

The Open University

A843-A844 MA in Art History

DISSERTATION

**To what extent does the street art in Cambridge shape the city identity in the twenty-first century?**

Submitted by: Monika Roskova

Submitted on: 28 September 2021

Word count: 11,914

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my tutor for her guidance and support throughout my study. Next, I would like to say thank you to my dyslexia tutors Elana Van Veen and Olivia Reynolds, for proofreading my work. Furthermore, I would like to thank Mill Road History Society team for helping me with the research for two of my projects: this dissertation and TMA 03. <https://capturingcambridge.org/> I also would like to thank Cambridge's local artists who agreed to be interviewed, Sharon Kaur, Sa'adiah Khan and Kyle Warwick.

My biggest thanks is going to my wonderful fiancée Winston and my children for all of their support, patience and encouragement. Moreover, thank you to my amazing family from abroad and their always kind words!

You all have been amazing, thank you!

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the non-traditional artform of street art in connection with the identity of the city of Cambridge. Street art is a powerful tool in shaping or renewing urban spaces and local identities through its aesthetic contribution to the city environment. Furthermore, by experiencing such art, people are supported in understanding the development of their own city. Even though Cambridge is not well known for street art in the same way as London or Bristol, residents and tourists can see several street artworks at Cambridge's public open spaces. Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi's *Graffiti and Street Art*, is utilized as a key framework to closely examine street art and graffiti's impact on the city of Cambridge. Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi's theory is supported by Cheshmehzangi's theories about city identity, assisting in identifying the different urban identities in Cambridge. Cambridge's urban spaces, different locations, the city's culture, and people's engagement with street art is examined through Cambridge community commissioned murals, non-commissioned street art/graffiti and the Kettle's Yard Gallery/ Fitzwilliam Museum's commissioned murals. This dissertation argues that street art, as a modern, non-traditional form, can shape urban identities, even in a city like Cambridge with a well-established and traditional historical reputation. On this basis, the dissertation evaluates how street art shapes and renews the various urban public spaces of Cambridge and the identities surrounding them.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	02
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	03
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	04
INTRODUCTION.....	07
CHAPTER 1: HOW DOES COMMUNITY STREET ART REPRESENT URBAN IDENTITY IN CAMBRIDGE.....	12
CHAPTER 2: HOW DOES NON-COMMISSIONED STREET ART AND GRAFFITI IN CAMBRIDGE REFLECT ITS URBAN IDENTITY.....	23
CHAPTER 3: HOW DOES THE KETTLE’S YARD GALLERY AND THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM IN CAMBRIDGE SUPPORT THE STREET ART AND SHAPE THE CITY IDENTITY.....	35
CONCLUSION.....	45
APPENDICES.....	49
APPENDIX A: TIMELINE OF STREET ART AND GRAFFITI EVENTS.....	49
APPENDIX B: A844 RESEARCH DIARY.....	50
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	53
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	61



I confirm that this dissertation has been prepared by myself and that no part of this dissertation has been previously submitted as part of a degree or qualification, either to the Open University or any other university or institution. The topic of Cambridge's street art and city identity was part of my research theme in the TMA 06 assignment submitted in June 2021. The Konstantinos Avramidis and Mytro Tsilimpounidi's graffiti and street art framework theory was suggested for research. The relevant quotes and translations are not my own; their authors are referenced individually.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Sharon Kaur, *Diversity* Mural, 2006, Stencils, 26.7m x 1.8m, First Mill Road Bridge Panel, Richmond Fellowship's Castle Services, Youth Foyer Organisation, Cambridge. Photo: Monika Roskova, 2021.
2. Sharon Kaur and Gemma Crabtree, *Diversity* murals, 2006, 26.7m x 1.8m, Both Mill Road Bridge Panels, Richmond Fellowship's Castle Services, Youth Foyer Organisation Cambridge. Photographed by Matt Webb. Available at <https://www.richmondfellowship.org.uk/blog/young-peoples-week-castle-services-community-mural/> [accessed 17 August 2021].
3. Gemma Crabtree, *Diversity* Mural, 2006, 26.7m x 1.8m, Second Panel Mill Road Bridge, Richmond Fellowship's Castle Services, Youth Foyer Organisation, Cambridge. Photo: Monika Roskova, 2021.
4. Sa'adiyah Khan, Samirah Khan, Dag Biggs, *Kindness is Always in Season* Mural, Stencils, 2017, 8.8m x 2.7m, Green End Road, Chesterton, Cambridge, Photographed by Cambridge Network. Available at <https://www.cambridgenetwork.co.uk/news/514297> [accessed 13 Jun 2021].
5. Kyle Warwick, *Prof Hawking* Mural, 2018, Non-commissioned mural, Mill Road, Cambridge Evening News, Cambridge Archives, Photo: Unknown. CN 11.04.2018.
6. Artists: Unknown, Long Road Bridge, Graffiti, Cambridge. Photo: Monika Roskova. 2021
7. *Syd Barret* graffiti, 2006, St Margaret Street, Cambridge Evening News, Cambridge Archives, CEN 23.08.2006.
8. Graffiti, 2021, Jesus Green, Cambridge, Cambridge News, Photography by Lottie Limb. Available at <https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/cambridge-news/graffiti-scrawled-across-cambridge-buildings-20169900> [accessed 17 August 2021].

9. *War Memorial Sculpture, Graffiti*, 2020, Hills Road, Cambridge, Cambridge Independent Newspaper, Photographed by Richard Butler. Available at <https://www.cambridgeindependent.co.uk/news/cambridge-war-memorial-vandalised-9146398/#:~:text=The%20War%20Memorial%20in%20Cambridge,unacceptable%20C%20and%20massively%20offensive%22>. [accessed 25 August 2021].
10. *Breath Free Show Yourself Graffiti poster*, 2020, Cambridge, Cambridge Live News, Photographed by Jessica Law. Available <https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/cambridge-news/cambridgeshire-coronavirus-harmful-anti-mask-19104849> [accessed 25 August 2021].
11. eL Seed, *Calligraffiti*, 2018, 1024 x 768cm, The Kettle's Yard Gallery, Arbury-Cambridge, Photographed by Modestas Moe Noreika. Available at <https://www.kettlesyard.co.uk/events/el-seed-in-arbury-court/> [accessed 03 May 2021].
12. RUN, *The Human Touch Mural*, 2021, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Nelly Duff Gallery, London, Cambridge, The University of Cambridge, Photograph: Unknown. Available at <https://fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/news/collaboration-with-street-artist-run> [accessed 02 May 2021].
13. RUN, *The Human Touch Mural*, 2021, Mill Road, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Nelly Duff Gallery, London, Cambridge, The University of Cambridge. Photo: Monika Roskova, 2021.
14. RUN, *The Human Touch Mural*, 2021, Jesus Green Lido, Chesterton, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Nelly Duff Gallery, London Cambridge, The University of Cambridge. Photo: Monika Roskova, 2021.

## INTRODUCTION

City identity can be defined by its history, culture, distinctive public places, and the physical environment. Furthermore, it is formed over a long period of time.<sup>1</sup> Cambridge is known for its historical identity, represented through its architecture such as Kings College Chapel (amongst other colleges), The Fitzwilliam Museum, Kettle's Yard Gallery, and other iconic buildings. Cambridge consists of seventeen urban neighbourhoods including Chesterton and Arbury.<sup>2</sup> Cambridge city identity is associated with its urban spaces. These urban public spaces bridge the gaps between different neighbourhoods in Cambridge and are influenced by the relationships created between them. Through this process, the city gains a unique urban identity.<sup>3</sup> The neighbourhoods of Cambridge are integral to the city identity, defined through shared cultural and creative values that are developing through the long-term vision for the city's physical environments.<sup>4</sup>

Graffiti and street art are modern forms that can transform neglected public spaces and, through the medium of the visual, represent the urban environment.<sup>5</sup> Graffiti is not a new subject; it comes from the ancient Italian word *graffito* meaning scratch. This term is understood as 'writing on the wall' and is a form evident in art historical debate since the ancient Romans.<sup>6</sup> The modern graffiti and street art form started in New York in 1960. The movement gradually progressed to Philadelphia and onwards to Europe, arriving in the UK in the 1980s.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: xi.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge City Council 2021: Communities and people.

<sup>3</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: xi.

<sup>4</sup> Bryan 2008: 192-193.

<sup>5</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 1.

<sup>6</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 2; Zieleniec 2016: 2.

<sup>7</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 4.

Street art is considered non-traditional because it was not initially accepted by art institutions and is still mostly viewed as non-genuine art. The aesthetics of graffiti and street art can be seen in several categories such as tags, graffiti, stencils, sculptures, posters, murals, and stickers. Cambridge is not well known for graffiti and street art. However, it does not mean that the public cannot access these art forms across the city. There are a number of differences between graffiti and street art. Graffiti is illegal whilst street art is not.<sup>8</sup> The original modern graffiti style consists of writing words called tags.<sup>9</sup> Graffiti forms can be seen in Cambridge as either a protest or expression of opinion or as a graffiti stencil with a non-offensive style. Street art focuses on image rather than writing, and it is produced legally by commissioning the artist. Cambridge's residents and tourists can view these vibrant and colourful street art murals, which promote a visual representation of the city.

These street art forms, created in urban areas, are arguably part of the city's urban identity. This modern, non-traditional form in Cambridge, on the one hand embellishes public spaces but, on the other, causes tensions between the public and government. Cambridge, through its public spaces, offers street art and graffiti to be viewed in various sizes and techniques. This street art reflects the location in which it is produced, the culture of the area, and social engagement. These three aspects play an important role in creating the city identity of Cambridge.

This dissertation focuses on examining graffiti and street art in Cambridge as well as Cambridge city identity during the twenty-first century. To focus on this theme is crucial, as with the exception of Caroline Wilson's report (2018), who briefly wrote about Mill Road community street art, there is scant primary literature written about this concept. This dissertation utilizes archived and current newspaper articles to identify Cambridge's

---

<sup>8</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 4.

<sup>9</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 4.

locations, themes, issues, and general concepts about graffiti and street art. The local city council's reports, as well as Peter Bryan's (2008) *Cambridge The Shaping the City*, will support hypotheses about Cambridge's development, local areas, urban identities, the city culture, city policies and public art.

Konstantinos Avramidis and Myrto Tsilimpounidi's *Graffiti and Street Art: Reading, Writing and Representing the City* (2017) provides the key research framework. This includes focus on the environmental framework, aesthetics of artworks, street art and graffiti categorisation, street strategies to prevent crime, limitations of public space, value, and the impact of the art institutions on street art in Cambridge. Ali Cheshmehzangi's (2020) *Identity of Cities and City Identity* supports the concept of city and urban identity through both a social and locational approach.

Chapter 1 focuses on community commissioned street art and the representation of urban identity created in Cambridge in the twenty-first century. Furthermore, two community street art murals, the *Diversity* mural and the *Kindness is Always in Season* mural, are critically examined to evaluate their relationship with Cambridge's residents and their connection to the urban location. Moreover, the philosopher Henry Lefebvre's influential spatial theory in *Writing on Cities* supports the analysis. Lefebvre's spatial practice applied to public urban spaces recognises the importance of space in environmental development as produced through social actions and art interventions that reflect urban identity in Cambridge.

Chapter 2 examines six non-commissioned legal and illegal graffiti and street art works, and how these link to Cambridge urban identity. These works include the *Prof Hawking* mural, graffiti at Long Road Bridge; the *Syd Barrett* graffiti, illegal writing at Jesus Green, illegal graffiti on a war memorial and finally, graffiti posters stating *Breath Free Show Yourself*. These six artworks are divided into two graffiti groups. The first group follows the

council regulations and their strategy of creating a legal wall for graffiti artists. The second group is known for antisocial subversive behaviour and vandalism.

Analyses of these two groups and their artworks evaluate the impact on the public space, environment, and urban identity. Furthermore, this study will insert itself into the spatial art historical debate as supported by Andrzej Zieleniec (2016) *The Right to Write the City: Lefebvre and graffiti*. Zieleniec's graffiti and street art concept situates the practice with *Lefebvre and the Production of Urban Space*. The examination of the production of urban space supports the argument about the legal and illegal concept and limitation of public space for graffiti artworks.

Moreover, how legal, and illegal graffiti represents urban identity is examined. Alison Young's *Street Art, Public City: Law, Crime and the Urban Imagination* (2014) challenges the conventional understanding of street art. Young's study assists in recognising the legal, and illegal aspects of graffiti and street art.

Chapter 3 explores how The Kettle's Yard Gallery and The Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge support street art and shape the city identity. The first mural under analysis is *Calligraffiti*, commissioned by Kettle's Yard, which is placed at the Arbury Courthouse; next is *The Human Touch* mural, based inside The Fitzwilliam Museum; a second *Human Touch* mural is on the outdoor concrete swimming pool wall at Mill Road and a third *Human Touch* mural is situated at the wooden fence of the Chesterton swimming pool.

Both the outdoors and indoors installations of street art are examined in relation to Cambridge's recent cultural development. Visual analysis of the *Calligraffiti* mural, evaluates how street art can shape urban identity. Analysis of the Fitzwilliam's *Human Touch* murals demonstrates how street artworks increase the value of the space, and moreover, how street art brings a wider audience to the city and museum. The Kettle's Yard Gallery, The Nelly Duff Gallery in London and The Fitzwilliam Museum's websites provide the primary

sources. Furthermore, the interview with the artist RUN provides personal insight into the process for creating his art. By evaluating these four murals, their impact on the city identity is established.

In terms of understanding the urban space and city identity, street art is invaluable and therefore is focused on in this art historical study. By employing Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi's concept of graffiti and street art, this dissertation contributes to the current debate on urban space and the identity of the city. Furthermore, Cheshmehzangi's complex city identities are evaluated through the relationship between urban and city identity. Lefebvre's spatial theory provides the framework to investigate urban space and city space in terms of how these spaces are shaped and experienced. For the first time, these theories will be applied to a Cambridge context, illuminating how street art is a vital part of the shaping of urban identity.



## **CHAPTER 1:**

### **HOW DOES COMMUNITY STREET ART REPRESENT URBAN IDENTITY IN CAMBRIDGE?**

A piece of street art can contribute to or transform not only the architecture it is painted on but also the community surrounding it. Moreover, it can reflect and represent these communities, meaning that street art is closely connected to its environment and local community.<sup>10</sup> Chapter 1 focuses on street art in the form of community projects and urban identity.

Cambridge, traditionally known as a historical city, supports community projects with benefits to the public and artists.<sup>11</sup> Community projects are organised by local organisations, financially supported by the British Art Council and distributed by British city councils, including Cambridge City Council.<sup>12</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi describe that public decoration and ‘beautification’ of a place is an ‘urban asset’ for the community.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, through these community art projects, residents can express their creative skills and engage in design debates. Two examples of community art projects in Cambridge are the *Diversity* mural in the Mill Road area and the *Kindness is Always in Season* mural in the Chesterton area.

This chapter firstly defines urban identity in terms of its relationship to street art. Secondly, through close visual analysis of *Diversity* and *Kindness*, it will explore how commissioned community street art in the form of murals reflect Cambridge’s urban identity

---

<sup>10</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 94.

<sup>11</sup> Bryan 2008: 56.

<sup>12</sup> Jeffers and Moriarty 2017: 144.

<sup>13</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 122.

through social expectations, community identity, and location. This visual analysis reveals that the Mill Road mural reflects the urban identity of its community, whilst in the Chesterton mural urban identity is reflected by focus on the locality of Chesterton as a place.

Ali Cheshmehzangi states that the term urban identity should be defined as ‘place-identity.’ Cheshmehzangi relates this to the concept of ‘placeness’.<sup>14</sup> It means that ‘place identity’ can be shaped through the development of the location and its features. This can also be associated with a particular group of people, specifically their personal or social identity. This creates a relationship between place and how people fit within that space.<sup>15</sup>

The philosopher Henry Lefebvre, on the other hand, argues that the production of urban identity begins in the history of the city, in its production of the ‘culture, works of art, civilisation, material goods and objects’.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Cambridge’s urban identity originated in the history of the city. This is reflected in architecture such as the University of Cambridge and its thirty-one colleges, Fitzwilliam Museum, Kettle’s Yard Gallery, and other notable institutions which date from 1209.<sup>17</sup> These institutions not just dominate, but also control the environment of the city to protect its worldwide reputation as a city which symbolises a deep historical identity.

Arguably Cheshmehzangi’s concept of urban identity as ‘place-identity’, rather than Lefebvre’s historical definition of urban identity is represented in *Diversity* and *Kindness*. These locations are still controlled by the city’s institutions and their policies; however, they also reflect the identity of their locality. For instance, the composition of both *Diversity* and

---

<sup>14</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 16.

<sup>15</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 17.

<sup>16</sup> Lefebvre 1996: 102.

<sup>17</sup> Bryan 2008: 56.

*Kindness is Always in Season* were discussed in advance with local residents to reflect the ‘urban identity’ of their locations and residents.

*Diversity* was created at Mill Road bridge. The bridge connects two communities: Petersfield and Romsey.<sup>18</sup> The bridge was originally built in 1889 and continues to symbolise the railway.<sup>19</sup> This mural is analysed in relation to the influence and control of Cambridge’s environment, population, landscape, ownership of the space and buildings situated within that space.

Lefebvre states that strategies for urban places need to be constructed to influence and engage people within a specific urban setting. This allows people to be part of the ‘interventions’ that support the ‘transformation of the city’ and its environment. Furthermore, the process is reflected in the mural.<sup>20</sup> In 1984 the Mill Road community was challenged when the graffiti artists continuously vandalised the bridge. The community felt that the graffiti did not represent its location and its environment. For this reason, the local environmental member of parliament and local chancellor proposed creating a mural that would represent the location of Mill Road and complement the city, ‘transforming’ the Mill Road area through this ‘intervention’.<sup>21</sup>

Creating a mural, however, is expensive, and consequently, debates around financial costs were lengthy. Firstly, the proposition was to commission a professional artist, but after the financial consideration, the Cambridge City Council, local chancellor, and environmental member of parliament agreed to allow local art college students to create a design.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Wilson 2018: 5.

<sup>19</sup> Wilson 2018: 15.

<sup>20</sup> Lefebvre 1996: 12.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson 2018: 95.

<sup>22</sup> Wilson 2018: 98.

The process of choosing a final design for the mural highlights that Mill Road's urban identity is reflected in the mural; furthermore, the mural also reflects the importance of the urban 'place-identity'. The first design reflected the historical King's College architecture and the Cambridge University Colleges; however, this did not reflect the urban identity of Mill Road.<sup>23</sup> In 1997 a second design was painted by a student from the same institution, but the design still did not reflect the urban identity of Mill Road. The mural was painted in the style of Spanish surrealist painter Jean Miro which had no connection with the Mill Road Community.<sup>24</sup>

Nine years later, in 2006, the Richmond Fellowship's Castle Services, in collaboration with the Youth Foyer organisation, took over the responsibility of the Mill Road mural to further opportunities to deprived Cambridge young people.<sup>25</sup> The responsibility of these two organisations was to create and produce a design that would reclaim the place of the contemporary Mill Road and its identity. Richmond Fellowship's Castle Service, based at The University of Cambridge, provides housing to young people from the age of sixteen to twenty-five and supports them with their mental health.<sup>26</sup> Cambridge Youth Foyer organisation located at Mill Road helps young people at risk of homelessness. Moreover, they support young adults with education, training, employment and independent skills.<sup>27</sup>

These two organisations created the brief to design a mural 'that would adorn the Mill Road bridge' and encouraged the young people who stayed in their organisations to submit their ideas.<sup>28</sup> The young peoples' designs were placed at the Mill Road bridge and voted on by the passing local residents.<sup>29</sup> This process not only engaged residents of these two

---

<sup>23</sup> Wilson 2018: 105.

<sup>24</sup> Wilson 2018: 100; Cambridge Evening News 1985.

<sup>25</sup> Wilson 2018: 107.

<sup>26</sup> Webb 2021; Richmond Fellowship 2021.

<sup>27</sup> Cambridge Youth Foyer 2016.

<sup>28</sup> Webb 2021.

<sup>29</sup> Webb 2021.

organisations but also gave voice to the community.<sup>30</sup> The Mill Road location therefore offered the opportunity to employ modern art forms such as street art, as opposed to the centre of Cambridge which was defined by a historical urban identity. Sharon Kaur's design attracted the most votes as it reflected the diverse citizens who lived and worked in the community (1). This highlights that the design depicted not only represents the community but also the urban identity, as defined by Cheshmehzangi, of Mill Road and its environment.

The Mill Road mural consists of two symmetrical panels placed on the opposite sides of the bridge (2). Each panel is two hundred and sixty-seven centimetres long and one hundred and eighty centimetres high. Sharon Kaur stated that it took her almost four months to finish the project because of the size of the panels.<sup>31</sup> Kaur used a stencil technique to create the mural. According to Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi, the street art stencil technique is used globally in many cities, especially in deprived areas.<sup>32</sup> The Bristol street artist Banksy is one of the first artists known for using this technique.<sup>33</sup>

Kaur's design consists of fifty-eight international flags surrounded by ten green, blue, and brown images of eyes. Each flag varies in shape, dimensions, edges, and colour. The shape of a regular international flag is rectangular; there are three irregular international flags in the world: Nepal, Switzerland and the Vatican City.<sup>34</sup> The shapes of the flags in the mural are all irregular, representing the different nationalities of residents based in the community, with the colours and the detailing of each flag dependent on the represented country.<sup>35</sup> Kaur states that the asymmetrical shapes of the flags were inspired by the global fracturing of politics, economics and social relations. The asymmetrical shape of each flag makes the

---

<sup>30</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 94.

<sup>31</sup> Gold 2019.

<sup>32</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 04.

<sup>33</sup> Young 2014: 11.

<sup>34</sup> World Atlas 2021.

<sup>35</sup> Galloway 2006.; Wilson 2018: 108.

design unique and distinctive, drawing the viewer's attention and making them linger over each flag, enabling them to consider their meanings.

The dimensions of the eyes placed between the flags are one hundred and thirty centimetres each. The concept behind these images could be interpreted in several ways. Visually, it appears that these eyes are looking at the opposite panel where the mural states, 'respect and diversity in our community' (3). Gemma Crabtree, the artist of the second mural, which is placed opposite to the *Diversity* mural, wanted to compliment Kaur's mural and welcome visitors to the community.<sup>36</sup> This mural design was not voted for by residents; however, it represents 'identity as a tool for design'.<sup>37</sup> It means that physical features enhance the visual values of a place.

The second panel is visually different; it is very decorative. Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi argue that street art is a public decoration. Moreover, it is an urban asset used for 'beautification' of space'.<sup>38</sup> The decoration can be expressed in different ways, one of them is colour. The background colour of the second panel varies across the whole mural in sections. For example, on the right side of the mural, the background is pink, then green with a touch of blue, followed by dark blue. Next is pink again, green, and on the far-left side of the mural, there is a dark blue background. Representation of different colours of background means recognition of diverse ethnicity in the community.<sup>39</sup> This represents the urban identity of the Mill Road community.

The decorative elements such as flowers, lines, and circles are seen throughout the second mural, especially from the middle to the left side. Moreover, the natural world of the Mill Road location is also depicted by two common species: a butterfly and a snail.

---

<sup>36</sup> Wilson 2018: 107.

<sup>37</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 254.

<sup>38</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 122.

<sup>39</sup> Devon County Council 2021.

According to Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi, it is common for street artists to use decoration and ornaments to create their artwork. When they use ornaments in their art, it can be ‘celebrated as urban ornaments’. These ornaments must be clearly differentiated from decoration. The word ornament comes from the Latin *ornamentum*. The word decoration also comes from the Latin word *decent*.<sup>40</sup> The distinction between these two words is: ornaments originally mean ‘the armour, the warrior’s gear, equipment or jewellery’, but in the modern world, it can be seen as part of the household objects that bring elegance or makes a place unique. Decoration, on the other hand, means embellishment.<sup>41</sup> The Mill Road mural focuses on decoration rather than ornament. The decorative features added to the mural such as circles, flowers, the butterfly, and the snail, makes the mural more attractive.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, as Wilson’s report states, the purpose for this aesthetic decoration comes from the artist’s idea to offer something for everyone.<sup>43</sup>

The concept of using slogans or messages written in graffiti and street art production is known from the beginning of the movement. It transforms and supports the aesthetic, the culture of the location and urban context.<sup>44</sup> The mural consists of two messages. The first is dominant and is placed slightly on the right side. The message is written in pink paint on a dark blue background and states: ‘respect and diversity in our community.’ The second message which sits on the left of the first message says, ‘Welcome to CB1’. The second message is smaller and is written in dark green paint on a light green background. These two messages complement the community’s environment and expresses the urban identity of Mill Road by welcoming tourists and visitors to the area, but also implies to respect one another as this is what the community stands for.

---

<sup>40</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi: 131.

<sup>41</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi: 131.

<sup>42</sup> Oxford Lexico 2021.

<sup>43</sup> Wilson 2018: 108.

<sup>44</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 08.

The second community mural *Kindness is Always in Season* is situated in the Chesterton area. This mural was painted in 2017 and it is the first community mural. For this reason, there is a lack of documents about the street art. Chesterton consists of two parts: West Chesterton and East Chesterton. This mural is located at the Green End Road, East Chesterton and was created at the neglected wall of a privately owned Co-op shop. The mural is painted near the well-known Milton Road which attracts a lot of traffic as it is a key route into and out of the city centre.<sup>45</sup>

The Chesterton community mural is eight hundred and eighty centimetres tall and two hundred and seventy centimetres wide. It is a rectangular shape and covers the whole side wall of the building. This means that the mural is seen from a far distance, from each corner of the junction. It was painted by three local artists: two sisters Sa'adiyah and Samirah Khan and Dag Biggs. As the Co-op is a privately owned building, the permission to paint the mural had to be requested from the owner, rather than Cambridge City Council, who financially funded the project. This made it a lengthy and complicated process as the Chesterton community association who organised the project had difficulties contacting the Co-op's owner.

Alison Young states that the ownership of the street artwork is based on the space and the dominance of the property owner.<sup>46</sup> It means that if the artwork was produced on privately owned property without permission, the ownership of the artwork belongs to the owner of the property. To avoid crime or further issues, legal permission is required. Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi, on the other hand, argue that residents in many larger cities such as London have difficulties recognising illegal street artwork from legal street artwork. Even though it is placed at the private property, they have every right to call the city council

---

<sup>45</sup> Scialom 2017.

<sup>46</sup> Young 2014: 43.



and ask for removal.<sup>47</sup> For this reason, as the Chesterton mural did not have legal permission for some time, the project could not have started. However, the organisation could start to gather ideas and information for the design.

Sa'adiyah Khan, Samirah Khan and Dag Biggs organised several workshops with the residents and local charities that support learning difficulties to discuss the theme for the mural. Moreover, the artists conducted several interviews with local residents who could not attend the workshop to acknowledge their ideas. This act was important as the functionality of the artwork must have a purpose or meaning for the community.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, street art is more valued if it is managed well and represents certain urban location features.<sup>49</sup> The process of deciding on the theme depended on several aspects; for example, the Cambridge City Council contract was made for the Chesterton community association, the city's public art policy and the residents' ideas.

Similarly, the public art policy, and the contract conducted for the Chesterton community association, stated that the artwork must 'reinforce local distinctiveness and cultural identity'.<sup>50</sup> 'The geographical and landscaping features' of a particular area support and create an urban identity by reflecting unique characteristics of the city.<sup>51</sup> This viewpoint reflects Cheshmehzangi's concept of urban identity as 'placeness', with focus not only on the social identity of residents but also the appearance of the locality itself. As a result, Chesterton's mural reflects local open spaces such as the Midsummer Common and Jesus Green.<sup>52</sup> These parks offer residents the opportunity to see wildlife and a variety of bright and vibrant wildflowers. Both parks are local to Chesterton and are very popular. (4) For

---

<sup>47</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 44.

<sup>48</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 32.

<sup>49</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 33.

<sup>50</sup> Cambridge City Council 2021: The Public Art policy.

<sup>51</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 41.

<sup>52</sup> Cambridge City Council 2021: Midsummer Common.

instance, the number of wildflowers used across the whole design reflects the Midsummer Common and Jesus Green areas. Moreover, their different shapes and sizes represent different types of flowers that can be seen in the area during the summer. These vibrant and colourful wildflowers filled with decorative, curved, spiral, horizontal, and vertical lines are distributed on the plain black background. This makes them unmissable by the passing drivers or pedestrians. Chesterton has a reputation for taking care of its attractive open spaces and promoting a friendly and helpful attitude in its community.<sup>53</sup> For this reason, in the middle of the mural, is a colourful message that dominates the mid space of the artwork. It states, 'Kindness is Always in Season'. The word 'Kindness' is larger than the rest of the sentence. Moreover, this one word is painted in a dark blue colour, decorated around the edges with yellow, whilst the words 'is Always in Season' are below 'Kindness' and painted in pink and blue. At the top of the letter 'K' rests a small blue butterfly. The butterfly represents a young man from the community who died suddenly and unexpectedly; this again represents the urban identity of Chesterton.<sup>54</sup> The mural has a second representation of an animal. It is placed at the bottom of the mural; it is shaped like a colourful fish. The background of this fish is green, blue, pink, and yellow. It could be argued that the fish motif is a connecting symbol which unifies all animals living in the river 'Cam' that passes through Chesterton to the city centre and moves on to other Cambridgeshire areas.<sup>55</sup>

Cambridge, in the same way as London, is widely recognisable for its history. However, as Cheshmehzangi states, these historical cities have several urban locations with distinctive urban characteristics. For example, London offers different urban settings distinguished through their 'operations, functionalities, and activities'.<sup>56</sup> One of London's

---

<sup>53</sup> Ryder 2017.

<sup>54</sup> Scialom 2017.

<sup>55</sup> Cambridge City Council 2021: Boat mooring areas.

<sup>56</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 47.

locations is 'Soho', which consists of specific industrial features. 'Soho' is a well-known place, recognised for its enterprise and industries that have changed the location over the years.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, as previously observed, Cambridge offers distinctive urban settings to its residents. Moreover, the Mill Road area has been recognized for many centuries for its diverse population. This is identified in their community mural. The community population, in this case, is a key feature that created their urban identity. Compared to Mill Road urban identity, Chesterton urban identity is constructed by location and landscape. This key feature of Chesterton's urban identity dominates their community mural.

From the visual analysis of the two murals, it is evident that the two urban identities of Mill Road and Chesterton are different, and each is reflected in the different murals. It is clear that 'place-identity' plays an important role in creating the urban identities of both locations, as seen in *Diversity* in Mill Road, through individual community identity, and in *Kindness is Always in Season*, in Chesterton through geographical identity. Furthermore, by comparing the Mill Road and Chesterton murals, it is apparent that Cambridge's urban identity is not monolithic. Different identities exist in different locations across the city which complement each other and represent Cambridge as a city in the twenty-first century.

---

<sup>57</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 47.

## CHAPTER 2:

### HOW DOES NON-COMMISSIONED STREET ART AND GRAFFITI IN CAMBRIDGE REFLECT ITS URBAN IDENTITY?

As well as community street artworks, as analysed in Chapter 1, there is also non-commissioned graffiti in Cambridge. This non-commissioned graffiti is a part of Cambridge's identity and is commonly seen in its public spaces.

Graffiti can be identified as taking two different forms.<sup>58</sup> Firstly, graffiti can express urban street life and culture, creating a 'subcultural and youth identity' through the aesthetic urban decoration of the streets.<sup>59</sup> This form of graffiti is created legally on designated walls. The second form of graffiti is considered as vandalism by the government and is illegal. In many cases, it is reported to Cambridge local authorities for removal.<sup>60</sup>

This second chapter critically examines two graffiti groups: one that follows the city's regulations and the second that does not. Cambridge residents create both types of graffiti. This graffiti artwork created in Cambridge's open spaces will be examined in relation to the chosen space and the particular location in which it has been created. The importance of the 'identity of a space' will be analysed through the framework created by Cheshmehzangi, supported by Lefebvre's 'production of space' theory.<sup>61</sup>

An analysis of the *Prof Hawking* mural, Long Road graffiti, *Syd Barret* graffiti, Jesus Green graffiti, War Memorial graffiti, and *Breath Free Show Yourself* will examine whether the city's strategies concerning legal and illegal graffiti protect its public open spaces and its city identity. Firstly, the strategies created by the government to deter such vandalism,

---

<sup>58</sup> Zieleniec 2016: 3.

<sup>59</sup> Zieleniec 2016: 3.

<sup>60</sup> Cambridge City Council 2021: Report Graffiti.

<sup>61</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 85; Zieleniec 2016: 5.

such as legal walls for graffiti artists, will be considered, and the urban identity developed through this scheme discussed. Secondly, the council's zero-tolerance policy on illegal graffiti will be analysed to prove that public and private spaces of Cambridge are only somewhat protected against vandalism as well as questioning whether they should be protected at all. It will be argued that even though the policies against vandalism are in place, graffiti artists in Cambridge still divide the city culturally as its open spaces are continually affected by graffiti. On this basis, Cambridge's city identity will be evaluated in relation to the inter-relation of place and people through social and behavioural values presented on the city space.

Cheshmehzangi identifies city identity through different dimensions such as 'the cultural, social, vocational, and personal' dimensions. Each dimension has different characteristics and features expressed through different individual groups, classes, and cultures.<sup>62</sup> Even though these identity dimensions are different, they are part of the city formation and development. According to Cheshmehzangi, shaping the identity of the city is part of a learning process. This happens when one city learns from the other city's successful innovations and strategies that produce a dynamic place. This is called 'urban identity importation'.<sup>63</sup>

Cambridge in 2006 adapted the 'graffiti legal wall' strategy from other large cities such as London and Bristol, where seeing graffiti artwork is common.<sup>64</sup> Cambridge legal graffiti walls are at two opposite locations, Mill Road and Long Road. Mill Road, which connects the city with the urban locations, attracts experienced graffiti artists with specific agendas, whereas Long Road is situated near Long Road sixth form college. The wall attracts students who are experimenting with the graffiti style.

---

<sup>62</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 6.

<sup>63</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 252.

<sup>64</sup> London 2021; Bristol 2021.

Cheshmehzangi further defines identity as a ‘social and political term’ impacting people’s everyday life. As the environmental structure of the city is developed through time, it reflects ‘the identity of the place’.<sup>65</sup> This space development is shaped by the relation between people and their environment at an individual location.<sup>66</sup> ‘The identity of the place’ suggests that a place relates not only to a location but also personal identities and human behaviour.

Expanding on Cheshmehzangi, Andrzej Zieleniec, in reference to Lefebvre, argues that ‘the identity of the place’ is represented through ‘the production of space’.<sup>67</sup> The spatial theory is identified in three different elements. First is ‘Spatial Practices’ (perceived space), the second is ‘Representations of Space’ (conceived space) and lastly, ‘Spaces of Representations’ (lived space). These three subjects can be understood through interdependent interaction. Lefebvre conceives that space is natural material to be filled with objects and is ‘socially produced’. It means that the importance of space is in its functionality and impact on people’s lives as space is designed according to people’s daily use of it. The Mill Road and Long Road legal graffiti walls in Cambridge support this theory by the everyday use of the space of the two bridges.

In addition, Lefebvre further examines that because space is controlled, it limits people to consume it. Space is obtained and controlled by the government, meaning that space is a ‘material product’ and is part of a process between people and ‘things in space’.<sup>68</sup> This theory applies to Cambridge’s open spaces. Even though Cambridge has limited open spaces for public use, the City Council allocated two open public spaces for the graffiti artists. These spaces are used daily by graffiti artists, and because of their creativity, their aesthetics contribute to local urban identity.

---

<sup>65</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 10.

<sup>66</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 146.

<sup>67</sup> Zieleniec 2016: 4.

<sup>68</sup> Zieleniec 2016: 5.

Cambridge offers two legal graffiti walls to graffiti artists, one at Mill Road and one at Long Road. This is due to the council's zero-tolerance policy on illegal graffiti. In 2005, the Anti-social Behaviour Policy stated that the city council's role is to solve the local issues such as graffiti, flyposting and vandalism.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, Cambridge's 'zero tolerance' policy approach to illegal graffiti is expressed in its environmental policy. It informs that graffiti is not allowed and is illegal as it causes damage to properties. The policy also states that if criminal damage is created on private property, it is the owner's responsibility to remove it. Moreover, if the graffiti artist who caused the damage is arrested, the offender can be prosecuted 'under the Criminal Damage Act 1971'. If the offender is guilty, a penalty will need to be paid, or they may even receive a jail sentence.<sup>70</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi state that this policy is democratic and fair, reducing police workload as people are aware of the possibility of prosecution.<sup>71</sup> To some extent, the impact of the policy is apparent through the provision of an endorsed space in the allocation of legal walls at Mill Road and Long Road.

The foundation wall of the Mill Road bridge is at Argyle Street. The access to the wall is from the car park located by the wall. From a report written by Caroline Wilson, a local Cambridge historian, it is known that graffiti artists occupied the southwest of the Mill Road bridge foundation wall since 2006, notably not long after the local organisation commissioned the community mural in the same location.<sup>72</sup> Wilson's report provides images of some graffiti that decorated the wall in 2006. The style which the artist used was mostly very colourful large tags, and illustrations.<sup>73</sup> The fact that this graffiti was no longer removed

---

<sup>69</sup> Cambridge City Council 2005: 10.

<sup>70</sup> South Cambridgeshire District Council. 2021; Cambridge City Council 2021: Report Graffiti.

<sup>71</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 93.

<sup>72</sup> Wilson 2018: 139.

<sup>73</sup> Wilson 2018: 139.

augmented the urban identity of Mill Road as a place for artistic expression and the development of graffiti art.

This development led in 2018 to Cambridge's known graffiti artist Kyle Warwick creating a mural at Mill Road bridge as a tribute to 'Prof Hawking'<sup>74</sup> which remained for two weeks before being painted over by other artists (5). The mural was colourful and of considerable size. Prof Hawking's face was spray painted, outlined with black spray; his face coloured on the right side as doll pink, on the left as light green with a touch of blue. It could be argued that the colours represented the optic colours of science, which was his profession. Warwick paid close attention to detail on Prof Hawking's face, and the facial features were very recognisable. The large size of the mural, starting from the bottom of the wall to the top of the wall, indicated the importance of Prof Hawking as a significant figure both for science and for Cambridge. Combining a modern form of street art through spray-painted graffiti with a tribute to a figure representing the pinnacle of academic learning, the artwork reflects Cambridge's unique identity as a modern city steeped in ancient academic heritage. This was only made possible through the legalisation of graffiti on the Mill Road bridge wall.

On the left side of Prof Hawking's face was a graffiti tag sign stating 'DIMS'. Signs and symbols in the graffiti language have different meanings and interpretations.<sup>75</sup> They are used to communicate with other graffiti artists. The letters 'DIMS' were bright with the white painted signature inside the letter 'D'. Because of the large size of Prof Hawking's face, the mural was easily noticed by the passing trains or residents. Warwick's mural gained attention not only from Cambridge media but also from London's newspaper.<sup>76</sup> This means that graffiti style in Cambridge is impactful and can reach a wider audience beyond its urban location,

---

<sup>74</sup> Cox 2018.

<sup>75</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 76.

<sup>76</sup> Mellor 2018.



spreading Cambridge's identity beyond its physical boundaries and Warwick's powerful graffiti style.

Lefebvre's 'spatial practice' is reflected in the Mill Road legal wall, which represents a place of social activities with artists using the wall daily. This is highlighted because Warwick's artwork only lasted two weeks before being overpainted by other artists. This reflects Lefebvre's 'spatial practice' theory and the representation of 'the production of space'. The urban identity of Cambridge is continually developed through painting and re-painting of the legal graffiti wall as evidenced in artworks such as Prof Hawking.

Similarly, graffiti artists use Long Road bridge walls. Even though the bridge is located by the 'Long Road College', the entrance is difficult to find, as the bridge's access and exit are from the open field area. The bridge is used only by pedestrians and cyclists and is covered daily with new graffiti images. The photographic evidence shows that the graffiti artists use illustrations and tags techniques for their artwork (6).

Even though these two walls of the bridge are covered with graffiti, they are not in the traditional graffiti style; the bridge exists as a space for an artist who wants to experience and learn new graffiti techniques. This again supports Lefebvre's argument concerning the functionality of space and everyday space consumption (lived space) which develops organically through local students practising their art. The space of the bridge was allocated to graffiti artists as the place is not aesthetically destructing the everyday life of the public. Artists are not committing crimes, and the bridge provides a space for graffiti artists' consumption. In this case, the legalisation of the space highlights that legal graffiti helps to develop and protect urban identity.

Whilst the impact of the zero-tolerance policy can to some extent be seen in legal graffiti around Cambridge, Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi point out that the policies are often written but not followed, and the strategies for 'zero tolerance' policy are financially

becoming more expensive.<sup>77</sup> This is because graffiti artists see public walls as spaces to be used by the public, regardless of their ownership or regulations.<sup>78</sup>

Lefebvre considers 'representations of space' as a reflection and representation of people in power, such as politicians and their priorities for space. As a result, their values and different ideas can produce a 'dominant spatial form'. This means that spaces can be organised according to 'their specific requirements'. These open spaces can be subjected to anti-social behaviour such as vandalism.<sup>79</sup> When graffiti artists target these visible places, they express their political views that people in power do not hear. For example, in March 2021 graffiti artists vandalised an historic building in the city centre.<sup>80</sup> The graffiti tag stated *Resists anti trespass* (7). This vandalism broke the law, which placed new restrictions on the traveller community. This draws attention to how illegal graffiti can create a dual urban identity in Cambridge. Moreover, it highlights government policy by speaking out against it yet also reflecting the identity of the people who oppose specific government policy.

Furthermore, cities have issues with unwanted criminal behaviours that do not represent ideological identity because of the limitation of allocated public spaces for everyday consumption.<sup>81</sup> Young argues that the functionality of the space is in 'creating and maintaining a sense of publicness for its users'. According to a newspaper article from 2006, a graffiti tribute to a locally born member of 'Pink Floyd', *Syd Barrett* stencilled artwork was created at St. Margaret Square, Coleridge area, at the private property (8). The newspaper reports that residents, even though they liked the art, asked for its removal as it was not appropriate graffiti. 'Syd Barrett's reputation for his drug addiction was not considered the

---

<sup>77</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 93.

<sup>78</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 93.

<sup>79</sup> Zieleniec 2016: 6.

<sup>80</sup> Limb 2021.

<sup>81</sup> Young 2014: 129.

best example for the younger population. For this reason, the graffiti was requested for removal.<sup>82</sup>

The purpose behind the graffiti was to recognise the local musician who became a public figure. However, this artwork was created at an illegal private space, visible to everybody. If the artwork were created at Mill Road, a legal wall, the decision for removal would not be for the government but the other graffiti artists who would instead be repainting it. This supports Young's argument about unwanted criminal behaviours. This again highlights tensions between different sections of the Cambridge populous about how the city's urban identity should be presented.

Cheshmehzangi argues that the city's open spaces are targeted based on understanding the environment and 'cognitive mapping'. This cognitive mapping in topology is explained as the process when the environment is observed and recorded through development. It means that environmentally more developed locations with more human interaction gain more attention.<sup>83</sup> This suggests that public spaces are targeted not only because of their visibility but also their topographical locations. Cambridge's topographical locations are locations recorded in maps such as roads, rivers, parks, different local areas, and institutions such as hospitals, schools, museums, galleries, and shops. Many of these locations are used by graffiti and street artists. London's topography consists of several street art areas such as the 'East End, Brick Lane, Shoreditch, Hackney and Dalston'.<sup>84</sup>

As a solution to the targeted topographical locations, Cheshmehzangi analyses that spaces and their surroundings depend on 'knowing a space', meaning what the space offers.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, it knows the differences within the place and its identity.<sup>86</sup> Knowing

---

<sup>82</sup> Cambridge Evening News 2006: Street artist's tribute to Pink Floyd star Barrett.

<sup>83</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2021: 98.

<sup>84</sup> Young 2014: 81.

<sup>85</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 141.

<sup>86</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 142.

the spaces in Cambridge means knowing the locations that are assets for the city; assets such as industries that economically contribute to Cambridge or historical assets such as architectures and institutions that develop the city's reputation over time.<sup>87</sup> Cambridge City Council policy puts importance on protecting these spaces against vandalism such as unwanted graffiti.

Cambridge City Council introduced a CCTV scheme plan that records any anti-social behaviours and protects public and private spaces from vandalism.<sup>88</sup> Illegal graffiti requires cleaning the sprayed message and replacing sprayed objects such as broken windows or doors of a property. Alyson states that London uses CCTV cameras alongside policing the streets.<sup>89</sup> As London is the largest UK city with numerous daily activities on its streets, it is necessary to have a high level of security and protection. In this respect, 'knowing a place' such as London and knowing what is happening in their street spaces is important, and the city responds to it accordingly.

According to Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi, the instalment of CCTV cameras, including in Cambridge, started around the same period when street art and graffiti appeared globally.<sup>90</sup> CCTV as an innovation for the city prevents crime, protects the environment and its spaces that play an important role in developing the city identity. It also helps to enhance life in the city by creating new opportunities such as art.<sup>91</sup> However, it could be argued that illegal graffiti artists that participate in subversive behaviours CCTV cameras try to constitute an expressive form of the sub-cultural group identity. Graffiti artists work can be especially potent because, just like the council, they too 'know' the 'place' of Cambridge and therefore can target vital public spaces.

---

<sup>87</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 142.

<sup>88</sup> Huntington District Council 2021.

<sup>89</sup> Young 2014: 82.

<sup>90</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 27.

<sup>91</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 28.

Graffiti writers who express subversive behaviours represent a 'self-reflective' practice. At times called 'gangs', these illegal graffiti writers mostly use graffiti tags as their style to express their nocturnal painting in public spaces. Their subculture expressed through their subversive behaviour is a tool to promote their identity. This identity can be recognised by its unique signs, symbols, and motifs that persuade the public through its messages.<sup>92</sup> In 2020, Cambridge's online media reported that 'The War Memorial' in Cambridge city centre was vandalised overnight with graffiti tags<sup>93</sup> (9). Red graffiti writing was spread across the bottom part of the sculpture. This graffiti message on the left side stated *NO WAR*. The rest of the tags in the middle of 'The War Memorial' say 'TIOCH PAID HA AR HaA'. This graffiti was created by a young gang protesting against war.

Furthermore, a few months later, it was reported that several misinformation graffiti posters had been placed across the city stating: *Breath Free Show Yourself*<sup>94</sup> (10). The poster encouraged residents not to wear a face mask during the pandemic after the government made wearing a face mask compulsory. This subversive behaviour can be understood as a part of subcultural and youth identity created at the urban public places, or it can mean vandalism and anti-social behaviour; a symbol of city decline that reflects lack of discipline and direction in the young generation.

Again, these two further examples of illegal graffiti highlight tensions in Cambridge's urban identity. It could be understood as vandalism or the expression of Cambridge residents who oppose war and new regulations. This reflects different social identities within the overall urban identity of Cambridge, at times in conflict with one another.

Analysing the two groups of graffiti, one that accepts the 'zero tolerance' policy (legal graffiti) and one that does not (illegal graffiti), it is clear that a city like Cambridge accepts

---

<sup>92</sup> Zielieniec 2016: 2.

<sup>93</sup> Spencer 2020.

<sup>94</sup> Turner 2020.

the first group's aesthetics and supports it. This can be seen from the analyses of the Mill Road and Long Road bridge graffiti. The allocated space is functional for the artist; it allows them to be creative and practice the new non-traditional form of art. It also allows them to be expressive with the different styles and techniques contributing to the 'identity of a place'. Lefebvre's 'spatial practice' theory can also be seen at Mill Road through the place of social graffiti artists' activities. These social activities not only contribute to the space of the location but are part of it. Non-commissioned murals at Mill Road bridge are part of space identity interlinked with urban identity.

The second group, illegal graffiti, expresses more politically aggressive messages. These messages do not reflect the functionality of the space nor reflect its identity. From the *Resists anti trespass* graffiti or *Breath Free Show Yourself* graffiti posters located in the city centre, it is apparent that neither graffiti's message nor aesthetics represent the historic building. Cheshmehzangi's 'socio-spatial characteristics' examined in anti-social behaviours highlighted that these forms are part of urban identities and the identities of space as well as being vandalism that needs to be monitored. The CCTV strategies which the city provided to protect these spaces can be effective, but there are occasions when the CCTV cameras are not productive. Graffiti from young subcultural groups and their subversive acts can be understood in several ways; as an expression of political feeling through non-traditional street art, or as a part of vandalism. The city council must protect the public urban places to avoid and represent a more traditional urban identity.

Therefore, both legal and illegal graffiti reflect Cambridge's urban identity. Illegal walls allow local artists to express themselves and continually develop the urban space to reflect their identity. Furthermore, supposedly subversive, or antisocial behaviour in the form of illegal graffiti can be more than just vandalism. It can be understood as representing the

social urban identity of groups that do not fit in with the norms of Cambridge as determined by the Council.

### CHAPTER 3:

#### HOW DOES KETTLE'S YARD GALLERY AND THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM IN CAMBRIDGE SUPPORT THE CITY'S STREET ART AND SHAPE ITS IDENTITY?

The phenomenon of culture, its value, and the city's cultural identity play a critical role in the development of Cambridge's urban identity. Cambridge's Kettle's Yard gallery and The Fitzwilliam Museum are part of this city identity development through their role in addressing contemporary social issues, strengthening creativity and in creating a sense of belonging for the city residents.<sup>95</sup> Kettle's Yard is a contemporary gallery created by the University of Cambridge whilst the Fitzwilliam Museum is a partner of the university.<sup>96</sup> This highlights the importance of Cambridge University, which has existed since 1209, in contributing to Cambridge society through education, research and cultural development.<sup>97 98</sup>

This chapter analyses four street art murals commissioned by these two institutions. Firstly, the rationale behind the art institutions' relationship with street art is examined. Secondly, a *Calligraffiti* mural created by 'eL Seed' in the Arbury area of Cambridge, commissioned by Kettle's Yard, is examined in relation to the artist's Arabic cultural heritage. This is critically analysed through the lens of cultural development as a process that enables cultural activities such as art to develop urban identity in Cambridge. Thirdly, three *Human Touch* murals commissioned by The Fitzwilliam Museum, created by the Italian street artist RUN, are evaluated in relation to the concept of the value of public space, and the process of creating art at a particular place. This process assists to analyse the spatial change created by the commissioning of the museum's activity created by the artist. Such spatial

---

<sup>95</sup> CATS Cambridge 2021.

<sup>96</sup> The University of Cambridge Museums and Botanic Garden 2021.

<sup>97</sup> Bryan 2008: 56.; Kettle's Yard 2014; The Fitzwilliam Museum 2021.

<sup>98</sup> The Cambridge University 2021: About the Cambridge; Bryan 2008: 105.



change demonstrates how the mural impacts the environment in which it is situated by enhancing empty public space and consequently contributing to the development of the urban identity in Cambridge.<sup>99</sup>

This analysis evaluates how the gallery and museum provide cultural vitality to the city and if placing murals on outdoor surfaces is effective to support the urban identity of the city. Furthermore, it will argue that placing street art murals outside of the institutions that commissioned them can support the modern street art form, attract a wider audience, develop the urban culture of Cambridge and shape its city identity.

Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi argue that street art is a communication with the city. The original ideology of street art is to engage with its environment and directly bring the artists' expression to the city rather than limiting it by using it as part of a strategic plan. Furthermore, with the development of the street art and graffiti movement, the practice has transformed with street art now occupying not only outdoor spaces but also indoor spaces, even in museums.<sup>100</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi argue that street art murals that occupy outdoor and indoor spaces should not be called street art but rather 'Intermural Art'.<sup>101</sup> This 'Intermural Art' means art 'in between the wall' and can have the same effect inside or outside. Moreover, it can be seen and critiqued in the same way as traditional works typically housed in a museum. This practice appeared around the same time as street art but is considered as contemporary art and is accepted by art institutions, as evidenced by the fact that both Kettle's Yard and the Fitzwilliam have recently commissioned street artists.

In 2018, the Kettle's Yard gallery commissioned 'eL Seed' to create a mural to be part of their *Actions. The Image of the World Can be Different* exhibition.<sup>102</sup> In 2020, The

---

<sup>99</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 136.

<sup>100</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 111.

<sup>101</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 111.

<sup>102</sup> The Kettle's Yard 2018: eL Seed in Arbury Court.

Fitzwilliam Museum commissioned street artist RUN to create three murals for their *Human Touch* exhibition.<sup>103</sup> This demonstrates that Cambridge's art institutions support the non-traditional street art form, as outlined by Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi, in communication with the city. This is one of the ways that the museum and gallery contribute to the visual culture and cultural identity of Cambridge, which 'reflects on many subjects such as history, place, geography, race, nationality, language, gender, ethnicity, religion and beliefs and aesthetics'.<sup>104</sup>

*Actions. The Image of the World Can be Different* comprised the work of thirty-eight contemporary artists. The theme's purpose was to demonstrate that art can be a 'poetic, political and social force in the world'.<sup>105</sup> The exhibition included different forms, media, and techniques to highlight the importance of a variety of styles created by different generations of artists.

One of the artists included in the exhibition was French-Tunisian street artist 'eL Seed'.<sup>106</sup> eL Seed was commissioned to create an outdoor mural to represent the exhibition theme. eL Seed's artistic practice is influenced by his Tunisian cultural heritage, specifically Arabic writing. This led him to create his calligraffiti street art style.<sup>107</sup>

The mural (11) was placed at Arbury Court, located opposite the North Cambridge Academy.<sup>108</sup> This attracted not only the residents, but also the academy students. eL Seed's abstract and colourful mural is circular in shape and placed on a rectangular concrete wall. Its circular shape is the only one of its kind in Cambridge.

---

<sup>103</sup> The Fitzwilliam Museum 2021: Collaboration with street artist RUN.

<sup>104</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 8.

<sup>105</sup> The Kettle's Yard 2018: *Actions. The Image of the World Can be Different*.

<sup>106</sup> Thompson (2018).

<sup>107</sup> The Kettle's Yard 2018: eL Seed in Arbury Court.

<sup>108</sup> BBC News 2019.

Calligraffiti means decorative handwriting, and is a combination of typography and graffiti.<sup>109</sup> The reason graffiti is not fully considered typography is because the form is understood as part handwriting and part sign painting.<sup>110</sup> Calligraffiti is classified as an abstract expression, as seen in eL Seed's mural's decorative bold writing. This bold writing is inspired by an Arabic script.<sup>111</sup> The mural has predominantly white writing. The empty space around that writing is filled with red, pink, blue and green.

According to Young, the calligraffiti form has a negative reputation similar to graffiti which is connected with the often-criminalised graffiti writing style discussed in chapter two.<sup>112</sup> It could be argued that Kettle's Yard gallery tried to change this stereotype and acknowledge that this graffiti style is a valuable art form, supporting the urban identity of Cambridge by both drawing attention to and authorising the quality of this form of street art.

Furthermore, Kettle's Yard Gallery, with its upcoming exhibition, also decided to enhance the urban area of Arbury with contemporary art and highlight its cultural identity. In 2017, Arbury had a negative reputation; as well as increased crime, the area was aesthetically neglected.<sup>113</sup> An improvement strategy was implemented by the council to decorate the location with trees and flowers.<sup>114</sup>

eL Seed's street artworks encourage 'peace, unity, social tolerance, and acceptance in the communities'.<sup>115</sup> The artist uses the calligraffiti writing to connect different cultures. Whilst Arbury is not known as a significantly diverse location, it can be argued that the work represents different cultures in Cambridge and brings these to Arbury. Furthermore, as Kettle's Yard Gallery stated, the calligraffiti mural 'opened up conversations about identity,

---

<sup>109</sup> Urban Dictionary 2021.

<sup>110</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 107.

<sup>111</sup> The Kettle's Yard 2018: eL Seed in Arbury Court.

<sup>112</sup> Young 2014: 99.

<sup>113</sup> Pilgrim 2017.

<sup>114</sup> Pilgrim 2017.

<sup>115</sup> The Kettle's Yard 2018: eL Seed in Arbury Court.

beauty, poetry, strength, collaboration, hope, home, creativity, compassion and action'.<sup>116</sup> This highlights that the gallery attempted to support the Arbury community in Cambridge through street art and by shaping its urban cultural identity, as well as supporting the street art form of calligraffiti itself, by including it in a fine art exhibition.

In 2020, The Fitzwilliam Museum, as part of their *Human Touch* exhibition, commissioned the Nelly Duff London gallery to collaborate on the exhibition and create street art murals.<sup>117</sup> As part of the team, the Italian artist RUN created three street art murals. The first one is placed inside the museum; the second one is at the outside swimming pool wall at Mill Road and the last one is placed on Jesus Green wooden swimming pool fence.<sup>118</sup> It could be argued that placing these three murals at different locations can provide 'socio-environmental values'.

The concept of environmental value comes from the understanding of several terms, such as economic success and moral standards and the way in which human behaviour in a particular area affects them.<sup>119</sup> This means that people can develop the environment and its 'worth'. For instance, value can be added to 'non-social space' through street art innovations either by the city's street artists or with the help of art institutions, improving the city's vision.<sup>120</sup> Cheshmehzangi argues that 'socio-environmental value' is increased by people's engagement with a location, which can influence their understanding and consideration of a place.<sup>121</sup> For this reason, Cheshmehzangi argues it is important to keep urban locations active with new opportunities and innovations.<sup>122</sup> This again relates to the 'social dimension' of urban identity previously discussed in Chapter 2.

---

<sup>116</sup> The Kettle's Yard 2018: eL Seed in Arbury Court.

<sup>117</sup> Nelly Duff & Fitzwilliam Museum 2021.

<sup>118</sup> The Fitzwilliam Museum 2021: Collaboration with street artist RUN.

<sup>119</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 126.

<sup>120</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 127.

<sup>121</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 136.

<sup>122</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 137.

It took five years to organise *The Human Touch* exhibition.<sup>123</sup> RUN used hands in his artworks to create three murals, expressing the human touch through multi-coloured hands. RUN states that ‘touch situates us in the world and indicates our presence’.<sup>124</sup> The preparation for the process predated the Covid-19 pandemic. Arguably, the pandemic has affected people’s behaviour, specifically direct human contact with one another, which strengthened the exhibition's meaning. On the one hand, the exhibition can be seen as a reflection of the past, but on the other hand, it can work as an encouragement for the future.

The first mural created in The Fitzwilliam Museum is placed at the plain back white wall of the exhibition room (12). The background of the other three walls is black, which makes the mural stand out. The mural consists of nine hands, painted in light brown, dark brown, light blue, dark green, light peach tone, orange, light see-through blue, yellow, and dark grey colours. The different colours indicate multi-cultural civilizations.<sup>125</sup> It could be argued that the different coloured hands indicate equality in a multi-cultural society. Moreover, in terms of the environmental value of the artwork, this enhances ‘social communal value’, meaning that creativity and culture are crucial to the city as they are addressing global social issues, in this case equality.<sup>126</sup>

Each hand is positioned differently, with the finger/s pointing in different directions. According to RUN, ‘hands consist of carved bones and knotted ropes’, a concept which he expresses in his mural as the hands he sketches are based on his own.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, the significance of ‘a hand and its touch’ cannot be replaced, meaning it is a natural impulse and that ‘hands are important because they say who we are’.<sup>128</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> Ling, Reynolds, and Munro 2021: 7.

<sup>124</sup> Ling, Reynolds, and Munro 2021: 84.

<sup>125</sup> Ling, Reynolds, and Munro 2021: 84.

<sup>126</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 120.

<sup>127</sup> Ling, Reynolds, and Munro 2021: 84.

<sup>128</sup> Nelly Duff & Fitzwilliam Museum 2021.

The second mural is forty feet tall and is placed at the Mill Road swimming pool concrete wall (13). The mural consists of four large multi-coloured hands instead of the nine represented on the indoor mural. The hands are placed in each corner of the light brown concrete surface wall, and the size of each hand has a significant impact on the surface. This mural design has an additional element of nine small multi-coloured figures sitting and standing on each hand. This figure indicates one person's touch to another.<sup>129</sup> The representation of the space in the middle of the mural is also important; it highlights the significance of each hand and figure. In RUN's view, these hands and figures increase public engagement and interaction, especially during the pandemic.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, through this public engagement, the mural does not belong to the artist but everyone.<sup>131</sup> This can also mean that the mural increases urban cultural identity and environmental value through the engagement of 'socio-environmental values'.<sup>132</sup> It can be argued that everybody can relate to the human hand, but by placing the murals outside the museum it makes the street art accessible to everyone, not just to people who visit the museum. Therefore, the artwork attempts to be relatable and accessible to everyone in Cambridge and also encourages equality as part of the social urban identity in Cambridge.

The value of artworks created in public spaces can be defined as expressive, meaning that the value of art is reflected in the experience and positive outcomes that are characteristic to social presence.<sup>133</sup> It means that the 'value is experience'. This theory of value is relevant to street art and graffiti, as their form is known as 'situational and embedded in unique spots' such as urban locations where it engages with and represents local residents.<sup>134</sup> This can be applied to the second mural, as the location was purposely chosen, as the street is well known

---

<sup>129</sup> Alice 2021.

<sup>130</sup> RUN 2021.

<sup>131</sup> RUN 2021. Nelly Duff & Fitzwilliam Museum 2021.

<sup>132</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 156.

<sup>133</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 127.

<sup>134</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 128.

for its diverse population (described in Chapter 1 in relation to the *Diversity* mural).<sup>135</sup> The large wall of the swimming pool, decorated with *The Human Touch* mural, faces Mill Road. However, the entrance faces ‘Parker’s Piece’, the well-known central park of Cambridge.<sup>136</sup> It attracts not only Mill Road residents, but also tourists, visitors, and other Cambridge residents. In addition, this mural strengthens the diverse community urban identity at Mill Road by again depicting the theme of equality.

Similarly, to the first and the second mural, the third mural also consists of multi-coloured elements (14). However, instead of nine small figures as represented in the second mural, there are forty larger figures; twenty are on the left side facing the right side and twenty on the right side, facing the left side. Each figure on both sides holds each other’s shoulder. However, the two figures in the middle facing each other touch each other’s hands and two figures behind them touch the heads of the middle figures. To paint these figures on the dark brown wooden surface created challenges. RUN used water, different paints, and brushes suitable for painting ‘mass scenery’ and his artwork. This means that the different types of surfaces react to the paint differently, plus variable weather make the process challenging.<sup>137</sup> However, RUN highlighted that creating this mural was enjoyable as many residents engaged with him during the process.<sup>138</sup> Such engagement during the process of making the mural has an impact on the museum by promoting the exhibition’s theme across the whole of Cambridge. The repeated theme of the *Human Touch* across Cambridge, may impact and influence people to come and visit the museum; and furthermore, may provoke individual thinking.<sup>139</sup> Therefore, the murals not only increase the quality of space through

---

<sup>135</sup> Alice 2021. Mustafa 2021.

<sup>136</sup> Parks & Gardens 2021.

<sup>137</sup> RUN 2021.

<sup>138</sup> RUN 2021.

<sup>139</sup> RUN 2021.

socio-environmental values and renewing its urban identity by highlighting equality, but they also represent the museum's exhibition.

According to Erica Emond, The Fitzwilliam Museum exhibitions coordinator, these three murals aimed to engage with a 'wider audience'.<sup>140</sup> The purpose of collaborating with a gallery in London and an international artist was to 'bring a new wider audience to Cambridge'.<sup>141</sup> This supports Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi's statement that the galleries and museums street art attracts 'a new generation of a global audience of fans and consumers'.<sup>142</sup> On the one hand, such street art may 'support the urban development through forming and reforming the urban identities' (Cheshmehzangi).<sup>143</sup> On the other hand, it can be argued that Fitzwilliam Museum's innovation to create art outdoors supports the intermural practice and the concept of the exhibition rather than the location or city identity.<sup>144</sup>

By examining these two mural exhibitions, it is clear that both Kettle's Yard and the Fitzwilliam carefully planned their street art murals to engage Cambridge residents and a wider audience. Through such strategic planning, urban identities were shaped. For instance, the multi-cultural *Calligraffiti* mural commissioned by Kettle's Yard gallery reshaped Arbury's negative reputation and enhanced the visual culture of the neighbourhood, affecting the area's identity. Furthermore, it can be argued that *The Human Touch* mural supports the *Diversity* mural, renewing the urban identity of Mill Road.

The concept of environmental value was examined through the visual analysis of three *Human Touch* murals. The examination showed that street art contributes to the value of an environment through the economic and human impact that can develop or transform the

---

<sup>140</sup> Nelly Duff & Fitzwilliam Museum 2021.

<sup>141</sup> Nelly Duff & Fitzwilliam Museum 2021.

<sup>142</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 47.

<sup>143</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 156.

<sup>144</sup> Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi 2017: 114.



space. Through this change or transformation, the urban identity can also be supported as seen at Mill Road, renewed and/or shaped as reflected in the Chesterton area.

## Conclusion

This dissertation has examined community street art, non-commissioned graffiti, and street art commissioned by two art institutions in Cambridge. Street artists in Cambridge create their work in urban open spaces for the public to view and discuss. Each artwork discussed in this dissertation communicates with the local audience differently, depending on its theme, location, or its relationship to the community where it is located. Such street art has therefore played an important role in creating Cambridge's multiple identities. As defined throughout this dissertation, these various identities reflect their communities, different locations, public spaces, culture, and environment in which the street artworks are situated.

Cambridge is traditionally known for its historical architecture. As argued in this dissertation, urban areas are constantly developing with new street art innovations such as the *Diversity* mural, *Kindness is Always in Season*, the *Calligraffiti*, and the *Human Touch* murals.

It is evident that in Cambridge, which consists of many public spaces available to street artists, these spaces exist under the close control of local government and art institutions. Indeed, such urban spaces are a 'thriving theme in policies and design regulations' which depend on a city's vision and its distinctiveness.<sup>145</sup> However, from this research, it is shown that Cambridge's urban spaces are modernising; for example, through the non-traditional street form of art. This modernisation augments Cambridge's traditional recognition for educational prosperity, updating it for a twenty-first century context.

Cambridge as a dynamic, thriving city offers several locations with public spaces that can succumb to new transformations. As explored in Chapter 1, through Ali Cheshmehzangi's identities of cities, the examination of urban identities revealed that

---

<sup>145</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 16.

identities are reflected through different social structures. For example, as seen at the Mill Road bridge *Diversity* mural. The mural does not only reflect the international members of its community, but also forges a new community urban identity. In contrast, Chesterton's *Kindness is Always in Season* mural reflects its location and surroundings and its messaging about kindness supports a particular attitude within the community. Again, the Chesterton community gained a locational identity in part due to the street art mural. Community murals in Cambridge, therefore, reveal that the city is made up of a number of urban areas and consists of several non-identical urban identities that are part of one city.

The concept of legal and illegal graffiti and street art was investigated in Chapter 2 through non-commissioned murals. It was revealed that non-commissioned graffiti can either be understood as criminal damage, in the form of tagging, writing and spray painting created in illegal spaces, or rather as legal street art. The latter is graffiti created on a legal wall designated by the local authorities. From the divergence of these two types of graffiti/street art it is evident that the dividing line between them is still not fully accepted. On the one hand, graffiti artists that follow the regulations and create their artwork at legal walls are accepted; however, their artwork might not have a longer-lasting effect as it might be painted over by different artists on a separate occasion. On the other hand, whilst graffiti artists who paint on illegal walls commit a crime, this does not necessarily mean their work is unpopular. For instance, the *Sid Barrett* stencil was technically vandalism, yet some residents enjoyed and wanted to keep the work, particularly for its aesthetic effect.

Additionally, legal and illegal graffiti artists both contribute to the city identity through different dimensions such as cultural, social, locational, and personal.<sup>146</sup> Even though each dimension is different, they still contribute to shaping or creating a new urban identity. As

---

<sup>146</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 6.

described in Chapter 2, this can happen through the ‘urban identity importation’, when new ideas from different cities are transformed and adapted.<sup>147</sup>

Furthermore, Lefebvre’s ‘production of space’ assisted in identifying the principles of public spaces and their functionality. Lefebvre’s theory provided a framework to understand how individuals and groups impact space in their urban areas. It is evident that everyday use of space can contribute to people’s lives but can also restrict their daily activities through the limitation of space by authorities and institutions.

The *Calligraffiti* mural, commissioned by The Kettle’s Yard gallery, demonstrates that even though the calligraffiti style previously had a negative reputation, it is still supported by the gallery.<sup>148</sup> The artist eL Seed restructured the calligraffiti form and used it in his murals as a reflection of his Arabic culture, which is expressed through the writing. This dissertation highlighted that the stereotype of the Arbury area, known for antisocial behaviours and neglected surroundings, was changed by the *Calligraffiti* mural which shaped the area’s identity as a social and cultural area of value to the city as a whole.

From the examination of the three murals commissioned by The Fitzwilliam Museum, it is known that the locations for each mural were purposely chosen not just to promote their exhibition but also to increase the environmental value of the areas and renew or support the urban identity. This identity renovation is seen in previously created street art (*Diversity* mural, Mill Road).

Furthermore, these three murals engaged the public, and the process helped to increase the quality of public space through the ‘social, environmental value’. The *Human Touch* murals examined the ‘social-environmental value’ of street art, meaning the impact that street art has on the urban space and the recent social and cultural development of the

---

<sup>147</sup> Cheshmehzangi 2020: 252.

<sup>148</sup> Young 2014: 99.

city. Furthermore, the mural in Chesterton has reshaped the area's urban identity and enhanced its local environment through the residents' engagement, curiosity, and interest.

This dissertation contributes to the art historical debate on critical urban space and the identity of cities. From the presented photographic evidence, it is known that Cambridge welcomes the new street form of art. Such street art is not merely decorative but rather develops and shapes the varied urban identities that complement the city of Cambridge.

The analysis from this dissertation shows that street art in Cambridge shapes the identity of Cambridge as a valuable aspect of its dynamic and evolving historical transformation. Visual analysis of a range of Cambridge's street artworks shows that this non-traditional art form connects communities and residents; represents local areas and creatively transforms neglected spaces in the city. Furthermore, it demonstrates that different features and characteristics of individual public urban space can assist to create the street artwork and with that develop or renew the urban identity. Despite the fact that street art in Cambridge is not well known due to its traditional long history, it must be acknowledged that street art is imperative to understanding the diverse urban identity of Cambridge.

## APPENDIX A:

### TIMELINE OF STREET ART AND GRAFFITI EVENTS IN CAMBRIDGE

Year	Event
2006	<i>Diversity</i> Mural, Mill Road, Cambridge
2006	<i>Syd Barret</i> Graffiti, St Margaret Street, Cherry Hinton, Cambridge
2017	<i>Kindness is Always in Season</i> , Green End Road, Chesterton, Cambridge
2018	<i>Prof Hawking's</i> Mural, Mill Road, Cambridge
2018	<i>Calligraffiti</i> Mural, Arbury Court, Cambridge
2020	War Memorial Sculpture, Graffiti, Hills Road, Cambridge
2020	<i>Breath Free Show Yourself</i> , Graffiti, Cambridge
2021	Jesus Green Graffiti, City Centre, Cambridge
2021	<i>The Human Touch</i> Mural, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Trumpington Street, Cambridge
2021	<i>The Human Touch</i> Mural, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Mill Road, Cambridge
2021	<i>The Human Touch</i> Mural, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Jesus Green Lido, Chesterton, Cambridge

## APPENDIX B:

### A844 RESEARCH DIARY

<b>Date 2021</b>	<b>Brief details of activities: tutorials, research visits, notes of action, submissions:</b>
01 – 04 April 2021	Early ideas about the research on Street Art and Graffiti.
04 April 2021	Key points on commissioned community Mill Road street art mural in Cambridge emailed to tutor for feedback.
05 April 2021	Feedback received from tutor, further information about the commissioned community mural research needed.
06 April 2021	Visit to Mill Road community mural, took several photographs and paid close attention to visual details.
07 - 13 April 2021	Several emails sent and helpful feedback received from tutor about the research and how to construct argument for TMA 05.
15 April 2021	Researched street artworks across Cambridge.
16 April 2021	Researched information about the mural created in The Fitzwilliam Museum.
17 April 2021	Visited the second community street art mural in Chesterton, Cambridge for TMA 04. Emailed tutor about the second community mural.
18 April 2021	Received feedback to include in the assignment to compare first and second community murals and analyse them.
19 April 2021	Visited local street artwork created by Banksy in Cambridge. Researched information about the artwork for TMA04
20 April 2021	Discussed with tutor the structure for the assignment and chapters for the dissertation. 1. Community street art, 2. Non-commissioned street art and graffiti, 3. Street art commissioned by the art institutions in Cambridge.
23-30 April 2021	Visited local archives: researched information about Mill Road mural, photographed non-commissioned murals in Cambridge and read about the city identity.
30-06 April 2021	Researched, and read purchased books about graffiti and street art recommended by tutor.
06 May 2021	Submitted TMA 04
07-26 May 2021	Expanded my primary and secondary research, took photographs of more street artworks in Cambridge, read additional literature to assist with key definitions, and overviewed dissertation guides.
26 May 2021	Received feedback on TMA04. Opportunities: make my writing clearer, work on my argument, focus on art historical debates.
27-30 May 2021	Worked on research proposal and introduction.

01 June 2021	Tutorial: How to find sources for dissertation: online research for articles, local newspapers, reading on graffiti and street art (Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi)
03 June 2021	Emailed tutor for advice about additional mural found in the local church. Advice received to not to bring additional topic regarding religious mural as it will be difficult to manage in the dissertation.
04 June 2021	Visited non-commissioned mural at Mill Road. Took photographs of newly created artworks. Found out about the legality of the space.
06 June 2021	Watched recording of tutorial. Read about the street art movement in London written by Alison Young.
07-13 June 2021	Emailed tutor about use of correct OU formatting for the referencing. Helpful feedback received.
15 June 2021	Restructured my proposal, researched the cultural, locational and social dimensions of the identity of the city. Emailed tutor for feedback.
18 June 2021	Received feedback that the cultural, locational and social dimensions can be tested in the proposal.
24-01 July 2021	Focused on writing my proposal and introduction.
02 July 2021	Submitted my TMA 05.
09 July 2021	Received feedback: focus on the art historical debates from other scholars. Proposal accepted.
10-15 July 2021	Research information for my chapter one.
16-22 July 2021	Focused on writing chapter one.
24 July 2021	Submitted TMA 06
30 July 2021	Received TMA 06 feedback: Improvement needed, advised not to be descriptive, focus on the identity of the city of Cambridge instead of the traditional art.
01 August 2021	Read about graffiti and street art in connection with the city identity.
07 August 2021	Researched the Cambridge council policies; visited The Fitzwilliam Museum: <i>The Human Touch</i> exhibition.
11 August 2021	Final tutorial, discussing important aspects of dissertation: how to compose abstract, what to avoid etc
14 August 2021	Visited <i>The Human Touch</i> murals in Chesterton area and Mill Road area. In addition, visited the bus station to see the mural on the local Cambridge bus.
15 August 2021	Visited the Kettle's Yard Gallery, Arbury's <i>Calligraffiti</i> mural and read the information about the <i>Action</i> exhibition.
16 August 2021	Restructured and rewrote chapter one.
17 August 2021	Emailed tutor for advice about how to conduct interview.
17-25 August 2021	Researched spatial theory and urban space. Researched how graffiti and street art represent space within the Cambridge areas. Visited legal graffiti wall on the Long Road bridge.



25-28 August 2021	Wrote a draft for chapter two. Worked on my bibliography and illustration.
29 August 2021	Interview with Sharon Kaur and Sa'adiyah Khan.
01-03 September 2021	Finalised content of chapter two.
03-15 September 2021	Worked on first draft of chapter three. Visited the museum and outdoor murals once again. Watched the tutorial recording.
15-18 September 2021	Rewrote chapter three draft as was too long.
18 September 2021	Finalised content of chapter three.
19-20 September 2021	Wrote conclusion and abstract. Watched tutorial where we discussed abstracts.
21-25 September 2021	Double checked the illustration list, appendixes, bibliography. Editing of chapter one and chapter two.
25-27 September 2021	Finalisation and proof reading

## Bibliography

Adan, T. (2020) 'Symbols based on circles', Bildrecht. Available at <https://thoth-adan.com/blog/symbols-based-on-circles> [accessed 21 July 2021].

Avramidis, K. and Tsilimpounidi, M. (2017) *Graffiti and Street Art: Reading, Writing and Representing the City*, London and New York, Routledge Taylor, and Francis Group Ltd. pp. 01. 02. 03. 04. 08. 27. 28. 47. 76. 93. 94. 107. 108. 109. 110. 114. 120. 122. 123. 126. 127. 128. 131.

BBC News (2019) 'Cambridge 'Calligraffiti' mural wins protection until 2020', England-Cambridgeshire. Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-46894533> [accessed 05 September 2021].

Bristol Maps. (2021) 'Legal graffiti walls in Bristol', Bristol. Available at <https://www.legal-walls.net/city/bristol> [accessed 25 August 2021].

Bryan, P. (2008) *Cambridge the Shaping of the City*, Cambridge, G. David Bookseller, pp. 56. 105. 192.193.

Cambridge City Council. (2005) 'Anti-Social Behaviour Statement of Policy', Appendix 2, Version 5, Cambridge, pp. 07.10. Available at <https://democracy.cambridge.gov.uk/Data/Community%20Services%20Scrutiny%20Committee/20051117/Agenda/Item%2013%20-%20Review%20of%20Anti-Social%20Behaviour%20Act%202003%20Statement%20of%20Policy%20&%20Procedures%20-%20App%202.pdf> [accessed 22 August 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2019) 'Anti-Social Behaviour Statement of Policy', Version 3.2, Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/media/3831/antisocial-behaviour-policy.pdf> [accessed 09 August 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2021) 'Communities and People', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/communities-and-people> [accessed 11 June 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2021) 'Our approach to public art policy', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/our-approach-to-public-art> [accessed 01 August 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2021) 'Midsummer Common', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/midsummer-common> [accessed 03 June 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2021) 'Area Committee Community Grants 2020/2021', Cambridge, pp. 01. 02. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/media/8946/area-committee-community-grants-2021-22.pdf> [accessed 19 July 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2021) 'Boat Mooring Areas', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/boat-mooring-areas> [accessed 02 September 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2021) 'Community Grants', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/community-grants> [accessed 19 July 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2010) 'Public Art Supplementary Planning Document', Cambridge, pp. 04. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/media/2349/rd-spd-200.pdf> [accessed 19 July 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2021) 'Report Illegal advertising', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/report-illegal-advertising> [accessed 23 August 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2021) 'Report Graffiti', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/report-graffiti> [accessed 05 May 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2021) 'Where Cambridge is growing', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/where-cambridge-is-growing> [accessed 03 August 2021].

Cambridge City Council. (2021) 'Zero Tolerance' policy, Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/search/?q=zero+policy> [accessed 04 August 2021].

Cambridgeshire Constabulary. (2021) 'Anti-Social Behaviour', Report crime online emergency call 999, Cambridge, Available at <https://www.cambs.police.uk/information-and-services/Anti-social-behaviour> [accessed 20 August 2021].

Cambridge Evening News. (1983) 'Plan to paint mural on Mill Rd bridge', Cambridge, CEN 21.03.1983.

Cambridge Evening News. (1985) '£3000 Facelift for Mill Road Bridge', Cambridge, CEN 16.08.1985.

Cambridge Evening News. (1984) 'Bridge Mural plan to beat the graffiti artists', Cambridge, CEN 19.11.1984.

Cambridge Evening News. (1997) 'Mural brightens up rail bridge', Cambridge, CEN 15.05.1997.

Cambridge Evening News. (2006) 'Brightening up the walk to work', Cambridge, CEN 21.08.2006.

Cambridge Evening News. (2006) 'Street artist's tribute to Pink Floyd star Barrett', Cambridge, CEN 23.08.2006.

Cambridge News. (2019) 'The incredible story behind Cambridge's Mill Road mural', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/cambridge-news/unbelievable-story-mill-road-mural-17162034> [accessed 03 June 2021].

Cambridge Youth Foyer, (2016) 'How we help at Cambridge Youth Foyer', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.riverside.org.uk/in-your-neighbourhood/south-cambridgeshire-2/care-and-support/cambridge-youth-foyer-cambridge/> [accessed 17 August 2021].

Capturing Cambridge. (2021) 'Mill Road Bridge', Mill Road History Society, Cambridge. Available at <https://capturingcambridge.org/mill-road-area/mill-road/mill-road-bridge/> [accessed 04 May 2021].

CATS Cambridge. (2021) 'Cambridge Culture', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.catseducation.com/locations/cambridge/city-guide/culture.htm> [accessed 01 September 2021].

Cheshmehzangi, A. (2020) *Identity of Cities and City of Identities*, Ningbo, China, Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. pp. 06. 08. 10. 16. 32. 33. 41. 42. 47. 85. 98. 136. 137. 141. 146. 156. 252.

Cox, T. (2018) 'Hawking graffiti tribute targeted, Cambridge, Cambridge Evening News, CN11.04.2018.

Devon County Council. (2021) 'Diversity Guide – Race/Ethnicity', Equality and Diversity, Devon. Available at <https://www.devon.gov.uk/equality/communities/diversity/guide/race> [accessed 30 August 2021].

Alice. (2021) 'Street Artist RUN on "The Human Touch"', Nelly Duff Gallery, London. Available at <https://www.nellyduff.com/street-artist-run-on-the-human-touch> [accessed 08 September 2021].

East Cambridgeshire District Council. (2018) 'Environmental Crime Enforcement Policy', Graffiti, Cambridgeshire, pp. 16. Available at <https://www.eastcambs.gov.uk/sites/default/files/environment/Environmental%20Crime%20Enforcement%20Policy%2011.7.18.pdf> [accessed 23 August 2021].

Fix My Street. (2021) 'Cambridge City Council: Report Street Problem', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.fixmystreet.com/reports/Cambridge?zoom=12&lat=52.19759&lon=0.12657> [accessed 18 August 2021].

Galloway, K. (2006) 'Radical Mill Road', The University of Cambridge, Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cam.ac.uk/radicalmillroad> [accessed 01 June 2021].

Guerra. (2021) 'What is traditional art and its importance for the Painter and for Society', Traditional Painter, Blog. Available at <https://www.guerraart.com/single-post/2016/01/01/what-is-traditional-art-its-importance-for-the-painter-and-for-society> [accessed 21 Jun 2021].

Hatton, B. (2019) 'Cambridge set to get new CCTV cameras to combat crime', Cambridge, Cambridge Live Newspaper. Available at <https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/cambridge-news/cambridge-set-new-cctv-cameras-16605227> [accessed 23 August 2021].

Huntington District Council. (2021) 'Shared CCTV Scheme', Huntingdonshire. Available at <https://www.huntingdonshire.gov.uk/cctv> [accessed 23 August 2021].

Jeffers, A. and Moriarty, G. (2017) *Culture, Democracy and the right to make art*, The British Community Arts Movement, Great Britain, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. Pp. 01. 144. 146.

Kershman, A. (2020) *Walking Cambridge: 1000 Years of History in 8 Walks*, China, Metro Publication Ltd. pp. 161.

Limb, L. (2021) 'Graffiti scrawled across Cambridge building condemns new police bill as threat to travellers', Cambridge, Cambridgeshire Live, Cambridge News. Available at <https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/cambridge-news/graffiti-scrawled-across-cambridge-buildings-20169900> [accessed 18 August 2021].

Ling, E. Reynolds, S. and Munro, J. (2021) *The Human Touch*, 'Making Art Leaving Traces', The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, University of Cambridge, and Paul Holberton Publishing. pp. 7. 84.

Lumen. (2021) 'Visual Elements', Boundless Art History. Available at <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-arthistory/chapter/visual-elements/> [accessed 20 July 2021].

London Maps. (2021) 'Legal graffiti walls in London', London. Available at <https://www.legal-walls.net/city/london> [accessed 25 August 2021].

Lefebvre, H. (1996) *Writing on Cities*, ed Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, Malden, Oxford, Carlton, Blackwell Publishing, pp. 12. 100. 101. 102.

Mellor, J. (2018) 'An Incredible Graffiti Tribute to Stephen Hawking Painted Across a Bridge in Cambridge', The London Economic, Entertainment, London. Available at <https://www.thelondoneconomic.com/entertainment/arts/an-incredible-graffiti-tribute-to-stephen-hawking-painted-across-a-bridge-in-cambridge-85532/> [accessed 22 August 2021].

Mustafa, N. (2021) 'An Interview with Street Artist RUN', Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum, The University of Cambridge Museums and Botanic Gardens. Available at <https://www.museums.cam.ac.uk/blog/2021/02/01/an-interview-with-street-artist-run/> [accessed 07 August 2021].

Nelly Duff and Fitzwilliam Museum. (2021) *The Human Touch*, Documentary about street artist RUN with Nelly Duff & Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, The University of Cambridge. Available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=swgL7JJ5y\\_s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=swgL7JJ5y_s) [accessed 12 August 2021].

Oxford Lexico. (2021) 'Zoopla UK Dictionary', embellishment. Available at <https://www.lexico.com/definition/embellishment> [accessed 26 August 2021].

Parks & Gardens. (2021) 'Parker's Piece', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.parksandgardens.org/places/parkers-piece> [accessed 15 August 2021].

Peel, A. (2018) 'Bourn and Chesterton in Cambridgeshire are among the UK's best places to live' according to The Sunday Times', Cambridge Independent Newspaper, Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridgeindependent.co.uk/news/bourn-and-chesterton-in-cambridgeshire-are-among-the-uk-s-best-places-to-live-according-to-the-sunday-times-9050491/> [accessed 06 Jun 2021].

Pilgrim, T. (2017) 'It has a negative reputation, but what's it like to live around Arbury Court in Cambridge?', Cambridge News, Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/cambridge-news/living-arbury-court-cambridge-reputation-13015127> [accessed 06 August 2021].

Richman-Abdou, K. (2018) 'How flowers blossomed into one of art history's most popular subjects', My Modern Met. Available at <https://mymodernmet.com/flower-art-history/> [accessed 07 June 2021].

Richmond Fellowship. (2021) 'Castle Young People Supported Housing', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.richmondfellowship.org.uk/services/castle-young-people-supported-housing/> [accessed 17 August 2021].

RUN. (2021) Phone Interview, 26 August, 2020, referred with permission.

Ryder, A. (2017) 'Why you should move to Chesterton', Cambridge-News, Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/property/you-should-move-chesterton-13783853> [accessed 10 June 2021].

Segmation. (2021) 'Flowers represented in Art History', The art of pieceful imaging. Available at <https://www.segmation.com/blog/flowers-represented-art-history> [accessed 12 July 2021].

Scialom, M. (2017) 'Three local artist have completed a stunning mural in Chesterton – and they had a lot of fun along the way', Cambridge Independent Newspaper, Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cambridgeindependent.co.uk/business/acclaim-for-artists-as-mural-brightens-up-chesterton-9050941/> accessed 04 June 2021].

South Cambridgeshire District Council. (2021) 'Report Environmental Issues', Graffiti, Cambridgeshire. Available at <https://www.scambs.gov.uk/recycling-and-bins/report-or-request/report-environmental-issues/> [accessed 23 August 2021].

Spencer, A. (2020) 'Cambridge war memorial vandalised', Cambridge, Cambridge Independent Newspaper. Available at <https://www.cambridgeindependent.co.uk/news/cambridge-war-memorial-vandalised-9146398/#:~:text=The%20War%20Memorial%20in%20Cambridge,unacceptable%2C%20and%20massively%20offensive%22>. [accessed 24 August 2021].

The Kettle's Yard. (2018) 'eL Seed in Arbury Court', Cambridge, The University of Cambridge. Available at <https://www.kettlesyard.co.uk/events/el-seed-in-arbury-court/> [accessed 03 May 2021].

The Kettle's Yard. (2017) *Actions. The Image of the World Can be Different*, Cambridge, The University of Cambridge. Available at <http://www.kettlesyard.co.uk/events/actions/> [accessed 04 July 2021].

The Fitzwilliam Museum. (2021) 'Collaboration With Street Artist, RUN', Cambridge, The University of Cambridge. Available at <https://fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/news/collaboration-with-street-artist-run> [accessed 02 May 2021].

The University of Cambridge Museum and Botanic Garden (2021) 'Kettle's Yard', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.museums.cam.ac.uk/museums/kettles-yard> [accessed 23 August 2021].



The University of Cambridge (2021) 'About the University', Cambridge. Available at <https://www.cam.ac.uk/about-the-university/how-the-university-and-colleges-work/the-universitys-mission-and-core-values> [accessed 20 August 2021].

Thompson, V. (2018) 'Thompson' by eL Seed in Cambridge, United Kingdom', The street art news, Cambridge. Available at <https://streetartnews.net/2018/02/el-seed-cambridge-united-kingdom.html> [accessed 02 August 2021].

Turner, B. (2020) 'Cambridgeshire Corona Virus: Harmful Anti Mask Misinformation Posters Sparks Anger in Cambridge', Cambridge Live Newspaper. Available at <https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/cambridge-news/cambridgeshire-coronavirus-harmful-anti-mask-19104849> [accessed 22 August 2021].

Urban Dictionary. (2021) 'Calligraffiti'. Available at <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Calligraffiti> [accessed 07 August 2021].

Webb, M. (2021) 'Young people's week: Castle Services Community Mural', Richmond Fellowship Making Recovery Reality, Cambridge. Available at <https://www.richmondfellowship.org.uk/blog/young-peoples-week-castle-services-community-mural/> [accessed 17 August 2021].

Wilson, C. (2018) 'Mill Road Bridge Cambridge', Mill Road History Society, Mill Road Capturing Cambridge, pp. 5. 15. 95. 98. 100. 105. 107. 108. 139. Available at [https://capturingcambridge.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Bridge-report-1st\\_edition-2018-04.pdf](https://capturingcambridge.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Bridge-report-1st_edition-2018-04.pdf) [accessed 03 Jun 2021].

Young, A. (2014) *Street Art, Public Art, Law, Crime and the Urban Imagination*, London and New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 43. 81. 83. 99. 129.

Young, A. (2016) *Street Art World*, London, Reaktion Books Ltd, pp. 26.

Zieleniec, A. (2016) 'The Right to Write the City: Lefebvre and graffiti', *Urban Environment*, Vol. 10. Institute National de Recherche Scientifique Centre Urbanisation Culture et Société Publisher. pp. 03. 04. 05. Available at <file:///C:/Users/Student/Downloads/eue-1421.pdf> [accessed 20 August 2021].

## ILLUSTRATION



1. Sharon Kaur, *Diversity Mural*, 2006, Stencils, 26.7m x 1.8m, First Mill Road Bridge Panel, Richmond Fellowship's Castle Services, Youth Foyer Organisation, Cambridge. Photo: Monika Roskova, 2021.



2. Sharon Kaur and Gemma Crabtree, *Diversity* murals, 2006, 26.7m x 1.8m, Both Mill Road Bridge Panels, Richmond Fellowship's Castle Services, Youth Foyer Organisation Cambridge. Photographed by Matt Webb.



3. Gemma Crabtree, *Diversity Mural*, 2006, 26.7m x 1.8m, The second panel Mill Road Bridge, Richmond Fellowship's Castle Services, Youth Foyer Organisation, Cambridge. Photo: Monika Roskova, 2021.





4. Sa'adiyah Khan, Samirah Khan, Dag Biggs, *Kindness is Always in Season* Mural, Stencils, 2017, 8.8m x 2.7m, Green End Road, Chesterton, Cambridge, Photographed by Cambridge Network.



5. Kyle Warwick, *Prof Hawking Mural*, 2018, Non-commissioned mural, Mill Road, Cambridge Evening News, Cambridge Archives, Photo: Unknown. CN 11.04.2018.





6. Long Road Bridge, Graffiti, Cambridge. Photo: Monika Roskova. 2021.

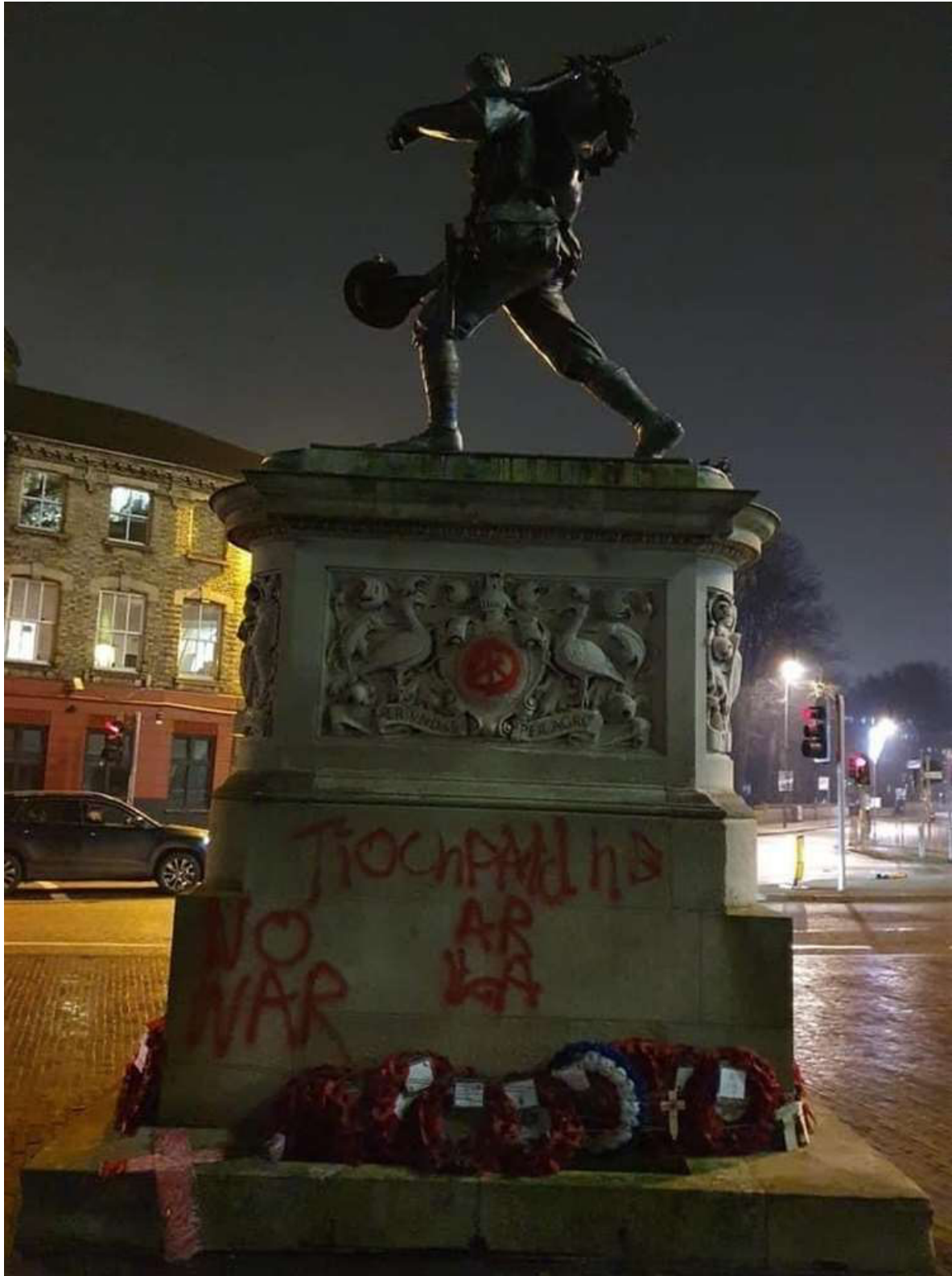


7. Graffiti, 2021, Jesus Green, Cambridge, Cambridge News, Photography by Lottie Limb.





8. *Syd Barrett* graffiti, 2006, St Margaret Street, Cambridge Evening News, Cambridge Archives, CEN 23.08.2006.



9. *War Memorial Sculpture, Graffiti*, 2020, Cambridge, Cambridge Independent Newspaper, Photographed by Richard Butler.



10. *Breath Free Show Yourself* Graffiti poster, 2020, Cambridge, Cambridge Live News, Photographed by Jessica Law.





11. eL Seed, *Calligraffiti*, 2018, 1024 x 768cm, The Kettle's Yard Gallery, Arbury-Cambridge, Photographed by Modestas Moe Noreika.



12. RUN (Giacomo Bufarini), *The Human Touch* Mural, 2021, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Nelly Duff Gallery, London, Cambridge, The University of Cambridge, Photograph: Unknown.





13. RUN (Giacomo Bufarini), *The Human Touch* Mural, 2021, Mill Road, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Nelly Duff Gallery, London, Cambridge, The University of Cambridge. Photo: Monika Roskova, 2021.



14. RUN (Giacomo Bufarini), *The Human Touch* Mural, 2021, Chesterton, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Nelly Duff Gallery, London, Cambridge, The University of Cambridge. Photo: Monika Roskova, 2021.