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[AQ1]

## **‘This is not a Banksy!’: street art as aesthetic protest**

Susan Hansen\*

*Middlesex University, London, UK*

[AQ2]

This paper examines the dialogue and transformation of public space that occurred after Banksy’s *Slave Labour* was removed without notice from a wall in North London, transported to Miami and listed for auction. Despite the high-profile media coverage of the ‘theft’ of Banksy’s piece, the explosion of new works provoked by its extraction was for the most part simply erased as they appeared. We argue that the excision of *Slave Labour* provided a ‘gap in the sensible’ (Rancière 2004) and the conditions of possibility for the emergence of a lively local intertextual visual dialogue, which transformed this otherwise apparently unremarkable London side street into an arena for aesthetic protest and critical social commentary.

[AQ3]

### **Introduction**

Its very destruction causes one to remember. (Schacter 2008, 47)

In London alone, 100 million pounds per year is spent wiping the walls clean using various solvents and painting over unsanctioned images and writing deemed not to ‘add value’ to an area (Greater London Authority 2002). This is a relentless and ongoing everyday practice of surveillance, judgement and erasure, and in consequence the anti-graffiti industry is worth multi-billions (Mubi brighenti 2010). The mundane lawful removal, or ‘buffing’, of work by agents of the local council or by private residents is predicated on the judgement of such work as diminishing the symbolic capital of an area. Islington Council (2014, n.p.) warns that, ‘it can be the catalyst for a downward spiral of neglect in an area, and encourage other more serious criminal activity’. Such aesthetic socio-moral judgements are based on long-held associations between graffiti and criminal activity, as a visible index of social deprivation and urban decay, and as a form of abjection and territory marking akin to public urination, as dirt or filth, or ‘matter out of place’ (Douglas 2002, 36). Street art may also ‘disappear’ over time, via the natural processes of degradation and decay; or may be wilfully destroyed by being written over, or ‘capped’, by others. This is usually a marker of blatant disrespect towards the original work and/or artist. A more exceptional and historically recent form of erasure is through the careful excision of street art for exploitation by capital.

Paradoxically, the removal of street art for profit appears to occur only after efforts to preserve and protect the work have been implemented by local councils and residents. This ‘protection’ is usually accomplished by fixing a Perspex shield over the work, which marks it as being ‘of value’ and worthy of conservation. This is presumably designed to guard against overwriting, accidental erasure or ‘defacement’ by others, and to preserve the work against the processes of degradation and decay. This form of protective practice is thus predicated on a judgement of such work as ‘adding value’ to an area. However, marking work as ‘valuable’ to the community and attempting to protect it from harm may

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\*Email: [s.hansen@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:s.hansen@mdx.ac.uk)

50 have the unintended effect of visibly commodifying the work, which in turn may make it  
 51 vulnerable to removal for auction on the art market, where work by successful street artists  
 52 such as Banksy is highly lucrative, even in the absence of provenance, and can reach in  
 53 excess of a million pounds per piece (Frigerio and Khakimova 2013).

54 Indeed, the Sincura Group, which facilitated the recent removal of Banksy's iconic  
 55 No Ball Games from a wall in the socio-economically deprived area of Tottenham,  
 56 London, drew on this very rhetoric of protection by claiming that the work was being  
 57 salvaged for restoration (BBC 2013). However, their further claim that the work was not  
 58 being appreciated *in situ* by the local community proved more contentious. Conservation  
 59 and appreciation are established practices traditionally associated with the recognition  
 60 of, and duty of care towards, fine art and cultural heritage. Sincura's assertion that the  
 61 excised work was not being appreciated *in situ*, and the implication that proper  
 62 appreciation could only occur in a sanctioned gallery space or museum seems  
 63 extraordinary, given that street art's very existence, as such, has been argued to be  
 64 dependent on its *in situ* nature, and ongoing dynamic relationship with the community it  
 65 exists within (Young 2014). This determinist discourse – of the need to remove and  
 66 preserve street art of value in order to ensure its appreciation – reinforces the division  
 67 of the sensible that would refuse everyday inner city citizens the capacity to hold an  
 68 'aesthetic attitude', or to engage in a form of subjectification by which they could  
 69 actively contest the (under) estimation of their capacities, such as, in this case, being  
 70 incapable of appreciating street art *in situ*.

71 Street art as a self-consciously indexical and situated practice positions itself in  
 72 relation to particular aspects of the urban environment, often with socio-political intent  
 73 evident, in part, through its site of dissemination. In this sense, Dovey, Wollan, and  
 74 Woodcock (2012) argue, street art and graffiti strives to 'erode' the distance between art  
 75 and viewer, and to resist ready 'incorporation' into the formalized field of 'art'. However,  
 76 Burroughs (1988) suggests that it is the very 'disruption' of accepted categories that,  
 77 paradoxically, constitutes 'art' itself. Irvine (2012) further asserts that a defining feature of  
 78 what we come to recognize as 'high art' is the work's deautomatization of established  
 79 categories. Thus, the very resistance of street art to established categories may render it  
 80 vulnerable to appropriation and commodification as 'high art'.

81 We focus here on the transformation of public space provoked by the ephemeral  
 82 dialogue of a series of relatively unknown artists/writers, over a period of 18 months  
 83 (February 2013–September 2014) post the removal of a high-profile piece of work by a  
 84 recognized artist from the same site. While the 'invaluable' work in question – Banksy's  
 85 Slave Labour – received international media coverage when it first appeared in May 2012,  
 86 the new works incited by its removal in February 2013 were for the most part simply  
 87 painted over shortly after they appeared, and were not reproduced in any of the extensive  
 88 media, community or local government commentary.

89 Slave Labour's removal was the catalyst for a series of often self-consciously  
 90 egalitarian works of aesthetic protest. Rancière (2004) asserts that aesthetic protest can  
 91 create 'dissensus', or ruptures in common sense, and a gap in the sensible, which works  
 92 ultimately to show that what we see, according to our usual division of the sensible,  
 93 could be otherwise – thus demonstrating the 'contingency of the entire perceptual and  
 94 conceptual order' (May 2011, n.p.). Rancière extends the reach of aesthetics to encompass  
 95 all those practices that make possible new commonalities of sense, and sense-making  
 96 practices, created by ruptures in common sense itself. This is political, he argues, as  
 97 politics is located in 'disputes about the division of what is perceptible to the senses'  
 98 (Rancière 1998, 176). Thus, as May (2011, n.p.) explains, 'politics is itself aesthetic in that

99 it requires a sharing of sense in common; art is not the exemplary site of sensory pleasure  
100 or the sublime but a critical break with common sense’.

101 Rancière uses the term ‘division of the sensible’ to refer to the ‘system of self-evident  
102 facts of perception based on the set horizons and modalities of what is visible and audible  
103 as well as what can be said, thought, made or done’ (Rancière 2004, 89). He argues that  
104 what is capable of being apprehended by the senses, in turn, provides for possible forms of  
105 participation (or exclusion from participation). The division of the sensible operates to  
106 allocate people to their proper coordinates, social categories and associated activities  
107 (Rancière 2004, 3). Politics consists in the moments when those excluded from this social  
108 order, those who are ordinarily invisible or inaudible, engage in a form of aesthetic  
109 subjectivization that unsettles the ‘aesthetic coordinates of the community’ (Rockhill  
110 2004, xiii) with the potential to transform the established division of the sensible. For  
111 Rancière, the police represent the institutional form of the maintenance of the division of  
112 the sensible, and indeed the policing of graffiti and street art operates to discourage  
113 people’s aesthetic and political engagement with work on the walls. Iveson (2014, 96)  
114 asserts that the policing of uncommissioned and unauthorized work on the walls of a city is  
115 achieved not just by its removal by authorities, but also via the discourses used to  
116 categorize work as ‘vandalism’ or as indecipherable nonsense, which effect ‘the reduction  
117 of graffiti writers to people who write but have nothing to say . . . [and thus have] no place/  
118 part in the city’. Here, the operations of the ‘police’ refer not (just) to the actions of  
119 uniformed authorities, but rather to the broader operations of the symbolic constitution of  
120 the social that encourages people not to stop and look at that which should not be seen.  
121 For Rancière (1998, 29)

122 the police is . . . first an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, ways of  
123 being, and ways of saying, and sees that these bodies are assigned by name to a particular  
124 place and task; it is an order of the visible and the sayable that sees that a particular activity is  
125 visible and another is not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise.

126 This injunction takes institutional form here in the material practices associated with  
127 the division of the sensible: in the local authority’s buffing or erasure of work that is not to  
128 be seen; in the protection of authorized work permitted to remain; and in the relocation of  
129 work that is apparently too valuable to be seen and appreciated ‘*in situ*’ by the people.

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### 132 **Slave Labour**

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134 Slave Labour (Figure 1, below) was produced during the lead up to the 2012 London  
135 Olympics, and at the height of the UK’s nationwide celebration of the Queen’s Diamond  
136 Jubilee, marking 50 years of her reign as monarch. However, and despite the abundance of  
137 Jubilee-related paraphernalia, advertising and street decorations in London at the time of  
138 the work’s materialization, most of the media commentary was not overly concerned with  
139 what the work may have been intended to critique or signify but was rather initially  
140 restricted to a discussion as to whether or not it was ‘a genuine Banksy’. The BBC (2012,  
141 n.p.) interviewed a range of ‘people on the street’ and academic experts and concluded  
142 that, ‘the image has all the hallmarks of a genuine Banksy’. Similarly, the media coverage  
143 of the later ‘theft’ of this work was largely contained to canvassing the community’s  
144 protest at its removal for auction in America and speculation as to the agents responsible  
145 for the work’s removal.

146 When Slave Labour was removed from the wall for private auction, the local  
147 community, represented by MP Lynne Featherstone, was vocal in asserting community

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165 Figure 1. May 2012.

166 ownership of, and rights to, the work. It was described as a gift to the community to whom,  
167 and where, it should be considered to rightfully belong:

169 You have deprived a community of an asset that was given to us for free and greatly enhanced  
170 an area that needed it ... I call on you, and your consciences, to pull the piece from both  
171 potential sales and return it to its rightful place. (Tottenham 2013, n.p.)

172 Protests were held at the site of removal, with residents brandishing signs that read  
173 'Bring back our Banksy'. Here, the protesters assert ownership, but not of the particular  
174 work, *Slave Labour*, but the work as 'a Banksy', or rather '*our Banksy*' – an asset with a  
175 recognizable currency – and demand its restitution. This protest was grounded in the  
176 community's originally recognized claim over the work as belonging in – and to – its  
177 community of origin. However, as Young (2014, 128) points out, while communities'  
178 experiences of, and belief in, 'public space' persists, the reality is that in many cities,  
179 apparently public spaces are legally comprised of a grid of privately owned spaces. This  
180 community protest, which attracted significant media coverage, was initially successful,  
181 and on 23 February 2013 *Slave Labour* was withdrawn from auction in Miami, but the  
182 work eventually resurfaced in London where it was auctioned on 1 June 2013 by the  
183 Sincura group, representing the building's owners, for £750,000.

184 As with much street art, the positioning of the work is a crucial element in its  
185 (intended) signification, now largely lost through its abstraction from context. *Slave*  
186 *Labour* was originally placed on the side of a Poundland discount store building in North  
187 London (Poundland is the largest discount retailer in Europe). At the time, the store was  
188 heavily stocked with Jubilee merchandise, some of which – the plastic Union Jack  
189 'bunting' emerging from the boy's sewing machine – formed part of the original piece,  
190 before the local residents stripped it bare. This 'product placement' draws attention to the  
191 conditions of production of these disposable nationalistic icons. *Slave Labour's in situ*  
192 location, and three-dimensional bunting, implicates the Poundland store and its customers.  
193 The precise placement of the work recalls a high-profile public scandal over Poundland's  
194 involvement in child sweatshop labour after a boy of seven was found to be working  
195 100 hours a week, for just 7p an hour, in an Indian sweatshop that produced goods for the  
196 store (Mail 2010).



197 Children are a vehicle often used by Banksy to deliver a message about the inherent  
198 inhumanity of deprivation, subjugation and violence – for instance, a child embracing a  
199 bomb in *Bomb Hugger* (2003); a child frisking a soldier in *Stop and Search* (2007). These  
200 works juxtapose two images that clearly ‘do not belong’ together, but once joined connote  
201 something both innocent and sinister – thus delivering a political message in a comical or  
202 surprising manner. Although *Slave Labour* also depicts a child, it would appear that it  
203 departs from this established design logic. The significance in this stylistic break perhaps  
204 marks the seriousness of the subject. Unlike the child frisking a soldier in *Stop and Search*,  
205 the child depicted in kneeling servitude in *Slave Labour* is representative of a multitude of  
206 children who exist under such conditions. The life-sized figure of the boy gives human  
207 form to the otherwise invisible 215 million child labourers aged between 5 and 17 years  
208 old worldwide (ILO 2010). The juxtaposition of the figure of a child with the activity of  
209 enforced labour should be as surprising, ridiculous and arresting as the depiction of a child  
210 embracing a bomb, or stop and searching a soldier. That it is not – that the viewer does not,  
211 at first, see the boy as anything other than a veridical representation of a fixed and  
212 determinate socio-political reality – is the shameful source of the work’s power. We are  
213 all implicated in his subjugation.

#### 214 215 **Initial visual responses: protest and loss**

216 The community protest against *Slave Labour*’s removal was also registered on the wall  
217 itself, with an explosion of graffiti, stencils and paste ups marking the site of removal,  
218 which was at that time visible as an unpainted and apparently still damp and freshly  
219 cemented section of the wall. These initial responses provide a visual cacophony of protest  
220 and loss (Figure 2).

221 Much of this work is an index of community grief at the loss of *Slave Labour*. A large  
222 paste up of a weeping nun was positioned directly over the site of extraction; and a red  
223 heart was spray painted on the right-hand corner of the site, dripping red paint onto the  
224 wounded wall. Other pieces mark the level of community outrage at the ‘theft’ of the work  
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245 Figure 2. February 2013.

246 for private auction, and the commodification of Banksy's 'gift' to the community.  
 247 A stencilled paste-up reading 'Caution: Thieves at Work' abuts the left side of the space  
 248 left by the extracted work; and dollar notes have been pasted around the perimeters of the  
 249 site of extraction. There are also pieces that reference Banksy's other work, and that of  
 250 associated artists. To the left of the wall is a small stencilled rat in the style of Banky's  
 251 influential French precursor, Blek le Rat, holding a tiny spray can and a sign repeating the  
 252 demand of the community protesters. Another stencilled rat in similar proportion, but in  
 253 the recognizable style of Banksy, sits at the same level to the right of the site of extraction.  
 254 This rat holds a placard with a single-word protest – 'Why?'

255 This is a democratic multiparty conversation. The contributors include both locally  
 256 recognized street artists and unknown writers drawn to the site. Unlike curated gallery  
 257 space, which offers the public a relatively passive position as viewer (though viewing is  
 258 arguably always an active process), the extramural space of the city wall positions the  
 259 public as interlocutors with the right to speak. As with any 'public' conversation with  
 260 multiple contributors, some of the 'talk' appears 'off topic' and made for the sheer sake of  
 261 being a part of the conversation and making one's mark; some delight in being ostentatious  
 262 or crude and shocking (one writer's contribution was a giant penis spray painted in lurid  
 263 pink); some are hurried and scrawled; others are planned and articulate. However, the vast  
 264 majority of marks on the wall made here appear site and topic specific, and designed to be  
 265 received as evidence of the force of the community's outrage at the removal of Slave  
 266 Labour.

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### **This is not a Banksy**

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Figure 3. April 2013.

295 The panda stands on the recognizable logotype of Banksy's name thus apparently  
 296 identifying Banksy as the author of this work; however, it wears a signboard that declares  
 297 'This is not a Banksy'. The panda's signboard is a reworked stencilled element borrowed  
 298 from another of Banksy's iconic stencils, Laugh Now (2003). The text on the panda's  
 299 signboard, 'This is not a Banksy', operates both to contradict the claim to authorship  
 300 provided by Banksy's tag and also to arrest the potential polysemy, or other possible  
 301 connotations, of the pipe dangling from the panda's mouth. The text provides a reference  
 302 to the inscription, 'Ceci n'est pas une pipe' (trans: This is not a pipe) from Magritte's  
 303 *The Treachery of Images* (1928–1929). Magritte's pipe both is, and is not, a pipe, in that  
 304 it is a representation of a pipe – i.e. not a 'real' pipe. The panda provides the viewer  
 305 with a similar puzzle, in that it appears to represent/be presented as a Banksy, but is  
 306 simultaneously, by its own admission, not a 'real' Banksy.

307 If located within the context of gallery space, the image of the pipe alone may have  
 308 effectively provided a reference to Magritte's work (although it would lose the site  
 309 specificity of the signification). However, as street art located in public space, this  
 310 overdetermination of signifiers (the image of the pipe in addition to the text on the  
 311 signboard) makes this intertextual reference to Magritte's observations on the treachery of  
 312 images, or the persuasiveness of representation (or what we count as 'real', or authentic)  
 313 more available to a community likely not versed in art history, creating a democratic ripple  
 314 in the division of the sensible (Rancière 2004).<sup>2</sup>

315 A process of active interpretation is evident in the additions to the work made by  
 316 members of the public, which demonstrate the capacity of viewers to appropriate and  
 317 translate the work in their own terms. Indeed, on the morning after the panda stencil  
 318 appeared, someone scribbled 'Take me to America' in a speech bubble above the panda's  
 319 head – a plea, or perhaps a challenge, added hurriedly to the stencil by a passer-by. This  
 320 request has particular resonance in the relatively socio-economically deprived context of  
 321 Turnpike Lane, in North London, where few members of the neighbourhood would have  
 322 the means to travel to America, thus marking the apparent injustice of Slave Labour's  
 323 cross-Atlantic journey by contrast to the projected aspirations of the panda who appears  
 324 destined to remain on the wall until its erasure. Later additions to the stencil (see Figure 4)  
 325 include a single question mark linked with a stroke of ink to the panda's head, marking  
 326 uncertainty as to the panda's identity; a tiny starred halo drawn between the panda's ears,  
 327 perhaps mocking its status as a work to be revered; and the block-lettered demand, 'FREE  
 328 ART NOW!' along the length of the panda's right arm, adopting the form of a political  
 329 slogan to refer to both to the wrongfully 'captured' Banksy and the unethical  
 330 commodification of the 'free gift' of street art.

331 This piece introduces a note of uncertainty as to the certainty with which 'a Banksy' can  
 332 be identified and problematizes the objectified, commodified notion of 'a Banksy'.  
 333 It presents the viewer with a puzzle: it is a representation of a Banksy. It is signed by Banksy.  
 334 Yet it claims it is not a Banksy. These claims mark the potential repercussions of attributions  
 335 of authorship to the survival of *workin situ*. If it were a Banksy, it would be immediately  
 336 marked as of value (through the protection provided by a Perspex shield) and would be thus  
 337 vulnerable to removal for profit. If it were not a Banksy, it would, along with other works by  
 338 less-recognized street artists, likely be subject to removal via buffing by the local council.

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### 341 **Selling out**

342 Another stencil, this time emulating the design of Slave Labour, was added to the wall the  
 343 following week (see Figure 4). However, instead of producing cut-price jubilee bunting,



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363 Figure 4. April 2013.  
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366 the figure at the sewing machine now produces American dollars, which spew out from the  
367 machine onto the pavement in a three-dimensional pasted paper overflow. The only major  
368 difference between *Slave Labour* and this new stencil is that the boy's head has been  
369 replaced by an oversized nozzle of a spray can, which identifies the piece as being work by  
370 the local street artist Cap Head. This work appears to provide further commentary on the  
371 complicit nature of commercially successful street artists in 'selling out'.

372 A week later, a large female cat standing upright was stencilled on the wall. The cat has  
373 a bright red sleeveless bodice that echoes the red heart sprayed free hand in relatively the  
374 same position beneath it as part of the works produced in initial response to the removal of  
375 *Slave Labour*. The red heart also recalls the red balloon that escapes the child in Banksy's  
376 *There is Always Hope* (2007). That the cat stencil appears to contain elements of, or  
377 references to, other works by Banksy is perhaps further commentary on Banksy's apparent  
378 complicity in creating an appetite for street art that now renders work vulnerable to theft  
379 for profit. With a curious bent forward stance, the cat looms over the incarcerated Banksy  
380 rat trapped beneath its protective Perspex sheet. The cat holds her index finger to her lips  
381 and catches the viewers' gaze directly with a defiant, exaggerated 'shhhh!' as she appears  
382 to be about to remove either the stencilled rat's protective Perspex shield, thus exposing it  
383 to the brutality of the elements, or perhaps to seize and consume the rat itself.

384 The addition of the cat stencil to the wall creates a triangular composition linking the  
385 three works closest to the site of extraction. With tail raised, the cat appears to be spraying or  
386 defecating on the panda stencil that is now dwarfed in proportion to the cat. The panda's  
387 scribbled speech bubble now forms an abject arc emanating from the cat that serves to link  
388 the two pieces, while the third piece is connected via the cat's left hand plucking at the  
389 corner of the rat's Perspex cover. The cat stencil thus enacts a creative reworking of existing  
390 elements on the wall in an apparent insult to the pre-existing works – both the officially  
391 recognized Banksy rat stencil, and the avowedly fake Banksy panda stencil – further  
392 highlighting and subverting established notions of authorship, status, reverence and worth.

393 Two weeks after the appearance of the cat stencil, all of the pieces then on the wall  
394 (save Banksy's rat) were whitewashed over by the council.  
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### 396 **The boy in a panda suit**

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398 The wall remained blank for three weeks after the council had painted over the prior  
399 works, then a new stencilled piece appeared directly over the original site of extraction  
400 (see Figure 5). It depicts a boy wearing a panda suit. The open face of a panda costume is  
401 flung back to reveal a human face with lowered brows and a pensive expression. The  
402 panda boy sits cross-legged as he levitates above the street meditatively, with one hand on  
403 his knee while the other is raised to rest his chin on the back of his fingers. The trajectory of  
404 his gaze, although apparently unfocused, falls across Banksy's rat which is located to the  
405 lower right of the piece at the base of the wall.

406 The boy's panda suit appears to provide a reference to the panda stencil that previously  
407 occupied the same position on the wall. That this is revealed to be a costume, or disguise,  
408 with a human figure concealed within, adds a further dimension to the ongoing visual  
409 exchange regarding authenticity, identity, authorship and worth, *i.e.* a further  
410 representation of what remains hidden, like the earlier panda that also professed to be  
411 not what it seemed. That it appears to be the face of a despondent boy that is revealed is  
412 perhaps a reference to the forgotten boy depicted in servitude in Banksy's original Slave  
413 Labour.

414 This stencil remained untouched alone on the wall for eight weeks. It was only  
415 removed after several other large stencilled pieces were added to the wall. These new  
416 works were created with crude mass-produced stencils and accompanying slogans *that*  
417 were presumably regarded by the council as objectionable, or as not 'adding value' to the  
418 area, as their appearance saw the entire site (including the boy in a panda suit) swiftly  
419 painted over, restoring the blank wall.

420 Five polystyrene replicas of Slave Labour were placed in a row against the site of  
421 extraction at 5.30 am on 1 June 2013, the morning of the London auction of Slave Labour  
422 (see Figure 6). These new pieces are the work of Essex-based artist Laura Keeble, and are  
423 entitled Supply & Demand (After Banksy's Slave Labour). These three-dimensional  
424 pieces have been produced in the exact proportions of Banksy's original Slave Labour.



441 Figure 5. May 2013.



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461 Figure 6. June 2013.

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463 The slightly irregular square of the cut-out section of wall has been reproduced, as has  
464 the work's plastic Union Jack bunting and the Perspex shield secured over the original to  
465 protect it. However, these pieces were carried away, presumably by opportunistic passers-  
466 by, just hours after they were placed against the wall.

467 This work is both site and temporally specific. It was timed to appear as a concrete  
468 form of dissensus or aesthetic protest against the removal and commodification of street  
469 art, on the very morning of the auction of Slave Labour. The title of the work, Supply &  
470 Demand, is an inversion of the usual form of the idiomatic microeconomic logic of  
471 demand and supply, thus providing another reference to the creation of demand or  
472 acquisitive greed, which is given further resonance by the swiftness with which the works  
473 were claimed and taken from the site.

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476 **Cut here**

477 The stencilled piece currently on the wall has outlasted all of the other prior works, and, at  
478 the time of writing, has been in position for 6 months (see Figure 7). It has survived road  
479 works and a series of adjacently scribbled tags by other writers, and it continues to resist  
480 removal by the council. The iconic scissors and dashed lines offer an invitation to 'cut here'  
481 of the kind more commonly seen on 'cut out and keep' sections of magazines and consumer  
482 packaging. This is a clear reference to the removal for profit of Slave Labour, which was,  
483 quite literally, cut off the wall. This new stencil positions this act of removal within the  
484 sphere of consumption and the profit economy. However, its consumer friendly design  
485 also provides a link to the apparent 'gift' or 'bonus' (to the keeper) of a 'cut out and keep'  
486 coupon – an unexpected supplement **that** operates to expose the 'lack' in the completeness  
487 or satisfaction provided by the original item. The consumer/viewer is positioned as wanting  
488 what they didn't know they lacked until they received the 'gift' of something for nothing.

489 Although this piece references acquisitive consumer culture, it also presents a puzzle –  
490 why would one wish to remove a blank section of wall? Is the artist suggesting that an

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506 Figure 7. June 2014.

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508 arbitrary section of a whitewashed city wall is equivalent in worth to a Banksy removed for  
509 profit? Is a reference to the production of want and acquisitive greed in the viewer-  
510 consumer in the commodification of the 'gift' of street art? Does it allude to the fable of the  
511 Emperor's New Clothes, by presenting an essentially invisible work (the blank wall  
512 framed by the dashed lines) as being of value, as something that one should want to 'cut  
513 out and keep'? Is it a memorial to all of the works – of monetary value or not – that have  
514 been removed from the wall?

515 In common with many of the other pieces that appeared on this site, the cut here stencil  
516 also references prior popular works by Banksy. A series of stencilled pieces of a similar  
517 scale appeared on various city walls in London, and in other European cities, in 2005.  
518 Perhaps the most widely disseminated of Banksy's variants on the cut here stencil was the  
519 giant version stencilled on the West Bank Barrier, which received worldwide media  
520 attention when it appeared in 2005. Many of Banksy's works placed in Palestine a decade  
521 ago were extracted for private auction in 2010, despite Banksy protesting against their  
522 removal.

523 Paradoxically, given its injunction to 'cut here', the work continues to resist removal.  
524 Its simplicity in design and mimicry of the form of a recognizable Banksy appears to  
525 protect it from buffing by the council, although it has not, as yet, been placed under  
526 Perspex in official recognition of its worth or potential authorship. As such, it occupies a  
527 precarious position, protected from whitewashing via aesthetic judgement of its symbolic  
528 capital, but not from the elements or from potential destruction by others. The absence of a  
529 protective Perspex shield protects the cut here piece from efforts to remove the work for  
530 profit, while its minimal design and replication of the form of 'a Banksy' appear to accord  
531 it a measure of temporary protection against erasure.

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### **Darling look, it's a Banksy!**

535 The most recent work added to the wall, in May 2014, is by the street artist Mobstr,  
536 produced in advance of his first solo gallery show in East London. Discussion of the work  
537 on Twitter now describes the location simply as 'the wall where a banksy was'. This very  
538 large piece covers the entire stretch of wall with painted lettering that animates the  
539 public's imagined reactions to the work on the wall, though which of the works it



540 references – the authentic Banksy rat, the Banksy-style cut here stencil, Mobstr’s own  
 541 piece, or indeed the works beneath since erased as vandalism – is undetermined. This  
 542 work does not obscure Banksy’s rat, which remains fixed under Perspex to the wall, nor  
 543 does it interfere with the cut here stencil, which at 6 months old is beginning to fade and  
 544 flake without any level of protection against the elements.

545 The text on the wall arrests the viewer, with an exclamation and an injunction to look.  
 546 ‘Darling look, it’s a Banksy!’ However, this is followed by the dismissive and  
 547 downgrading retort, ‘Don’t be silly my dear, that’s just some vandalism’, to which the first  
 548 speaker concedes, ‘Oh right. Yes, of course’. This work provides a satirically banal  
 549 commentary on mundane evaluations of the status, or worth, of street art. Like the prior  
 550 works on the wall, it offers a critique of the objectification and commodification of street  
 551 art; however, unlike prior works, it effects a sharp division between ‘a Banksy’ worth  
 552 exclaiming over and looking at, and ‘some vandalism’ not worthy of viewers’ attention.  
 553 This is accomplished by adopting the perspective of the imagined consumer-viewers of the  
 554 work, who, as it turns out, are not looking at the work at all, but are simply concerned with  
 555 categorizing it crudely as ‘a Banksy’ or as ‘vandalism’, in order to determine if it is worth  
 556 looking at. Mobstr thus creates a rupture in common sense by making visible the workings  
 557 of the very consensus that holds together the ‘division of the sensible’ (Rancière 2004) that  
 558 informs our practices of looking. Mobstr’s work parodies the symbolic operations of the  
 559 police – the institutional form of the division of the sensible – which serve to encourage  
 560 the people not to stop and look at that which should not be seen:

561 The police say there is nothing to see, nothing happening, nothing to be done, but to keep  
 562 moving ... Politics consists in ... reconfiguring that space, what there is to do there, what  
 563 there is to see or name. It is a dispute about the division of what is perceptible to the senses.  
 564 (Rancière 1998, 176–177)

565 The aesthetic protest represented by Mobstr’s work is thus political, in Rancière’s  
 566 sense, in that it animates a dispute about the self-evident facts of perception, and in so  
 567 doing exposes our complicity with, and the contingency of, our taken-for-granted  
 568 perceptual and conceptual order.

569 In September 2014, an amendment was made to Mobstr’s piece. A small paint roller  
 570 has been used to crudely white out some of the letters in order to change the meaning of the  
 571 dialogue presented on the wall (Figure 8).

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588 Figure 8. September 2014.



589 The modified dialogue now reads, ‘do be ill’ rather than ‘don’t be silly’. This selective  
 590 erasure translates the mocking middle-class admonishment, ‘don’t be silly’ into urban  
 591 slang that contests the dismissiveness of the aesthetic/moral judgement animated by the  
 592 original piece. Wiktionary provides a definition of ‘Ill’ as, ‘(hip-hop slang) Sublime, with  
 593 the connotation of being so in a singularly creative way’ (Wiktionary 2014, n.p.).

594 While the original phrasing of Mobstr’s piece provided satirical commentary on the  
 595 viewer who is persuaded not to look at work once it has been positioned as vandalism, this  
 596 new appropriation of the piece encourages the inner-city viewer to instead ‘be ill’ – and  
 597 to actively engage with/in street art as a sublime and creative aesthetic activity, further  
 598 disrupting the stultifying consensus or division of the sensible exposed by Mobstr’s piece,  
 599 by ‘capping’ or ‘vandalising’ the work by selectively painting over portions of it.

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### Conclusion

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The removal of Banksy’s Slave Labour for private auction was the catalyst for a transformation of public space, in generating a site for ongoing correspondence, and aesthetic protest, in the series of works that have appeared in its wake. Initial responses to the ‘theft’ of Slave Labour gave a forceful visual presence to the grief and outrage of the community, while later works provide a critical commentary on the circulation of street art as a commodity, but also highlight that these locally produced works are not part of this system of circulation, which in turn draws attention to the hierarchy of value imposed on works on the street. Most of the works discussed here were painted over shortly after they appeared; however, they retain traces of already erased and apparently forgotten work, and provide a rich source of critical social commentary. They appear, on the whole, designed to be democratically accessible to, and readable by – and indeed to encourage the participation of – a ‘non-artistic’ community. This is achieved through various means, including the overdetermination of otherwise potentially exclusionary signifiers; via visual and textual references to Banksy, who has come to stand for the commodification of street art; via references to consumer culture; and through the introjection of urban slang.

The division of the sensible (Rancière 2004) takes form here in the material practices associated with the ‘policing’ of that which should and should not be seen: in the council’s whitewashing of objectionable work; in the protection accorded to work of value; and in the excision of work too valuable to be seen and appreciated ‘*in situ*’, for conservation and appreciation. However, the dissensus invoked by this prolific series of unruly works unsettles this division of the sensible, in that they urge the viewer to stop, to look, to interrogate the practices of looking that they are engaged in, and even to leave their own marks on the wall. As Rockwell (2011, 55–56) notes, viewers’ aesthetic engagement with such liminal art works is political as:

works of art are collective phenomena that are politicised precisely through their production, circulation and interpretation in the social field ... a work of art that is not engaged with is not strictly speaking a work of art ... a work only works and functions as art insofar as it has a social existence.

These often self-consciously democratic works of aesthetic protest thus create ruptures in common sense which show that what we see, according to our usual ‘division of the sensible’, could be otherwise.

The practices of removal that street art and graffiti are commonly subject to – whether concerned with ‘restoring value’ to a community, by its destruction and erasure, or with ‘recognising value’ by its preservation, protection and ultimately removal for private profit – yield divergent and differently recognized conditions of possibility for the public

spaces they (re)generate. Removal may be ultimately productive and generative in that it provides a ‘clean slate’ for future work, and may give rise to a proliferation of new images that provoke and foster visual dialogue and correspondence. The ephemerality and material impermanence of street art is thus a necessary if paradoxical condition for it to survive and persist, as such (Young 2014) however much its recent incorporation into the category of high art, and removal for profit, may appear to threaten this foundational ‘*in situ*’ definition. If erasure is necessary for graffiti and street art to thrive, perhaps this historically recent form of removal for profit may also prove productive, rather than stultifying.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

### Notes

1. The original Bad Panda was produced in 2005 by the French designer Julien d’Andon, who designed the panda for French brand KULTE.
2. Banksy himself produced a playful museum located work referencing The Treachery of Images, by framing a ‘real’ working pipe integral to the museum, and adding an inverted variant of Magritte’s inscription, which observes that, ‘This is a pipe’.

### Notes on contributor

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