

Contested Decision Making in Commemorative Planning and Regulation

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Public memorials are elements of our built environment whose designs often engender intense public scrutiny and debate. Moments and topics of contention within memorial decision-making processes can offer important, productive opportunities for democratic public participation on issues of great personal value, and for opening up memories, opinions, and design possibilities. These processes can thus enrich commemorative purposes. The embracing of engagement and conflict may also generate innovative and more widely acceptable design outcomes. But contestations around commemorative works are not always virtuous, open debate. Memorial procurement processes are distorted by differentials of power, knowledge and access. The objectivity, expertise and representativeness of decision-makers often comes into question. This paper analyses the decisions made during the development of public memorial proposals in two Australian capitals, Canberra and Melbourne. It develops a general model of the memorial development process and characterises four distinct procurement approaches used: open competitions, invited competitions, direct commissioning, and 'grassroots' initiatives that bypass formal planning procedures. It identifies a set of key decisions made within these processes, and clarifies the significant parameters that determine the form and scope of stakeholder participation in each decision. It identifies a set of recent, contentious memorial cases in both cities which span the range of procurement approaches. The definition of these parameters suggests when and how decision-making processes for memorial procurement offer opportunities for creative friction among stakeholders, with potential to enhance memory, social identity, cohesion, and the quality of the public realm.

This paper draws upon an ongoing project exploring the complex procurement processes for public memorials in urban areas. It frames a comparison of the decisions that shaped a selected set of recently-completed memorials in two major Australian cities, in terms of the moments and subjects of conflict and contestation between interested parties, the ways differences of opinion are addressed, and if and how those contestations in fact enrich different groups' satisfaction with the commemorative processes, the design outcomes, and collective identity. The term 'procurement' here embraces all the choices and decisions that constitute the conception, design and construction of these public works. 'Public memorials' means publicly-accessible sculptures and landscape designs which symbolise and commemorate past people, events, places and concepts, but not historical artefacts or museums.

Public memorials evoke intense emotions, even before they are built. They are the elements of our built environment whose designs engender the most intense public scrutiny and debate. They are very expensive, physically prominent and long-lasting. Disagreements and debates among parties during their development processes cost significant time and money, and may prevent a memorial from ultimately being built. Such contestation is therefore often seen by memorial sponsors, designers, regulators and scholars as problematic. However, moments and topics of contention within memorial decision-making processes can potentially offer important, productive opportunities for public participation, for opening up memories, opinions, and design possibilities, which can enrich the purposes, processes and outcomes of commemorative artworks. The example of post-war and post-unification Germany shows that these processes themselves can be a key part of a society's reckoning with its identity and its past (Spielmann 1995, Young 2010). Just as importantly, the openness of deliberation about collective memory can in itself be a concrete means of democratic participation. In terms of design outcomes, the embracing of engagement and conflict may also generate innovative and more broadly acceptable built outcomes.

But contestations around commemorative works are not always virtuous, open debate about different memories and meanings. Memorial procurement processes are distorted by differentials of power, knowledge and access. Key decisions about memorial location, theme and design and about the procurement process itself are often determined by particular actors' opinions and tastes, by external agendas, timetables and preconceptions of the responsible management bodies. The representativeness and expertise of all parties to decisions about a memorial often come into question. Discovering the most effective means of public engagement in public commemoration, and identifying which issues and what approaches actually enhance memory, social cohesion, and the public realm, requires careful, critical investigation.

This project involves a comparative study of various types of decision-making processes that have been followed in the commissioning of public memorials, through cases that involved significant contestation. The aim in analysing these cases is to more fully understand the processes that were followed, the impediments and points of contestation, and to identify when, where and how these processes admitted broad-based engagement and encouraged opportunities for productive tension. This investigation is particularly timely as Canberra and many other cities overhaul their policies for memorials, in response to public outcry over the processes and outcomes of several recent major commemorative works (JSCNCET 2011, NCPC 2006, NCC 2006).

The procurement of public memorials: a lack of comparative studies of process

Conflicts and controversies over public memorials and their development processes have been increasing, due to the growing number of memorials, the expanding range of stakeholders involved in their procurement, the increasing diversity of their themes, and innovative designs that challenge both social and formal conventions (Savage 2009, Bogart 2006, Till 2005, Kelly 1996, Young 1992). Democratic civic participation in the procurement of memorials Australia very often leads to difficult negotiations among numerous stakeholders, in complex aggregates of interest groups and within varying decision-making hierarchies. Conflicts over whether to build a memorial and where, and how it should convey information about people and events, reflect the existence of different, often conflicting memories and interpretations of history and place, rather than the singularity often implied by the term 'collective memory' (Darlan-Smith and Hamilton 1994, Edkins 2003, Halbwachs 1992, Huyssen 1994, Nora 1989). Indeed, the 'public' for a public memorial is not pre-given; processes of memorial procurement help constitute their own publics, in part through the controversies they raise. The recent emergence of memorials to events that have long been ignored or suppressed (Doss 2010). Most research into collective memory addresses an academic

audience. Little is known about how these issues can be understood and addressed at the level of practice, by policy makers and memorial sponsors and designers.

Recent research that has looked at decision-making processes in planning and architectural design generally suggests that instead of seeing controversy as problematic, and seeking smoother, less contentious processes, opposing points of view can stimulate new design possibilities. These possibilities can only emerge when opposing views are given sufficient support and are encouraged to challenge each other, without immediate insistence on resolution or consensus and 'moving on' (Pløger 2004, Hillier 2002, Franck and Howard 2010). This is consistent with the political philosophy espoused by Chantal Mouffe (1999, 2009) that promotes 'agonistic' rather than 'antagonistic' channels of expression and debate. Such processes for the design and production of public spaces have significance for the publicness of the civic realm. With respect to memorials in particular, humanities scholars have recently begun to argue that decision making, with all its conflicts, is itself a form of commemoration (Young 2000, Carrier 2006, Jordan 2006, King 2001). Young (2010:82) noted of the first competition for Berlin's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, "the debate itself had produced a profound search for such memory... that it had actually begun to constitute the memorial they so desired". Academics, designers and procurement agencies thus broadly recognise the important role those processes can play in the task of commemoration. However, debate around the commissioning and design of public memorials does not inevitably lead to broad public satisfaction with processes and outcomes. A range of circumstances and mechanisms can variously facilitate, distort or hinder public engagement throughout the procurement process for memorials, by shaping the breadth, equity and transparency of that engagement.

This project builds upon numerous existing, isolated case studies of the decision-making processes followed in the creation of major individual memorials, such as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991, Hagopian 2009, McLeod 1989), the Korean War Veterans Memorial (Schwartz and Bayma 1991, Hagopian 2012), and the National World War II Memorial (Mills 2004), all in Washington; the Oklahoma City National Memorial (Linenthal 2001), the Kent State Memorial (Gregory and Lewis 1988), and various failed attempts to build a Holocaust memorial in New York (Bogart 2006). Most existing comparative research on memorials has focused on memorials to a particular theme - war, the Holocaust, or university shootings - within a single country (Inglis 2008, Hagopian 2009, Till 2005, Young 1992, 1993, 2000, Foote and Grider 2010), or historical overviews of different memorial types within a single city (Savage 2009, Dovey 2001) or country (Jordan 2006, Doss 2010). The methodological focus has always centred on a particular commemorative theme or place. Ashton et al. (2012) investigated the proliferation of non-war-related memorials throughout Australia after 1960; they focus on particular shifts in memorial meanings, physical forms and public commemoration practices by private individuals, but tell us little about how these memorials were procured and designed, or what conflicts this involved.

Comparative studies of the procurement processes for two or more memorials are very rare, and have never focused on the role of design. Carrier (2005) examined the production and reception of the Vel'd'Hiv' in Paris and the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin up until 2000. Jordan (2006) examined the genesis of many different forms of commemoration in Berlin, giving particular attention to the roles of various parties in their inception and adoption, but with little analysis of the design processes and outcomes. Burk (2010) investigated the involvement of grassroots actors in the establishment of three memorials in Vancouver. Existing work on grassroots memorials (Santino 2006, Margry and Sanchez-Carretero 2011) has always examined them in isolation, without systematically exploring what they can teach us about procedural difficulties, social and thematic inclusiveness, and design innovation in the commemorative landscape. Burling (2005) conducted a unique comparative study of memorial planning policies in three US cities, but focuses exclusively on policy documents, saying little about individual designs or the dynamics of the processes that shaped them. Only two in-depth, historical, foreign case studies provide general precedent for studying the municipal-level regulatory processes that frame the procurement of memorials in Australia, one of New York City (Bogart 2006), the other of Munich (Rosenfeld 2000). Despite persistent controversies in memorial procurement, the idiosyncrasies of particular studied cases and contexts have hindered their lessons making their way into public policy and the management of later projects. Given significant recent developments in memorial design and research into it, there is an unmet need for comparative study that rises above individual administrative frameworks.

Building on recent work examining how public procurement processes can optimise a broad conception of 'public value' (Agranoff and McGuire 2001, Stoker 2006), commemorative projects provide an excellent

opportunity to examine public decision-making that centres on “what has meaning for people” (Alford and O’Flynn 2009:176). Empirical study of procurement processes within Australia’s arts and cultural sector is needed to identify how these processes might better embed debate about public value (Scott 2010). A study of decision-making around public memorials can make a distinctive contribution to scholarship and practice in the wider fields of cultural policy, public administration and project management, because this highly emotional, contested subject matter offers a unique perspective on issues of expert knowledge, risk, transparency, and sentiment within procurement practices and decisions. Decision-making processes within memorial procurement, which intimately engage design experts with officials and a broad lay public, are a vital channel for exploring relationships between the aesthetics and meaning of memorial designs, the public’s needs to remember and learn from the past, and various forms of democratic participation.

Modelling memorial procurement processes

To examine and assess how differing points of view are engaged within the procurement process for new public memorials, this paper outlines the structured, iterative sequences of major decisions that are made, and then identifies a series of typical pathways that projects take through this framework, according to the scale, complexity, funding, and political sensitivity of the subject. The working model of the decision making processes for the planning and designing of memorials which is set out in this paper (fig. 1) draws from practice knowledge about procurement approaches used in both the government and corporate sectors, and spanning the fields of architecture, landscape architecture, and public art (Brecknock 1996, Arts SA 2006, van Schaik and London 2010, Doherty and O’Neill 2011, Public Art Agency 2004).

Disciplinary models differ in terms of the types of expertise and stakeholder participation engaged in the process, and consequently the particular mechanisms for making decisions. The existing literature suggests three distinct official procurement approaches are typically used for public design projects such as memorials: open competitions, invited competitions, and direct commissioning of one design team. These three formal approaches for creating memorials can be contrasted against people’s development of informal, ‘grassroots’ memorials through various kinds of direct individual and group action, with limited funds and without forward planning, technical knowledge, advice, or approval (Franck and Paxson 2007, Ware 2004, Margry and Sanchez-Carretero 2011, Santino 2006). These do-it-yourself modes of memorial briefing, design and construction have their own, relatively fluid decision-making processes, which deliberately circumvent most of the formal, regulated steps outlined in Figure 1. Such alternative trajectories provide a useful critical counterpoint to formal processes.

Models of procurement all tend to treat it as an ideally linear, staged process, often requiring formal decisions in the passage from one phase of development to the next. Official plans and policies often guide the numerous decisions that must be made. The process model presented here identifies three main phases: Conception, Design and Completion. Each phase comprises several steps and decisions-making points (see table 1). Different contexts, processes and cases will involve different timing, complexity, and sequence of these decisions. Real-world cases also vary in the amount of overlap and iteration through the decision-making steps; decisions already made may be revisited, and possibly rescinded or revised. Within the three main procurement phases, we identify nine key decisions that shape the design outcome: These provide a structured basis for detailed investigation of how actual procurement processes shape outcomes in individual memorial cases. The following summary and commentary draws from the wide range of existing studies of procurement listed in the References.

Figure 1: A model of memorial procurement processes

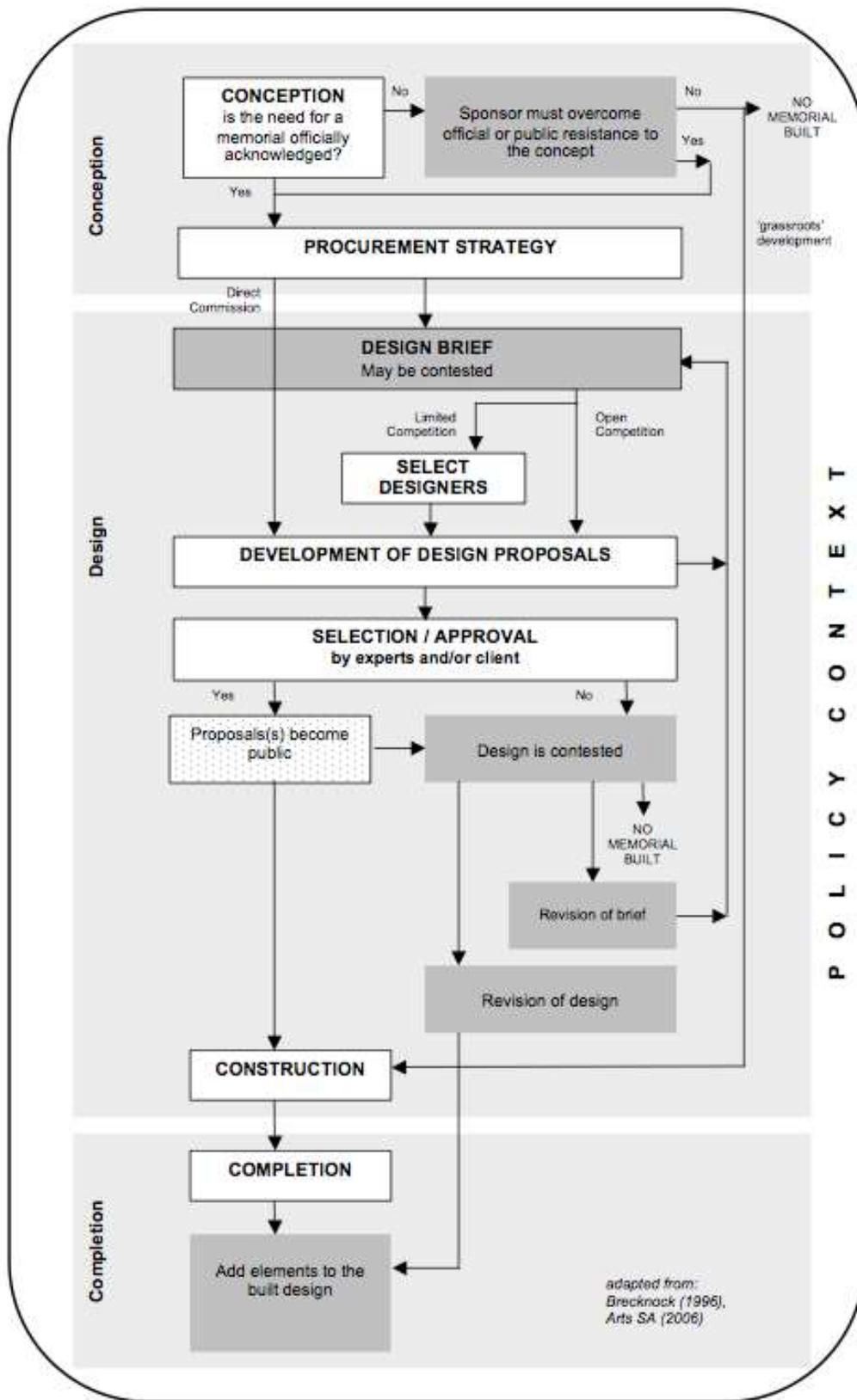


Table 1: Nine key decisions in public memorial procurement

CONCEPTION

1. Whether to build a memorial on this subject and why
2. What to name the memorial
3. Where to site it, and what size site is required
4. How the estimated costs for construction and maintenance will be met

DESIGN

5. What kind of procurement process will be used, and its details, including the project brief
6. How the final design will be selected and developed to construction
7. What kind of management regime will be implemented for the finished memorial
8. Whether any changes are made to the final design before construction

COMPLETION

9. Whether any changes are made to the design or to management practices after construction

To initiate the development of a public memorial to particular persons, events or ideas, and to substantiate its publicness, either an individual, a group or an established organization identifies the need for such a memorial, or such an organization gradually develops around this purpose. These sponsors develop a proposal, build a constituency and political support, and solicit funds. The formal name for a memorial is a critical early decision because it defines a memorial's message and audience. The site and budget for a given public memorial project are in part shaped by the level of governmental support the subject can garner. Some memorials do not proceed beyond concept stage, and so may never become known to the general public.

Planning of the memorial procurement process includes determining project management arrangements, selecting a procurement method (direct commission, open competition, invited competition, or informal, relatively unplanned self-building), determining its detailed logistics (such as who will serve on juries, and who will ultimately select the final design), and writing a brief which outlines the memorial's objectives, subject matter and design. The procurement process may help to define when and how developing design solutions are to be shaped by public feedback or tested for technical or financial feasibility. Professional managers, designers and other experts may be engaged at different points help organise the procurement process.

There are many reasons that memorial settings are modified after their construction, but few prior studies have sought to comparatively evaluate the causes and the decisions that shape these changes. One significant influence on decisions about modifications is the evaluation of a completed memorial by critics, official organisations and the public. Users' interpretations and their formal and informal uses of a public memorial may be quite different to what its sponsors, designers and managers may have anticipated.

Each of the nine key procurement decisions outlined above gives rise to a set of questions about the factors that define the context, format and outcomes of those individual decisions, as outlined in Table 2.

Table 2: Critical factors in procurement decisions for public memorials

These questions requires data to be drawn and triangulated from a range of sources. Governmental and quasi-governmental agencies responsible for overseeing these procurement processes work within broader regulatory and political frameworks and often have formalised project management practices. Documentation connected with individual memorial projects, such as competition briefs, competition entries, planning and design development documents, meeting minutes and correspondence, press reports and records of public consultation processes, are usually archived by the responsible approval

- Participants:* Who participated in making the decision? What were their roles and responsibilities?
- Positions:* What various positions did participants hold toward the issue, and with what rationales?

DECISION-MAKING ACTIONS

Conflicts: Were there any tensions/conflicts at this stage? How were they resolved?

authorities, or may be held by media sources or the projects' designers and sponsors. These historical materials can be complemented by interviews with key decision-makers from a range of key actor groups, including government arts and planning departments, commissioning bodies, competition jurors, special interest groups connected to the individual memorials, and local neighbourhood activists. Documentary and oral accounts can be verified by first-hand inspection of site conditions and site management practices, at least for projects that actually ended up being built. Problems with transparency, accountability and probity are among the issues that constrain and distort decision-making for these kinds of public projects. Identifying precisely which details of these processes remain unavailable to scrutiny by researchers is an important step in clarifying the reasons these problems arise.

Contentious recent public memorials in Australia: a structured sample from two cities

Geographical, social, and historical differences within a nation may give rise to significant variations in the subjects and means of commemorations and the specific contestations that emerge around them, particularly in the case of a large, multicultural nation like Australia. But the focus of this enquiry on differences in procurement and decision-making processes and their protagonists, rather than particular geographical or socio-cultural circumstances that may underlie them, recommends a more narrow focus of comparative case study analysis around three key, interleaved variables affecting decision making and its outcomes: different government contexts; different procurement approaches, and completed memorial schemes as well as unsuccessful ones. The scope of these three variables can be characterised by three of the sets of detailed questions outlined in Table 2, regarding context, decision-making actions, and outcomes. The three main recognised procurement approaches for memorial designs are centrally distinguished from each other by the timing and scope of the key decisions that need to be made. Informal commemorative schemes are in turn distinguished from these three approaches by their avoidance of engagement with bureaucratic channels and with the general public in some or all major elements of their procurement. One key substantive target of research enquiry through case studies is thus the remaining (second) set of questions in Table 2, focusing on the aims, roles and actions of various participants within procurement decision-making.

In terms of governance context, decisions about the procurement of public memorials in the Australian capital, Canberra, uniquely illustrate a distinctive set of issues about identity politics, public participation, and accountability, because of the city's national role, and because it has specialised plans and a management agency to guide memorial development with a national focus. Examining a second set of memorials distributed throughout the centre and suburbs of Victoria's state capital, Melbourne, is an innovation beyond most existing studies of memorial procurement, because it expands the realm of contention beyond the idiosyncrasies of one particular administrative, legal and historical context. It brings a widened perspective on the diversity of commissioning processes employed at the two other main levels of government, state and local, because of Melbourne's fragmented local government structure, and the roles of other state land management agencies, including Parks Victoria and the state's major road management agency, VicRoads. Canberra and Melbourne are both sufficiently large cities to host large numbers of memorials, and each city provides cases of contention within each of the four different procurement approaches.

The selection and development of public memorial designs through each of the three main formal, official approaches - open competitions, invited competitions, and direct commissioning of a single design team - can be usefully contrasted against a similarly broad spectrum of grassroots examples which in various ways skirt around bureaucratic frameworks and requirements. A rounded exploration of public contestation and decision-making problems encountered within these four different procurement types and two different city contexts also suggests the desirability of examining memorial cases that were so contentious they were never constructed, to explore the various stages and reasons that projects were halted.

Table 3 illustrates a selection of contentious memorial projects constructed or proposed in Canberra and Melbourne over the last twenty years which succinctly embraces the three most salient variables that condition procurement. This sampling framework provides a fully-rounded picture of the opportunities and limitations that various memorial procurement approaches provide for creative friction among a wide range of stakeholders, in terms of how their different viewpoints and values can be stimulated, expressed, and resolved.

Table 3: Key cases of recent public memorials

<i>Procurement Process</i>	<i>Project Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Year Dedicated</i>
Open competition	Reconciliation Place	Canberra	2001
	World War I and II Memorials	Canberra	unbuilt
	Police Memorial	Melbourne	2002
	Memorial to the Stolen Generations	Melbourne	unbuilt
Invited competition	The Australian Vietnam Forces National Memorial	Canberra	1992
	Suffrage Artwork 'Fan'	Canberra	unbuilt
	Shrine of Remembrance (redevelopment)	Melbourne	2003
	Memorial for Victims of Road Trauma	Melbourne	unbuilt
Direct commission	Australian National Korean War Memorial	Canberra	2000
	Immigration Bridge	Canberra	unbuilt
	Bali Bombings Memorial	Melbourne	2005
	Westgate Bridge Memorial	Melbourne	2004
Grassroots	SIEV-X (Illegal Immigrants)	Canberra	2007
	Katie Bender Memorial	Canberra	2007
	White Wreaths (Action Against Suicide)	Melbourne	1997
	(Indigenous) Freedom Fighters	Melbourne	unbuilt

The contemporary focus of this set of cases optimises both their comparability and the availability of relevant data. The recentness of the projects means that decisions made about them drew on a similar range of technological options and design vocabularies. There is also likely to be a similar amount of detail in their documentation, both internal to the procurement processes and externally through such means as media reporting. The built works still exist, and the people involved in their design and procurement are mostly still alive and thus available for interview. The cases vary in scale and prominence in terms of their designs, physical settings and themes, reflecting their different sponsor groups, budgets, and connections to place. They range from major national memorials to works in small neighbourhood open spaces dedicated to local events. The sponsoring groups range from governments agencies to local civic organisations, private donors, and individual public subscriptions. While this paper does not allow scope to analyse and compare these sixteen cases in detail, a brief description of four different cases, highlighted in bold in Table 3, illustrates the thematic and temporal scope of the decisions about commemorative form which can raise debate and which can also lead to resolution of different stakeholder viewpoints and needs.

Reconciliation Place in Canberra was an international competition with an open brief. What distinguished the winning scheme from its closest competitors was that its design does not symbolise particularities of Indigenous culture such as language groups and landscape totems. Instead, it establishes a spatial framework – a long promenade scattered with numerous 'slivers' forming a cross-axis to the existing parliamentary vista - within which a range of individual artworks by different designers could incrementally be incorporated. Each element could tell a different story in a different way, and visitors could weave together different paths between them. This was the most successful resolution of many submissions' aspiration to convey the idea that Reconciliation between Australia's Indigenous peoples and later settlers is an ongoing and fragmentary process. This solution neatly moved much of the significant decision-making beyond the master-planned project. The success of the scheme in framing ongoing discussion and resolution is evident from the case where Indigenous groups criticised one particular element entitled 'Separation', designed by National Capital Authority staff, which ostensibly "commemorates the systematic State removal of Indigenous children from their families during the 20th Century." These objectors felt this very abstract artwork in effect extended the State's silence on the subject, and they were subsequently permitted to install a far more explicit, didactic artwork on the same theme directly alongside the original. The Reconciliation Place scheme thus admits adjustment to community views and to different representational preferences.

The Memorial for People Killed and Injured on Victorian Roads is an as-yet-unbuilt proposal being

developed by Road Trauma Support Services Victoria, a community-based counselling service funded by the state's Transport Accident Commission (TAC), and by the Uniting Church. Following consultation with a range of affected groups, a multidisciplinary design team developed a solution that included a public memorial landscape on the road frontage of an inner-city park, a small two-part commemorative 'gift' object that can be given, worn or deposited at a meaningful location, and a web-based 'virtual' memorial where affected individuals can share their experiences and feelings. After the City of Melbourne rejected the proposed site, concerned by another memorial encroaching into its public realm, two new sites were identified at key rest areas along the freeway linking Melbourne and Sydney. Both the sites and the wearable memorial respond to these sites' distinctive grass trees, and their significance to local indigenous populations as spirit plants representing ancestors. This project goes beyond the formal, representational and experiential constraints of a single permanent physical setting, to provide tangible links that allow individuals to develop and incorporate their own personal commemorative experiences. The proposal's three elements are linked, through a columbarium-like depository for the gifts at the central memorial site and through QR codes marked on the gifts. These codes allow people who notice gifts left at roadside sites of death to use their mobile telephone to link to the virtual memorial and to information about other related commemorative sites (Unlandscaped Jury 2011). The meaning and spatiality of this memorial are thus intended to remain both personal and open-ended.

The design of the Bali Bombings Memorial in Melbourne, a low fountain within a minor park, is more conventional than the two previous cases. Its form represents key facts about the tragedy: 202 lights for the total number of victims, 91 water jets for each Australian who died, and the names of all 22 Victorian victims inscribed around the fountain's perimeter. On the anniversary of the bombings, the fountain stops and there are remembrance ceremonies held here. On most other days of the year, this site is a very popular venue for skateboarders, who congregate on two long benches facing the memorial and watch each other perform tricks on its surfaces. The fountain has steel edging that resists grinding and chipping and its top face is lined with skate-stopping raised bolts. These do not prevent skaters from using the site (Chadwick 2011). But the skaters' actions do not come into conflict with the mourners. Indeed, close engagement by the directly-commissioned designers established that the victims' families favoured this kind of everyday use of the memorial by young people.

The SIEV-X memorial was initiated by a popular psychologist, a church minister and an artist to highlight the fates of 353 refugees who died when the fishing boat transporting them sank in Australian waters in 2001. The project initially centred on education of Australian schoolchildren, 200 of whom submitted design ideas for a place commemorating the event. National exhibition of the proposals increased interest in building a physical memorial, and the scheme of a year 11 student was selected. It consisted of 353 white poles spaced out across the landscape of a Canberra park, some of which replicated the outline of the sunken boat. The poles were individually decorated by family members, school students, and community, church and arts groups. The selected park location was adjacent to Canberra's newly-declared precinct for non-war memorials. However, the project fell foul of the National Capital Authority's requirement that permanent commemorations must wait until 10 years after the event, and the poles were thus initially only raised temporarily during a one-day ceremony in 2006. They were installed in 2007 under a six-week permit as an art project, but following the election of a more left-leaning government that year, they were never taken down. The memorial still stands, even as the surrounding park undergoes remodelling. This project stimulated a diversity of public expression, through active public participation in its conception and execution, but also through the sharp debates that were opened up in the media by its subject matter and design. Public debate about the design was in itself a significant contribution to social memory and identity (Ware 2013).

Conclusion and further research

The four cases discussed above show different points of tension and conflict regarding a memorial's meaning, form and use as a memorial project develops, and different engagement and design initiatives to resolve them. Public engagement occurred at different stages in each project's development, focuses on different dimensions of remembrance and form-making, and had different impacts on the outcomes. Each procurement process occurred within a regulatory framework, but engaged in different ways with the power relations and the specific restrictions that this implied. A thorough comparison of the 16 cases should reveal patterns of difference and similarity in the decision-making processes followed in the

procurement of public memorials, and suggest what features of the type of procurement, decision-making process, and governance context are likely to account for these differences and similarities. Additionally, it should clarify which differences are uniquely attributable to the specific subject, design and constituency of each memorial, or to the roles and personalities of particular individuals involved in its procurement. Such a comparative analysis can enable the kinds of broader, generalised conclusions which are missing from the current research literature, regarding the benefits and drawbacks of tensions, conflicts and public debate within various stages of the memorial procurement process. The range of cases within each of the four identified procurement processes will also enable a clarification of the general model of these decision-making sequences: enhancing their detail, possibly changing them, clarifying when and why tensions and debates typically arise, and on that basis suggesting suitable matches between procurement options and case types.

The procurement of public memorials lies within a complex set of governmental and civic processes involving decisions at a crucial nexus of political culture, national identity, historical consciousness, and localised social values. While this research project aims for practical relevance for the design professions and government administrators, to guide for policymaking, brief-writing, competition judging, and management policies for memorials and other public artworks, the project's framework and case study selection also seeks to enhance the participation and standing of those individuals, organisations and agencies that are currently marginalised and struggle to have their histories and memories commemorated. Our exploration of various kinds of 'grassroots' commemorative works provides an innovative frame for critiquing the potentials and pitfalls of the recognised formal procurement processes and their consequences, and illustrating a range of viable alternatives.

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