissioner. Next, the realization process, including the implementation of the artist and the actual physical production of the public artworks were discussed. Lastly, the way the artworks are experienced by residents and visitors and the expressed values were examined. A comparison of the various values reflected in the different moments in the process helped to determine whether the organization of a public work art, either bottom-up or top-down, influences how it is valued.

For the collection of data, a multimethod research approach was employed, including document analysis and semi-structured interviews, of which the former can be understood as "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents" (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). This analysis involves examination and interpretation of the retained data in order to gain understanding and knowledge. To get an understanding of the goals and intentions of the selected public artworks as well as of the realization process, various documents were used as the primary source of information, consisting of online governmental documents such as cultural policy plans and reports, online news articles about the projects, project plans, and unpublished internal documents including the assignment formulation and a press interview (see Appendix A). The websites of the parties involved were used as an additional source of information about the projects and the artists. When analyzing these documents and webpages, the focus was on the motivation for the realization of the project, the context, the commissioner, the initiator, the goals and intentions as formulated in the assignment, the requirements, the way it was funded, and the involved parties and individuals and their specific roles, as well as the goals and motivations of the artist.

In addition to this, data were obtained from personal communication in the form of emails and in-depth, semi-structured interviews with the project managers and one of the artists to clarify ambiguities and to supplement missing or unavailable data as well as to get information about their personal experiences. Only one artist could be interviewed, as Huang Yong Ping, the artist of the Ling Zhi Helicopters, had died suddenly during the realization process, but due to the availability of various interviews with the artist online this gap in data could be filled. Also, questions about his personal experience were included in the interview with the project manager, as they were in close contact throughout the process until the artist's death. The discussed kind of interview can be understood as "verbal interchanges where one person, the interviewer, attempts to obtain information from another person by asking questions" (Longhurst, 2009, p. 580). For this, a list with open-ended questions and topics was created, ensuring that the relevant material was covered during the interview. However, the order of the questions and topics was not fixed, allowing the interview to unfold in a more conversational manner (Longhurst, 2009).

Besides the organizational side of the artworks, the point of view of the audience was taken into account as well. In the last part of the analysis of the two selected works of public art, semi-structured interviews with residents (see Appendix B) have been used for the examination of the way the artworks are experienced and valued. Initially, the intention was to include online material expressing visitor responses and experiences, such as videos of the opening and reactions on social media, as a data source, but it was ultimately decided not to do so, as only visual material of the opening of Zandpoort was available, which would lead to an imbalance in the collected data. Also, reactions on social media were not included in the analysis, as the relationship of these people to the artwork and the context of their responses could not be determined. The interviews were conducted at the place of the artwork after the background information about the projects was acquired, to be able to create a comfortable situation and also to direct the conversation and provide the interviewees with material (Longhurst, 2009). Eighteen visitors, nine of each artwork, were asked about their personal experience with the artwork and their relationship to it, examining what the artworks bring about and what is considered important for them. These respondents consist of all passers-by over two whole days in total, one for each project, who wanted to participate in the interview. Three visitors of Zandpoort did not want to take part in it, and at the Ling Zhi Helicopters there were eight people who preferred not to answer the questions. A list of questions and topics was drawn up for these interviews, which can be considered as the leading questions to give some structure to the interaction. Eventually, the interview was formed by the

interviewee and the follow up questions that arose from the answers and the conversation that took place (Rapley, 2011).

#### *4.2 Sampling and data collection*

For the selection of relevant and representative documents and interviewees, purposive sampling was used, as the research question gave an indication of what units need to be sampled (Bryman, 2012). To research how and to what extent top-down and bottom-up realized public art is valued, first data were retained from collected documents associated with both case studies. After that, interviews were conducted with the project managers and one of the artists as well as with visitors of the works. For these semi-structured interviews, two different methods for the selection of participants are used. The data collection for the exploration of the goals and intentions including the conditions set by the initiators, commissioners, and the special created committees is mostly based on documents. For this, first a list of all online news articles per case study related to the project was compiled, consisting of nine documents about Ling Zhi Helicopters and six for Zandpoort. After this, relevant project webpages and blogs were searched for, such as those on the websites of Stroom Den Haag, Anything is Possible, and the Ypenburg residents for the Ling Zhi Helicopters, and that of CuPuDo, Reeshof Cultuurt, and Observatorium for Zandpoort. The next step was to look for audiovisual material such as videos, radio fragments, and podcasts, which of most could be found through the previous collected documents. This resulted in six items about the project made by Obervatorium and two about the helicopters of Huang Yong Ping.

To include the perspective from the policy side and that one of the municipalities, governmental documents were collected and explored as well. Four relevant reports including information about the realization of the Ling Zhi Helicopters art project were found on the website for council information about The Hague, but such governmental reports seemed not available for Zandpoort. In addition, the then cultural policy plans of both cities are taken into account to provide context for the realization of the projects. Finally, the project manager of Stroom Den Haag was contacted with the request for available documents, resulting in the collection of internal documents such as the assignment formulation, an unpublished interview with people of Stroom, the project proposal, and a list of stakeholders and their role. The same question had been put to the initiator of Zandpoort, Peter van Gils, and the artist, Geert van de Camp, who sent documents such as the work plan, screenshots of

personal communication between various involved parties, and various documents concerning the implementation and techniques.

The discussed documents were also used as a source of information for the examination of the realization process. Besides the analysis of documents, interviews with the project managers of both projects and the artist of Zandpoort have contributed to a better understanding of the actual production processes of the works of art. For the Ling Zhi Helicopters, the project leader Wineke van Muiswinkel, who was intensively involved during the whole process, was interviewed at the place of the artwork. She is connected to art center Stroom Den Haag and supervised the project from beginning to end. In addition, contact was sought with Stef Blok, the contact person from the municipality The Hague, and with one of the residents who was part of the committee, to be able to focus on different perspectives. These interviews could not take place because they were only available at a later date, which would not be feasible. For the art project in the Reeshof, two in-depth, semi-structured interviews are conducted, of which one with the resident who initiated the project Peter van Gils, who took in a central role in the whole process and can be considered the project manager and the other one with artist Geert van de Camp (G. van de Camp, personal communication, April 29, 2021). The latter took place in the office of Observatorium and Peter van Gils was interviewed through Zoom, due to COVID-19 and the current measurements. Liesbeth Jans from CuPuDo, who played an important role in the starting phase, was contacted, but was also not available at the time.

The interviews were conducted between 23 and 28 April and lasted about an hour each. All three participants of the interviews about the motivation and realization process were informed about the general purpose of the research before the start of the conversation. An interview guide (see Appendix C) was drawn up that was divided into four sections: The role of the artist in the public space, the goals and motivation, the realization process, and reactions of visitors. Mostly open-ended questions were asked encouraging respondents to tell their own story, focusing on both practical aspects and their personal experiences. In the case of Ling Zhi Helicopters, questions about the experience of the artist were put to Wineke van Muiswinkel, which she answered according to her own interpretation.

A different approach has been used for the selection of residents as a source of information for the last part of the case studies, the experience of visitors. As it was not possible to conduct interviews with all of the residents who live in Leidschenveen-Ypenburg and the Reeshof, nine visitors of each artwork have been questioned, using convenience sampling (Bryman, 2012). This means that all visitors of the artwork who were available on

the selected days and over eighteen years old, as indicated in the used consent form, have been asked for a short interview from around ten to fifteen minutes. Some of them did not want to participate, as they did not have time or were not interested in taking part in an interview in their free time, but most of the people that were addressed did, resulting in a varied sample of people of different ages, genders, and background. As Appendix B shows, two comparable groups of respondents were formed, including an approximately equal ratio between the number of men and women and between the age categories. Because of the rainy weather, the expectation is that fewer people than average were outside on the days of visit, bringing the total number of respondents to eighteen. The interviews took place between 23 and 30 April and the recordings reached about three hours in total. Just like with the ones with the project managers and the artist, these interviews took the form of semi-structured interviews for which an interview guide (see Appendix C) was created, consisting of some leading questions to guide the conversation. First, some more general questions were asked such as if they lived in the neighborhood and if they were informed about the arrival of the artworks, after which the focus was on their experience and what the artwork brings about according to them.

#### *4.3 Data analysis*

With the consent of the respondents, the interviews were recorded after which they were transcribed verbatim. As a qualitative method for analysis of the data collected from various documents and these interview transcripts, thematic analysis was used. This form of analysis was used to "analyse classifications and present themes (patterns) that relate to the data. It illustrates the data in great detail and deals with diverse subjects via interpretations" (Alhojailan, 2012, p. 40). In this research, a deductive approach of thematic analysis was conducted, which involves the identification of initial coding categories or themes, based on existing theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). With this approach, "theory and the hypothesis deduced from it come first and drive the process of gathering data" (Bryman, 2012, p. 24). When conducting interviews, mostly open-ended and targeted questions were asked to the respondents, based on predetermined categories consisting of extrinsic and intrinsic values, to be able to structure the process and find out what values are expressed in their personal experience (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The information in the documents and interview transcripts were transformed into meaningful data through coding, which can be understood as "the process whereby the data are broken down into their component parts and those parts are then given labels" (Bryman,

2012, p. 13). Chunks of text that exemplify the codes in the initial list with themes were identified and categorized into different sub-themes (see Appendix D), in which comparison and interpretation played a central role (Gibbs, 2007). The codes were created in accordance with the different recognized values and the associated indicators as discussed in the theoretical framework. Table 2 shows the predefined themes and categories, including characteristics and indicators as well as an explanation of the values and how these could be recognized in the responses, which were used for the analysis of the various documents and interview transcripts. To create a clear overview of the values reflected in the initial goals and conditions, the goals and intentions of the artists, and the experience of the residents for both artworks, six code trees (see Appendix D) were created using ATLAS.ti, a software for qualitative data analysis. The code trees of the three discussed stages were compared, to determine which intended values were expressed in the valuation of the public and thus to what extent the different processes influence the valuation of the artworks. For the discussion of the outcomes, pseudonyms have been used for the interviewees. Three of the interviews were conducted with a couple, but because they generally shared their views, they were mentioned as one respondent.

**Table 2**

*Extrinsic and intrinsic values including indicators and explanation.*

	<b>Value</b>	<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
<i>Extrinsic</i>	Economic	Attract tourists; Attract new residents; Attract new businesses	Comments related to noticing tourists at the location of the artwork, or knowledge about possible new residents or businesses as the result of the arrival of the work.
	Social	Social inclusion; Identity building; Sense of pride; Social interaction; Sense of belonging; Increased liveability; Improvement of area's image	Comments related to social interaction and conversations with other people, positive change of the (identity of the) district, or added value to the neighborhood, or the feeling of



			connection with other residents or with their neighborhood caused by the artwork.
	Informative	Education; Production of knowledge	Comments related to gaining new knowledge by learning, or educational purposes of the work, related to, for example, students who visit the work.
	Relaxation	Resting point; Escape from daily life	Comments related to visiting the artwork as a leisure activity, or taking a break, or for relaxation or enjoying the environment.
<i>Intrinsic</i>	Challenging one's perception	Cultivate one's imagination; Receptive to unfamiliar people, attitudes, and cultures; questioning conventional perceptions and values of the world; Discussion and debate	Comments related to a changed experience of the environment, or being more receptive to other people or cultures, or the feeling of being challenged, or a changed or critical attitude towards certain things, brought about by the artwork.
	Cognitive growth	Broadening of horizon and conceptual frameworks; Enrichment; Intellectual growth; Active participation in meaning making; Reflection; Contemplation; Aesthetic development; Consideration; Interpretation	Comments related to own interpretation and active meaning making of the artwork, or thinking about what it could be, or contemplation or reflection as the result brought about by the communication with the artwork. Focussing on how the artwork is observed.
	Captivation	Admiration; Wonder; Imaginative flight; Amazement by artist's	Comments related to a sense of wonder, or fantasising, or dreaming away, as the result of

		achievement; Full immersion in the experience	looking at the artwork, or appreciation of the craftsmanship.
	Rise of emotions	Enjoyment; feeling of delight; Evoke emotion such as pleasure, fear, anger, or sorrow; Pleasantly or unpleasantly surprised; Connection to history	Comments related to the appreciation of the work because of its connection with the local history, or the feeling of being moved, or feeling certain emotions, either positive or negative ones, evoked by what is conveyed by the artwork.

## 5. Results

### 5.1 *Ling Zhi Helicopters*

On 4 October 2020, the artwork *Ling Zhi Helicopters* by Huang Yong Ping was unveiled in the Vinex location Leidschenveen-Ypenburg in The Hague by the alderman of culture Robert van Asten. The three gigantic mushrooms are made of red-colored copper and yellow-colored brass and are located at the head of the Rijswijkse Landingslaan (Stroom Den Haag, 2020). The rotor blades on top, that spin when the wind blows, suggest that the work has just landed near the straight canal, where Ypenburg airport was located between 1936 and 1987 (Smets, 2020; Van Muiswinkel & Blom, 2020).

For the analysis of the project, it is important to take its context into account.

Leidschenveen-Ypenburg is the newest city district of The Hague and consists of the four neighborhoods Ypenburg, Leidschenveen, Forepark, and Hoornwijk. The former, in which the *Ling Zhi Helicopters* artwork is located, has about 27,000 inhabitants, of which 57% are between the ages of 25 and 65 and 40% are 25 years or younger. The district program 2016-2019 shows. The ratio between the number of men and women in Ypenburg is almost equal and the socio-economic position of the residents are on average quite high compared to the total population of The Hague (Municipality of The Hague, 2016b, 2018). The quality of living is relatively high, more than half of the homes are owner-occupied and about 25% are social housing. In addition, the unemployment rate is low, and the distribution of low, middle, and high incomes is approximately equal. Lastly, 43% of the people living in Ypenburg have a migration background, which is a lower percentage than of the total population of The Hague.

#### 5.1.1 *Goals and motivation*

The artwork was commissioned in 2014, when the municipality of The Hague decided to place a big and iconic work of art in the new district to mark and also celebrate its completion. As shown in one of the progress reports about the culture portfolio of The Hague (2017), a part of the budget for the development of the district Leidschenveen-Ypenburg had been reserved for visual art. As the joint arrangement, or the organized cooperation between various areas, ended on the 1st of January 2010, the remaining budget for art could no longer be spent before the termination (Municipality of The Hague, 2009, 2017). Together with the former Project Office Ypenburg and Development Company Leidschenveen (OBL), the municipality of The Hague agreed to realize at least one artwork of international signature

and allure in the public space of the district to put the neighborhood on the map worldwide (Den Haag FM, 2020). The required amount of 400,000 euros was made available and the art center Stroom Den Haag, as a municipal advisor for art in public space, was appointed to lead the project (Smets, 2020; Municipality of The Hague, 2017).

As the substantive assignment letter shows (Stroom Den Haag, 2014), a steering group had been set up. In the choice of the artwork, the municipality of The Hague has sought advice from a carefully composed advisory committee of two art professionals, five residents, and an independent chairman. The project manager Wineke van Muiswinkel and press and communication officer Hildegard Blom, both of Stroom Den Haag, say in an interview that these committee members acted as representatives of the district and together formulated the assignment for the artists. Based on this formulation, an artist profile had been drawn up from which a longlist of ten artists had been compiled. Ultimately, three artists were invited by the municipality to make a sketch design and to present it to the members of the advisory committee, who had unanimously chosen the Ling Zhi Helicopters. The design was then presented to the steering committee, which would assess it on the criterion of quality, with the emphasis on craftsmanship, originality, expressiveness, and diversity (Stroom Den Haag, 2014). After it was approved by steering group and the municipality of The Hague, Huang Yong Ping was asked to develop his design into a provisional and final design (van Muiswinkel & Blom, 2020; Stroom Den Haag, 2014). Before the final draft was submitted to the Municipal Executive for adoption, local residents and other stakeholders were informed about the new artwork (Municipality of The Hague, 2017).

According to the article of Heemelaar (2020b), such an assignment with such a large budget is rarely available, which resulted in high ambitions. As the assignment description shows, the municipality of The Hague had also announced that they wanted an ambitious artwork with both an international appearance and support within the district (van Muiswinkel & Blom, 2020; Stroom Den Haag, 2014). The work of art had to have a highly visible and lasting appearance and preferably act as a beacon both physically and mentally, as it should strengthen the relationship between the new Vinex location and The Hague. Also, the work could be controversial and provoke discussion and debate, as long as it made contact with the residents and the district. They wanted to realize an artwork that would involve people, surprise them and make residents proud. In addition, it had to be of high quality artistically and substantively, so that people from outside Leidschenveen-Ypenburg would come visit it, including art lovers and a general interested audience. The artwork was intended to be an important last addition to the rich collection of sculptures in the public

space of The Hague, meaning that it had to relate to the international ambition of the collection and take the same kind of meaning and value as the famous landscape project *Het Hemels Gewelf* (The Celestial Vault) by James Turrell in Kijkduin and *Park in het Water* (Park in the Water) by the influential artist Vito Acconci (Smallenburg, 2017; van Muiswinkel & Blom, 2020). Finally, it had to be realized on one of the seven possible locations in the city district, which were designated by the steering committee (Stroom Den Haag, 2014).

These discussed requirements and conditions tie in with the broader cultural plans of the city that were set out in the governmental document *Multi-year policy plan 2013-2016*. In this plan, the municipality of The Hague states that its cultural capital, including performances, exhibitions, festivals with both international and local artists, and art in the public space, increases the city pride, is of crucial importance for the quality of life in cities, and has a high degree of societal relevance. High priority is given to a versatile cultural sector of high quality, as it makes the city attractive as a place of business and creates more tourism, which contributes substantially to the urban economy. In addition, it increases the liveability and liveliness of the city and is important for the well-being and the living pleasure of the residents of The Hague. The policy plan focuses on a diverse range of art and culture to appeal to different (international) audiences and have a broad reach. Also, culture education as well as a creative and innovative maker's climate and cultural entrepreneurship play an important role (Municipality of The Hague, 2016a). Another aim that is addressed in the plan is to ensure that as many residents of The Hague as possible feel co-owners of the art and culture that is offered in the city, taking into account the changed composition of the population. As claimed in the culture progress report of 2017, the artistic and intrinsic value of art and culture is the basis for The Hague's cultural policy.

From three sketch designs that were submitted, the advisory committee had unanimously chosen Huang Yong Ping's artwork. According to the website of Stroom Den Haag (n.d.-a), the contemporary artist "is considered one of the foremost artists of the Chinese avant-garde", and he is internationally known for "his inventiveness and boundless imagination" (para. 6). As the culture progress report of the municipality (2017) shows, the artwork was selected for various reasons. The *Ling Zhi Helicopters* artwork had the required beacon function and the ability to strengthen the identity of the district. Also, it was of such quality that it would be still relevant in thirty years and it was an important and iconic addition to the international public art collection. According to the committee, the selected work is one that does not get boring and lasts for a very long time (Den Haag FM, 2020). The

renowned artist chose the lawn next to the Ypenburg skate park as the location for his gigantic installation, because the former airport of Ypenburg was located there (Heemelaar, 2020a). As stated on the website of Stroom Den Haag, he connected the site to the Ling Zhi mushroom, which grows in China and is used as a medicine to ensure a long life in traditional Chinese medicine and according to the Taoist belief. With this monumental artwork, Huang Yong Ping tried to connect the history of the location and the emergence of the city district in a poetic way, representing the synthesis of retrospection and progress, and he provided The Hague with an artwork for the future “that depicts a long (and enriched) life” (Heemelaar, 2020a; Stroom Den Haag, n.d., para. 4).

### *5.1.2 Realization process*

As discussed earlier, various stakeholders were involved in the realization process of the Ling Zhi Helicopters, meaning that different interests had to be taken into account. The initiative for an iconic artwork came from the Project Office Ypenburg and Development Company Leidschenveen (OBL) together with the Municipality of The Hague and was realized from the budget that was made available by the project organisations. OBL is a public-private partnership between the Municipality of The Hague and various project developers and responsible for the development of the Leidschenveen area (Municipality of The Hague, 2002). The realisation of project Ypenburg is in the hands of Project Office Ypenburg, a cooperation between the municipalities of The Hague, Rijswijk, Pijnacker, and Nootdorp (Historisch Den Haag, n.d.). Because the municipality did not want to be responsible for the implementation of art projects, Stroom Den Haag had taken on this role and, together with people from the Education, Culture, and Welfare Department and the city district, formed a steering group that was responsible for the decision-making (W. van Muiswinkel, personal communication, April 23, 2021). The art centre is a versatile organization, "as they are engaged in the non-museum policy of The Hague, including subsidies for young people, ateliers, but also art in the public space<sup>1</sup>" (W. van Muiswinkel, personal communication, April 23, 2021). They aim to stimulate visual art, design, and architecture in The Hague and are financially supported by the municipality. Together with one of the city district employees who had close ties with residents, the former project leader of Stroom had

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<sup>1</sup> "omdat ze zich bezighoudt met het niet-museale beleid van Den Haag, en dat gaat over subsidies voor jonge kunstenaars, ateliers, maar ook kunst in de openbare ruimte."

composed the advisory committee, consisting of residents and art experts (W. van Muiswinkel, personal communication, April 23, 2021).

The realization process of the Ling Zhi Helicopters took a total of six years, longer than previously was thought and hoped for, as Wineke said (personal communication, April 23, 2021). One of the reasons for this was the existence of Heliniet, an organisation established by residents who took action against the plans for the construction of a helipad in the Leidschenveen-Ypenburg district. When the design of Huang Yong Ping was chosen, the alderman of culture of The Hague Joris Wijsmuller was informed about the Ling Zhi Helicopters. Because the work was related to helicopters, he responded that he wanted to be sure that the members of Heliniet "would not consider the design as an affront"<sup>2</sup> (W. van Muiswinkel, personal communication, April 23, 2021). A conversation with residents of the organization showed that they were in fact in favor of the installation of the artwork. To prove this, the people of Heliniet had to write a letter to the alderman under embargo that they wanted the helicopters. Stroom had to submit the letter as evidence to prove that the residents who were part of Heliniet would not protest against the work (W. van Muiswinkel, personal communication, April 23, 2021). In addition, the immediate neighbors were informed about the project by letter and invited to a presentation in the library where the advisory committee, an official from the Education, Culture, and Welfare Department, the project manager of Stroom and an employee of the district were present to have conversations with the residents, who, according to van Muiswinkel and Blom (2020), responded very enthusiastically.

After this, the process of sorting out the implementation, including techniques and budgets, was set in motion, which took a long time, van Muiswinkel explained in a personal interview. The initial idea was to have the production of the work in China, but because it was not certain whether this was feasible, a Dutch technical producer was asked to conduct a feasibility study, which showed that it was possible to do this in the Netherlands. The production of the Ling Zhi Helicopters then was outsourced by the artist to Anything is Possible, a production company in Abcoude that also fulfilled the role as technical advisor. A contract was drawn up with the artist as the commissioner and the municipality as owner of the work, which had to be adjusted later, as the artist later had indicated in a personal conversation with the project leader that he did not want to have any budget responsibility, meaning that the technical producer had to be included in the contract. As van Muiswinkel

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<sup>2</sup> "dit ontwerp niet zien als een affront."

stated, he was "actually hanging over the project like a kind of helicopter"<sup>3</sup>, checking all the details, but also placing some of the responsibility with the producer (personal communication, April 23, 2021). As the website of Stroom (n.d.) shows, the production process was based on the sketch design and scale model created by Huang Yong Ping and can be considered unique, as it demanded innovative and manual techniques as well as specially developed tools, including 3d scans, foams processing, and the planishing of copper (M. van Muiswinkel, personal communication, April 23, 2021). Just before his death, the artist had visited Anything is Possible and he was full of praise for the production (Stroom, n.d.), During his visit, he had approved the remaining techniques, details, and materials, allowing the assignment to be continued after his death (Smets, 2020).

In an interview with Huang Yong Ping by Sandra Smets (2020) for the newspaper NRC, the artist elaborated on the meaning and symbolism of the work. As mentioned before, the artwork reminds of the airport that had played an important role in World War 2. Huang thought that it was a beautiful symbolism that these strangers, the mushrooms or helicopters, come flying in there. The ling zhi mushrooms do not have roots and thus can move easily. It can be said that they are unrooted, according to the artist, just like refugees. Contact between cultures and the existence of refugees were therefore an important theme for him, also because he was an immigrant himself. The work is about both immigration and traveling, because an artist always has to travel, he said in a video made by Stroom Den Haag (2018). The aim of the Ling Zhi Helicopters, as he explained to Smets (2020), was to emphasize the international and a more open society. In line with this, he stated that art is open to everyone and must always contain something that is not immediately clear, as it does not serve as decoration.

As the article shows, the creator of the Ling Zhi Helicopters pointed out how artists draw from what they know and who they are, considering the commission of an artwork as a source of inspiration or a new root. As he stated, artists must be asked and also earn money to be able to support their families (Smets, 2020; W. van Muiswinkel, personal communication, April 23, 2021). In that same interview, the artist was asked about his thoughts on Ypenburg when he first visited the location. He said that it was complicated and was not immediately sure of what he could do. It was only when he got to the place where the work of art is located now, that the idea came up. After he heard about the former airport of Ypenburg, which used to be in that right place, he wanted to design an artwork that matched that piece

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<sup>3</sup> "dat hij eigenlijk als een soort helikopter boven het project hangt."



of history. Four months after the discussed interview, the Chinese-French artist died unexpectedly during the realization process of the artwork and in consultation with his widow, the artist Shen Yan, it was decided to continue the assignment and complete the work according to the specifications of Huang Yong Ping (Smets, 2020; Stroom Den Haag, n.d.).

In the interview with Wineke van Muiswinkel, the project leader said that "the artist has exceeded everyone's expectations<sup>4</sup>" with the Ling Zhi Helicopters artwork (personal communication, April 23, 2021). According to her, Huang Yong Ping has fulfilled the assignment in a poetic way and has met the requirements such as being a mental and physical beacon and appealing to a local and international audience. The members of the advisory committee agree that "the artwork never gets boring, so in the long run this artwork will only get better<sup>5</sup>" (M. van Muiswinkel, personal communication, April 23, 2021). According to them, the work of art fits in the international art collection of The Hague and in an interview with Den Haag FM (2020), the project manager said she expects people from all over the world to travel to the Rijswijkse Landingslaan to visit the new work of the renowned artist. The municipality of The Hague, including the alderman of culture, was very pleased with the artwork as well. According to van Muiswinkel, it was politically important for them to notice that the district is alive, that residents had been involved, and that the local residents also like the artwork (personal communication, April 23, 2021).

### *5.1.3 Experience residents*

The analysis of the transcripts of the interviews with people who passed the Ling Zhi Helicopters has resulted in the emergence of various sub-themes. The improvement of the living environment, sense of belonging, social interaction and inclusion, the identity of the neighborhood, attracting visitors from outside the area, making people think, imaginative flight, appreciation for craftsmanship of the work, and emotional involvement are aspects that can be recognized in the individual responses of the interviewees, related to the effect of the work of art.

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<sup>4</sup> "deze kunstenaar heeft ieders verwachtingen overtroffen."

<sup>5</sup> "dit kunstwerk verveelt nooit, dus op de lange termijn wordt dit kunstwerk alleen maar beter."

### *Improvement of living environment*

As mentioned earlier, nine visitors of the Ling Zhi Helicopters artwork were interviewed, using semi-structured interviews. A first aspect that was discussed by seven of the nine respondents is that the artwork contributes to the improvement of the living environment. As Robert, who walks there almost every day, stated, the area "has kind of become more accessible and friendly, especially this part<sup>6</sup>" (personal communication, April 23, 2021). The Ling Zhi Helicopters artwork was considered a positive addition to the neighborhood according to Younes and Alex, as "such an artwork makes it more fun<sup>7</sup>" and it also "makes it more attractive to the residents." Younes added that it also benefits the atmosphere of the environment, with which both Joshua and Alice agreed as they said that "it brightens it up<sup>8</sup>" and "it is improving."<sup>9</sup> In addition, Sarah said that public art in general is important, because it "makes the neighborhood become more alive." When asked what they would think if it were taken down, most interviewees including Julie responded that they would miss it, as "it is an addition after all."<sup>10</sup>

### *Sense of belonging*

It can be stated that the creation of a sense of unity and belonging are reflected in the experience of some of the interviewed people at the location of the artwork in question. In the personal interview, Robert indicated that he felt somehow connected to the work, which was expressed in the feeling of pride. According to him, it is "difficult to explain, but I like that it is there."<sup>11</sup> Joshua said that "it also gives something connecting in the district actually made of pure glass and concrete<sup>12</sup>" in two different ways. First, such projects ensure that people "have a little feeling for the neighborhood,<sup>13</sup>" as it is more inviting to go into it and go for a walk there, which may create a sense of unity and belonging to the district and to its residents.

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<sup>6</sup> "het is een soort toegankelijker en vriendelijker geworden, met name dit stuk."

<sup>7</sup> "zo'n kunstwerk maakt het leuker."

<sup>8</sup> "dat fleurt wat op."

<sup>9</sup> "het knapt gewoon op."

<sup>10</sup> "Het is toch een toevoeging."

<sup>11</sup> "lastig om uit te leggen, maar ik vind het lekker dat het er staat."

<sup>12</sup> "Dat geeft ook iets verbindend in de wijk eigenlijk van puur glas en beton."

<sup>13</sup> "een beetje feeling hebben met de wijk."

### *Social interaction and inclusion*

Besides the improvement of their living environment, other social effects of the artwork in Leidschenveen-Ypenburg came to the fore in different ways in the conversations that have been held. First of all, the enlarged mushrooms seemed to be appealing to a wide audience and attracts various people from within the neighborhood. Robert, who walks with people with severe cognitive disabilities, told that they always ask him if they can go to the artwork, or the mushrooms. This shows, as he explained, that "even for this group of people, who actually have nothing to do with art, it is somehow attractive to walk there."<sup>14</sup> Also, the children of Caro, who were playing near the artwork during the interview, had already told her that they liked the mushrooms, she said. This appreciation by children was also identified as an important aspect by Robert as well as Lilian and John. In addition, "such a relatively accessible work of art"<sup>15</sup> suits the varied neighborhood including both more elitist people and as people from the center of The Hague, Joshua stated.

In addition, the Ling Zhi Helicopters had created social interaction between residents as it gave them something to talk about to each other, "even if only with the neighbor who is walking the dog."<sup>16</sup> In line with this, Alex and Alice referred to this social interaction between people as a consequence of the placement of the artwork. Alex explained that it had led to some nice discussions and "chit-chatting "with his friends and some other people who live in the area. He was also discussing with his sons about what it could be, "thinking that it is a small cable car." They went out to search for the counterpart together, but they could not find it. According to Caro, the artwork had also been the subject of conversation within the family, mainly at the beginning when the Ling Zhi Helicopters were just placed.

### *Strengthen identity of the district*

Another aspect that came up is that the artwork contributed to the identity of Leidschenveen-Ypenburg. When Alice and her Husband received a photo of the newly placed artwork of their son when they were on vacation, they were very surprised and had to get used to it, she told during the interview. Right now, she explained, the Ling Zhi Helicopters artwork "just fits within the street scene. It's part of the deal now."<sup>17</sup> Joshua considered the artwork important for the identity of the district, due to the link with its history. "Except for the

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<sup>14</sup> "zelfs voor die groep mensen, die eigenlijk niets met kunst heeft, is het toch op de een of andere manier aantrekkelijk om even naartoe te lopen."

<sup>15</sup> "zo'n relatief toegankelijk kunstwerk"

<sup>16</sup> "al is het maar met de buurvrouw die de hond uitlaat."

<sup>17</sup> "het past nu gewoon binnen het straatbeeld. Het hoort erbij nu."

station building and the traffic tower that is located in the new house estate," he explained, "nothing is old, so you have to build up all that 'history' with such projects and they just do it nicely.<sup>18</sup>" This association with the history of Leidschenveen-Ypenburg, or the former airport that was located there, was discussed by Robert as well, who considered it as a positive aspect of the work.

It can be inferred from the analysis that the visitors believe that the big artwork located at the head of the Rijswijkse Landingslaan is striking and fits the location where it is placed well. According to Robert, "it is also a landmark for Ypenburg itself if you drive in it via this road.<sup>19</sup>" As he explained, he can now indicate to people who come to visit him that they have arrived when they see the three big mushrooms. Several respondents agreed that they stand out and are in a good place. Younes, for example, said that "they are beautiful there, a good location, really nice<sup>20</sup>" and also Joshua appreciated the location that had been chosen. "It has not been hidden away somewhere, it is nice and they actual stand there."<sup>21</sup>

#### *Attract people from outside the district*

Several residents who were interviewed noticed that the Ling Zhi Helicopters, in addition to people from the district, also attracted people from outside. Robert, for example, indicated that he saw people at the artwork, especially in the beginning, when it was just placed there. He certainly believed that "tourists come to see this artwork very purposefully, but you have to know about it."<sup>22</sup> Also Lilian and John said that in the first period after the placement, certain people came to see the work. "You see people interested in it, wondering what it is and taking pictures. I think if you look on Instagram you can find quite [some photos],<sup>23</sup>" John told. The photogenic character of the artwork, as Alice described, contributed to this. According to Alex, it is not just the head of the Rijswijkse Landingslaan, but it made the whole neighborhood attractive to the rest of the people. Besides tourists, there were "a lot of buses with students who come to see the neighborhood,"<sup>24</sup> Lilian and John noted. Alice also

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<sup>18</sup> "Behalve het stationsgebouw en de verkeerstoren die staan in dit nieuwbouwwijkje, is er eigenlijk niets ouds. Dus al die tussen haakjes historie moet je gaan opbouwen met dit soort projecten en dat doen ze gewoon leuk."

<sup>19</sup> "Het is ook een herkenningspunt voor Ypenburg zelf vind ik als je via deze weg erin rijdt."

<sup>20</sup> "Het staat prachtig daar, goede locatie gevonden, echt heel leuk."

<sup>21</sup> "Het is niet ergens weggefrommeld, ze mogen er zijn en ze staan er ook."

<sup>22</sup> "Ik denk zeker we dat toeristen heel doelgericht naar dit kunstwerk komen kijken, maar je moet het wel weten."

<sup>23</sup> "Je ziet dat er mensen geïnteresseerd in zijn die zich afvragen wat het is en foto's nemen. Ik denk dat als je op Instagram kijkt dat je best wel wat terug kan vinden."

<sup>24</sup> "veel bussen met studenten die de wijk komen bekijken."

noticed these busses with people of certain courses who came to explore Leidschenveen-Ypenburg including the helicopters.

### *Makes one think*

A few of the respondents had actively sought to understand the meaning of the artwork in question or to make meaning of it themselves. Robert explained that the work makes one think, but you cannot figure it out. "Just like with a poem, you have to read it twenty times and then everyone has different insights. So, it makes you think, but you do not know what the makes himself intended with it."<sup>25</sup> Caro also said that she had to think about what it actually is and what it represents and talked about the different interpretations people can have of it: "Those mushrooms are nice, but it can go in any direction. You can imagine that you are suddenly a small person in a land of giants."<sup>26</sup> As discussed earlier, Alex is another respondent who had been actively thinking about what it could be and has discussed this with his sons, who thought that it might be a cable car. As he stated, the artwork had given him "food for thought." It made him very curious, which also became clear from the conversation, as he asked for more explanation and information about the work of art and its meaning.

### *Imaginative flight*

Both Alex and Caro emphasized that the work of art made by Huang Yong Ping in Leidschenveen-Ypenburg caught their attention, as it is big, and it is something different and original. Alex described it as "kind of fantasy-like" and the mushrooms made Caro think of nature and the forest. She experienced it as "something you can dream away with and then you are suddenly somewhere else."<sup>27</sup> To the question if she had ever thought about the artwork before, she responded that it was the case some days before, when she was reading a book on the bench near the artwork. She explained: "At one point I just fell away just because I was looking at the mushrooms. So, I was away with my thoughts for a moment, for a few minutes I really stared at the mushrooms and thought, how nice."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> "Net als met een gedicht, dat moet je twintig keer lezen en dan nog heeft iedereen andere inzichten. Dus het laat je wel nadenken, maar je komt er niet uit wat de maker er zelf mee heeft bedoeld."

<sup>26</sup> "Het is wel leuk zo die paddenstoelen, maar het kan alle kanten op. Je kunt je bedenken dat je ineens een klein mensje in reuzenland bent."

<sup>27</sup> "Iets waarbij je kan wegdromen en dan ben je ineens gewoon ergens anders."

<sup>28</sup> "Ik was op een gegeven moment gewoon weggevallen, juist omdat ik naar de paddenstoelen aan het kijken was. Dus ik was even weg met mijn gedachten, een paar minuten lang staarde ik echt naar de paddenstoelen en dacht ik, wat leuk."

### *Appreciation for craftsmanship*

Another category that could be recognized in the responses of the interview participants is the presence of empathic feelings in terms of appreciation for the creation and craftsmanship of the artist. The effort put in the work was considered an important aspect by Caro, as she said that she "likes it when you go somewhere and see what time and effort someone has put into this, it must also represent something. So yes, I really like it, also to look at."<sup>29</sup> The craftsmanship of the artist was also mentioned by Alex, who pointed out that "you see that there is some complicated stuff on top of [the mushrooms], so people have put a lot of effort in it."

### *Evoke emotion*

It has become clear from the conducted interviews the Ling Zhi Helicopters have led to the rise of certain emotional responses, both positive and negative ones. Robert said that he appreciates the work and is "pleasantly surprised"<sup>30</sup> by the work of art, also because of its association with airport Ypenburg and thus the history of his neighborhood. The work including the rotor blades also caused irritation among a number of respondents, related to functional aspects of the artwork and because they felt that the helicopters created by Huang Yong Ping did not resemble a helicopter as they know it enough. When asked what they thought of the work at the head of the Rijswijkse Landingslaan, Lilian and John immediately said that it annoyed them that the propellers never turn. According to them, "it is similar to a car without a motor: Then you have a car, but you cannot do anything with it."<sup>31</sup> This feeling of irritation is shared by both Joshua and Alice, who had also wondered whether the blades will ever turn. "That was the intention with a little wind, but it never happened," Alice complained. Joshua, who described the sculptures as "a cross between a helicopter and a mushroom,"<sup>32</sup> also hoped that the blades will rotate in the future, as "you can see the mushroom and I still want to see the helicopter."<sup>33</sup> Alex also asked whether "those arms function or not" and thought that they "should not just stand still and do nothing."

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<sup>29</sup> "Ik vind het leuk als je ergens naartoe gaat en dan zie je wat voor tijd iemand hierin heeft gestoken, het moet iets voorstellen ook. Dus ja, ik vind het erg leuk, ook om naar te kijken."

<sup>30</sup> "Blij verrast"

<sup>31</sup> "Dat is hetzelfde als een auto waar geen motor in zit: Dan heb je een auto, maar dan kun je er niks mee."

<sup>32</sup> "Een kruising tussen een helicopter en een paddenstoel."

<sup>33</sup> "De paddenstoel zie je en de helicopter wil ik nog zien."

## *5.2 Zandpoort*

In the hiking area along the Wilhelmina Canal in the Reeshof, a fast-growing Vinex district in Tilburg, a large red swing pergola of about 15 meters long and 5 meters high and wide can be found (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). The artwork, called Zandpoort, is made by the Dutch artist group Observatorium, consisting of Geert van de Camp, Andre Dekker, Lieven Poutsma, and Ruud Reutelingsperger, and was festively opened on 21 September 2019 by Marcelle Hendrickx, alderman for culture.

To be more specific, Zandpoort is located in Leeuwerik, one of the twelve neighborhoods of the Reeshof. According to the statistical data about the city of Tilburg, Leeuwerik counts 6000 inhabitants of which 58% are aged between 25 and 65 and 33% of the residents are younger under 25, and the numbers of men and women are almost equal (Alle Cijfers, 2021; Municipality of Tilburg, 2020). Compared to the data of the total population of Tilburg, the socio-economic position of the Vinex location is high. There is little unemployment and a higher percentage of people with a high income and lower percentage of people with a low income than in Tilburg. Almost 90% of the homes are owner-occupied, with little to no social housing (Alle Cijfers, 2021). Around 30% of the inhabitants of Leeuwerik has a migration background, showing a lower percentage than Tilburg, where 46% of all residents have an either western or non-western migration background (Municipality of Tilburg, 2020).

### *5.2.1 Goals and motivation*

As can be read on the website of the artists, the design of Zandpoort is derived from the red majestic cranes and the stacks of containers of the Barge Terminal Tilburg on the other side of the canal, as it mirrors them in shape and color (Observatorium, 2019). This canal connects Tilburg to the Maas river and thus to the port of Rotterdam and was constructed around 1915 for the supply of coal and the removal of products from the textile industry (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). In 1916, the business park Vossenbergh was established at the North side of the canal, where large companies such as Coolblue and Tesla are now located. To make these and also other companies more accessible, a new ring of highways around Tilburg has opened in 2013, the work plan of Zandpoort (2018) shows. In addition, the Wilhelmina Canal has been widened and deepened near the Reeshof to make it navigable for larger ships. For these modifications of the canal, which are carried out step by step, hundreds of monumental trees and shrubs on both sides of the water are being cut down, which led to indignation and anger of the residents. To make the bare area, whose image was mainly

determined by the industrial estate, attractive again, local resident Peter van Gils came up with the idea of placing a work of art (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018).

Because of the experienced damage to the living environment, the initiator soon received the support of many other residents, which eventually led to the establishment of an informal residents' committee (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). At the beginning of 2016, the committee comes into contact with John Maes, a resident of the Reeshof and quartermaster at CuPuDo, a city laboratory of the municipality of Tilburg that focuses on culture in the public domain, and then with Liesbeth Jans, who was an art explorer at the city lab and program leader Art & Society at Kunstloc Brabant and who took on the role of advisor to realize the initiative of Peter van Gils (van den Boezem, 2019). In the first meeting, the wishes and ambitions of the residents were extensively discussed and Liesbeth Jans formulated the assignment and selected ten professional and experienced artists on the basis of this (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). After the presentation of the various portfolios and meetings with the residents' committee, the selection was reduced to three artists, who were invited to make a sketch design, for which they visited the site and spoke with residents and the stakeholders of CuPuDo. Residents were given the opportunity to vote for one of the artworks. With the majority of votes, the design of the artist collective Observatorium from Rotterdam won the assignment, and they were asked to develop the design into a final version. According to the work plan of the Reeshof District Council Foundation (2018), the agreement was drawn up by CuPuDo, but formally issued by the municipality of Tilburg. Observatorium completed the design, which had to be approved by the municipality of Tilburg, the province, and the Directorate-General for Public Works and Water Management.

For Peter van Gils, compensation for the clearing of the much-visited walking area to restore the spatial quality was the main goal of his initiative (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). The residents' committee had drawn up various criteria, including that the artwork should serve as a meeting place for multiple people and connect to the theme of the canal, and based on these, the central idea had been refined in meetings with CuPuDo (P. van Gils, personal communication, April 26, 2021). In these conversations, the goals and target audiences were made concrete by the city lab together with the residents' committee, making it clear why and for whom it was interesting to make the area attractive again (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). First of all, it had to be a place where residents of the Reeshof, often daily users of the canal zone, can meet each other and relax in order to increase the social cohesion. As the work plan of the project (2018) shows, the need for more



meeting places in the neighborhood was great and was often expressed by the residents. In addition, the intention was to also attract residents from other parts of Tilburg and to improve the image of the Reeshof. An iconic artwork could strengthen the identity of the Vinex location and evoke a sense of pride in the local residents. The work also had to function as a link between art and culture lovers, sportsmen and women, recreationists and employees of companies located at the Vossenbergh industrial estate. Ideally, the work would function as a gate to the city and have a connecting effect (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018).

The realization of the artwork is in line with the vision of the initiator Peter van Gils and of the Reeshof District Council Foundation. Van Gils has been living in Reeshof since 1998, and until recently was a teacher at the Academy of Social Studies in Breda, meaning that he was already familiar with matters of social infrastructure. He considers the living environment very important and since his retirement, he has more time to help improve his neighborhood (P. van Gils, personal communication, April 26, 2021; Reeshof Cultuurt, n.d.-a). Until recently he was a teacher at the Academy of Social Studies in Breda, meaning that he was already familiar with matters of social infrastructure. According to him, improving the living environment includes looking for contacts with local residents and work together on a healthy and liveable climate. Since 2016, he has also been a member of the committee Reeshof Cultuurt, as part of the Reeshof District Council Foundation, after he was asked to join them when he started the initiative (P. van Gils, personal communication, April 26, 2021). As the initiator Peter van Gils explained in the conducted interview, this committee consists of residents of the Reeshof who share the ambition to improve the cultural infrastructure in their neighborhood in order to create social connections between people. As they state on their website, Reeshof Cultuurt tries to participate as much as possible within the objectives as presented by the municipality of Tilburg (Reeshof Cultuurt, n.d.-b). In the time that Zandpoort was realized, the objectives stated in the Culture Plan 2017-2020 by the municipality of Tilburg (2016) included the improvement of the positioning and visibility of the cultural offer; promotion of links between culture and other domains; promotion of quality and participation in cultural education; strengthening cultural participation; promotion of talent development, including experimentation and innovation; strengthening the pillars of the cultural infrastructure and of flexibility and small scale.

The choice for the artwork of Observatorium went in three different phases. In the preselection phase, ten artists were selected based on six criteria, including the artistic quality, the importance of the assignment for their professional practice, experience with working in the public space, experience with a participation process, communicative

qualities, and the ability to deal with an assignment of such scale (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2020). In the next phase, the residents' committee chose the three designs they thought had the best balance between daring and appealing to a wide audience. In addition, these three artists had experience with large-scale projects, and they made explicit use of elements from the environment. After launching his idea to the committee, one of the artists Jeroen Doorenweerd, immediately dropped out, as his design fell outside the scope of the assignment because he proposed a complete redesign of the environment in which residents are closely involved, rather than a single object, to bring lasting change (P. van Gils, personal communication, April 26, 2021). In April 2017, the two remaining designs were exhibited in the library of the Reeshof where the residents gave their preference to the Observatorium for various reasons. Firstly, Zandpoort is not only about meeting each other, but it also may encourage discussion and debate, which was considered important for the development of the area (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2020). Another reason for the selection was the grand and daring character of the red pergola, which would compensate the bare appearance of the site. The ability to change the experience of the Barge Terminal Tilburg by including it in the artwork seemed another important aspect. Finally, Zandpoort opened up new perspectives for the future, because it showed the value of the area in new, surprising elements, instead of old ones (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2020).

### *5.2.2 Realization process*

In the realization process of Zandpoort in the Reeshof, various parties were involved. As discussed earlier, it was the resident Peter van Gils who initiated the realisation of an iconic artwork along the canal. He formed a residents' committee consisting of residents of the Reeshof and asked the city lab CuPuDo for support. CuPuDo (Culture in the Public Domain) was a pilot created in 2016 by the municipality of Tilburg to stimulate art and culture in the city to make it more attractive to residents as well as to visitors to the city, alderman of culture Marcelle Hendrickx explained in an interview by van den Boezem (2020). The city lab explored a new way of working in public space, in which local partnerships that focus on designing their environment and solutions for urgent social issues play a central role (Jans, 2019, para. 2). CuPuDo actively looked for initiatives by citizens and helped improve and realize the projects. The starting point, as stated on their website, was that citizen participation ensures a better experience of and appreciation for culture in the immediate living environment (CuPuDo, n.d.). With the emergence of the city laboratory, according to them, the role of the municipality in art in the public space shifted from director to facilitator.

In the design phase of the project, CuPuDo acted as commissioner, connector and consultant (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). Liebeth Jans, art explorer at the city lab and program leader at Kunstloc Brabant, guided the start of the process and was responsible for the grant applications to the Mondriaan Fund and the Prins Bernhard Culture Fund (van den Boezem, 2019; G. van de Camp, personal communication, April 29, 2021). In addition, the municipality and CuPuDo also made a financial contribution to the realization of Zandpoort, resulting in the total budget of around 145,000 euros (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018).

In the implementation phase of the realization process, initiator Peter van Gils worked together with Geert van de Camp of the Observatorium (P. van Gils, personal communication, April 26, 2021). The role of commissioner was taken over by the Reeshof District Council Foundation as representative of all residents of the Reeshof (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). Based on the results of the final decisions that were taken regarding the surroundings of Zandpoort, including the design of the landscape, planting, and subsoil, permits were applied for at the municipality of Tilburg (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018). Both CuPuDo and the members of the residents' committee remained involved in the implementation process, of which the latter acted as ambassadors of the artwork in and outside the neighborhood. The city lab assumed the role of advisor and sparring partner, focussing on collective ownership and sense of pride as well as safeguarding the artistic quality of the artwork (City lab CuPuDo Tilburg, 2019). The municipality of The Hague became the owner of the artwork and thus responsible for the management and maintenance of Zandpoort and its immediate surroundings (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2018).

After Geert van de Camp, contact person of Observatorium within this project, was invited to Peter's home and had taken a walk with the residents' committee to the location near de canal, he was immediately enthusiastic and wanted to win the competition (G. van de Camp, personal communication, April 29, 2021). According to the artist, it was the positive attitude of Peter van Gils, the members of the committee, the location, the motivation for the artwork, and the story behind it that made him want to carry out this assignment. With their work, Observatorium aims to stimulate imagination, provide a meaningful reflection on the environment to sharpen our view of the world around us, and form a building block for commonality (Observatorium, 2019; Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2020). What they have added to the framework of the discussed assignment is the tension that exists between the harbour, the containers, and the transshipment on the one hand and the residential area on

the other, and thus between the global and the small (G. van de Camp, personal communication, April 29, 2021). As Peter van Gils states, “the work of art symbolizes a theme that we are actually a very small country, in which we do just about everything on a square kilometer. Living, working, port activities, walking the dog, swimming and all that happens in the same neighborhood, almost on the same site” (P. van Gils, personal communication, April 26, 2021).

With Zandpoort, Observatorium wanted to reflect the place and surroundings, including everything that is going on and provide visitors with a new perspective and the ability to look at the place differently without telling them what is right and what is wrong, Geert explained in an interview (personal communication, April 28, 2021). By placing an identical crane on the recreative side on the canal, the industrial estate and the canal are being embraced and become part of a theatrical spectacle (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2020). As the work plan shows, Observatorium and also the residents’ committee strove to change the experience and reading of the environment with one simple gesture of a crane as a city gate or a park pavilion. Both the swing in the pergola and the benches offer a place to relax, but also try to evoke a sense of wonder that rises above the appreciation for the environment and the craftsmanship of the work, as the user may get the feeling of being a load in a crane himself and the mirror of the Barge Terminal. In addition, the artwork can, even before it was realized, be considered as a symbol of the desire and inspiration of the Reeshof residents to transform their own living environment (Reeshof District Council Foundation, 2020).

As the artist of Zandpoort Geert van de Camp stated in an interview, "with this type of project, you have to take a deep breath. There are just a lot of stakeholders when you work in public space<sup>34</sup>" (as cited in van den Boezem, 2019, para. 5). The initial idea was to put the artwork by the water, over the cycle path, but due to the presence of an ecological cone, this was rejected by urban ecologists (P. van Gils, personal communication, April 26, 2021). As Peter stated in the interview, a kind of joint venture was created when sitting at the table with the ecologists and a landscape architect from the municipality, in which they looked for solutions (personal communication, April 26, 2021). Observatorium went back to the drawing board to adjust the design, including the arrangement of the benches and position of the sculpture, so that it would fit within the permit, Geert van de Camp said (personal

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<sup>34</sup> "bij dit soort projecten moet je een lange adem hebben. Er zijn gewoon veel belanghebbenden als je in de openbare ruimte werkt."

communication, April 28, 2021). One of the solutions was to put the work of art back over the cycle path on the other side, "and that is where the water board came around the corner"<sup>35</sup> (P. van Gils, personal communication, April 26, 2021). Within then meters of the ditch, a building permit had to be obtained for the work, which had to meet a large number of requirements, including the construction of a gravel path so that the ditch could be maintained. The permit from the water board was only issued in spring of 2019, after which the site was prepared for the construction (Reeshof Cultuurt, n.d.-c).

After a realization process of almost four and a half years, which took longer than expected, the various parties involved have expressed a positive opinion about the result. The initiator of the project said in an interview with *Brabants Dagblad* (2019) that he is most proud of the fact that Zandpoort is used as it was intended, as it is well visited. Despite the necessary adjustments Observatorium had to make, Geert is satisfied with the result. In the interview, he indicated that it is always interesting how things have to be changed towards such a realization and to find a way not to compromise too much (personal communication, April 28, 2021). According to the artist, this has succeeded and "it has only gotten better"<sup>36</sup> (G. van de Camp, personal communication, April 28, 2021). He also emphasized the fact that people use it, as people cycle along, are amazed, and look around, which is what Observatorium had in mind (Reeshof Cultuurt, n.d.-c).

In the video by Corne Biekens (2019), Liesbeth Jans describes it as an inviting place that gets something special through its relationship with the Berge Terminal Tilburg. In addition, CuPuDo considers it important that the residents have contribute to making their city more alive (City lab CuPuDo Tilburg, 2019). According to the city lab, by allowing the city to participate in the decision-making process, more support is developed without having to lose their abrasive ideas, and guidance from the middle also guarantees this, (City lab CuPuDo Tilburg, 2019). Finally, alderman of culture Marcelle Hendrickx states that the subject, the felling of trees and nature, has been given a place in the artwork, which she calls issue making (van den Boezem, 2020). According to her, it is an example of placemaking, as the area has been transformed into a meaningful and attractive place where people interact and meet with each other. In addition, value making has taken place, because the location has gained value, partly due to the arrival of the iconic work (van den Boezem, 2020). It was

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<sup>35</sup> "en daar kwam waterschap op de hoek."

<sup>36</sup> "het is er volgens mij alleen maar beter op geworden"

these three pillars that the municipality had placed at CuPuDo, Hendrickx explained, and considers the work successful.

### *5.2.3 Experience residents*

To examine how visitors of Zandpoort experience the artwork, nine passers-by were approached and asked for an interview. In these conversations, divergent experiences and values have emerged in regard to the artwork, in which different categories could be recognized, including the improvement of the living environment, social interaction and inclusion, the identity of the neighborhood, relaxation, change in experience of the environment, and emotional involvement.

#### *Improvement of living environment*

The first aspect that came up in one of the interviews is related to the improvement of the environment. Mila, who overlooks the artwork from her home and walks past it almost every day with her dogs, was positive about Zandpoort and thought that it adds something to the environment, as it is more of a whole with the arrival of Zandpoort. She hoped that the red pergola would stay and if it were up to her, more works of art would come. She proposed to place another work of art similar to Zandpoort a bit further on "so that it is more equal to the other side of the canal."<sup>37</sup>

#### *Social interaction and inclusion*

The social effect of Zandpoort is something that was discussed by most of the participants. A first social aspect was that it creates interactions between visitors, as Gaby said. For example, she occasionally talked about it with passers-by and people from the neighborhood. Peggy and Rick confirmed this as well, who appreciate the conversations with stranger that arise there. As Rick explained, "then you notice how quickly you get into a conversation with people and all kinds of topics come up and you think, that was really fun."<sup>38</sup> Lucas experienced it as a place where people make a short connection with each other and also enjoy the nature. "They always wave, people greet each other when they cycle away, so it

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<sup>37</sup> "zodat het meer gelijk is aan de overkant."

<sup>38</sup> "dan merk je hoe snel je met mensen in gesprek raakt en er komen allerlei onderwerpen naar voren en dan denk je, dat was toch echt gezellig."

really it a meeting place<sup>39</sup>" he said. According to Lucas, it really is a place that brings people together, also from a distance, which was important during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Peggy and Rick described the work of art as inviting and said that "it is always full here. Many people pass by and they sit here and have a nice chat,<sup>40</sup>" which Vince had noticed as well. According to Lucas, it seemed to be appealing to a wide audience, as he noticed that a lot of older people stop there, "who enjoy cycling and exercise,<sup>41</sup>" as well as children. In addition, "people with inline or roller skates come here, or a grandmother with her grandchild on the back of the bike. It all comes together here.<sup>42</sup>" Paul has mainly seen young people and families use it, "also because it is in the route of cyclists of course and this is also a walking area.<sup>43</sup>"

### *Strengthen neighborhood's identity*

A few responses also have shown that the work by Observatorium in the Reeshof has become part of the identity of the area. Mila explained that she feels connected to the area and thus "also with the artwork, because it is part of it.<sup>44</sup>" She thought it suited the environment nicely, which Lucas also agreed with. Besides this, the work of art served as a landmark for Vince and Moshe. "It is the point where I have walked about a kilometre, so I can remember it like that,<sup>45</sup>" Vince explained. For Moshe it was a bit of reference point as well, as he often says that he walks towards the red artwork and "then everyone knows what I mean.<sup>46</sup>"

### *Place to relax*

Closely related to the discussed functioning as a meeting place, Zandpoort is often used as a place to rest, which was mentioned by seven of the nine interviewed residents. According to Gaby, it is a place for "people who are cycling who stop and sit here and see what is happening with the containers,<sup>47</sup>" and this was discussed in several other conversations as well. For example, Paul said that "you sit down and watch things happen<sup>48</sup>" and Peggy and

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<sup>39</sup> "Ze zwaaien altijd even, mensen groeten elkaar als ze wegfietsen, dus het is wel echt een verzamelpunt"

<sup>40</sup> "Het zit hier altijd vol. Veel mensen komen hierlangs en die gaan hier lekker zitten en praten."

<sup>41</sup> "die lekker een rondje fietsen en bewegen."

<sup>42</sup> "Mensen met skeelers en rolschaatsen komen hier, of een grootmoeder met haar kleinkind achterop de fiets. Dat komt hier allemaal samen."

<sup>43</sup> "ook omdat het in de route ligt van fietsers natuurlijk en dit ook een loopgebied is."

<sup>44</sup> "Ook met het kunstwerk, want het hoort hierbij."

<sup>45</sup> "Het is ongeveer het punt waar ik een kilometer gewandeld heb, dus zo kan ik dat een beetje onthouden."

<sup>46</sup> "Dan weet ik iedereen wat ik bedoel."

<sup>47</sup> " mensen die aan het fietsen zijn die hier even stoppen en zitten en eens kijken hoe het daar gaat met die containers."

<sup>48</sup> "Je gaat zitten en kijken hoe dingen gebeuren."

Rick considered the project as a resting place where some people experience the nature and watch what happens at the Barge Terminal Tilburg on the other side of the canal. Mila also had noticed that people take a break there, having lunch while looking across the canal, and Moshe emphasized its inviting character, which made it more attractive to sit there.

According to him, "it is completely packed with people" on a summer day.

Some of the respondents said that they themselves also regularly sit there to rest. For Lucas it is part of his routine, as he cycles back home from work every Friday afternoon and enjoys taking a break at the place in question and drinking a coke. He described it as a "nice halfway point with a nice view over the water where a lot is happening."<sup>49</sup> Vince also sits there when the weather is good enough, and Peggy and Rick often stop there to eat an apple before continuing their bicycle tour. In addition, it is a place for recreation, as stated by Peggy and Rick as well as Sophia and Oliver during the interviews.

#### *Change in experience of environment*

For three of the nine participants of the interviews about the artwork located along the Wilhelmina canal in the Reeshof, Zandpoort had resulted in a changed perception or experience of the environment. As Vince explained, it connects both sides of the canal and "if you sit here, you will look to the other side. And when you see [the container port], you will also look at this [artwork] again."<sup>50</sup> According to him, this connection would disappear if the work of art were moved to a different location, meaning that the work is context dependent. As discussed before, Mila thought that "it ties in so nicely with the environment, so that what is on the other side is no longer so noticeable,"<sup>51</sup> experiencing it more as a whole. Moshe experienced the environment as more balanced as well and thought that people would look at the terminal differently as a consequence of Zandpoort. "I think that if you would take this away and you just put down benches, people are not sure what they are supposed to be looking at,"<sup>52</sup> the resident of the Reeshof explained. Besides this, the copied crane also made people think about what is happening across the canal, Vince said.

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<sup>49</sup> "Het is een mooi punt halverwege met een mooi uitzicht op het water, er gebeurt hier veel."

<sup>50</sup> "Als je hier zit kijk je ook naar de andere kant. En als je [de containerhaven] ziet, dan ga je ook weer hier naar kijken."

<sup>51</sup> "Het sluit zo mooi aan op de omgeving, waardoor dat tegenover niet zozeer meer opvalt."

<sup>52</sup> "Ik denk dat als je dit zou weghalen en je zet gewoon bankjes neer, dat mensen niet precies weten waar ze nou naar moeten zitten kijken."



### *Rise of emotion*

It can be said that Zandpoort engaged some of the residents at the emotional level, evoking both positive and negative feelings. As discussed earlier, Mila experienced the work of art in her neighborhood in a positive way and hoped that everyone can enjoy it just like she does. She emphasized that it is important "that everyone values the work of art and that they (...) do not damage it<sup>53</sup>" and that she is angry about the graffiti that has been sprayed on the red structure and the benches that have been destroyed. Vince appreciated the work because it radiates tranquillity, which fits the context in which it is located, but Moshe, on the other hand, said that he was initially shocked by "such a large red colossus in a nature reserve,<sup>54</sup>" which stands out too much. It took some time for him to get used to it, but now he enjoyed the work of art, as he thought that it is "in balance with the other cranes.<sup>55</sup>" Gaby also did not appreciate the artwork when it was just placed in the Reeshof, and still does not. She was annoyed by the striking red color, which "does not occur in nature.<sup>56</sup>"

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<sup>53</sup> "Dat iedereen waarde hecht aan het kunstwerk, dat ze (...) het niet kapot maken."

<sup>54</sup> "zo'n groot rood gevaarte midden in een natuurgebied."

<sup>55</sup> "in balans met de andere twee kranen."

<sup>56</sup> "dat komt in de natuur niet voor."

## 6. Discussion

While doing research, it became clear that there are not as many sustainable pure bottom-up public works of art in the Netherlands as initially expected, which is in line with the critique of Lijster et al. (2018) that there is a blind spot for such initiatives in Dutch cultural policy. There seems to be little to no room for sustainable art in the public space that exist outside of the regulations and frameworks of the government or municipalities and that may evoke discussion and debate and possibly disrupt the social order. Such pure bottom-up art initiatives often take the form of temporary interventions, performances, and events. Participatory projects and community arts are stimulated and supported by the government, showing a shift towards a more social understanding of art (Lijster et al., 2018). However, such a bottom-up approach, in which connection and social cohesion are central and is partly guided by the municipality, seems to leave little room for the autonomous or critical role of the artist, as different rules must be complied with (Boomgaard, 2006).

Zandpoort, which is considered and presented as a bottom-up realized public artwork by the municipality of Tilburg, can be understood as a semi bottom-up public artwork instead of a pure bottom-up project. This case shows that such projects exist in the civic domain and are again realized according to the consensus model of experts, committees, and commissions to artists, to be able to make it happen (Gielen, 2017; Karskens, 2003). As Geert van de Camp indicated in the interview, an old structure had to be found again for the realization of his work of art, which is normally used for arranging the more top-down projects in public space and in which various authorities play an important role (personal communication, April 29, 2021). This determining role of different civil servants is experienced as difficult by initiator Peter van Gils, also because he noticed that "they literally put on the brakes (...) unnecessarily<sup>57</sup>" during the process (personal communication, April 26, 2021). In line with the experience of Geert, the procedure of Zandpoort is comparable with that of the Ling Zhi Helicopters, as they both use a structure in which the municipality, a mediator directly linked to the municipality, and a committee consisting of residents play a central role.

It can be stated that the project has moved away from the bottom-up approach at the beginning of the realization process. After the initiative was born from a shared feeling of anger of residents as a reaction to the intervention of their living environment by the municipality, CuPuDo, the mediating party related to the municipality, was involved in the

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<sup>57</sup> "Ze gingen letterlijk op de rem staan (...) onnodig."

process to ensure the realization of the project. The city lab was responsible for the formulation of the assignment, as well as for the selection of ten professional artists that met a number of criteria, drawn up by CuPuDo together with the residents, meaning that there was citizen participation but not full citizen control. In the implementation phase, the assignment was carried out by the artists as expected of them and their work was adapted to the imposed rules. One of the values reflected in the initial plans was to change the experience of the Barge Terminal Tilburg, which was implemented by the Observatorium and also expressed in the experience of the public. In this sense, the artists served as a creative problem solver for a particular local problem and the work as a plaster on the wound, rather than that they disrupted the social order (Karskens, 2003; Lijster et al., 2018).

Looking at the values expressed in the initial goals and plans, the implementation process, and the experience of the eighteen residents, it can be stated that both intrinsic and extrinsic values as presented and defined in Table 2 are reflected in each of the discussed stages of Ling Zhi Helicopters and Zandpoort. In the first stage of the former project, mainly extrinsic values, including economic and social benefits, played a central role (van Maanen, 2009). As presented in the plans and ideas of the municipality of The Hague, Stroom Den Haag, and the advisory committee, a large and iconic sculpture of high artistic quality was to put Leidschenveen-Ypenburg on the international map and attract people from outside, promoting economic development. Furthermore, it had to function as a beacon to strengthen the connection between the Vinex location and The Hague for the development of the area. In addition to these economic values, strengthening the identity of the district and creating a sense of belonging were considered as important goals of the work as well, related to the social value (van Maanen, 2009). Identity building as another social value was discussed as one of the goals of the realization as well. The work was allowed to challenge people's perception and evoke discussion and debate, under the condition that it made contact with the residents, prioritizing the social aspect. However, the results show that there were several conversations with residents, including members of the protest group, to make sure that the arrival of the helicopters would not cause unrest and criticism. A second intrinsic value, the work had to evoke emotion in the sense that it must be surprising and not get boring (Gielen et al., 2014; Otte, 2015; van Maanen, 2009).

The results show that the design of the artist had fulfilled all expectations and that he mainly had added intrinsic values to the given frameworks and conditions. Huang Yong Ping wanted to stimulate active meaning making by the public and also evoke emotion by reminding the former airport in Ypenburg and its role in World War 2 and symbolizing a long

and enriched life at the same time. With his work, the artist Huang Yong Ping aimed to emphasize a more open society including contact between cultures and more acceptance of immigrants, also referring to his own identity. In this way, challenging one's perception, as the most important intrinsic values, took the form of expanding the capacity for empathy, rather than giving rise to discussion and debate (McCarthy et al., 2004; Twaalfhoven, 2008; van Maanen, 2009). Besides these intrinsic values, the connection to the history of the location would also strengthen the identity of the district, with which Huang Yong Ping gave substance to the desired social effect.

In the stage of the meaning making and experience by the nine respondents, all desired values as drawn up in the first stage were expressed, except for the intrinsic value that challenges the perception of the public. Firstly, different social aspects could be recognized in the responses of the visitors, such as the improvement of the living environment and social interaction and inclusion. Just as expected and included in the initial goals, the creation of a sense of belonging and strengthening the identity of the neighborhood seemed to be effects of the artwork, as experienced by the public. Attracting people from outside the district was expressed as both an informative and economic value, as it concerned both students who visit the work and the neighborhood for educational purposes and tourists, according to the respondents (van Maanen, 2009). Looking at the intrinsic values, it appeared that the work encouraged active meaning making and thinking, as part of cognitive growth, and could lead to an imaginative flight, which can be understood as an aspect of captivation (McCarthy et al., 2004). Also, the appreciation of the craftsmanship was reflected in the responses, which can be considered as part of this intrinsic value as well. In addition, the Ling Zhi Helicopters artwork had the ability to engage visitors emotionally, both positively and negatively, the latter of which is mainly related to the functionality of the work. The positive emotions were evoked because of the connection with history and the work was also experienced surprising, as was intended in the first place.

The extrinsic values also played a prominent role in the goals and intentions as drafted by the residents' committee and CuPuDo, with a particular focus on the social effect, rather than on the economic one, as was the case with the top-down realized project. The improvement of the living environment, strengthening the area's identity, social interaction and inclusion, and the sense of belonging could be recognized as important social themes for the artwork, which was initiated to compensate the bare area and make it liveable and pleasant again. The public artwork had to serve as a meeting place for a wide audience, promoting social interaction and inclusion, and was to become an iconic sculpture connected

to the theme of the canal, showing the value of the area and strengthen its identity. In addition, the intention was to make it a place to relax, mainly for daily users of the canal zone. The economic value was also reflected in the plans and ideas, as a work of art of high artistic quality had to attract people from outside the area and improve the image of the Reeshof. Next to these extrinsic values, its ability to change the experience of the Barge Terminal Tilburg and opening up new perspectives for the future were considered important as well, associated with the challenging intrinsic value (Gielen et al., 2018). Moreover, the artwork was allowed to give rise to discussion and debate.

With Zandpoort, Observatorium focussed on social interaction and inclusion and aimed to create a building block for commonality, corresponding to the goals as formulated in the assignment. In addition, the artwork symbolized the desire and ambitions of the residents to improve their living environment and in this way, it can be considered as part of strengthening the identity of the district. The relaxation value, which played an important role in the goals of the artwork, was also expressed by the artist (van Maanen, 2009). The economic value did not return so much at this stage, but the artists focussed on the challenging of the perception of the audience, as they wanted to create a meaningful reflection of the environment to sharpen the visitors' view on the world around them (McCarthy et al., 2004). Rather than taking a critical attitude towards the situation, they embraced the Barge Terminal Tilburg, as the container port and related activities are an important part of our lives. In line with the plans and wishes of Peter van Gils and the Reeshof residents, Zandpoort was intended to change the experience and reading of the environment and thus the experience of the terminal in a more positive way. Finally, captivation was expressed in the implementation process, taking the form of the creation of a sense of wonder, which was added to the assignment by Observatorium as an important intrinsic value (McCarthy et al., 2004).

In the phase after the placement of the work in the Reeshof, that of the experience of visitors, the social and relaxation value took a prominent role, as was the case in the first stage. According to the residents, the work of art contributed to the improvement of the living environment and encouraged social interaction and inclusion, and strengthened the identity of the district, just like was intended. From the responses it can be concluded that Zandpoort is widely used as a meeting place and is experienced as a pleasant place to take a break where people can enjoy the environment and the view, and also recreate. Intrinsic values were expressed in the experiences of the visitors as well, as it changed the experience of the environment and Barge Terminal Tilburg, which corresponded to the plans and ideas of

residents as well as the intentions of the artists. Lastly, different than was discussed in the first two stages, it can be said that emotional engagement was reflected in the way the artwork is experienced, as it radiated tranquillity, brought enjoyment, but also shocked residents. Also, the appearance of the work such as the striking color and its size evoked a feeling of irritation among a number of residents, however, these feelings did not arise from what is conveyed by the work (van Maanen, 2009).

## 7. Conclusion

In this thesis, qualitative research based on a multiple-case study was conducted to provide an answer to the following research question: To what extent and how is a top-down realized work of public art valued differently from a bottom-up realized work of public art?

Corresponding to this research question, the hypothesis that bottom-up realized works of public art are able to generate more intrinsic value than top-down public artworks is formulated. A first conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that a pure bottom-up approach of sustainable visual art projects in the public space do not seem to exist or cannot be found in the Netherlands, confirming that there is a blind spot in Dutch cultural policy (Lijster et al., 2018). This form of public art is difficult to organize in the public space that is regulated and owned by authorities. Due to the absence of such projects, the semi bottom-up realized public artwork Zandpoort is selected as a case study for this research, rather than a pure bottom-up project.

To provide an answer to the research question, the three stages of the top-down realized artwork Ling Zhi Helicopters in Leidschenveen-Ypenburg and Zandpoort in the Reeshof were analyzed, focusing on predetermined extrinsic and intrinsic values of art. Looking at the first stage, including the initial goals and intentions as drawn up by the initiator, commissioner, and associated committee, the social and economic value played an important role for both works. In this phase of the Zhi Helicopters, however, the focus was on the economic aspect and in that of Zandpoort on the social value as well as the relaxation value. In addition, challenging one's perception was reflected in the plans of both public works, as it was stated that they can give rise discussion and debate. However, it is questionable whether this was actually the case with the helicopters, as criticism and protest turned out to be undesirable. Lastly, emotional engagement only emerged in the plans for the artwork in Leidschenveen-Ypenburg.

Both artists have implemented the assignment as was expected, meeting the goals and conditions that were formulated, including challenging the perception of the audience. The artist of the Ling Zhi Helicopters has given meaning to this intrinsic value by emphasizing a more open society and Observatorium aimed to change the experience of the terminal on the other side of the canal by embracing it. The two artists have added various intrinsic values to the received framework, including captivation as an aspect of Zandpoort and cognitive growth the form of stimulating active meaning making was discussed by Huang Yong Ping.

Three out of four values, including the social and economic one, which were the most prominent, and the rise of emotions were expressed in the experience of the Ling Zhi Helicopters by the residents, meaning no change in perception or empathic feelings have been induced. The responses also touched on additional values such as the instrumental informative value and on captivation and the rise of emotions, of which the latter was intended by the artist. Just like in the stage of the initial goals and intentions, the emphasize in the experience of Zandpoort was on the social and relaxation value. The economic value, however, was not expressed in the reactions of the visitors, but it did evoke some emotion, which was discussed as an important value neither by the initiator and residents, nor by the artists. In addition, it can be said that Zandpoort has the ability to change the experience of the environment, corresponding to the desire of both the residents and the artist.

When cross checking the results with the stated hypothesis, the stated proposition that bottom-up public works are able to generate more intrinsic value than top-down works can be rejected. In the valuation of the top-down and bottom-up artwork, many similarities could be recognized. The analysis of the interviews with residents shows that three from the four predetermined intrinsic values, including emotional engagement, cognitive growth, and captivation were expressed in the way the top-down realized Ling Zhi Helicopters are experienced by the residents. The valuation by the visitors of the bottom-up project Zandpoort, on the other hand, reflected the rise of emotions and challenging one's perception as intrinsic values. The latter can be considered the most important value of art in the public space as it relates to the rise of discussion and debate and bringing something about in society. However, in this case, this value was expressed as wat intended, meaning that the artists did what was expected of them, including making the area more attractive and change the experience of the Barge Terminal Tilburg, and did not seem to take a critical attitude or evoke debate with their work. In can be said that the visitors of both artworks were not actually challenged by them, but they were rather looking for what they know and can recognize, which seemed to be important for them.

The discussed findings should be considered in the light of several limitations. Firstly, the findings on the valuation of top-down and bottom-up works of art in the public space cannot be generalized to larger populations or other cases as the presented research is limited to two case studies in similar neighborhoods with nine respondents for each project (Bryman, 2012). Also, the value of public art was explored on the individual level, meaning that no statements can be made about the actual effects of public art. To measure the economic and social effects, a different kind of research needs to be conducted. In addition, the context of



both projects, the character of the area in which they are located, has to be taken into account, as an artwork in the public space can only be understood in relation to its context (Boomgaard, 2017; Fisher, 1996). Because of the difference in context and also in residents, the experience of an artwork in a Vinex neighborhood may differ from that in a deprived area. However, this thesis gives insights into how public art is valued and experienced by the public as well as a better understanding of the organizational structure of top-down projects and public works of art that are presented as bottom-up by, among others, municipalities.

Another limitation is that only the artist of Zandpoort could be interviewed, which has led to an imbalance in data. This was compensated with information obtained from the interview with the project manager and online interviews with the artist. Also, it was not possible to conduct interviews with all the relevant stakeholders about the realization process and the associated values, because they were not available in that period, which was shortened due to the delayed selection process of the cases. This gap in the data was also managed and completed with information obtained from various useful documents. Another thing that has to be taken into account is that the intrinsic and extrinsic values of art are not limited to the values that are distinguished and explored in this research. However, it is these drawn up values that are often discussed in existing theories about the value of art. Also, little attention was paid to the relevance of the distinguished values for public art, which may have a different value than art in the museum or in a gallery. Lastly, some relevant data from the interviewed respondents such as their connection to their neighborhood and to art is missing, because this was only thought of after the interviews were conducted. This means that the context of the answers provided by the interviewed residents were not fully taken into account when assessing them.

This thesis has already touched a bit on new ways of dealing with the regulated public space by artists, who carry out pure bottom-up initiatives, and invites for a study that explores the possible forms of permanent, self-organized art initiatives in the public space more extensively. In addition, it is noted that bottom-up initiatives exist in varying degrees, having, among other things, different motivations, organization structures, and purposes and it also appears that the interpretation of bottom-up by the government or municipalities does not always correspond to that of certain artists. As a suggestion for future research, the meaning of bottom-up realized art could be examined by interviewing both artists and officials, focusing on what they think this approach includes and should bring about.

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## Appendix B - Overview respondents (residents)

### Ling Zhi Helicopters

	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Gender and age indication</b>
1	Sarah	Woman, 46-55
2	Robert	Man, 56-65
3	Alice	Woman, 46-55
4	Joshua	Man, 56-65
5	Caro	Woman, 36-45
6	Alex	Man, 36-45
7	Younes	Man, 36-45
8	Lilian and John	Woman and man, 66-75
9	Julie	Woman, 46-55

### Zandpoort

	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Gender and age indication</b>
1	Gaby	Woman, 36-45
2	Paul	Man, 46-55
3	Peggy and Rick	Woman and man, 66-75
4	Maurice	Man, 56-65
5	Vince	Man, 36-45
6	Mila	Woman, 36-45
7	Lucas	Man, 26-35
8	Sophia and Oliver	Woman and man, 36-45
9	Moshe	Man, 46-55

## **Appendix C - Interview guides**

### **Project managers**

#### **Public space**

- What does the public space mean to you?
- What is the role of the artist in the public space?

#### **Goals and motivation**

- Why was an artwork chosen and not something else?
- Why was this work of art chosen and not another work?
- What was the assignment for the work of art?
  - o What were the goals?
  - o What were the conditions?
  - o Are they achieved?
- What were the artistic goals of the artist?
  - o Are they achieved?
- What did the artist want to bring about?
  - o Is this achieved?
- What was his relationship with the environment in which the work is located?

#### **Realization**

- How did the artwork come about?
- Who were the stakeholders?
  - o What was their role in the process?
  - o Who was responsible for the decision-making?
- What agreements had been made with the municipality?
- How was the relationship between the artists and the municipality?
- How did the realization process go?
- What have you encountered in the realization process?
  - o Why?
  - o How was that solved?
- What was your personal experience with the realization process?

- How do you look back on the process? And on the result?
  - o Would you have done things differently?

### **Reactions**

- How is the work received by residents and visitors?
- What has it done with the neighborhood?
  - o Do you notice changes?
  - o If so, in what way?

### **Artist**

#### **Public space**

- What does the public space mean to you?
- What is your role as an artist in the public space?

#### **Goals and motivation**

- Why is your artwork selected?
- What was the assignment for the work of art?
  - o What were the goals?
  - o What were the conditions?
  - o Are they achieved?
- What did you think about these goals and conditions?
- What were your personal goals?
  - o Are they achieved?
- What did you want to bring about with the work of art?
  - o Is this achieved?
- What was your relationship with the environment in which the work is located?
- Does the work fit within your oeuvre?
  - o If not, why not?

#### **Realization**

- How did the artwork come about?
- What was your role in the decision-making?

- What agreements had been made with the municipality?
- How was your relationship with the municipality?
- How did the realization process go?
- What have you encountered in the realization process?
  - o Why?
  - o How was that solved?
- What was your personal experience with the realization process?
- How do you look back on the process? And on the result?
  - o Would you have done things differently?

### **Reactions**

- How is the work received by residents and visitors?
- What has it done with the neighborhood?
  - o Do you notice changes?
  - o If so, in what way?

### **Residents**

#### **General**

- Do you live in the neighborhood?
- Is this the first time that you see the work of art?
- Did you know that the artwork would be placed?
  - o If so, how did you know?
- Did you play a role in the realization process?

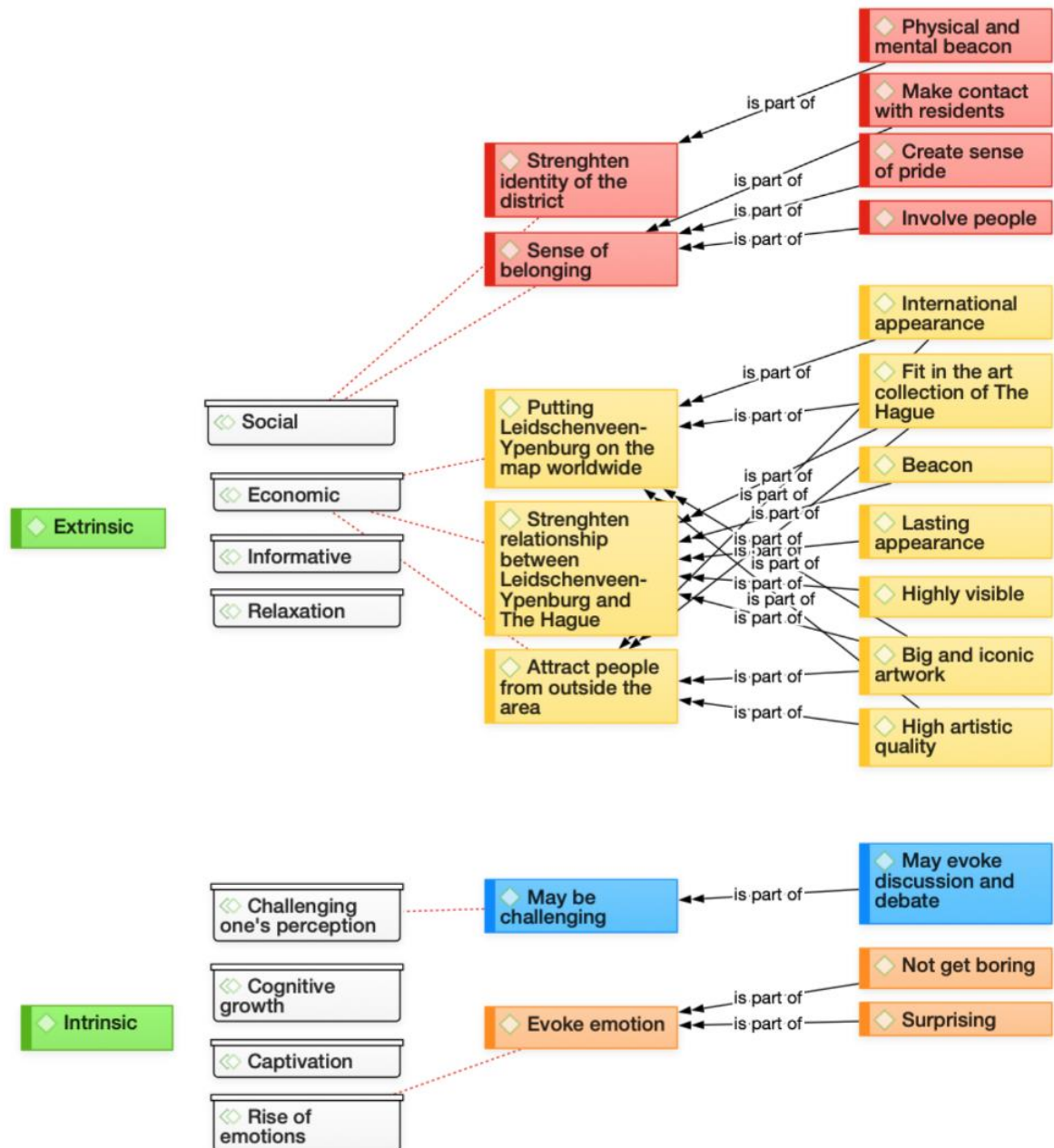
#### **Experience**

- What do you think of the artwork?
  - o Why?
  - o What does it do to you?
- Do you agree with its placement?
- What does it do to the environment/neighborhood?
  - o What changes has it brought?
- Can you describe the work of art?

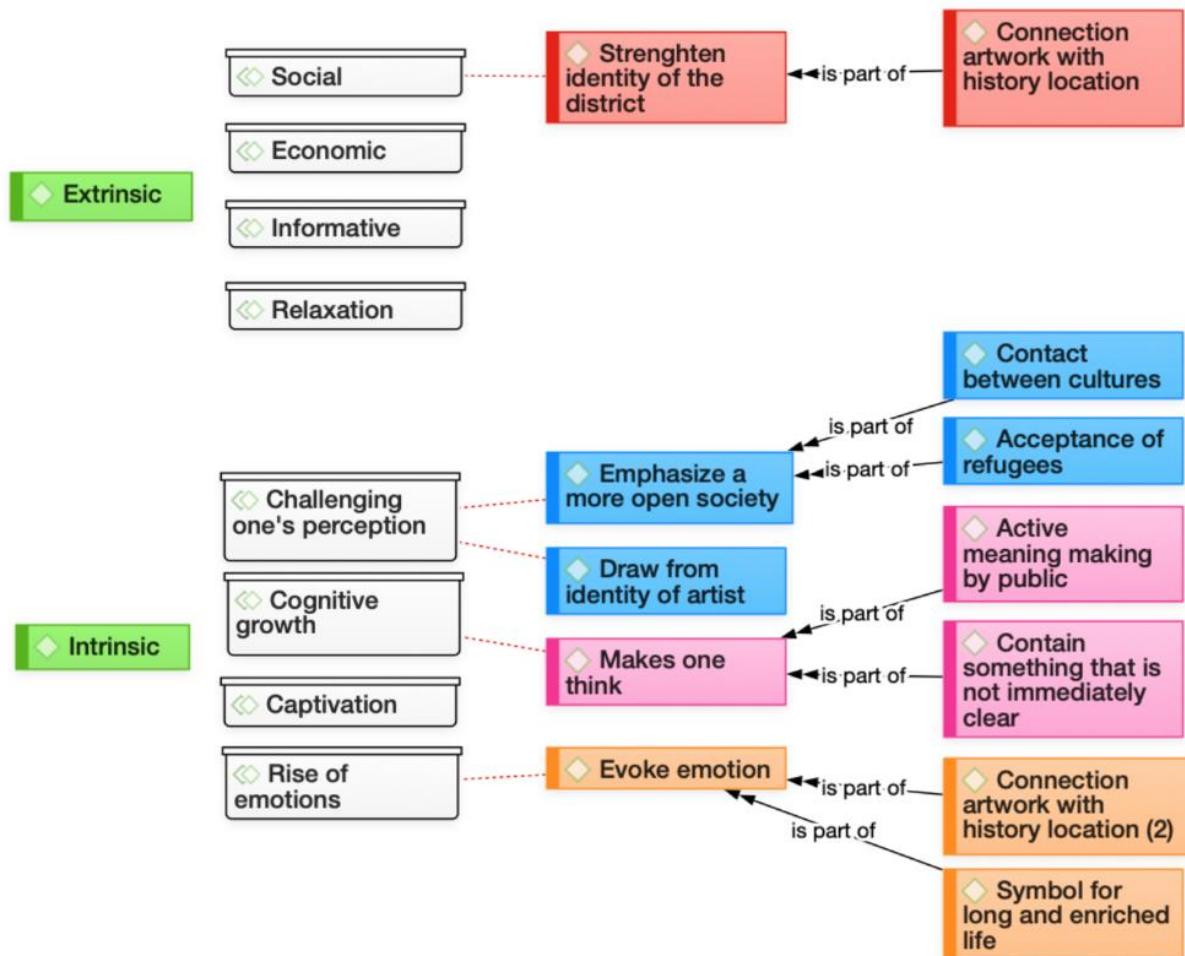
- What do you think the artist meant by it?
- Do you know why the work is there?
  - o Do you think it works?
- Have you thought about the work before?
  - o And talked about?
- What does it remind you of?
- Does the work make you think about things?
- Do you feel connected with the work?
- Do you find it important that there is art in the public space?
- What do you find important about a work of art in your neighborhood?
- What purpose should it serve?

## Appendix D - Code trees

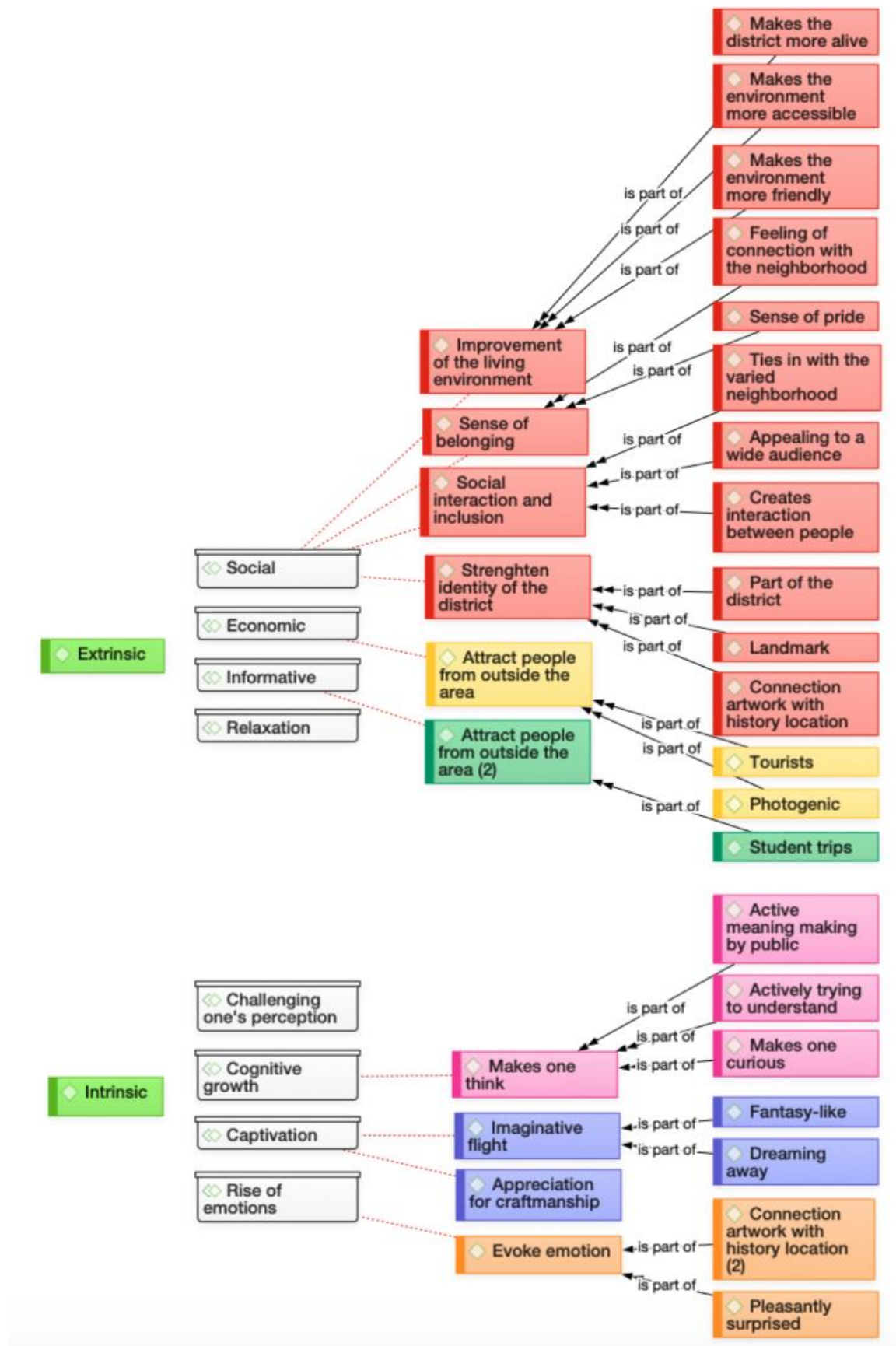
### Goals and conditions Ling Zhi Helicopters



## Goals and intentions Huang Yong Ping

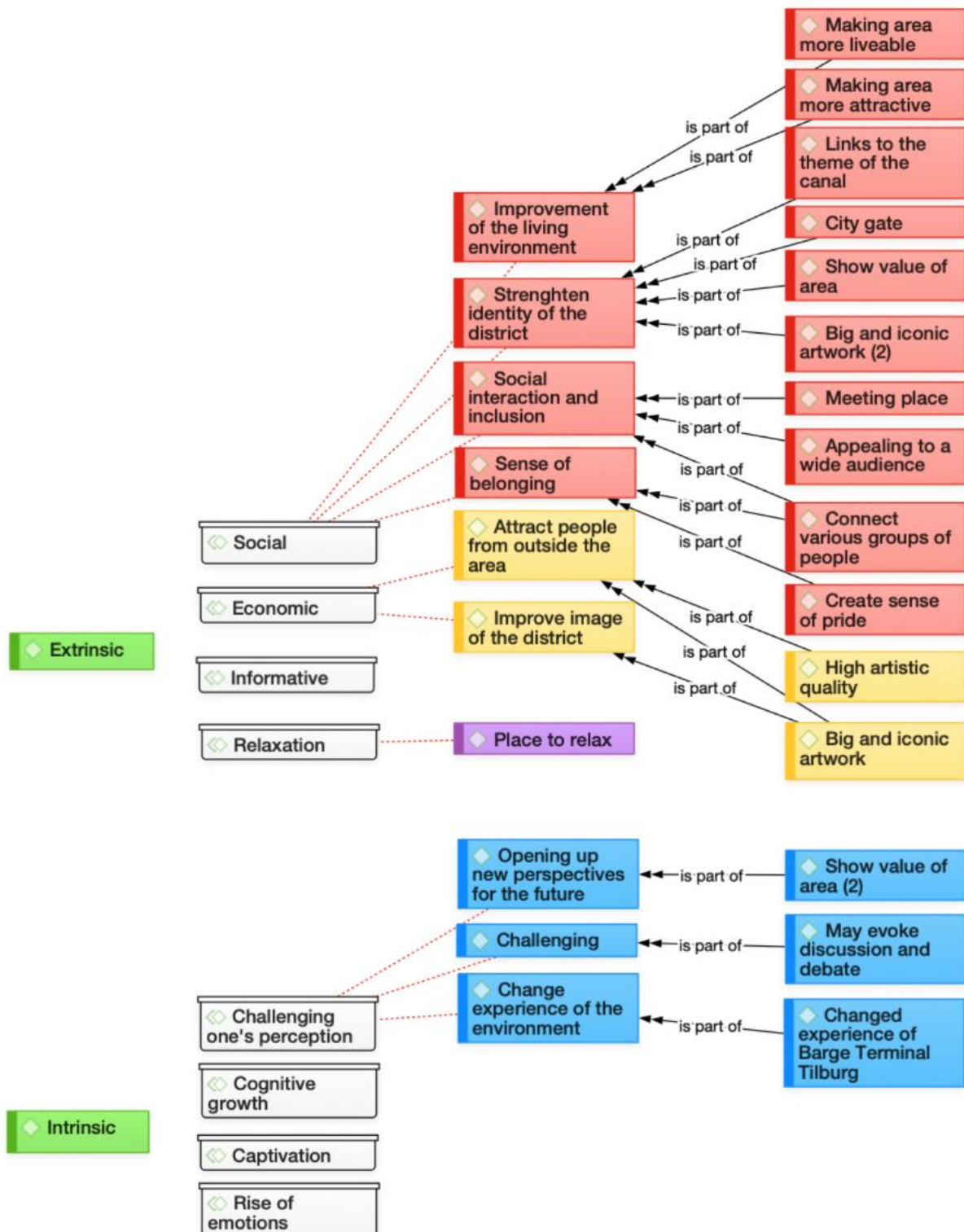


## Experience residents Ling Zhi Helicopters

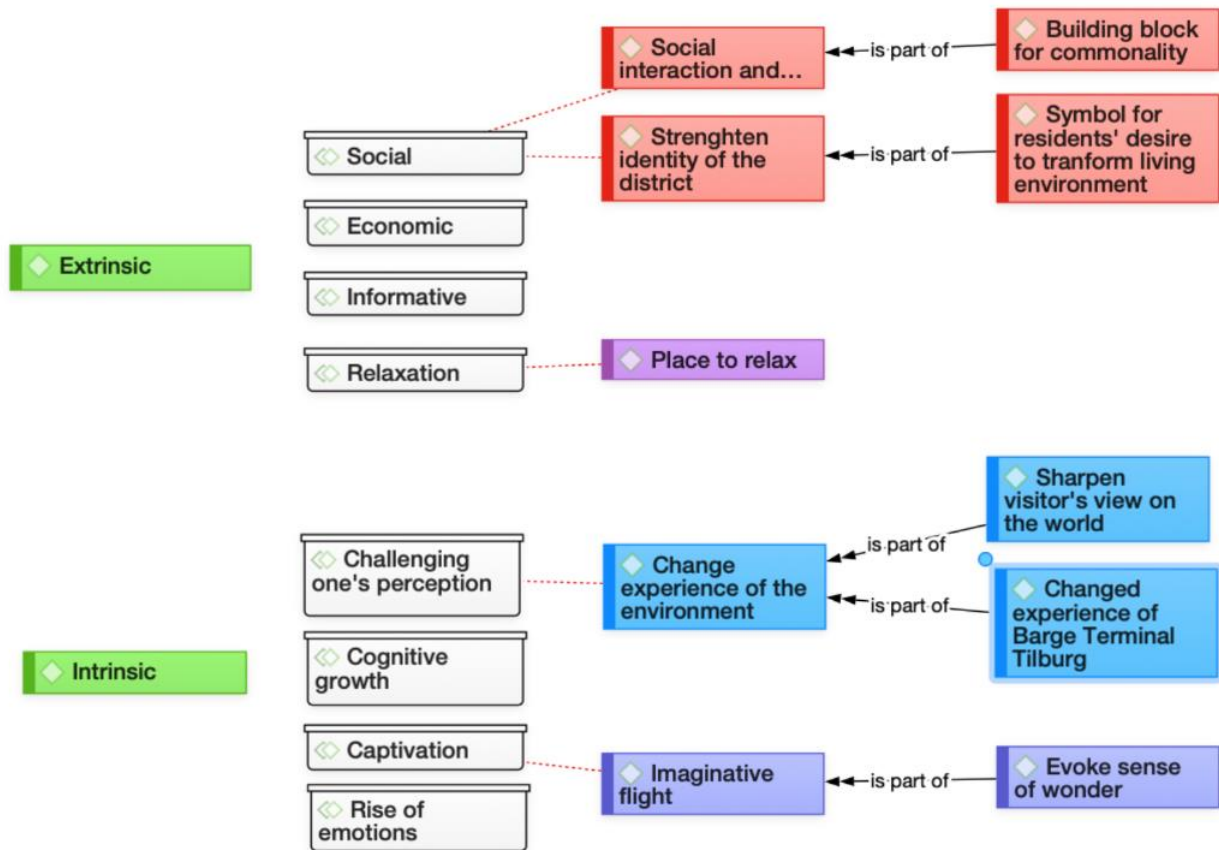




## Goals and conditions Zandpoort



## Goals and intentions Observatorium



## Experience residents Zandpoort

