Practice as Presence – Presence as Practice: Building a Framework for Collective Understanding of Contemporary Graffiti-Making Practices

M.Sławińska

Masters by Research
2017

Practice as Presence – Presence as Practice: Building a Framework for Collective Understanding of Contemporary Graffiti-Making Practices

Marta Sławińska

Thesis submitted for the candidacy of a Masters by Research

Institute of Technology Sligo

Academic Supervisors:
Ann Geaney, Louis McManus, David Roberts

Submitted to the Institute of Technology Sligo
June 2016

I certify that the material which I submit for assessment leading to the award of Masters by Research is entirely my own work and has not been taken from others, save the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of the study.

Acknowledgments

Abstract

Author: Marta Sławińska
Title: Practice as Presence – Presence as Practice: Building a Framework for
Collective Understanding of Contemporary Graffiti-Making Practices

In times when graffiti is recognised as a global phenomenon rooted in urban public spaces it is important that authorities, researchers, audiences and graffitists themselves understand collectively the mechanisms that drive graffiti-making practices and the role such practices play. The term *graffiti* and the newer term *Street Art* are vague and are not used consistently, even amongst researchers from the same disciplines. Similarly, there is a lack of shared understanding of what the function of graffiti-making is and subsequently a confusion of how to deal with it.

This dissertation focuses on building a framework within which the plethora of contemporary graffiti-making practices can be understood collectively. It adopts grounded theory as a research strategy, relates graffiti-making practices to the concept of presence and situates them in the context of urban environments, which are seen as spaces of mediation. Therefore, Heideggerian and Gibsonian understandings of presence and Asef Bayat's theory of non-movements, which place emphasis on action as a response to social and physical contexts, constituted the core theoretical framework. Data collection was carried out through review of textual sources, interviews, observations and collection of visual data in the physical urban environment, online and in printed material. For practical reasons it was limited to three parts of the world, however the effort was made to include socially, economically, and culturally distinct parts of the world and covered Western Countries, Arabic Countries and Latin America. Graffiti was examined in relation to the context in which it was created. Positions of different actors involved in graffiti-making were identified in relation to their environment (user/moderator roles), providing insights into relationships between these actors.

The findings show that graffiti is practised by individuals and groups representing very diverse social and cultural backgrounds, however they tend to be in some way marginalised in the context of their environments. It was determined that there is no shared ideology representing all types of graffiti-making practices, however they respond to the context of environment. As such they are place and time specific, and with progressive globalisation display high levels of hybridisation. It is proposed to consider graffiti not as an end in itself but rather as a tool adopted by a variety of individuals and social groups, who collectively constitute a passive network of graffiti-makers, to establish and mediate their presence in response to contemporary urban environments.

Keywords: graffiti, street art, understanding, presence mediation, non-movement

Contents

1. Introduction

1.1 Structure of the Thesis

The structure of this thesis is organised into five chapters briefly introduced below. Such structure resulted from the specifics of the research strategy adopted to conduct this study – the grounded theory. This strategy, which will be explained in detail in the *Methodology* chapter, starts with a broadly defined question and specific objectives are formed as the research progresses emerging from continuous collection and analysis of data. In contrast to most of other research approaches, grounded theory does not start with an extensive literature review, and hence, this thesis does not include a literature review chapter per se. However, Chapter Three *Understanding Graffiti* and several sections of Chapter Four *Graffiti-Making Revisited: Users, Tools, Environments*, draw heavily from literature.

The thesis starts with an *Introduction* (Chapter One), which provides a rationale for undertaking this research project and introduces the problems that I set out to investigate. This is accompanied by a general research question that provided a starting point for investigation, alongside with aims of the study which set the direction of the research. Even though specific objectives emerged later in the process, they are all gathered in this chapter to provide the reader with the scope of issues investigated in the thesis. Research strategy and theoretical framework are briefly introduced along with the main outcomes of the study. This chapter, in addition, provides clarification of terminology, and states the originality and contribution of this project to the current knowledge.

Since the methodological approach influences the structure of the thesis, it is explained early in the thesis – in Chapter Two. It provides a brief overview of the methodology of grounded theory and explains why it has been selected for this study. It describes how the data was gathered, contextualised, systemised and analysed.

Chapter Three moves on to present the outcomes of the research. This section draws primarily from data derived from previous research, however, in contrast to a traditional literature review, texts are considered as sources of data focusing on three areas: 1) history, 2) definitions and 3) common understandings of graffiti-making practices. The aim of the first part is to challenge the tendency of taking the New York graffiti of the 1970s as the point of departure for analysis of contemporary graffiti and demonstrate the prominence of graffiti-making practices throughout the history of humanity. The other two parts are concerned with contemporary definitions and common understandings of graffiti-making and explore the issues related to them.

Chapter Four, the largest in this thesis, consists of five sections, which draw both from empirical data and from pre-existing theories in order to shed a new light on the nature of contemporary graffiti-making practices. First, in Section *4.1 Practice as Presence-Presence as Practice*, the concept of presence is introduced. This concept becomes central, within this thesis, to creating a new understanding of graffiti-making practices as processes of mediating presence. The importance of public spaces as places where presence is mediated and social interactions and networks come into being is also examined. This section calls for considering graffiti not as an end in itself but rather as a tool, and discusses graffiti-making practices as a means of establishing and mediating physical and social presence within urban environments.

Building on the theory introduced in Section 4.1, the following two sections draw from empirical data to discuss a variety of examples relating to four main areas identified in the research process as crucial to explore in order to further expand the knowledge relating to the collective function of graffiti-making practices. These are the types of social actors that engage with graffiti-making, considered as users and moderators and the thematic typology of graffiti, which are discussed in sections *4.2 Graffitists and Their Messages.* Once it is established who the main actors involved in graffiti-making are and what types of messages they tend to communicate through the medium of graffiti, the actions of graffiti-makers are examined with focus on the context-specificity of their practices in Section 4.3, looking at how the socio-cultural

and physical characteristics of various environments influence both the messages and aesthetics of graffiti.

Once the graffiti-making practices are systemised in terms of the users, content and their relationship with the context, the discussion turns to the theory once again and Section *4.4 Socio-Cultural Dimension of Graffiti-Making Practices* provides a critical review of concepts of subcultures, neo-tribes and non-movements, and their suitability for explaining the collective function and dynamics of graffiti-making. Finally, the last section of Chapter Four, *4.5 Networks and Interactions,* elaborates on relationships that form between the various actors involved in graffiti-making. Elements of the non-movement theory are used there to analyse such relationships and offer an insight into how the diverse and often atomised graffiti-making practices can be viewed collectively.

Chapter Six offers conclusions and reflections. It summarises the findings, reflects on the research process and provides further research recommendations.

1.2 Clarification of Terms

Graffiti: This study is inclusive of all intentional visual marks located in public spaces being neither an advertisement nor a traditional form of commissioned public art. The term graffiti is used to convey all instances of graffiti including, but not limited to tagging, New York style graffiti, stencils, wheat-paste, stickers, murals, installations, subvertising, yarn bombing, etc.

Graffiti-making practice: This term does not relate to professional artistic practice but to acts of graffiti-making in general, be it one off, casual or professional practices of those who engage in graffiti making.

Social actors: That simply means members of society. This term is used specifically because it puts emphasis on the fact that within social context people are never passive but always forced to play some roles.

1.3 Research Rationale

One of the greatest challenges faced by researchers of graffiti is the task of defining what it is exactly that we are dealing with. The 'golden age' of graffiti in 1970s New York heavily influenced how graffiti-making practices are understood today. With increased mobility and the emergence of the electronic media, the New York graffiti hype spread all over the world and consequently attracted the attention of popular media, high art circles and, perhaps most importantly, the attention of commerce. It has been marketed as the young and cool of urban life. While within the western culture it has been commercialised and packaged as one of the many identities ready to pick up from the shelf, with clothing, branded spray paint and a whole etiquette of behaviour portrayed in movies, magazines and on the web, for many individuals graffiti-making still remains a ritualistic and anti-establishment practice (Schacter 2014).

In such context, graffiti, which in its more artistic forms started to be called *street art*, has been contextualised, qualified and defined in many different ways. Most commonly it is described as a subculture (Lachmann 1988; Alonso 1998; MacDonald 2001; D'Amico and Block 2007; Wacławek 2008; Reinecke 2007 and 2012), counterculture and an act of resistance (Ferrel 1995; Zimberg 2012; Khosravi 2013), vandalism (Little and Sheble 1987), territiorial markers (Cybriwski and Lay 1974; Alonso 1998; Saleh 2009), or an art movement (Powers 1996; Bowen 1999; Wacławek 2008; Austin 2010; Feral 2012).

These categories reflect standpoints originating from concerns and structures of the researchers' respective disciplines. Many provide valuable insights into specific aspects of graffiti, nevertheless there is a tendency to attribute certain traits specific to some of its instances as characteristic to graffiti-making practices in general. For instance D'Amico and Block (2007) use phrases such as 'form of rebellion' (p. 29) or 'subculture of artistic expression' (p. 31) within one paper as synonyms of graffiti in general, but not all graffiti is a form of rebellion and not all of it is artistic.

4

Moreover, distinctions between graffiti and street art are ambiguous and these terms are used interchangeably across various academic publications, policy documents and the mainstream press. There is a lack of thorough collective understanding of the graffiti-making practices. The uncertainty of what this phenomenon is and what role it plays within the urban environment remains unclear and confusing. Consequently, the function of graffiti-making needs to be examined in more detail to advance understanding of the role such practices play in contemporary urban environments.

1.4 Research Question, Aims and Objectives

This research project began in 2010, initially as an investigation into the progressive assimilation of graffiti into mainstream culture and the impact that such practices have on graffiti-making itself. At the time I perceived graffiti as a subculture – a relatively cohesive social formation existing in a sphere opposite the mainstream forces. Hence the commodification and commercialisation of graffiti appeared contradictory to previously held perceptions of graffiti and it seemed as though another independent, vibrant urban cultural movement was being appropriated and assimilated into the world of mainstream culture and commerce.

The initial phase of the research involved meeting graffitists and discussing their practices and their relationship with public spaces, art institutions and commercial enterprises. It became clear at an early stage that the appropriation and commodification of graffiti and its assimilation into mainstream culture were not issues that could be easily explained and judged. Even the seemingly simple question of 'what graffiti is' proved to be quite a challenging one to answer, not only for an outsider, but also for the graffitists interviewed as a part of this study, who offered inconsistent definitions. Qualifying graffiti as a unified cultural, subcultural or countercultural movement appeared to be highly problematic. Unlike past artistic, cultural or social movements, graffiti developed without any manifesto or underlying ideology and since its inception it has taken many forms resulting from a variety of motivating factors.

Interestingly, despite the difficulty in providing comprehensive definitions of graffiti and street art, these terms are rooted in contemporary language. Commonly used to refer to a wide spectrum of visual interventions in public spaces, they encompass both illegal and commissioned interventions, simple scribbles and artistic masterpieces, purely decorative pieces and explicitly political examples. Therefore there seems to exist some cohesiveness shared by the different types of graffiti that allows us to see them as related and call them by the same name. This aspect has not yet been researched to the point that it would be possible to cleary describe the role that graffiti-making practices play. Motivated by such lack of clarity this study aims to build a framework allowing for more comprehensive collective understanding of graffiti-making practices. It is therefore central to this research to answer the questions:

1. What is the role of contemporary graffiti-making practices?
2. What are the mechanisms that drive such practices?

These questions have previously been addressed by many researchers (Armstrong 2005; Hughes 2009; Nevaer 2009; Gunnell 2010; Gleaton 2012; Bernardoni 2013; Waldner and Dobratz 2013; Steward and Kortright 2015). However, these studies focused on specific types of graffiti in specific contexts (i.e. specific locations or socio-political conditions, for example during political conflict). The publication *Understanding Graffiti: Multidisciplinary Studies from Prehistory to the Present* edited by Troy Lovata and Elizabeth Olton (2015) makes an attempt at bridging this gap by collating the studies form various disciplines in one volume. Similarly to this study, it asks questions about the function of graffiti-making and relates it to context. However, it does so by considering specific examples in separate sections without linking the many interesting correlations and patterns apparent in specific case studies together to discuss in detail the overall, collective role that the different types of graffiti-making play in various contexts. Aspiring to fill this gap, this research project was guided by the aims to:

1. Advance the understanding of the overall function and dynamics of graffiti-making practices by comparing its various types;

2. Propose a framework within which graffiti-making practices can be understood collectively;

The grounded theory approach, to be discussed in the next chapter, was adopted to conduct the study, and as a result not all objectives were clearly defined from the outset but instead emerged as the research unfolded. Below a list of these objectives is presented in the order in which they occurred in the research process:

1. To critically examine the use of terms *graffiti* and *street art*, and the sociological concepts related to them;

2. To determine the types of messages that are communicated through graffiti and to identify the different actors who engage with and influence graffiti-making practices;

3. To situate graffiti-making practices within the environments in which they are performed and to examine the relationship of specific types of graffiti to the context in which they were created;

4. To identify the positions of different actors involved in graffiti-making in relation to their environment and to each other (user/moderator roles - informed by the concept of presence mediation), and to identify types of networks and interactions that occur between various graffitists (informed by the concept of non-movement),

5. To assess the relationship between graffiti-making practices and mediating presence.

1.5 Research Strategy and Theoretical Framework

As the research focus was quite broad and open-ended, grounded theory was adopted as a research strategy. Grounded theory is an inductive methodology that starts with broadly defined research question and requires collection and analysis of data simultaneously to, or even before the literature review is carried out. The

objectives of the research then emerge from the data. It should be noted that in this project the literature is itself treated as data. Previous studies on graffiti provided perspectives on specific case studies from various parts of the world. Literature on socio-cultural movements, theories related to human-environment relationships and concepts of presence was, in turn, surveyed with an aim of building a theoretical framework within which graffiti-making can be better understood. Grounded theory proved to be an excellent strategy to explore the plethora of graffiti-making practices collectively. It provided a structure for narrowing the focus, clarifying objectives and conceptualising ideas as the research process progressed.

As Baudrillard's (2003 (1973)) asserted, signs must be understood in relation to other signs as they may have different meanings in different environments, situations, cultural, economic or political conditions. It was a key objective of this study, to analyse graffiti-making in relation to contexts within which it takes place. To understand the connections between different types of graffiti and between its independent creators, it was necessary to look at their practices from a broader perspective, not only consider the "here and now", but also take into account the variability due to geographic location and historical context. Various types of graffiti-making practices in diverse cultural, social and political environments of were compared to examine how they have developed under various conditions and over time. Questions of who the different actors involved in graffiti-making are, how they interact with one another and what types of networks they form, were asked. The ideas and concepts emerging from the empirical data were continuously compared with pre-existing cultural and sociological concepts resulting in adopting elements of the theory of non-movements as a core framework for understanding the dynamics of graffiti-making practices.

The inherent relationship of graffiti with public spaces meant that the theories related to space, and public spaces in particular, were central to this research from the very beginning. As the research progressed, the understanding of public spaces expanded and they started to be viewed as moderated environments within which presence of different social actors is mediated. Comparing these ideas with the findings emerging

8

from data eventually led to the construction of an advanced understanding of the dynamics and function of graffiti-making.

1.6 Outcomes of the Study

Graffiti is very temporal in its form, however the tradition of using it as a form of marking one's presence in public spaces has a clear permanency, making this phenomenon somehow inherent to the cityscape as a space where the 'public' happens. Dating back to ancient times (Baird and Taylor 2010; Keegan 2014), this form went through many transformations and was used in a variety of contexts, culminating in its eclectic contemporary character, being in fact a reflection of the contemporary globalised eclectic culture. When researching graffiti as an action I suggest to consider it not as an end in itself but rather as a means to an end, a mechanism of establishing and mediating presence in urban environment and one that signals an underlying issue – the motive of the action. Instead of seeing it as a unified subculture or movement it is more fitting to relate it to the concept of non-movements, unorganised actions resulting from place and time-specific conditions. The products of such acts can be considered as cultural and social indicators reflecting the moods of diverse groups of society and their everyday concerns. However, still all too often graffiti is treated simply as artefact, and a problem to be tackled through prohibition, removal, or controlled permission, rather than learning about and addressing the underlying causes of graffiti-making.

1.7 Originality and Value

This research builds on previous studies of graffiti by bringing together observations relating to various specific types of graffiti with an aim to uncover correlations and patterns characteristic to graffiti-making in general. It proposes the consideration of graffiti practices from a new angle: examining them as processes of establishing and mediating presence. To the best of my knowledge such an approach has not previously been adopted. It led to new observations that linked various types of graffiti-making practices together to gain further understanding of their role in the urban environment and their meaning within the context of contemporary society.

2. Methodology

> An important aspect of the theoretical problem is to situate continuities and discontinuities with respect to one other. How could any absolute discontinuities exist without an underlying continuity, without support, without inherent process? Conversely, how can we have continuities without crises, without appearance of new elements or relationships? (Lefebvre 2003 (1970), p.2)

Lefebvre (2003 (1970)) recognised the difficulties with defining social and spatial phenomena that manifest through a common form, referring to its every instance by the same name and comparing them to each other even if they have little in common. Such is the case of graffiti – its different types seem to be like the proverbial 'apples and oranges' – the various instances and contradictory developments lead to confusion of what it really is and how it works and yet they all seem to originate from some inherent, or underlying, process.

The aim of this research was to explore how, if at all, contemporary graffiti-making practices can be understood collectively. With such a broad focus, it was important to choose a research strategy that is systematic but at the same time provides the tools that allow for a more exploratory approach, and therefore grounded theory was applied. The following sections explain in more detail the character of the grounded theory research approach and why it was used in this study (section 2.1). Then the process of data collection and the rationale for choosing specific methods used in this study is described (section 2.2), followed by explanation of how the gathered data was contextualised (section 2.3) and analysed (section 2.4).

2.1 Choice of Appropriate Methodological Approach

The research strategy adopted at the start of this project dictated the use of ethnographic research methods for the purposes of data collection and analysis. At

that stage graffiti was being considered as a subculture, and therefore the plan was to approach it as a culture. Graffitists were to be studied in their 'natural' environment – urban public spaces, and data was to be gathered through interviews and field observations with the aim of uncovering the effects that assimilation of graffiti into the mainstream culture had on the graffiti subculture itself.

In the first stage of the empirical research it became clear that the perception that graffitists constitute a subculture may be an oversimplification. There emerged a need to define what exactly we mean when we talk about graffiti and to clarify its function within the urban environment. This led to a modification of the research aim. The focus shifted to building a framework within which the plethora of contemporary graffiti practices can be understood collectively. The research scope became much broader, and the focus less defined, particularly because the intention was to account for all types of graffiti-making and to do so with a global perspective. For that reason the research strategy needed to be adjusted to account for the lack of clearly defined focus and objectives. Grounded theory approach was identified as the most appropriate strategy to apply, as it begins with a broadly defined question and it provides a structure within which the focus is gradually narrowed.

This approach was first developed in the 1960s by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and 'provides systematic procedures for shaping and handling rich qualitative and quantitative materials' (Charmaz 1996, p.28). Diagram 1, adopted from Charmaz (2006, p.11), shows the process of grounded theory research. This process is not linear and the researcher moves back and forward between different elements while narrowing down the focus and developing concepts. Charmaz defines the most important elements of grounded theory as:

> (1) simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis phases of research; (2) creation of analytic codes and categories developed from data, not from preconceived hypotheses; (3) the development of middle-range theories to explain behaviour and processes; (4) memo-making, that is, writing analytic notes to explicate and fill out categories, the crucial intermediate step between coding data and writing first drafts of papers; (5) theoretical sampling, that is, sampling for theory construction, not for

11

representativeness of a given population, to check and refine the emerging conceptual categories; and (6) delay of the literature review[1] (Charmaz 1996, p.28).
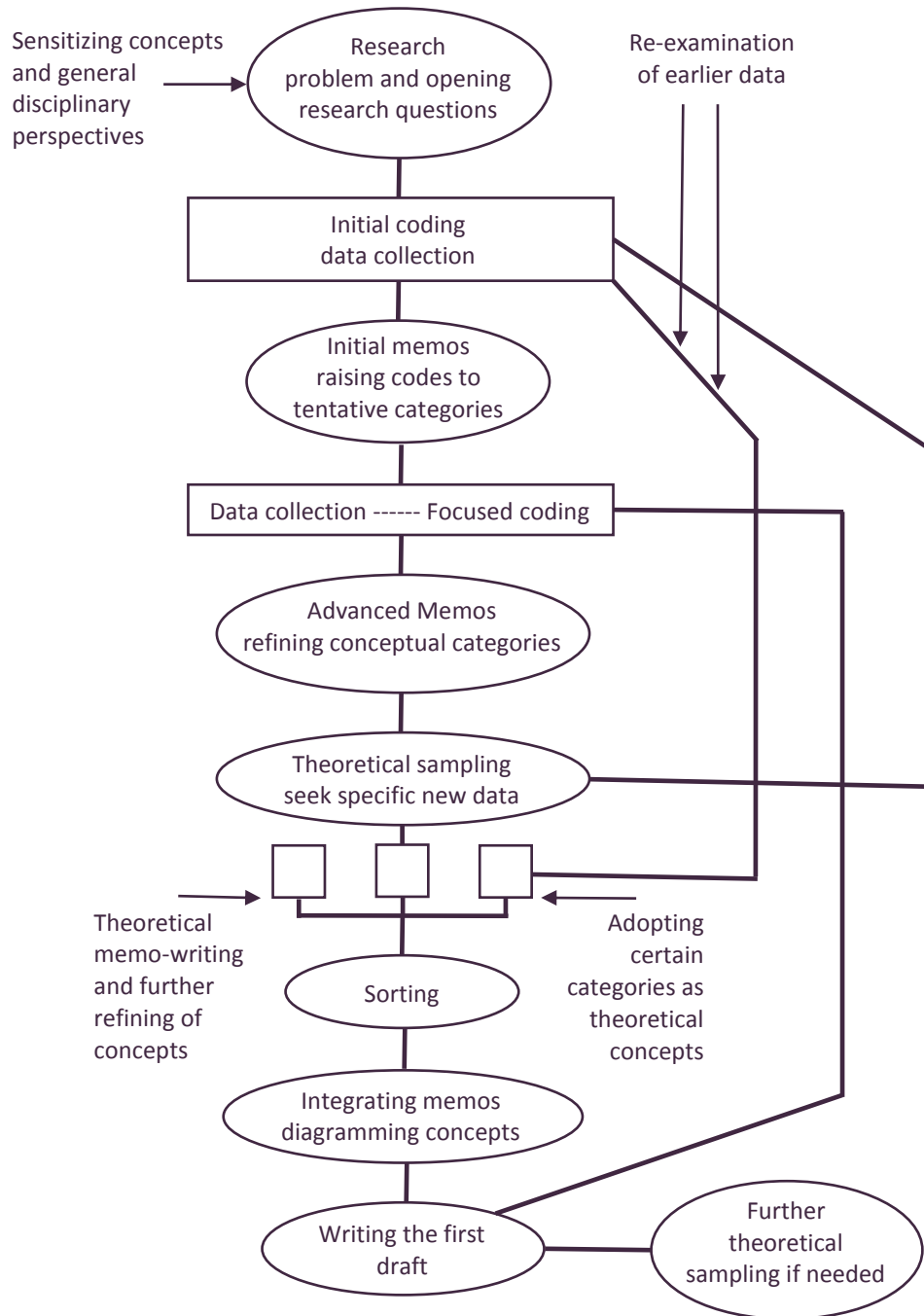
Figure 1. The grounded theory process (Charmaz 2006, p.11).

---

[1] In this project literature review was incorporated into the project from the early stage as publications on the topic were treated as data sources.

The following sections explain the elements of grounded theory research in more detail, demonstrate how it was implemented during the research process, and provide details of data collection, contextualisation and analysis.

2.2 Data Collection

Grounded theory uses empirical research methods and includes data sources such as interviews, focus groups, field observations but also secondary sources such as documents, images, video recordings, journal articles, newspaper articles, lectures and seminars and even informal, everyday conversations or TV and radio programmes. In fact Glaser and Strauss (1967) asserted that 'all is data' as everything that a researcher comes across can influence the direction of the research, and subsequent findings and conclusions.

This research project was mainly qualitative in nature, however it also included one quantitative element. Adopting the grounded theory approach meant that the process of gathering data was simultaneous to data analysis, and therefore the type of data that needed to be collected was not determined from the start but was identified as the research progressed. Charmaz (1996, p.34) explained that 'the data becomes increasingly more focused [as the research progresses] because the researcher engages in data analysis while collecting data'. Once a piece of data was collected it was analysed and coded, and every such cycle determined what new information is needed in order to evaluate and clarify emerging findings (Diagram 1).

The types of collected data included textual data (notes, transcripts, secondary published materials) and visual data (photographs of graffiti), these were eventually turned into codes, categories and memos, which were themselves treated as data. Table 1 shows the methods of collection and sources of data, as well as the questions that led to collecting this data.

Method of Data Collection	Sources of Data	Guiding Questions
Review of Texts on Graffiti	- journal articles - books - magazine and newspaper articles - websites and blogs	- What is graffiti? (contemporary definitions/ terms used to describe graffiti) - What is graffiti? (historical perspective) - What is the ideology behind graffiti-making? - Who makes graffiti? - Why do people make graffiti? - What is the relationship of graffitists with their environment? - What relationships develop between social actors involved in graffiti-making? - Does local context influence types/ topics of graffiti?
Interviews and Conversations	- face to face - through email - secondary (printed and online)	- What is graffiti? (definitions) - What is the ideology behind graffiti-making? - Who makes graffiti? - Why do people make graffiti? - What is the relationship of graffitists with their environment? - What relationships develop between social actors involved in graffiti-making?
Observations	- in situ – in urban spaces - during festivals involving graffiti-making - in galleries/museums - video materials - online activities (websites, blogs, Facebook)	- Who makes graffiti? - What terms are used to describe graffiti? - What is the ideology behind graffiti-making? - What relationships exist between social actors involved in graffiti-making? - Does local context influence types/ topics of graffiti?
Visual Data (Photographs of Graffiti)	- taken by the researcher - accessed online - seen in publications	- What messages are communicated through graffiti? (topics/ideology) - What is the relationship between context of place/time and types / topics of graffiti?
Review of Cultural/Sociological Theories	- journal articles - academic books - lectures, seminars and conferences	- What is graffiti? - How can graffiti be seen collectively despite lack of common ideology and vast diversity of makers and their intentions?

Table 1. Methods of collection, sources and guiding questions used in data collection.

Not all the questions guiding data collection were determined from the start of the research. Data collection started with a broad question – *what is graffiti?* From that the first batch of data related to definitions of graffiti was collected. After analysis of that data other guiding questions emerged, more data was collected and the cycle repeated multiple times producing more and more focused questions and therefore focusing the collection of data. As Table 1 shows the same guiding questions were at times explored by collecting different types of data from different sources. For example, the ideology behind graffiti-making practices was explored through a review of texts on graffiti, interviews and conversations with graffiti-makers and organisers of graffiti festivals and exhibitions, and through observations made while monitoring online content and watching video materials.

The aspiration of this research was to build a framework within which contemporary graffiti-making practices can be understood collectively. In an era of globalisation, that meant adopting a global perspective. However, within the scope of this project it was not feasible to gather and analyse data from all over the world within acceptable timeframe. Since the analysis was informed by the context in which graffitists performed their practices, it made sense to focus on a few specific regions of the world to reduce the workload related to analysis grounded in the context of place. A selection of specific areas has been made in an effort to choose historically, politically and culturally distinct parts of the world that would allow for the observation of whether graffiti-making practices differ depending on context. The selection included Western countries, Arabic countries and Latin America.

2.2.1 Literature as Data

When using grounded theory approach the literature review is often delayed until the later stages of the research, so that the pre-existing theories do not limit the researcher's scope of thinking. This project, however, aimed at investigating the validity of preconceived perceptions of graffiti and hence the literature on the topic

was treated as data. The literature review, therefore, started and continued alongside the data collection and analysis and it was itself a source of data[2].

In the first stage of the project the focus was on surveying publications on the topic of graffiti (including street art) as well as on issues related to the relationship between humans and space, particularly public spaces – the environment within which graffiti-making practices take place. As the research developed, literature started to be surveyed with more specific questions in mind. It gradually included publications exploring definitions and cultural/sociological qualifications of graffiti, processes of assimilation, history of graffiti before 1970s, graffiti practices outside the western world, sociological concepts of subculture, counter-culture, neo-tribes and non-movements, and the concept of presence[3].

The literature on some of these topics was surveyed simultaneously, for example new publications on the topic of graffiti-making were reviewed throughout the whole process. Some topics were re-visited several times as new questions related to them emerged from ongoing analysis of the data (including the data coming from the literature itself). For example the topic of space was re-visited after the concept of presence emerged as important, and subsequently more information was needed on the role of space in the processes of mediating presence. Glaser and Strauss' (1967) suggestion that *all is data*, proved true when the non-movement theory was brought into the project discovered incidentally while reading material unrelated to this project.

---

[2] A brief literature review was conducted before the research started for the purpose of developing the research proposal, this included mainly literature on issues of assimilation of graffiti into mainstream culture. It can be argued that already at that stage the process of collecting and analysing data also started, as I followed several graffiti blogs and social media pages inevitably interpreting the information that they contained. Even though that was happening in a rather unsystematic manner, it certainly contributed to my own perception of graffiti at that point.

[3] Complexity theory was also considered as potentially useful in investigating relationships and networks existing between actors involved in graffiti-making practices, however was not included within the scope of this study.

2.2.2 Interviews and Conversations

The early stage of the project involved interviews with graffiti-makers and organisers of graffiti festivals and exhibitions. Potential interviewees were first researched online and in publications related to graffiti and contacted via email or through their social media accounts. An effort has been made to include representatives of diverse environments, i.e. graffitists using various forms of graffiti, graffitists active mainly in public spaces, graffitists working for commercial projects, as well as the mediators of graffiti practices – those working in galleries, festivals, or in commercial environment.

The first round of interviews took place in February 2011 during a fieldtrip to Berlin, Germany and included six graffitists: Czarnobyl, Morten Andersen, two members of Mentalgassi, a graffitist who preferred to remain anonymous and Brenna Urban, who is also an author of urbanartcore.eu - a blog about graffiti-making practices; and Marco Schwalbe - an owner of an urban art gallery/organiser of Stroke Urban Art Fair, who frequently invites graffitists to take part in his exhibitions and events. At that point the aim was to get a better understanding of what graffiti-making means to these various individuals, their understanding/use of the terms *graffiti* and *street art* as well as graffitists' experience of creating graffiti illegally in public spaces and with permission for festivals, exhibitions and commercial projects. The interviews were conducted as open conversations guided by a set of lead questions (Appendix C). This allowed the interviewees to freely express themselves and bring up any issues that they felt were important. Alongside the interviews, the fieldtrip included studio visits with two interviewed artists (Morten Andersen, Czarnobyl).

The second round of interviews took place in May 2011 in Munich, Germany during the Stroke Urban Art Fair[4]. There interviewed 11 graffitists: Inti (Chile, currently living in France); La Robot De Madeira (Chile); Charquipunk (Chile); Paulina Quintanajornet (Chile/Argentina, currently living in Germany); Enivo (Brazil); Jerry Battista (Brazil);

---

[4] I worked at the Stroke Urban Art Fair as volunteer artists' assistant helping to set up exhibition spaces and assisting graffitists while they painted outdoor murals.

Rodrigo Branco (Brazil); Pixel Pancho (Italy); Sepe (Poland); Chazme (Poland); On Off Crew (France) and a gallerist/art historian Philipp Dziersk (Germany/Brazil). The interviews took the form of conversations in which I aimed to explore the differences between practicing graffiti in various cultural contexts and creating unsolicited graffiti versus work for graffiti festivals/exhibitions.

The third round of interviews was conducted via e-mail and the interviews were again structured around more specific questions informed by the analysis of previously collected data. Interviewees included graffitists from the three selected parts of the world – Western countries, Arabic countries and Latin America, working both in informal street settings and collaborating with the established art institutions and on commercial projects. This choice was made with the intention of comparing the experiences and attitudes of artists working in these diverse environments. Questions were asked about the relationship of graffitists with the spaces in which they create, with their audiences and their views on how graffiti is represented in established art institutions (see Appendix D). Over 50 requests for the interviews were sent from which 13 artists agreed to answer my questions and 5 completed interviews. Many of the approached graffitists, who did not complete the interviews, referred me to their blogs and interviews published online, and advised that they be used as sources of data. Online interviews became a significant source of data.

2.2.3 Visual Data Collection

The need for systematic collection of visual data emerged when the relationship between topics/aesthetic of graffiti and contexts within which they were produced became apparent. Photographs of graffiti were collected from the three selected parts of the world with an aim of 1) creating an image archive representing graffiti-making practices of the three selected parts of the world (available on the attached CD), 2) developing a thematic typology of graffiti, and 3) investigating the correlation between occurrence of various topics and the context of place.

Numerous photographs were taken during field trips and in a less formal manner by photographing examples of graffiti as I encountered them in urban public spaces. To

complement the material gathered during the traditional type of fieldwork – physically visiting locations of interest, and in response to the need to access material from remote locations visual data was also collected from online sources. This included blogs, websites, Flicker accounts of graffitists and graffiti enthusiasts, Facebook profiles of graffitists, Facebook pages devoted to graffiti and through Google searches of graffiti in specific locations[5].

As the context of places where the graffiti was made was as crucial for the analysis as the images themselves, as much relevant information as possible was noted, including location, date, author and circumstances of creating the work.

2.2.4 Observations

The observation method was used as a means of learning and discovering new, unexpected aspects of graffiti-making practices. This method enabled to acquire information on graffitists and their practices without asking direct questions and allowed for the observation of more spontaneous behaviours that take place in their natural environment.

The focus of observations was quite broad throughout the process and served to compliment the more focused data gathering activities, such as interviews and review of texts on graffiti. However, the guiding questions shown in Table 1, were kept in mind while carrying out the observations and the new information and ideas emerging from this processes were recorded in form of notes, codes and memos.

Both naturalistic observations and participant observations were carried out. The first took place in public spaces and at festivals and exhibitions, as well as through watching video footage and documentaries. Participant observation was carried out while I worked as an artists' assistant at the Stroke Urban Art Fair, assisting graffitists from Europe and Latin America as they created outdoor graffiti works. Online graffiti

---

[5] Both terms *graffiti* and s*treet art* were used, for example: Street Art Lebanon, Graffiti Lebanon, etc.

forums and blog and social media comment sections were also monitored with a focus on observing the terminology used to describe graffiti and peoples' reactions to different works and events.

While observations enabled the development a first-hand understanding of graffiti-making practices, rather than learning about them from someone else's perspective, it was kept in mind that my own observations were also personal interpretations. For this reason I prepared for the planned observations by researching the participants and the context of the situations in which they were to be observed in order to develop more informed interpretations.

2.3 Data Contextualisation

Gadsby (1995) warned of a tendency for many researchers of graffiti to present subjective conclusions. Texts and symbols have no single meanings or reader-independent qualities (Krippendorff 2004) and works of graffiti can be read and categorised from multiple perspectives. This implies that different readings may be generated from the same data via personal interpretation depending on the background of the researcher. In addition, the grounded theory assumption that 'all is data' (Glaser and Strauss 1967), which allows the researcher to include many unconventional sources of data, can also produce some issues, such as validity or credibility of the gathered data.

Both issues were addressed by adopting the contextual positioning method presented by Ralph, Birks and Chapman (2014). In their article, they distinguish between *generating data* – gathering data through empirical research designed specifically for the purposes of the research project such as interviews or field observations, and *collecting data* from 'sources that the researcher had no hand in shaping' (Ralph et at 2014, p.2). While *generating data* allows the researcher to directly observe the context from which the data emerges, and subsequently to perform an informed analysis, *collected data* is sourced from secondary sources and therefore it may be

stripped out of its context and be more challenging to interpret in an informed manner.

In the initial stages of this research project a great deal of data was generated through observations and interviews, and was situated in Europe, therefore the context was not only there to observe but it was one which was already familiar to me. However, as the research progressed there emerged a need to collect data from remote parts of the world. This took place through the online interactions (interviews through e-mail) and the collection of information from online sources (images and videos posted online, online interviews, blog and Facebook posts). This meant that I was not able to directly observe the context and at times, like in case of collecting images from Arabic or Latin American countries, I had no thorough understanding of the specific historical, cultural or political contexts that the data originated from.

From the start, while analysing such *collected data*, an effort was made to explore the context of places and the circumstances in which the data was generated. This was strengthened when the contextual positioning method developed by Ralph et al. (2014) was published and applied to prepare *collected data* for informed analysis. Contextual positioning 'is not intended as an analytical tool per se' but 'compensates for the decreased sensory involvement and symbolic interactions' (Ralph et al., 2014, p.4). The process is carried out through targeted questioning 'aimed to establish the important "who, what, when, where, why and how" of context' (Ralph et al., 2014, p.4).

With that in mind, the importance of context played crucial role in the analysis. This research looked outside the 'physicality' of graffiti works and considered the motivations behind them and the meanings that specific works produced in specific contexts. The occurrence of different themes was analysed based on location and linked to socio-political and cultural conditions in which the graffitists were operating.

2.4 Data Analysis

As noted at the start of this chapter, methods used to perform analysis of data in grounded theory research are: coding, categorising, memo-writing and theoretical sampling. Writing drafts of papers reporting the research outcomes are also considered as part of analysis and aim at positioning emerging categories, ideas and theories in relation to each other and developing connections that eventually lead to production of a cohesive body of work. These processes are discussed in more detail in the following sections providing insights as to how they were implemented in this study.

2.4.1 Coding and Categorising

When using the grounded theory approach, the process of analysis is based on coding the gathered data as it is collected. By coding it is meant defining, with words, what the gathered data represents. These codes are not preconceived but created in response to data[6] (Charmaz 1996). Coding is carried out by carefully reading, listening or looking at data (depending on the type of data) and describing its various aspects and meanings. Naturally the terms and concepts characteristic to the researcher's discipline influence the coding and therefore self-criticism is necessary to insure that the specific terms or concepts truly reflect what the data shows and coding is not limited to including only familiar concepts. This is important because the coding process is aimed at pointing the researcher to new ways of seeing the researched subject and '[it] is the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data' (Charmaz 1996, p.37).

At the early stage of analysis coding was guided by the need to understand what graffiti is. The focus was on definitions, social actors involved in graffiti-making and topics of graffiti. Some general questions were kept in mind while coding the data from the interviews, observations, texts on graffiti and visual data, to guide the coding

---

[6] An example of open coding performed on a transcript of and interview is provided in Appendix A.

process. Examples of such questions and the coding related to them are shown in Table 2.

Sample guiding question: Who makes graffiti and who is represented by it?   **Sample codes:** teenagers, men, women, migrants, elderly, artists, gangs, activists, corporations, politicians, icons of pop-culture, etc.
Sample guiding question: What is the aim / ideology of graffiti-makers?   **Sample codes:** communicating, being visible, changing space, challenging power structures, being creative, making people smile, connecting with the city, having fun time with friends, bringing important issues to the public eye, etc.
Sample guiding question: Where is it located?   **Sample codes:** bus stop, on private/public building, art gallery/museum, commercial billboard, abandoned building, parking lot, school yard, motorway bridge, on trains, along train tracks, etc.

Table 2. Examples of questions guiding the data analysis and sample codes developed from them.

At the early stage of analysis a large number of codes was generated, which is typical for the grounded theory approach (Charmaz 1996). However, as more and more data was collected and analysed, patterns of similar codes started to emerge and coding become more focused. Also more specific guiding questions arrived, which lead to more focused data collection and analysis. At that stage categories were developed by grouping similar codes together and subsequently the connections between different categories and concepts started to become apparent. This process is illustrated in Table 3, where types of different social actors involved in graffiti-making practices are described in general open codes at the early stage of the research. As more data was analysed codes started repeating and patterns started to emerge. At that stage codes were grouped into clusters by focused coding. In this case the final categories emerged in relation to the concept of presence.

Open Coding	Focused Coding	Categorising
Teenagers	Marginalised	Users of Environments
Men		
Women		
Migrants		
Elderly		
Children		
Minorities		
Gangs		
Activists	Activists	
Artists	Creatives	
Designers		
Political parties	Political parties	
Art galleries	Cultural Organisations	Moderators of Environments
Museums		
Cultural Foundations		
Authorities	Authorities	
Commercial Enterprises	Commercial Enterprises	

Table 3. Data analysis – from codes to categories. Example of coding focused on social actors involved in graffiti-making.

Such a system of coding and categorising was also used to treat the visual data while developing thematic typology of graffiti, which is discussed in more detail in the section *5.1 Thematic Typology of Graffiti*. Several researchers have proposed various taxonomies of graffiti before and these qualifications are discussed in section *3.3 Fragmented Understandings of Graffiti*. Gadsby (1995) criticised inconsistencies in the use of terminology related to graffiti taxonomies and called for more coherence amongst researches. However, adopting the grounded theory approach meant that the typology of graffiti was developed in response to data and concepts that emerged from this study, rather than adopted from other researchers.

An image archive containing examples of graffiti from the three selected locations was created for this purpose, with photographs of graffiti by both established graffitists

and anonymous individuals (Appendix G). The content/message of gathered examples was analysed and codes were assigned to each example. Eventually relationships between some codes started to become apparent and these were grouped into categories of topics leading to a development of the thematic typology of graffiti. Three main categories were identified: *Self-Identification & Affiliations*, *Socio-political Environment* and *Physical Environment* (including built and natural elements of environments). Each of them conveys several sub-categories as shown in Table 4.

Thematic Typology of Graffiti		
Self-Identification & Affiliations	Socio-political Environment	Physical Environment
Marking Territory – tags and logos	Social Commentary	Built Environment
Portraits	Politics and Economy	Nature
Heritage/Popular Culture/ Indigenous Culture	War/Conflict/Revolution	The Abstract and The Imagined
	Activism and Subvertising	

Table 4. Thematic typology of graffiti.

The categories that emerged relate to those of other researchers who qualified graffiti based on its content or intent of its makers. For example Günes and Yýlmaz (2006) use categories such as gang, tagging, existential, political or ideological; and Baird et al. (2010) qualified graffiti as relating to identity, protest, political, humour, declarative, romantic, etc. All of these categories and more emerged during the open coding process. Using the grounded theory analysis methods, however, lead to development of more focused categories that are related to theoretical concepts that were proposed as a framework for collective understanding of graffiti-making practices.

As Charmaz noted, when codes are developed into a category the researcher is able to begin 'to explicate its properties; to specify conditions under which it arises, is maintained and changes; to describe its consequences; and to show how this category

relates to other categories' (1996, p. 41). Once the thematic typology was developed, its categories were used to examine the context-specificity of graffiti-making practices. That was the only quantitative case of analysis performed in this project. Using the typology, practices of 232 graffitists from the three selected parts of the world were categorised by topics that occur in their work and by location to investigate how often each topic occurred in work of graffitists from the selected regions (Appendix E). Outcomes of this are discussed in section *5.2 Context Specificity of Graffiti-Making Practices.*

2.4.2 Memo-writing

The next element of grounded theory research is memo-writing – writing-up ideas that emerge from data collection and analysis. This should start as early as possible in the research process as it allows for recording of ideas that may be otherwise lost in the process. Through memo-writing the researcher can establish connections between emerging codes, refine definitions of codes and categories, and develop concepts.

In the case of this research memos-writing was implemented by keeping a research journal as well as writing-up drafts of potential sections, chapters and subsequently drafts of the thesis. These recorded and aimed at systematising the gathered data and the concepts and connections derived from it. Such writing aimed at making comparisons between different concepts, and also allowed for the incorporation of existing literature related to the topic of the thesis and for the emerging ideas to be positioned in relation to it. It is important to remember that this activity is connected to the continuous data collection and analysis (Charmaz 1996) – new data informed the existing memos and the memos helped to determine what other data needed to be collected. Sample memos are provided in Appendix B.

2.4.3 Contrasting Empirical Data with Pre-existing Theories

During the simultaneous process of data collection and analysis, pre-existing theories were not forced on the data but rather selected and evaluated in response to it. The

observed characteristics and patterns of graffiti-making were contrasted with theories related to public spaces and theories of cultural/social movements in search for correlations. The pre-existing concepts that were used in this study provided the framework for the analysis and were subject to analysis in relation to the collected data. In that way specific ideas and theories related to graffiti-making could be developed from such pre-existing theories by grounding them in data. That was an important feature of the analytical approach – as Charmaz (1996, p. 32) noted, such 'guiding interests and disciplinary preconceptions should [allow for researchers] developing, rather than limiting, their ideas'.

To illustrate, the concept of subcultures was initially considered as most fitting to explaining the 'nature' of graffiti-making, however, collected data has shown that it is relevant only to a small section of graffiti-making practices. Therefore different sociological concepts were explored and compared with what empirical data was showing, and ultimately elements of the non-movement theory proved to be most relevant and were used as a framework to explain the dynamics of graffiti-making practices. Specifically this included the concepts of passive/active networks and the quiet encroachment of the ordinary. While these concepts were originally developed from Bayat's analysis of informal social movements in the Middle East, rather than in connection to graffiti-making, the social processes and interactions described by Bayat were strikingly similar to what was emerging from my analysis of graffiti-making practices. Bayat's concepts have helped to put a structure on the relationships between individual graffiti-makers, the nature of their collective actions and the processes through which they are gaining acceptance within mainstream culture, while at the same time acknowledging the very dynamic nature of graffiti-making activities in terms of the levels of engagement and collectiveness.

2.4.4 Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling is an important and distinctive element of the grounded theory analysis process and its purpose 'is to obtain data to help explicate categories' (Charmaz 2005, p.100). This was related to the process of sorting memos, and therefore the core ideas and emergent theories, and identifying the connections and

gaps between them. Such connections and gaps were then further explored by re-visiting and re-analysing data, and gathering additional information when needed.

To illustrate, one of the most prevalent concepts emerging form analysis of data was that graffiti-making practices were grounded in the context of environments in which they were performed. When this pattern was observed more data was collected to explore it in detail. This data sampled for this particular theory – the correlation between occurrence of specific types of graffiti-making and specific contexts. The thematic typology of graffiti was used to examine the frequency with which various topics occurred in the three selected parts of the world. That involved exploring practices of randomly selected graffitists from each location and determining what themes occur in their work. When the correlation was confirmed, it was explored even further by examining specific examples from all three regions and leading to additional observations that strengthened this theory and allowed to develop a multi-layered analysis of it.

Theoretical sampling differs therefore from other types of purposeful sampling in that it is not demographic or quota led, but it is informed by the emerging categories and concepts and by specific theoretical concerns (Charmaz 2005).

2.4.5 Writing Drafts

The closing stage of the grounded theory research involves producing a written report on the process and the outcomes of the project. The ultimate goal of the analysis process was to assemble the findings, ideas and theoretical concepts in a conclusive form that leads to advancing the knowledge about, or understanding of, graffiti-making practices.

The writing up process was itself a part of the analysis. Concepts and ideas described in memos started to be put together to form a draft of the thesis. Nevertheless, the process of analysing, connecting, sorting and sharpening concepts continued, as did data collection. That required producing many drafts before the final version was completed. During that process the outline of the thesis changed several times.

Headings of chapters and sections were decided upon in relation to categories and concepts that were considered most important at a given stage. These were adjusted reflecting the advancing research. New content was being added, removed or moved between sections as the ideas and concepts evolved and new connections between them were made. After several cycles, when the ideas crystallised and data collection and analysis were completed, the final draft of the thesis was produced. As a result of that process some of the refined memos became a part of the thesis, others were dismissed or were set aside to be developed in different projects.

2.5 Summary

The *Methodology* chapter provided an overview of the grounded theory research process and discussed the choice of methods adopted to conduct the study. It specified the types of data that were collected, the sources and methods of collection, as well as the analysis process.

Grounded theory was developed to provide an explanation for the studied phenomenon – the contemporary graffiti-making practices, and to build a framework within which these practices can be understood collectively. The continuing process of gathering and analysing data led to emergence of unanticipated questions and observations that were explored further in the process. Connecting the findings with emerging ideas and pre-existing theories through memo-writing and numerous drafts, led to building an increasingly clearer understanding of the function of graffiti in contemporary urban environments. The following chapters present the outcomes of the project.

3. Understanding Graffiti

This chapter presents material related to the ways in which graffiti-making practices are understood today. There are diverse understandings and many of them are valid in relation to various types of graffiti, however there is no overall model that would provide a framework for understanding graffiti-making practices collectively.

Nevertheless, as Lefebvre (2003 (1970), p.2) suggests, it is important 'to situate continuities and discontinuities with respect to one other'. Data collected through interviews and literature relating to graffiti were analysed in the search for clarity of what graffiti means to different people. The history of graffiti-making was examined to put a perspective on the scope and the role of such practices in various societies throughout history. The definitions of graffiti and the different cultural and sociological concepts through which it is seen were also investigated.

3.1 Historical Perspective

Contemporary understanding of graffiti is heavily influenced by New York style graffiti and the developments that followed its emergence. However, the idea of writing one's name in public spaces as a record of their presence was not new when American teenagers initiated the notorious practice of writing their names on the streets of Philadelphia, and then New York, in the late 1960s.

One of the oldest records of graffiti writers is that of Abu al-Hasan al-Harawi, a XII and XIII century traveller from Afghanistan, who marked walls of every city he visited with his name (Zoghbi and Don Karl 2013, p. 7). The history of writing on public walls goes even further back if we consider some of cave paintings produced as long as 40 000 years ago (Figure 2).

Figure 2. 35 000 years old drawing (animal) and almost 40 000 years old stencils (hands) found in caves of Sulawesi, Indonesia in 2014 (Source: Aubert 2014).

What strikes one is the diversity of forms that Graffiti already had taken back then. Peter Keegan, author of *Graffiti in Antiquity* (2014) lists texts, dates and numbers, geometrical figures, simple strokes and drawings as the main categories found in ancient graffiti, with more than a quarter of recorded graffiti from that period being non-textual. Such forms of expression were practiced by individuals or groups to mark territory, commemorate people and events, share comments or pass on information. Aubert et al. (2014), Reisner (1971), Manco (2002) and Keegan (2014) highlight the historical value of graffiti in providing 'insights into the minds and thoughts of individual men and women' of those past times.

The use of graffiti was so prominent within some societies in the past, that it now constitutes a crucial material for archaeological and historical research. For instance there is an extensive archive of anonymous graffiti relating to social life, personal feelings, experiences, religion and politics discovered by researchers of Pompeii that has enabled historians to build a comprehensive understanding of the everyday life of Pompeiians (Tanzer 1950). As will be demonstrated in later parts of this thesis, such qualities continue to be present in contemporary graffiti-making practices being very much representative of the everyday life and opinions of individuals.

Figure 3. Participant of the Warsaw Uprising (World War II) paints symbol of the Polish Secret State and the Home Army on a public wall; Warsaw, Poland; 1944 (Source: Jake 2012)

Figure 4. *Jouissez sans entraves* (translation: break from the shackles) - Situationists International slogan sprayed on a Parisian wall; Paris, France; 1968; (Source: Henri Cartier-Bresson 1968)

Graffiti also played, and continues to play, an important role during wars or in times of social and political unrest. It proved to be a popular medium both amongst those in power and the political opposition. Throughout the 20th century symbols, slogans, posters and murals painted or posted in public spaces were used to promote ideologies and mobilise people. Examples of such use of graffiti come from locations all around the globe, for instance slogans and symbols were painted by underground movements during World War II and during the 1968 protests in Paris (Figures 3 and 4); during the Troubles in Northern Ireland murals were a medium used both by Republicans and Loyalists to promote their causes, mark territory and commemorate their heroes (Rolston 1991).

Political graffiti has a particularly rich history in Hispanic countries (Chaffee 1993). In Mexico murals were painted by ordinary Mexicans to criticize the state and to demand social justice during the student strikes of 1968 (Saner in Ruiz 2011) or by organised groups, such as the Zapatistas (Nevaer 2009). In the first decades of the 20th century

Spanish anarchists used graffiti to influence people's emotions, often using images, rather than text, to reach the illiterate public. Graffiti was also adopted by nationalists and republicans during Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) to promote their points of view, and during the Franco era 'walls were used to express what was censored by media' (Chaffee 1993, pp. 38-45).

Graffiti has also been broadly used to 'symbolically demarcate' areas claimed by different political parties or groups in society, as in the case of the Sandinistas who used graffiti to mark their control over liberated territories in Nicaragua (Chaffee 1993), in Palestine where graffiti is used to establish symbolic ownership of the Israeli occupied territories (Rolston 2014), or, probably most famously, used by New York gangs to mark their territory of influence (Cybriwski and Ley 1974).

From the above examples it is evident that the history of graffiti-making practices reaches far back in time and extends to diverse geographical locations. However, as Ley and Cybriwski (1974) remark, even though urban graffiti is not a new phenomenon, there was almost no interest in it from academic researchers, authorities or the media before the 1970s. This has changed following the graffiti 'epidemic' that commenced in the late 1960s in Philadelphia and soon expanded to New York. Equipped with magic markers and spray cans, young teenagers, often from disadvantaged areas, started to write their monikers in public spaces. Initially experimenting just on their streets, they gradually extended this practice into whole neighborhoods, public transport and further on to mark the whole city while developing distinct aesthetic styles (MacDonald 2011; Steward 2009).

As the graffiti painted by New York's marginalised youth expanded from low-income residential areas, through subway and into the inner city, it became a 'problem' that the city authorities found hard to handle. In the increasingly privatized, commercialised and 'clean' city, defacement of public spaces of commercial importance with scribbles that represented marginalized groups of society disturbed the sense of control, order and safety. Already in 1971 the city police department of Philadelphia has established an anti-graffiti police squad and in 1972 both

Philadelphia and New York City introduced legislations to control the sale and possession of spray-paint cans (Cybriwski and Lay 1974). The Theory of Broken Windows (Kelling and Wilson 1982), which recognized petty crimes, such as Graffiti, as having a major impact on the development of more serious criminal activities further legitimized the 'war on Graffiti'.

Despite those legislations an increasing number of people became involved or interested in New York graffiti culture. Graffiti fell on a fertile ground with the 1970s' progressive social movements fighting for equal rights for women and other marginalized groups, bringing to the fore issues of exclusion. Also the artistic mood of that time provided an environment in which graffiti could flourish – the interest amongst artists and critics in elements of everyday popular culture was on the rise, and graffiti soon attracted the interest of both popular media and creative circles and this trend continued into the 1980s.

Movies such as *Wild Style* (1982) or publications such as *Subway Art* (Cooper and Chalfant 1984) became iconic and ignited the interest of the general public in what authorities deemed to be vandalism (Jaehne 1984). Technological advancements in photography and copying and printing brought new affordable publishing opportunities to graffiti-makers. Self-published DIY zines showcased the abilities of graffiti artists and gave them a greater control over the representation of their practices (Snyder 2006). At the same time various subcultures such as punks and skaters, which shared the DIY ethos, began placing their art and subversive messages in public spaces (*Beautiful Loosers* 2004), adding new forms, such as stencils, paste ups or stickers, which alongside the New York spray paint graffiti constituted the urban guerilla-art-scape of the time.

The New York art world elite was first seduced by the unconventional background of graffitists in 1972 (Castleman 1982; Lachmann 1988), but it was not until the 1980s that the relationship between the 'art from the streets' and the established art world became more prominent (Lachmann 1988). Some Manhattan galleries, such as the

Fun Gallery or Fashion Moda, became hubs of graffiti providing the writers with a space to meet, collaborate and to develop their work (Wacławek 2008).

Such patronage helped the New York graffitists to realize how significant their practices had become and further challenged the common view of graffiti as purely vandalism (Wacławek 2008). However, not everyone was enthusiastic about such developments. Grace Glueck, New York Times arts journalist, expressed her disappointment with art worlds' fascination with graffiti in her 1983 article *Gallery Views; On Canvas, Yes, But Still Eyesores*:

> It was bound to happen, given the art world's relentless search for new amusements and investments. And it did. After a long and scurrilous underground career, graffiti has surfaced on the chaste white walls of galleries and museums. The belligerent signatures, or ''tags'' - Toxic, Daze, Crash, Koor, Noc 167, Blade and Ramm-El-Zee among them - so offensively spraycanned across subway walls and cars are now to be found on canvas, and trendy collectors - who may or may not use the trains - are taking into their living rooms (or buying for speculation) the visual mayhem that daily assaults the eyes of those who do (Glueck 1983).

Despite such critical voices, the graffiti 'hype' continued. The very show that triggered Glueck's critique was *Post-Graffiti* - arguably the most significant graffiti exhibition of the 1980s held at the prestigious Sidney Janis Gallery in autumn 1983. The title of the exhibition indicated that graffiti is entering a new era in which it will be contextualized in an art historical context. Alongside works on canvas by established graffiti writers, the show included pieces that were not representative of the New York style graffiti per se but were inspired by its aesthetics or presence in public spaces. This included works of Jean-Michel Basquiat or Kenny Scharf, who at that time already held a fine art degree. A new wave of artists emerged, who started to work in the streets using the medium of graffiti, however were not directly associated with the marginalized environments from which New York style graffiti culture originated.

Some of these artists developed new avenues and products through which they attracted audiences from outside the usual high art circles. Keith Haring, for instance, created work that was accessible and understandable for a wider audience through the use of simple visual language and universal concepts of birth, death, love, sex and

war. In 1986 Haring opened the Pop Shop, a retail store in SoHo selling accessories featuring his work, from posters to T-shirts and fridge magnets (The Keith Haring Foundation 1997)[7]. Already back then the commercialization and commodification of graffiti was in process, very much by the popular demand of the increasingly consumer society and its need 'to speak through the masks and with the voices of the styles' (Jameson 1985, p.115).

The differences between the 'traditional' activities related to the New York style graffiti, such as tagging or bombing, and the new forms of unsolicited art in public spaces became prominent and so did the difference between the makers – the marginalized youth on one hand and the new actors involved in graffiti-making, such as artists, illustrators, designers or advertisers. Many sought to differentiate between these groups or uses of graffiti, hence the former retained the label of graffiti, while the latter, more 'audience friendly' or 'consumer focused' practices became labeled as street art[8]. Over time increasing numbers of graffitists abandoned strict rules characteristic of the New York graffiti culture in favour of more freedom of expression and ability to communicate with broader audiences.

Julia Reinecke, a German cultural scientist and author of the book *Street Art - Subculture between Art and Commerce*, observed that street art grew to be seen as more commercial or 'sold out' (Reinecke 2007). However, despite being seen as more uncompromising and edgy, many of the legendary New York style graffiti-makers have also responded to commercial demands and developed strong ties with the art world and commercial enterprises. Mark Penfold reminds that:

> Graffiti writers and street artists, whether consciously or not, are part of a larger picture: one where commerce gradually appropriates art and aesthetics as part of the endless battle to convince customers of the need to consume (Penfold 2007, p.48).

---

[7] Such commercial practices have been growing strong and are common also today. For instance, Banksy's online enterprise POW (www.picturesonwalls.com) sells limited edition prints from popular graffiti-makers and Shepard Fairey's OBEY GIANT label (www.obeygiant.com) sells prints, clothing and accessories featuring his own artworks.
[8] The term was first used by Allan Schwartzman in 1985 (Lewisohn, 2008). In an art historical context Street Art is at times also referred to as 'neo-graffiti' or 'post-graffiti'.

Hebdige (1979) claimed that all subcultures are eventually commodified and their symbols are deprived of the original meaning or context and assimilated into the mainstream culture. This is to a large extent true also in case of graffiti-making practices, especially in the western countries. However, despite this progressive commodification, the illegal presence of graffiti in the streets is still prominent. It continues to develop in response to new circumstances and to reach new territories. What is more, the presence of graffiti in mainstream media, cultural institutions and commercial projects has normalised this form of expression causing graffiti-making to become more accepted and even cool in some circles. This encouraged more people from various backgrounds to engage in graffiti-making either on a casual or regular basis.

With progressing globalization and the advent of digital media, Western style graffiti has spread all around the globe. Even though the aesthetics of western graffiti was new when it emerged in other parts of the world, the traditions of graffiti-making, as was discussed earlier, already existed in most of these places in one form or another. This lead to further appropriations and hybridisations of the local and global styles and functions of graffiti.

For example, in Mexico the influence of graffiti from the United States started to be visible in the mid-80s (Saner in Ruiz 2011). These new aesthetics appeared in an environment of an established revolutionary mural culture (Craven 2006), with a strong presence of graffiti produced by rockers and punks (Saner in Ruiz 2011) and artists groups working in public spaces, such as Suma, Proceso Pentágono, Taller de Arte e Ideología, and Tetraedro (Salas 2012). In Brazil the first instances of the New York style-influenced graffiti could be observed already in the mid-70s, most famously done by John Howard in São Paulo (Os Gêmeos in Ruiz 2011). In other Latin American countries, such as Chile, Peru or Colombia, the western influences arrived during the course of the 1990s. Also in all of these countries there were already strong traditions of graffiti-making, be it the political mural painting in Chile, continued in public spaces by youth groups since 1960s (Cekis in Ruiz 2011) and in Colombia by feminists, unions, students and political fronts in 1980s (Bastardilla in Ruiz 2011), or the graffiti of soccer

fans or political and subversive messages written in the public spaces of Peru (Naf in Ruiz 2011).

New York style graffiti also reached Arabic countries, starting to appear there in the late 1990s and the early 2000s (Zoghbi and Don Karl 2013; A1one 2014; Ali Rafei 2014). Similarly to Latin America, political graffiti and murals were painted in public spaces throughout the 20th century in many Arabic Countries. The Civil War in Lebanon (1975-1990) brought an outbreak of local graffiti (Salti 2008). Political parties' logos marked territories of influence on the streets of Beirut and political slogans publically expressed individual opinions on politics and war. In Palestine, where graffiti has been broadly used since the Israeli occupation started in 1948, there is a strong tradition of painting murals, be it in support of political factions[9], calling for the liberation of Palestine, remembering martyrs, celebrating Palestinian landscape or commemorating pilgrimages to Hajj (Zoghbi and Don Karl 2013; Abu Ayash 2013). In Iran in turn, where graffiti was commonly used as a tool for propaganda during the Islamic Revolution of 1979, graffiti-making, especially one that is political or showing western influences, is viewed by authorities as an act of political opposition and therefore is not safe to practice (Icy & Sot 2013).

The history of graffiti-making practices is therefore long with many heterogeneous types being practiced simultaneously throughout history in different parts of the world, and at times also side by side in the same cities or neighborhoods. With progressing globalization, growing accessibility of the Internet and greater opportunities to travel, the different types of graffiti and their aesthetic styles started to spread all around the world and influence each other. Nowadays these different types (such as tagging, political graffiti, artistic graffiti (street art), site specific works, etc.) as well as their hybrid forms are a common view in public spaces in most parts of the urbanised world. The context changes and so do the styles and forms but the

---

[9] Hamas and Fatah, the two political Palestinian factions, recruit Graffiti artists and train them to paint slogans and murals in support of their ideologies (Zoghbi and Don Karl 2013).

medium itself remains relevant and continues to be used by diverse individuals and social groups.

3.2 Defining Graffiti

The term graffiti, coming from a word *graffito*[10], is nowadays most commonly associated specifically with the New York style graffiti. However, as discussed in the previous section, historically this term was used long before the invention of the spray can and magic markers to refer to writing and painting messages or drawings on walls in public spaces. Nowadays the old and new as well as the global and local meanings intersect making it problematic to provide a comprehensive definition.

The appearance of New York style graffiti and the prominence of this phenomenon in contemporary western cities has somehow narrowed down the understanding of graffiti. Forms that developed after New York graffiti emerged and extended beyond the spray can techniques (but still include some instances of them) started to be described with a new term – street art. However, in some parts of the globe all types of unsolicited visual interventions in public spaces, including the old and the newer forms alike, are commonly called graffiti (Charquipunk 2011; Inti 2011, Jerry Batista 2011, pers. comm., 26-28 May)*.

The definition of graffiti and the idea of creating a distinction between what is understood as graffiti and what is street art is therefore problematic. There is an ongoing argument between different types of graffiti-makers, as well as between researchers of graffiti, what each term conveys specifically. Some of the graffitists, critics and researchers find it very important to separate the two while others do not see a necessity of strict labeling. A multitude of common qualities such as presence in public spaces, the form of a visual mark, the aim to be seen or temporality, cause that precise definitions and distinction between these two terms is very challenging, hence

---

[10] Graffito - an inscription or drawing made on some public surface (as a rock or wall); also: a message or slogan written as or as if as a graffito. Origin Italian: incised inscription, from *graffiare* to scratch, probably from *grafio* stylus, from Latin *graphium*. (www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/graffito).

they are often used interchangeably. The root of such inconsistencies lies not only in overlapping characteristics of what is understood to be graffiti or street art but also in differences of the historical and local uses of these terms described in the previous section.

There are several approaches amongst those who attempt to separate street art from graffiti. Masemann (2008) suggests to consider form, function and the artists' intentions as grounds for differentiation between the two. She classifies tags, pieces and throw-ups as graffiti, and other forms of ephemeral unsanctioned visual interventions in public spaces 'produced in a variety of mixed media such as aerosol and stencil, paper and wheat paste, sticker format and sculpture, techniques that require a significant amount of pre-production', as street art (Masemann 2008, p. 8). Tristan Manco, author of many illustrated albums on graffiti-making, offers a similar understanding:

> In its narrowest interpretation, graffiti refers to the hip-hop graffiti writing. Since graffiti is mainly associated with tags and pieces in this 'classic' style, other phrases have been coined for art produced on the street. 'Street Art' is a term that was first used in the 1980s to describe any art in the urban environment not in any predominant hip-hop style (Manco 2004, p. 7).

Melissa L. Hughes, author of a MA thesis *Street Art & Graffiti: Developing an Understanding* (Hughes 2009), supports such a view, specifying tagging as the root of graffiti and distinguishing street art as characterized by more freedom and openness to different mediums and messages. Such definitions recognize graffiti as quite a hermetic activity based around fame and hierarchy, and with many codes, symbols and rules that are not understandable to the general public. Street art, on the contrary, is seen as more heterogeneous, abandoning the strict rules of New York style graffiti for more freedom both in aesthetic and ideological terms. Such a tendency is prevalent amongst those researching western graffiti-making practices, and it is built around New York style graffiti as a point of departure ignoring earlier instances of graffiti.

40

Distinctions between street art and graffiti are also made on the grounds of artistic value. Gunnell (2010), for example, finds it important to define these phenomena in order to help authorities to deal with the 'problem' – to protect 'real' art and fight vandalism. She calls on municipalities to distinguish between less and more valuable instances and advocates that, as opposed to graffiti:

> Street art is characterized by methodical and thoughtful action, one with a strong aesthetic dimension. The works created by street artists often express current events, both political and social and are sophisticated in their delivery. The markings associated with street art are planned, well thought out and involve creating pieces in which artistic and often professionally trained effort is exerted to communicate ideals, messages or thoughts (Gunnell 2010, p. 1).

While similar definitions might be helpful for authorities willing to foster some instances of graffiti-making practices in an effort to create more attractive urban public spaces in keeping with the idea of creative cities[11], they lead to the justification of hegemonic choices of inclusion/exclusion that aim to maintain clean and ordered cityscapes. McAuliffe (2012) observes that this kind of approach to differentiate between graffiti and street art is often arbitrary and based on subjective judgments, it has led to 'valorisation of the power of 'street art' to activate space, at a time of increasing criminalisation of 'graffiti'' (p. 3).

Also in the popular mainstream media and in academic research there is a tendency to use the term 'street art' in a more positive context often in relation to more artistic, community involved, legal or commercial examples, while 'graffiti' is used with a more negative association relating to vandalism. For instance, a search for recent articles about street art in the Irish Independent resulted in titles such as: *Treasures…. Putting money into the Banksy* (Flegg 2015), *Street artist Joe Caslin does bit to help men face up to mental health* (Blake Knox 2014), or *Director makes a splash with street art*

---

[11] The idea of creative cities, introduced by Charles Landry (see Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Landry, 2000) and further popularized by Richard Florida (2002), brought attention of authorities and city planners to the potential of culture and creativity in urban development and promises economic growth boosted by the creative sector.

campaign (Sweeney 2011). The results of a similar search for graffiti-related articles included: *VIDEO: Big increase in illegal graffiti reported in Dublin* (Irish Independent 2014a), *Racist graffiti painted at social homes site* (Irish Independent 2015), *Graffiti 'scourge' must be tackled* (Irish Independent 2014b)[12]. However, Crovara's (2014) analysis of the media's coverage of graffiti and street art revealed that neither the journalists, the authorities nor audiences could clearly differentiate between graffiti and street art and used the terms interchangeably in relation to the exact same instances.

Apart from a tendency to use the term 'graffiti' in relation to vandalism or illegal interventions, it is also more commonly used in the context of the global south, while 'street art' prevails in the context of western countries. For example researchers tend to use the term 'graffiti' in relation to recent instances of Cairene murals and stencils related to the Egyptian Arab Spring (Lennon 2014; Nicoarea 2014; El-Hawary 2014), even though their artistic qualities and the thoughtfulness of their messages lies closer to the above definitions of street art. This further supports the observation that there is a tendency to use the term 'street art' in a context of more regulated or highly developed forms and environments, but when writing about equivalent graffiti-making practices undertaken in less developed, less controlled or less westernized environments 'graffiti' is used more commonly.

It is therefore evident, that the definition of graffiti is fluid and influenced by the context in which particular graffiti-making practices take place, as well as by the personal opinions of researchers, authorities, journalists and audiences, based on their subjective judgements of artistic qualities and the intellectual content of specific pieces. Professional graffitists interviewed for this study were often reluctant to define themselves as belonging to one group or the other. Some emphasized that their early engagements with public spaces could be defined as New York style graffiti – many of them started as taggers. With time their practices evolved to include other

---

[12] Google search for phrases 'Irish Independent street art' and 'Irish Independent graffiti'

forms that are now associated with street art, nevertheless they see it as a continuous practice rather than a switch from one to the other.

While some differences can be observed between what, in the western context, is currently perceived as graffiti and street art, the boundaries often blur and it is impossible to provide strict distinctions between the two. It is also arguable whether there is a real need to create such distinctions and whether they lead to a better understanding of this phenomenon or advance the marginalization of certain groups that use graffiti. Both terms are too ambiguous in the contemporary global context and hence are used interchangeably in general studies. In the case of more focused studies, they are too broad and researchers often specify their scope of interest more precisely using terms such as protest graffiti, murals, stencils or territorial graffiti.

Due to such disparities and despite many attempts to explain this phenomena there is still no consensus amongst researchers of contemporary graffiti as to what these terms precisely describe. Elisabetta Crovara (2014) recommends that:

> Additional paths of investigation of the role of [graffiti] and street art in urban environments could shed further light on the tensions underlying these practices … and is the *conditio sine qua non* to the delineation of urban policies that could foster a mutually satisfying environment for [graffiti] and policy makers.

Even though seemingly unimportant, the language used to talk about various types of graffiti-making practices does influence their perception. Current definitions are unsatisfactory and create more divisions than understanding, therefore the meaning of these terms needs to be challenged and put into perspective.

3.3 Fragmented Understandings of Graffiti

The ambiguity of graffiti's definitions result in great challenges related to how graffiti-making practices are qualified in cultural and sociological terms. Some researchers describe it as a subculture, others as an art movement, a social movement, a form of political protest or as activism. However, while graffiti ventures into all these areas, none of them is characteristic of all its instances. This section critically reviews the

various approaches commonly adopted to examine graffiti-making practices and how they have been qualified in socio-cultural terms.

In 1995 Jane M. Gadsby presented a review of methodological approaches to studying graffiti. In her essay *Looking at the Writing on the Wall: A Critical Review and Taxonomy of Graffiti Texts* (Gadsby 1995), she analysed over one hundred papers on graffiti written by scholars from various academic disciplines, and noticed a variety of approaches that were adopted to studying this phenomenon. She described this multitude of perspectives as positive and promising a thorough, multi-levelled analysis of graffiti. Nevertheless, she also found it to be potentially confusing and counter-productive with many studies being too light-hearted, not treating the subject seriously enough and 'resulting in arbitrary and/or subjective conclusions (…) using only the intuition of the authors as analytical resource' (Gadsby 1995, p.3).

Nine approaches to studying graffiti were identified by Gadsby as the most common: 1) Cultural (graffiti as representation of specific community or ethnic group); 2) Gendered (concerned with differences in graffiti produced by different genders); 3) Linguistic (analysing the use of language); 4) Folkloric (efforts to document graffiti as accurately as possible); 5) Quantitative (statistical representation of graffiti); 6) Aesthetic (concerned with artistic qualities of graffiti, often attempting to answer whether graffiti is art or not); 7) Motivational (attempting to determine why people do graffiti); 8) Preventive (concerned with how best to prevent graffiti, usually commissioned by law enforcement agencies or city authorities); 9) Popularisation (articles or books on graffiti published to entertain the reader/viewer) (Gadsby 1995).

Gadsby identified certain tendencies characteristic to graffiti studies, such as providing little or no contextual information or data analysis, resulting in purely archival outcomes (characteristic of a folkloric approach), inconsistency in the use of terminology in studies attempting to determine why people do graffiti (most common in motivational approach), as well as a tendency to subjectivity amongst researchers. She found that arbitrary conclusions often result 'from trying to analyse graffiti in isolation' (Gadsby 1995, p.7) and identified studies that apply more than one approach as the most successful and comprehensive.

In relation to more contemporary trends in the studies of graffiti, I examined over 60 recent publications (books, academic papers and theses) (Appendix F). The nine approaches specified by Gadsby still remain relevant to current enquires but as this phenomenon became truly global and a new concept of street art emerged, interests of researchers became more specific. Most of the publications are focused on the role and value of graffiti in the context of the creative city discourse, distinctions between graffiti and street art, graffiti as vandalism, assimilation of graffiti into the mainstream culture and most recently the role that this medium played in the uprisings in Arab countries.

Researchers of graffiti most commonly adopt anthropological approaches, which indeed seems most appropriate when investigating a specific culture or group within society. Traditionally anthropologists travel to observe a particular culture, gather data about it, analyse it and then explain what this culture is. However, the graffiti phenomenon is very complex and not based at any specific location, in contrast it is present worldwide and manifests in a variety of local contexts. To conduct focused studies, researchers have tended to narrow their scope of interest to three areas: message/meaning of analysed graffiti (not only as intended by the graffiti-makers but also in context of the city/society/existing legislations); specific form(s) and/or specific location(s).

Different studies tend to focus on one specific area or a combination of them. Korody (2011) focused on street art carrying specific – revolutionary – messages in a specific location – Tunisia. Truman (2010), Manco (2002 and 2004), Dickens (2010) and Larruscahim (2014) focused on specific forms – stencils, street logos, commercially sold street art prints and Pixaçãos respectively. Ruiz (2011) or Zoghbi and Don Karl (2013), in turn, provided an overview of a variety of graffiti-making practices, but focused on specific locations – Latin America and Arabic countries respectively.

Studies that investigated broader issues, such as the legality of graffiti or its impact on the urban environment, tended to include data from specific cities, countries or global regions. The majority of studies dealing with the legality or prevention of graffiti were

based in western countries (Weber 2003; D'Amico and Block 2007; Gunnell 2010; Young 2014; Stewart and Kortright 2015). Armstrong's (2005) study *The Contested Gallery: Street Art, Ethnography and the Search for Urban Understandings* considered only the instances of Street Art produced in western society. The data presented in Conklin's (2012) study *Street Art, Ideology, and Public Space* was collected exclusively in Portland; in *Graffiti as Spatializing Practice and Performance* Bowen (2013) focused on San Francisco and Toronto, and in *At The Wall*: *Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and The Public Domain,* Brighenti (2010) conducted her research in Northeast Italy.

Narrowing the focus is helpful in order to understand specific aspects of graffiti but without a broader approach there is a danger of developing a fragmented understanding. While a focus on location enables to review a variety of examples produced within a specific area and to note the local context, it produces observations that are very specific to the spatial, cultural and socio-political context of the area. Focus on specific forms or motivations in turn, has the potential to present in-depth findings about such practices but allows for the examination of the intentions of only one type of graffiti-making practice. Without considering other qualities and instances of graffiti, specialised studies fail to create an understanding of what this phenomenon is as a whole, and at times reinforce general and contradictory understandings of graffiti as inherently countercultural, rebellious, artistic, sold-out, crime-related, contributing to the spirit of community building, etc.

This is not to diminish the importance of such studies which focus on specific aspects of graffiti, they are in fact crucial to creating an in-depth understanding of various elements that combine together to create the larger phenomenon. Nevertheless, there is a need for a conjoint analysis of these various elements, leading to the identification of patterns characteristic to all types of graffiti-making practices and contributing to the understanding of the function that graffiti-making practices perform in contemporary urban environments and generating new knowledge related to the meaning that these practices have for all those who engage with graffiti-making.

4. Graffiti-Making Revisited: Users, Tools, Environments

> The vast diversity of norms believed in and acted upon by the members of a modern society is not a sign of value confusion and breakdown but rather an indication that urban life brings into one system of interaction persons drawn from many cultural worlds. An important empirical question concerns the extent and results of their interaction. (Yinger 1960, p.635)

> Some groups have more opportunity to make the rules, to organise the meaning, while others are less favorably placed, have less power to produce and impose their definitions of the world on the world. (Hebdige 1979, p.15)

The objectives of this chapter are to identify the forces driving contemporary graffiti-making practices and to critically evaluate models and frameworks through which graffiti is interpreted by researchers, policy makers and graffiti makers themselves. All this is done with the aim of building a theoretical framework within which graffiti-making practices can be understood collectively. The opening words of this chapter, quotes from Yinger and Hebdige, set the tone putting emphasis on the heterogeneity of social actors in any given urban environment, their efforts to modify environment and produce meanings within it, and the extent to which these different types of social actors interact with and influence each other.

The previous chapter addressed objective 1 of this research project and focused on data from pre-existing literature providing a historical perspective on graffiti-making practices and evaluating the perceptions, definitions and understandings of graffiti-making as an activity and graffiti as a product of such activity. The definitions of graffiti-making practices proved to be inconsistent and even though different types of graffiti are perceived as related to each other, there is no framework for their collective understanding.

This chapter addresses such gaps and revisits graffiti-making with an aim to identify the function of graffiti as a tool, and the meaning of graffiti-making practices in their social and spatial dimensions. Empirical data is analysed in relation to several theoretical concepts, which emerged from the process of coding, as described in the Methodology chapter. Three theoretical areas were identified as key to the analysis of graffiti-making practices: concepts of social/cultural groups and movements, issues related to the use of public spaces, and the idea of establishing and mediating presence. The collected data and the theory were compared to each other through the process of coding. This was done with focus on the users and moderators involved in graffiti-making and the relationships that develop between them, the topics that are addressed by graffiti-makers in various parts of the world, and finally the relationship of these topics to the context in which graffiti is produced.

For the purpose of a clear discussion and the ability to relate specific examples to the key concept of presence, Section *4.1 Practice as Presence – Presence as Practice,* addresses the last objective of this research and discusses graffiti-making as a means of practicing presence. Section *4.2 Graffitists and Their Messages* with its two subsections *4.2.1 Users and Moderators* and *4.2.2 Thematic Typology of Contemporary Graffiti-Making,* relates to objective 2 and explores and systemises the variety of different social actors that engage with and influence graffiti-making practices and the types of messages that graffiti-makers communicate. Sections *4.3. Context Specificity of Graffiti-Making Practices, 4.4 Socio-Cultural Dimension of Graffiti-Making,* and *4.5 Networks and Interactions* relate to objectives 3 and 4, and provide an analytic discussion considering the influence of the contexts within which graffiti-making practices take place and the types of interactions that occur between various graffitists and stakeholders.

It will be shown that, in all their variety, contemporary graffiti-making practices, considered collectively, are not cohesive enough to be described as a subculture, counter-culture, neo-tribe or any other type of ideologically unified socio-cultural phenomenon. Instead they are fluid and time-specific responses to the context in which they take place. Such observations link graffiti-making to the most important

aspects of mediation of presence – action, visibility and ability to modify environment, and therefore it is conclusively proposed to view graffiti-making as a way of mediating presence.

4.1 Practice as Presence – Presence as Practice

This first section of Chapter 4 addresses the last research objective – it assesses the relationship between graffiti-making practices and mediating presence. Even though this particular objective emerged in the later stage of the research project, it was crucial in that it provided the grounds for linking the various types of graffiti-making together and advancing the understanding of the mechanisms that lead to an act of graffiti-making. Hence, this section proceeds all others so that discussion of specific examples given throughout the rest of Chapter 4 can be related to the concept of presence mediation.

In this research project, contemporary graffiti-making practices were examined taking their relationship to spaces as a point of departure. In the process, the idea of establishing and mediating presence emerged as an important factor in graffiti-making and became essential to progress the understanding of such practices. Thus the following pages host an overview of some of the core ideas that emerged from the research into the nature of presence. These come from the fields of cognitive and perceptual psychology and ontology – a branch of philosophy concerned with the nature of 'being'. Examination of the concept of presence is accompanied by an exploration of the nature of space, and the main arena of graffiti-making – public spaces in particular. Concepts from the fields of urban and human geography and urban sociology are discussed and linked to the concept of presence. This is followed by analysis of graffiti making practices as presence mediation in Section 4.1.2.

4.1.1 Presence and Space

Graffiti-making practices are deeply rooted in public spaces. Moreover, characteristics of presence such as visibility, action and ability to modify an environment are at the root of graffiti-making. Through graffiti diverse social actors mark their presence in

the shared urban environment, however such self-given presence is often seen as unruly. This section explores the mechanisms of establishing presence and the role that tools such as graffiti play in mediating presence. It also examines the meaning of public spaces and why achieving a sense of presence in contemporary urban environments is a challenging and never ending process. Some of the following paragraphs are purely theoretical – aiming to familiarize the reader with the core issues related to the concept of presence and the idea of operating as a part of an urban environment. This forms the basis for a more detailed examination of the links between graffiti-making and the theories discussed here, which are undertaken in the following sections.

Psychologist J. J. Gibson (2014 (1979), p. 4) argued that 'animal and environment make an inseparable pair'. Furthermore Edward Soja (2009, p. 11) asserted that space 'is a vital existential force shaping our lives, an influential aspect of everything that ever was, is, or will be'. Development of theories such as subcultures, neo-tribes or non-movement, which are discussed in relation to graffiti-making practices in Section 4.4, was a result of co-presence of various social groups in shared spaces where the differences between what is perceived as 'normal' and what is seen as 'deviant' or 'other' could be established and negotiated by social actors and then observed and described by researchers.

The idea of presence is concerned with our 'being in the world' (Heidegger 1962 (1926); Zahorik and Jenison 1998) and it may seem to be a simple one – for the most part we take our presence for granted – if we are here it means we are present. As Riva et al. (2003) noted, our sense of presence is not something that we are aware of or reflect upon in our everyday life: 'as conscious and awake perceivers we have little doubt of the visible three-dimensional world which extends in front of us, and that we are part of this space' (p.3). Therefore social actors, including potential graffiti-makers, constitute an active part of the environment within which they exist, however they are not always aware of the processes of negotiating their presence within these environments. Their actions are, to a large extent, intuitive, rather than consciously

planned, and to understand them we should first understand the factors that influence a sense of presence.

Much of the recent enquiry into the nature of presence focused on virtual or mediated realities such as chat rooms, video conferences and other types of online interactions. While this area may seem separate from the enquiry into the sense of presence in the real world, where the actual acts of graffiti-making practices take place, Riva et al. noted that 'as a user experience, the feeling of 'being there', or presence, is not intrinsically bound to any specific type of technology – it is a product of the mind' (2003, p.5) and therefore it is negotiated through the same processes of perception and interpretation, regardless of whether we experience the real or the virtual environment. Indeed, the parallels and transferability of findings between the 'real' and the 'virtual' presence are surprising and enlightening. Observing how virtual reality users experience presence enables in turn to recognise how this complex psychological state is created and mediated by manipulating the environment, whether a virtual one or real, everyday spaces (Lombard and Ditton 1997).

Zahorik and Jenison (1998) distinguish two main traditions that inform contemporary understanding of the concept of presence. First is the rationalistic position based on 'understanding of the relationship between psychological and physical domains' (p.79), which assesses the sense of presence on the basis of how well the physical environment matches users' mental image of the world, in other words, how familiar it is to the user. The alternative – ecological approach – links our sense of presence to 'our normal, everyday physical interactions with physical environment' (Ibid.), and thus recognises the dependence of a sense of presence on the physical actions and interactions that a user can perform in a given environment, and their impact on the environment.

The rationalistic approach to understanding presence assumes the separation of subject (human) and the object (the environment), which means that certain qualities of the environment are taken for granted and considered always true and independent from the processes of human perception and interpretation (Zahorik and

Jenison 1998). The environment is considered 'successful' when these taken for granted qualities of the physical environment and the mental image created by its user overlap. In real world situation objects are designed in a way that they retain physical qualities that enable us to instantly recognise their function, such as shape, size, colour, materials, kinematics, sound, smell, etc. For instance a potential graffiti-maker knows in a split second when she/he sees a spray can, a wall or a police car and the presence, or absence, of such elements influences her/his actions. Informed by such observations, creators of virtual realities have initially focused mostly on accurate reproduction of the physical elements, so to say the 'architecture' of virtual environment that defines the space and may encourage or discourage certain behaviours and actions. The objective was to create a truthful representation of the environment so that users will recognise its elements, be convinced of their tangibility and become immersed in it, and as a result act as if these elements were real.

A similar approach has been adopted to urban planning. Elements of the urban environment are designed in a manner that insures that the public will be able to easily recognise its elements and immerse in it. This may be to a large extent convenient to the public – we can move through urban spaces more effortlessly and stress-free as we know what to expect and how to interact with it. However, such designs are often produced with an intent to control the public behaviour, promoting certain actions and preventing others. In the global era cities around the world have become, to a large extent, homogeneous and city planners respond mainly to the neoliberal need for 'spectacular' cities - financial and cultural capitals that attract businesses and tourism aiming on structured and smooth flow of capital (Springer 2011; also see Chomsky, 2013). Questions of public life, the nature of urban space and social change are often forgotten compromising the needs and rights of local communities and failing to be flexible enough to allow for otherness, multitude of needs and the many daily rituals of the various cultures that exist side by side in contemporary cities (Herzog 2006). In neoliberal cities the most prominent spaces are turned into commercial centres, giant office zones, global tourist centres or highly regulated leisure and cultural quarters, and with such urban planning strategies issues of gentrification have become widespread (Smith 1996 and 2002). Artificial or

simulated spaces such as shopping malls or entertainment centres became the primary places where urban dwellers encounter each other (Herzog 2006). In such spaces the public order is maintained by 'keeping [them] relatively free of passion' (Springer 2011, p.543) and the activities of their users are steered and ordered – focused on the consumption of goods and services. Practices, such as graffiti-making, which introduce personal, emotionally or ideologically loaded elements that may distract from the intended use of these spaces or make the visitors uncomfortable, are prevented by the authorities or private parties who hold the right to control and organise these spaces. Therefore many scholars have announced the death, or at least the deep decline of public spaces (Sorkin 1992; Mitchell 1995; Johnes and Ward 2004; Herzog 2006).

Augé (2008) supports this view with his concept of non-places – urban spaces that lack identity, are not destinations anymore, not places of gathering but rather generic spaces that people simply pass through to get somewhere else or visit to acquire standard commodities or services. In such spaces possibilities to mediate presence are limited and interactions with other social actors are rather passive. What Doreen Massey saw as a *meeting place*, where the possibility of encountering others leads to meaningful interactions and 'coexisting *heterogenities*' (2005, p.9) is reduced to homogenised physical environment and practices. These are not spaces designed to stay in, these are spaces to move through and therefore graffiti-making practices, which put emphasis on occupying space and individualism, and require active engagement and modification of such environment, disturb the order and are not welcome.

According to the ecological approach to understanding presence, such urban environments pose great obstacles to achieving a sense of presence. Further enquiry into the sense of presence in virtual realities has shown that it is not only the physical qualities of environment that make us feel present but also how well its elements perform their function and how much interaction between the user and the environment is allowed (Lombard and Ditton 1997). The types and variety of activities that the users can perform have a crucial influence on their relationship with the

environment. The ability to modify the environment is therefore recognised as one of the most important factors that determine our sense of presence (Sheridan 1999; Lombard and Ditton 1997; Zahorik and Jenison 1998; Mantovani and Riva 1999; Riva et al. 2003). Heeter (1992), in addition, emphasises the importance of social interactions, which enhance the sense of presence – existence of other social actors who recognise and acknowledge our presence confirms that we are 'there'. This was explicit in the interviews with graffitists. Putting tags, images or slogans out in public spaces is a graffitist's way of developing relationships with the physical environment and with the people who inhibit it. For instance, one graffitist stated that when he moved to a new country, spraying stencils in public spaces and observing how others react to them by either removing them or adding other elements, was his way of becoming visible and connected with his new social and physical environment – becoming a part of it (Anonymous, 2011, pres. comm., February). Another graffitist, nero108, explained in our email conversation that:

> [Connection with places] is the most important thing. (…) Today I paint mainly on canvas or on paper or I make installations. But I still NEED to go and to paint in some places sometimes. For me it's like a ritual. Today it happens not every day, but sometimes I go out and I search for the right place. It can be during a snowy day… I can't resist, I go out and I go to paint, again it's something magical. I like to go with my friends… I like how the earth smells at night… stuff like that, and especially I still like to do things just because I want, and where I want sometimes (108nero, 2013, pres. comm., March).

It is therefore explicit that the ability to be active and visible within the public dimension of spaces within which we live, is an important aspect of human existence and graffiti is a tool through which such an elevated sense of presence can be achieved.

However, in our everyday lives we can also observe that the boundaries between the 'real' and the 'virtual' world are becoming increasingly blurred. For example for contemporary graffitists presence in the virtual environment compliments, or at times even seems necessary for achieving a sense of presence in the 'real' world, to disseminate their work to global audiences and to be 'known of'. Augé (2008) observed that in the 20th century public life significantly declined and people

retreated into private spaces by the lure of electronic communication and entertainment. The Internet and virtual social networks pose as substitutes of public spaces and a lot of human interaction has been moved from physical to virtual space (Castells 2004). Interactive media, radio and TV became the means to experience public life in individual orientated living spaces. A sense of identity, belonging and presence are constructed through these new channels:

> The individual is decentred in a sense from himself. He has instruments that place him in constant contact with the remotest parts of the outside world. Portable telephones are also cameras, able to capture still or moving images; they are also televisions and computers. The individual can thus live rather oddly in an intellectual, musical or visual environment that is wholly independent of his immediate physical surroundings (Augé 2008, viii).

Indeed such new means of communication and dissemination have played a significant role in shaping the relationship that modern day society has with graffiti and the ease with which the ideas and trends related to graffiti-making are exchanged between the remotest parts of the globe. Nonetheless, Springer (2011) emphasises that while a lot of social activities and information sharing can take place in a virtual public sphere, public space must be established in a physical space. He emphasises that 'while public space may be exclusionary to certain social groups it remains the most important site where public claims can be made visible and contested' and to change the existing order 'often means forcibly occupying the space of exclusion, reinforcing the idea that public space has never been guaranteed' (p.542). Also Bayat (2004) considers presence in the public sphere as one of the most powerful means through which marginalised groups of society can negotiate their social position. For instance, Brazilian Pixaçãos originating from disenfranchised parts of society use graffiti to occupy public spaces with an aim of enforcing their visibility. They also use the virtual environment to disseminate images and videos of their actions through, for example, Facebook groups, such as *PIXACÃO SÃO PAULO BRAZIL* with over 6 500

members or Facebook pages such as *Pixação Brazil* with over 63 000 followers[13]. However, the meaning of their actions is created through their presence in the physical environment and the content of their virtual presence is predominantly composed of photographs of their graffiti. In addition, while the virtual presence reaches mostly those already interested in their practices, presence in the physical environment enables graffitists to confront those members of the public that are not necessarily interested in noticing their presence.

The importance of presence in the real, physical environment is also explicit in that locations of graffiti-making actions are oftentimes strategic and aimed at high impact. For example, in 2008 a group of Pixaçãos invaded the São Paulo Biennale. Provoked by the curatorial theme of openness, they sprayed their tags on the empty walls on second floor of the exhibition venue aiming to instigate discussions about inclusions and exclusions within contemporary art world (Jerry Batista, 2011, pers. Comm., May).

Figure 5. *Abaixa a Ditadura* (trans. Down with the Dictatorship) illegally written by Pixação at the 28th São Paul Biennale; Brazil; 2008; (Source: Aguinaldo Rocca/VC no G1)

Unsurprisingly, the invaders were quickly removed from the building and some were arrested and convicted (Kleber, 2010). The incident made headlines and instigated a

---

[13] Figures correct at the time of writing the thesis (October 2016).

wider public discussion on whether, as members of Brazilian society, Pixaçãos should have the right to be represented at national cultural events. At the next São Paulo Biennale in 2010, fitting in with the overall theme 'Art and Politics', a group of Pixaçãos was invited to present their work (Kleber, 2010). This was an important, even if somehow forced, act of recognition from the established art world, which once again took its significance specifically from the ability to occupy and influence the shape and meaning of a physical space using graffiti as a tool.

Such an idea of action within a social context is central to the ecological/cultural approach to understanding the concept of presence (Riva et al. 2003). According to this approach, informed by theories of Heidegger and J. J. Gibson, and contrary to the rationalistic approach, the subject (user) and the object (environment) cannot be separated as they continually inform each other (Zahorik and Jenison 1998). Therefore, when analysing graffiti-making practices we need to first and foremost take into consideration the physical and social environment in which they take place.

In addition, Heidegger (1962 (1926)) asserted that the sense of presence is tightly connected to the way in which the perceiver interprets the environment and therefore various social actors produce various interpretations. Contemporary researchers agree that presence, being a product of the mind, is experienced differently by different social actors depending on their personal characteristics such as culture, beliefs, needs, preferences, experiences, abilities, age, gender or language as well as the history and contemporary meaning of a given place (Heeter 1992; Lombard and Ditton 1992; Riva et al. 2003) and the personal relevance of this place to the user (Kim, 1996). That means that the fact that one individual is satisfied with her/his sense of presence in a given environment does not mean that all other individuals are. These observations add another element to our analysis – each graffiti-maker needs to be considered not only as an element of the environment within which she/he exists but also as an individual entity whose actions are dictated by a complex and personal set of triggers. For example, as will be discussed in Section 4.2.1, some graffitists are happy to work on commercial projects and gain a greater sense of presence through the exposure that such projects give them. Others perceive

the restrictions of commercial projects as limiting their freedom of expression or exploiting the values of graffiti-making and hence choose not to create commercial or commissioned graffiti.

Every one of us partakes in these processes of mediation as we leave and enter spaces. Through actions that we choose to, or not to, perform we modify and define environments that we enter, even if only temporarily. Unusual or unfamiliar actions, such as those of graffitists, have the capability to destabilise the environment and hence become a source discomfort for other users and certainly for moderators of those spaces. Massey (1991) and Gupta and Ferguson (1992) highlight that it is by no means a new phenomenon that public spaces, and consequently our lives, are intruded upon by outsiders and therefore never stabilised. Urban public spaces have throughout history been inhabited by a multitude of different communities that display high levels of heterogeneity – different ethnicities, cultures, religions, political views, classes, ages, gender identities, needs and interests, and, as will be discussed throughout this chapter, such diversity of urban populations is explicit in graffiti-making practices. Public spaces are the places of encounter, interaction and mediation where we physically participate in public life and interact with 'the other' being subjected to unanticipated encounters with the unknown, which at times evoke feelings of vulnerability and discomfort. Such uncomfortable encounters with physical space and with other social actors lead to either withdrawal from such spaces (in cases when individuals have no agency to deal with the threatening elements of environment) or, as Deutsche (1996) notes, exclusion of such unwanted elements from the environment (when individuals have the power of moderating the environment) – prohibition of graffiti-making practices is such a case.

Many types of graffiti-making practices, particularly those that are unsolicited, are commonly perceived as anti-establishment. Even if not directly criticising the establishment, the manner in which such graffiti occupies public spaces contests commonly accepted rules of the accepted use of public spaces. Therefore graffitists are seen as intruders of urban scape. In addition their commonly anonymous identities disturb the lives of the majority of urban dwellers for whom the ordered

and predictable character of public spaces provide a higher sense of safety and comfort. In that sense public spaces, even those that are seemingly democratic and inclusive, are spaces of tension, always balancing between the efforts of those in power, or the majority, to regulate the shared environment, while others, the minority or the opposition, contest the established order in an effort to have their say. Indeed, Springer (2011) defines democratic public spaces as 'the site where political actors, both rich and poor, and the stratagem of neoliberalised capital continually stake their claims' and recognises that 'the inherently contested character of public space reveals that it is never free from disorder, an observation that places democracy in conflict with the need of 'order''(p.528).

There is therefore a need to embrace and address the heterogeneity of public spaces, and as Massey (1991) argues, the sense of place is a concept open for negotiation, one that is not fixed but can be progressive. As much as people are to a large extent products of their environment, equally spaces are constructed and defined by individuals, communities and society. In his influential book *The Production of Space,* Lefebvre (1991) has described space as socially produced through our visions of how it should be organised and used, how we order and represent it, and how we utilise it through our everyday practices. Therefore the relationship between spaces and social actors is relational: one continually reshapes and is reshaped by the other. It is also fluid as individuals frequently move in and out of spaces.

Social actors, therefore, need tools and practices through which they can establish and negotiate their sense of presence within public spaces. It is argued in this thesis that graffiti is one of such tools. Practices or actions, however, are not solely based around a tool, as tool is merely a means of achieving a goal, they result from our relationship with the environment. This idea is the focus of the next section.

4.1.2 Graffiti-Making Practices as Presence Mediation

In the previous section it was established that practices of individuals or groups cannot be fully understood separate from the social and physical environment. Engagement with space is necessary for social actors to establish and mediate their

presence, and this happens through what Massey called '*practicing* of places' (Massey, 2005, p.154). Individuals practice places in response to the environment using the skills and tools that are available to them, forming connections and developing narratives.

Heidegger (1962 (1926)) described the experience of a social actor encountering a given environment as *throwness* – being thrown into context of a particular space filled with objects, other social actors and meanings and acting according to his/her individual needs and interpretation of the situation[14]. In this state of *throwness* we do not perceive objects in terms of their physical attributes but rather 'according to their usefulness in whatever task is currently being performed' (Zahorik and Jenison 1998, p.84). Heidegger (1962 (1926)) called such objects *ready-to-hand* tools.

Likewise, Gibson claimed that social actors do not simply create mental representations of objects that they encounter but perceive them in terms of 'possible action relationships' (Zahorik and Jenison 1998, p. 86). Gibson (1979) argued that the environment constitutes of *affordances* – objects that are not equal to everyone but, as Riva et al. (2003) explain, 'offer different opportunities according to the actors, their social context, and their goals and needs' and act as 'resources, which are only revealed to those who seek them' (p.11).

While Heidegger (1962 (1926)) defined such state as *throwness*, Massey (2005) went a step further putting forward an idea of *throwtogetherness* – one that acknowledges the existence of multiplicity of individual actors' 'stories' or 'trajectories' and the necessity to navigate and mediate one's own presence in response to such multiplicity

---

[14] Zahorik and Jenison (1998) distinguish several points that describe the state of throwness: 1) Action is unavoidable – even lack of action is a form of action; 2) Detached reflection about action is impossible. It is not possible to stop and analyse actions during the course of them; 3) Action effects are unpredictable; 4) All the actors involved are improvising. After the action ends, actors may be able to represent the situation. During the action they do not have a complete picture of the situation; 5) Representation is interpretation. Each actor partaking in the same situation has the potential to interpret it differently (Zahorik and Jenison 1998, p.83).

through active engagement – through some sort of practice. Massey (2005) considers space 'as an arena where negotiation is forced upon us' and argues that 'place … does change us … not through some visceral belonging … but through the *practicing* of place, the negotiating of intersecting trajectories' (p.154). The issues of who is welcome and what is normal and acceptable in urban spaces impact on how different members of society feel about themselves, the rest of society and their physical surroundings. In that sense we may view presence as a 'social negotiation of reality' (Mantovani and Riva 1999, p.546) that takes place in response to the environment – the context of space.

However, the capacities of different social actors to carry out their practices in public spaces are not equal but determined by their social status, local customs, laws and ordering of physical space. These negotiations are deeply immersed in the physical and social context – types of tools available to establish and mediate one's presence, the relevance of particular tools in particular environments and the abilities of individual social actors to access and use these tools. Therefore to understand the function and meaning of graffiti-making we also need to question the level of sense of presence that particular contexts or places provide, and whether this sense is equally achievable for all types of social actors that exist in this environment.

In Figure 6 graffiti-makers and graffiti (seen as a tool) are situated within heterogeneous spaces - environments made up of multiple contexts, tools and users. The coexistence of these three components in the same space and time leads to specific actions through which users mediate their presence using the tools most relevant and accessible to them. These actions lead to establishing visibility, communication and modification of environment. Neither the graffitists themselves are the sole catalysts of a graffiti-making action, nor is the graffiti the end product.
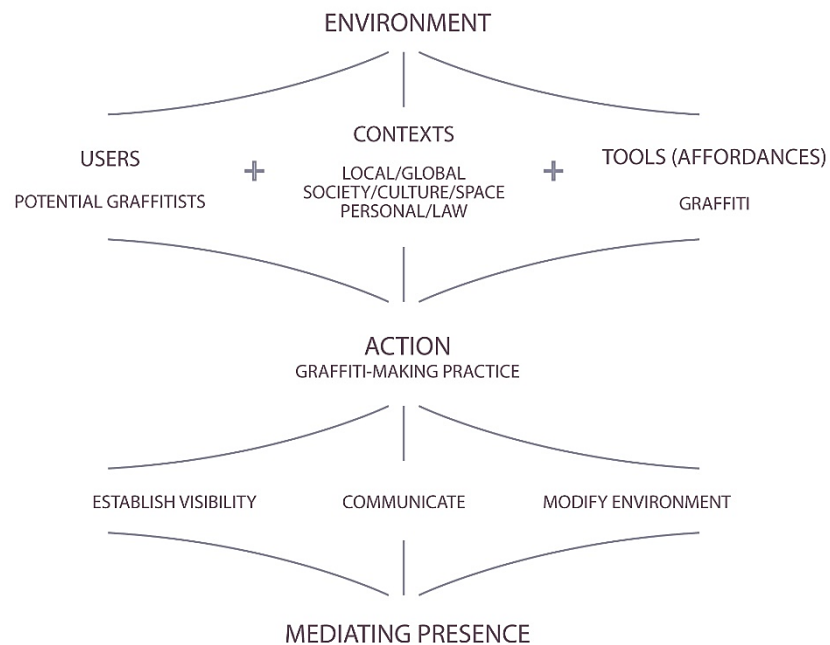
Figure 6. Graffiti-Making Practices as Presence Mediation.

.

Before becoming graffitists, social actors are part of an environment that provides a multitude of stimuli for actions – for '*practicing* of place' and mediating one's presence within it. Riva et al. (2003) specify 'three elements, which promise an elevated sense of presence: a *cultural framework*, the possibility of *negotiation* – both of actions and of their meaning, and the possibility of *action*' (p.11). Zahorik and Jenison (1998) assert that action is unavoidable and actors provided with a stimuli from the environment improvise in response to it. Sense of presence, and therefore actions that individuals perform to mediate such sense, relate to the way in which individuals interpret the environment (Heidegger, 1962 (1926)) – various social actors produce varying interpretations and act upon them using 'both physical and conceptual tools which belong to a given culture' (Mantovani and Riva 1999, p.545).

Existing in a state of throwness / throwtogetherness, and influenced by the context, users reach for the tools which are most useful to them. When graffiti occurs to a user

as a *ready-to-hand* tool, or in words of Gibson (2014 (1979)) – an *affordance*, she/he uses it to perform an action. An act of graffiti-making takes place and a piece of graffiti becomes a part of that environment. The consequence of such action is a modified environment in which the user communicates meaning. This transforms the physical space making presence and agency possible especially if she/he believes a valuable social contribution was made. The practice becomes presence and the presence becomes practice.

For instance, living under Israeli occupation, Palestinian graffitist Hamza Abu Ayash is 'thrown' into a context of struggle for national freedom, violence and limited mobility. The context influences his sense of presence, which is compromised because of the restrictions that the political and military conflict have on his ability to negotiate and act freely. However, he feels a need to make the Palestinian struggle for freedom publically visible and to promote ideas of national and personal freedom (Abu Ayash 2013). As Zahorik and Jenison (1998) noted, when the stimuli is present action is unavoidable and hence Hamza Abu Ayash turns to *affordances* available to him in order to respond to the context. Because his aim is to communicate ideas publically and the media is controlled by political factions, public spaces and graffiti occur to him as the most accessible way of transmitting his messages to the public. Through his actions, he is able to actively respond to the context within which he lives. He communicates, makes issues that are important to him visible (making himself symbolically visible too), he modifies the environment and is likely to observe some sort of reaction. All these aspects result in an elevated sense of presence and belonging to that environment.

To sustain the presence graffitists have to sustain particular graffiti-making practices until graffiti, as a tool, becomes irrelevant to them. As 'presence is tantamount to successfully supported action in the environment' (Zahorik and Jenison 1998), once other, more relevant means through which presence can be established emerge, the users adopt them. If Hamza Abu Ayash would find a tool that would allow him to achieve his goals more effectively than graffiti, he would move on and use it.

This is evident not only in choices that users make between graffiti and other tools but also between the specific types of graffiti that they choose to use. An example of the Chilean graffitist Inti, illustrates such a case. He started engaging with graffiti as a tagger, which initially gave him a sense of belonging to a particular group of people and allowed him to achieve symbolic ownership of the places that he tagged. With time he realised the potential of graffiti to transmit ideas to a broader public and he became interested in doing so. At that point tagging, which is meaningful only to a relatively small number of peers, became irrelevant to him and he started creating figurative graffiti through which he is able to communicate ideas more effectively to the general public (Inti, 2011, pers. comm., May). That means that he is able to reach, influence and receive reaction from more people, including individuals and organisations that are interested in his artistic abilities and may offer opportunities to further expand his practice.

Most of the time the mediating tools, in this case graffiti, remain transparent to the users because the focus is on completing the action and not on the tool itself. However, there are also moments of a *breakdown* when the tool does not perform the task as planned or when the outcomes of its use are not as intended (Heidegger (1962 (1926)). In such situations the tool becomes the focus. For instance taggers use graffiti to mark and eventually dominate space with their symbolic presence. Graffiti is their tool of choice but the focus is on being visible – through the tags produced – to other taggers as well as to other members of society. However, if caught by the authorities the outcome that the use of graffiti produces is not what was originally intended. That is a moment of *breakdown* when the original intentions of establishing presence become irrelevant and the focus shifts towards the tool – graffiti – and its properties. The interest of the art world in the 1970s New York style graffiti can also be seen as such *breakdown*.

The consequences of a *breakdown* and subsequent dramatic shift of focus towards the tool may therefore result in the change of meaning that use of such a specific tool produces. For example, Italian graffitist Blu used graffiti with the intention of bringing attention to social, cultural, economic, political and environmental issues, however

64

the current graffiti trend caused that his murals became a commodity for collectors and a marketing tool. In response Blu has recently painted over murals representing 20 years of his graffiti-making practice in Bologna, as he felt they did not serve the purpose he intended anymore (Cascone 2016; Vimercati, 2016).

What is important to note is that such *breakdown* does not mean the end of a practice – the practice continues because mediation of presence in not a project that has an end. However, when the context changes different responses may be necessary and different tools, or different uses of them, may become more relevant to the specific needs of an individual.

While the function of graffiti-making practices can be described as presence mediation, they do not have one singular meaning. Being performed by diverse social actors with various intentions, such meanings are created on a personal level and in the context of an environment. There can be many interpretations of these practices and hence there exist vast disparities in definitions, understandings and approaches to making sense of graffiti. However, considering graffiti-making as presence mediation helps to produce more informed approaches. Firstly, it presents graffiti as a tool and not as an aim, and therefore points to look beyond the visual manifestation of the graffiti-making action. Secondly, it indicates that graffiti is used when the user perceives it as an affordance / ready-to-hand tool, which means that it appears to the user as the most relevant means of responding to the context in which they find themselves. Thirdly, it puts emphasis on the environment (both socio-cultural and physical) as the main stimulus for action, therefore the graffiti-maker is not the sole catalyst of the action. Finally it acknowledges that graffiti-making action has no universal meaning. The context is key to understanding and responding to graffiti-making action in an informed manner.

4.1.3 Summary

The pre-existing theories relating to the concepts of presence and public spaces were explored with an aim to provide context for further analysis of graffiti-making practices. These concepts prove to be tightly related to each other. It is evident that

the socio-cultural contexts of places are pivotal to creating our experiences and defining our sense of presence and therefore of belonging. Some of the most important factors, which shape our sense of presence include accessibility of spaces that make up our everyday realities; our understanding of the elements that make for that spaces; the ability to interact with objects and other social actors (communication, cooperation) and the range and quality of such interactions; possibility to perform actions and modify the environment; our visibility within the space; as well as generation of emotions and memory.

When we consider presence not only as a sense of being physically present, but also as being socially present – being visible, able to act, interact and communicate, it becomes clear that the ability to feel present cannot be taken for granted. The concept of presence, whether physical or social, intrinsically relates to space, and to activities that we are, or are not allowed to perform in a given space. The sense of presence, as Lombard and Ditton (1997) defined, can be described as a 'perceptual illusion of non-mediation'. Many of us, not giving much thought to our everyday existence, immerse in public spaces, the main forum of mediating social presence, as they were indeed non-mediated. Only as we discover that some actions, including graffiti-making, are not permitted, that the environment does not allow certain types of interaction and that we are not free to modify it, we realise that these spaces are indeed mediated and our presence within them is largely compromised.

Public spaces play an important role as places where we encounter the 'other' and negotiate the conditions of our coexistence. Therefore conflict is embedded in these spaces as an element aiming at equalising the ability to be present in personally meaningful ways. As such public spaces are the arena where power-relationships come into play. The privileged groups in power have access to more tools, and hence opportunities to be actively involved in shaping the environment. Using such tools they aim at maintaining established order and prevent conflict by eliminating otherness.

Nevertheless, no matter how homogenised or ordered public spaces become, they still remain potential sites of political intervention, spaces where identities and ideologies are actively negotiated and issues of inclusion and exclusion are contested. This contestation of public spaces is done both 'from the top' - by authorities and dominant social groups, who may be seen as the moderators of space, and 'from the bottom' - by 'ordinary' citizens, activists, marginalised communities, etc. – the users of space. Some mechanisms through which presence is mediated in the context of public spaces are obvious in their presence and intention, these include development of policies and legislations, or organised protests against such existing laws. Others include more subtle, everyday actions that are presumably passive yet may have subversive consequences, this includes being visible either through physical presence or through actions and symbols (Bayat 2004).

In this context graffiti acts as means of mediating presence and plays an important role in redefining the very character of spaces within which it is created. Section 4.1.2 examined graffiti as a re*ady-to-hand tool/affordance* that is used by social actors when it is recognised by them as the most relevant tool through which their presence in the physical and social public space can be established and maintained. Riva et al. (2003) noted that the sense of presence depends on the 'capacity of [the environment] to produce a context in which social actors may communicate and cooperate' (p.11). Montovani and Riva (1999) further argued that even if performed by individuals, actions do not take place in isolation but result from the context and are influenced by 'other actors involved in the same situation' (p.545). These elements will be taken into consideration in the following sections of this thesis, where graffiti will be analysed with emphasis on cultural framework (the context of places) and as a social practice focused on negotiation and developing relationships and networks with other social actors.

To further relate the above theories to graffiti-making, the next section focuses on identifying the main types of graffiti users and discussing the role of graffiti-making in their efforts to establish and mediate presence. It also systematises the types of messages that are communicated through graffiti with an aim to better understand

its function. This will lay a grounds for further discussion on context-specificity of graffiti-making practices, which will be presented through the analysis of a variety of examples in Section 4.3, and analysis of relationships that may form between various types of graffiti-makers, presented in Section 4.5.

4.2 Graffitists and Their Messages

4.2.1 Users and Moderators

In this section the emphasis is laid on identifying the types of individuals and groups who are involved in and influence graffiti-making practices. Analysis of collected data has shown that contemporary graffiti makers do not constitute a cohesive group, on the contrary they come from a wide variety of cultural, ideological and socio-economic backgrounds. There was no cohesiveness found as for who a typical graffitist is and what she/he aims to represent through their interventions in public spaces. However, seven groups were distinguished as the most prevalent in using graffiti based on their specific relationship with graffiti-making and the meaning of these practices in the context of their social and cultural background.

The groups described below have been considered as users and moderators that operate within somewhat artificial environments – ordered and mediated public spaces – where power-relationships are negotiated through the right to be present. The users were considered to be those for whom graffiti and public spaces are the *ready-to-hand* tools or *affordances* which help to establish and mediate presence. The moderators are those who have the decisive power over the shape and content of environment and how the users can interact with it. It is important to note that boundaries between the different groups described below are often trespassed and it is not uncommon for individual graffitists to operate across different social and physical environments. For instance, they may be artists and/or activists and at the same time belong to a marginalised group of society. Example of such are the feminist graffitists Shamsia Hassani, Tatyana Fazlalizadeh and Foma, whose work will be discussed later in this chapter.

The largest group creating graffiti was found to be marginalised individuals and social groups. It should be noted, that while marginalisation is normally considered as relatively extreme instances of unjust or peripheral treatment, this term is used here in an expanded meaning. The relative personal sense of inclusion/exclusion experienced by people is taken into consideration and in this context 'marginalised' conveys disenfranchisement related to the use of public spaces as a platform for mass communication and engagement, and therefore includes individuals and groups that may not be normally considered as marginalised. By marginalised it is meant here (1) those whose ideas, opinions, culture, activities or appearance are significantly limited in public spaces by lack of opportunities to engage, organisation of space, social norms and law, or financial limitations and (2) those who are subjected to ethnic, cultural, religious, gender or age discrimination. This includes in particular the young, the elderly, members of cultural, ethnic, religious, sexual and political minorities, immigrants, the poor and women but also anyone else who feels that their ability to participate, express themselves and perform meaningful actions in shared public spaces is compromised.

Despite the growing cultural diversity of contemporary cities, few people have the right and privilege to decide about the shape and character of urban environments and the ideas and messages that are communicated to the society in public spaces. As established in the previous section, such factors largely compromise the sense of presence. For that reason many members of society who are not typically thought of as marginalised are excluded from their social and spatial environment and have few opportunities to meaningfully engage and interact outside their immediate social circle. Examples may include citizens who have no platform to publically voice and discuss their political opinions, teenagers for whom the urban environment does not offer avenues to engage and develop their social identity, or artists with no opportunities to exhibit their work.

Such exclusion limits the spatial and social world of marginalised groups and in this context graffiti appears to users of such spaces to be one of the most accessible tools

that can be used to establish presence. Therefore messages of marginal groups can be observed in abundance in contemporary cities and vary from simple tags to more intricate graphics and murals. The public walls are covered with bold socio-political comments, artists illegally install their pieces in public spaces and walls of school yards, bus stops or neighbourhood streets become places where teenagers experiment with their social identity.

Figure 7 shows one such example from People's Park in Limerick, where local teenagers write their names and messages on gazebo pillars. With few other opportunities to establish their presence in physical public spaces, graffiti is an *affordance* commonly used by teenagers from all social and cultural backgrounds. Amongst their doodles, there was observed a strong presence of Polish and Arabic alongside the English language, reflecting large population of immigrants inhabiting the vicinity of the park and mediating their social presence on a very basic level – within their own community.

Figure 7. Writings on gazebo pillars; 2014; People's Park, Limerick, Ireland.

Graffiti proves to be an important tool for those with no other means to engage with society and with the public space that they inhabit. A safe level of anonymity allows

for expression without being directly judged, and public spaces become a forum where such conversations may happen.

4.1.1.2 Artists

The acceptance of graffiti as a form of expression into the mainstream art world and its consecutive assimilation into the mainstream consumer culture opened new avenues to artists. Now graffiti became a *tool ready-to-hand*, which enables the willing artists to expand their practices into public spaces and what follows, to establish a deeper relationship with their surroundings, both physical and social, to gain greater visibility and reach new audiences. Such opportunities brought a two-fold development – some artists started to use graffiti as a tool for more socially engaged practice, while for others it became a way of gaining greater exposure. Conor Harrington, Irish artists with graffiti roots, recalled that 'the street art scene has been a kind of fast-track to success for a lot of people. (…) within months of the [graffiti] boom they had sell out shows' (Harrington 2010).

Graffiti, and more specifically the types of graffiti conveyed under the name of Street Art, have consequently become a popular tool of self-promotion not only for artist but also for graphic designers (Reinecke 2012). This has, to some extent, divided committed graffiti-makers, with some graffitists considering links with commercial world as betrayal and criticising the relatively new interest of professional artists in graffiti-making:

> Most Street Artists come straight from the art school world. And while many are talented, too many simply move to a city, come up with some witty poster, sticker or stencil and then based on their art school connections get press and publicity for it (Ez 2007).

However, many artists who engage in graffiti-making strive to balance their commercial successes with the ability to use graffiti in socially, culturally or spatially meaningful ways – to communicate ideas and shape the environment. For instance New York based artist Callie Curry, working under the street name Swoon, found graffiti to be a tool through which she was able to expand her practice beyond the

71

walls of art galleries allowing for greater interaction with both physical and social urban environment. She believes in the ability of graffiti to push boundaries of accepted norms and 'create cracks to let in change' (Curry 2010). Reactions received from passers-by are particularly important – they inform her practice and enhances her sense of presence continuing to inspire socially engaged projects in public spaces (Curry 2009, 2010 and 2014).

For artists therefore, graffiti acts as a tool that provides greater visibility. At times it is used to overcome the inability to exhibit work in the traditional art venues and as a way of self-promotion. However, for many the appeal lays in the ability to connect with audiences outside the usual art gallery or museum context and to observe the reaction of the public. In this sense it allows them more freedom to interact with and modify the physical and the social urban environment and to gain more prominent visibility increasing their sense of presence within this environment.

4.1.1.3 Activists

Public spaces remain the forum where both individuals and established organisations campaign for social and environmental sustainability and graffiti is one of the most inexpensive and accessible ways to reach the urban populations.

Figure 8. (left) Stencil by an unknown graffitist campaigning against Shell; 2014; Galway, Ireland.
Figure 9. (right) Greenpeace stencil – part of campaign against devastating consequences that contemporary fishing methods have on colonies of dolphins; Akureyri, Iceland (Source: Greenpeace 2004).

With a limited means to promote their causes in the traditional mass media, activists use graffiti to situate their messages in public spaces with the aim of reaching broad audiences and spark social change. Such actions are carried out both by individuals (Figure 8) and organised groups, including international organisations such as Amnesty International or Greenpeace, who hire professional graffitists to support their campaigns (Figure 9).

Continuing the tradition of Situationists International, some contemporary western graffitists aim to undermine mainstream messages through the means of subvertising - changing little details in corporate logos, altering advertisements or taking over billboard spaces to highlight the visual domination of corporate messages over the cityscape and reclaim these spaces for their own use (Figure 10).

Figure 10. An example of subvertising by Kidult; ca. 2010; Paris, France
(Source: Kidult 2014).

Most prominent examples of so called advertising takeovers include Jordan Seilers'
New York Street Advertising Takeover action in 2009 that involved whitewashing of
over 100 advertising billboards illegally installed by marketing companies in New York
and covering them with artworks (Vartanlan 2009). UK based group Brandalism
organises similar actions targeting, however, both legal and illegal billboards. Their
action in May 2014 involved 40 artists and 360 advertising spaces in 10 UK cities
(Brandalism 2014). These subversive practices are particularly unwelcome by
authorities and such interventions are usually quickly removed from public spaces
(Friedman 2014).

4.1.1.4 Political Factions

Public spaces were historically the main forum of political debate. Today, however,
political actors withdrew from the public spaces in favour of printed and electronic
media. Nevertheless in certain regions of the world, where both the general public
and political players have less access to mass media, the urban environment still plays
crucial role in establishing presence of political parties and mediating their ideas. This
is particularly visible in regions of conflict or political unrest, such as Palestine,
southern Mexico and, until recently, Lebanon.

In Palestine, the ongoing occupation by Israel as well as the internal conflict between
the two leading political factions, Fatah and Hamas, has had an enormous impact on
the local graffiti-scape. Palestinian graffitist Hamza Abu Ayash explained, that with the
media being controlled by the Israelis 'the easiest way to spread news was using the
walls, writing messages and drawing the parties' logos just to say that we are here'
(Abu Ayyash 2013). Fatah and Hamas also recognise the importance of graffiti and
recruit artists to paint in the streets promoting parties' ideology (Figures 11 and 12).

Figure 11. A Palestinian man paints portraits of late Fatah leaders; Gaza City, Palestine (Source: The Arab American News 2009)

Figure 12. Graffiti in support of Hamas; Ramallah, Palestine (Source: Uhammed Muheisin/AP 2008)

In southern Mexico in turn, graffiti is widely utilised by political opposition – the Zapatista Army of National Liberation. Their graffiti, often taking the form of murals, commonly incorporates socio-political messages and promotes revolution against neoliberal economic and political practices (Figure 13). The ideas of collectiveness, equality, right to the land and importance of education are recurrent themes in these murals, which serve as everyday reminders of these values and promote the Zapatistas movement within the local communities.

Figure 13. Zapatista mural with messages *No Hay Arma Más Eficaz Que La Verdad En El Pensamiento (There is no weapon as effective as sincere thoughts)* and *Este Es Mi Pueblo Roza De Gente Valiente Que Con Una Piedra Derrumba Castillos (These are my courageous people who with one stone destroy castles);* ca. 2012; Oventic, Mexico (Source: Kelly Teamey 2012)

Graffiti serves to mark the territory of influence or to simply establish or maintain the presence of political factions in the physical and social environment as a sign of being active. Political factions turn to public spaces and graffiti in times when their presence is excluded from other forums of social engagement, such as printed and digital media and/or to connect with those who may not have access to such media.

4.1.1.5 City Authorities

With the advent of creative cities concept, contemporary cities no longer compete just as financial capitals but also as progressive creative hubs. The ideas of urban creativity and cultural diversity are now celebrated and used by civic authorities to raise the attractiveness of cities and attract investors, a diverse professional work force and tourists. In such context, it is becoming common for authorities to identify graffiti not only as a problem but also as something that, when used appropriately, has the potential to revitalise cityscapes. Cities such as Valparaiso, Berlin, London, New York or Melbourne, are known as graffiti or Street Art capitals and Street Art

tours are listed amongst their top tourist attractions[15]. Therefore in such contemporary urban environments the number of commissioned murals, graffiti festivals and so called 'legal walls' is on the increase. Graffiti has become one of the tools available to local authorities to mediate the position of their cities on a national and global stage.

Such developments give graffitists some level of recognition and greater access to public spaces, which in turn results in more opportunities to interact with the physical and social environment – to communicate, modify and be visible. While this seems to be a great step forward from the 'zero tolerance' policies, under closer inspection it becomes clear that only selected, specific types of graffiti are allowed while others remain marginalised.

For instance, in the Irish town of Sligo, the local Tidy Towns organisation supported by Sligo City Council, commissioned several murals to be painted in public spaces and organised a Street Art Jam (2014). Several graffitists were invited to paint the walls of a centrally located car park and Des Faul, from Sligo Tidy Towns, considered the event a great success. However, his press statement reveals specific interests in what this even was meant to provide:

> We were looking for quality work, not graffiti. All the guys [participating graffitists] are well known in their field. We wanted a big, long wall. (…) There is a youth vibe in that area, we wanted something different from the Yeats mural, which was more serious (…) It is about getting the ideal spot, where people can stand beside and take selfies (Des Faul cited in Sligo Champion 2014).

In this case the local authorities were willing to support very specific ideas that are in line with their vision of public spaces and strategic branding of the area as vibrant and cultural. The importance lies here in providing a spectacle ('big, long wall' and

---

[15] Street Art Tour is #3 on the Trip Advisor list of 39 tours and activities in Valparaiso, Chile; #6 of 265 in Berlin, Germany (as part of Alternative Berlin Tours); #7 of 538 in London, UK; #11 of 55 in Brooklyn, NY, USA; #22 of 186 in Melbourne, Australia (Trip Advisor 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d and 2015e).

opportunity to 'take selfies') and graffiti was used as a tool for beautification of the cityscape. Allowing graffiti makers to negotiate their presence in public spaces in a constructive way – as partners with real power to modify their environment – or the intention to develop a more inclusive policy towards marginalised social groups that use graffiti, appear to be missing. In fact another member of Sligo Tidy Towns, states that objectives of his team were 'to help ensure that the Sligo Borough is consistently presented in a clean and tidy condition', which includes 'removal of unsuitable graffiti' (Sligo Tidy Towns 2015).

Today there still exist laws prohibiting the creation of 'unsuitable' graffiti on public and private property. Local authorities have established anti-graffiti legislations and anti-graffiti task forces, like those in New York and Berlin (New York City Authority 1995; Galluzzo and Johnson 2011; Regen and Birg 2011), or regulate graffiti making as part of their 'litter prevention and control' policies (Citizen Information 2014; Limerick City Council 2010). Those who do not conform to these legislations are prosecuted and fined (Carney 2013a and 2013b; Hayes 2013; McLean 2013). For instance in 2013 in Dublin – which is home to several graffiti and Street Art events and festivals, including *Dublin City Signal Box* project run by Dublin City Council since 2012 (Kapila 2015) – two graffitists, Yogi and Robit, were prosecuted. During the trial, the defending attorney referring to one of the graffitists said that 'he was a "particularly immature 17-year-old" and believed the graffiti was "some form of artistic expression"' (McLean 2013).

Such cases exemplify that city authorities' attitudes towards graffiti are indeed arbitrary, selective and contradictory. Graffiti created with the approval of the authorities, most often referred to as Street Art, is promoted and celebrated as a form of artistic expression. Simultaneously other forms are criminalised and an idea that they could be a form of artistic expression is deemed 'immature'. These observations support the conclusions of researchers such as, McAuliffe (2012), who analysed the treatment of various instances of graffiti in Melbourne or Laruscahim (2014), who conducted a study of Brazilian Pixaçãos. Both of them found that authorities tend to maintain the order in public spaces by glorifying more artistic types of graffiti. By doing

so they claim they provide 'constructive' opportunities to engage in such practices but at the same time justify criminalisation of other, unwanted types of graffiti created by disenfranchised groups. The underlying causes of the appearance of illegal graffiti in public spaces are rarely, if ever, addressed and graffiti is treated as an end in itself rather than as an indicator of various social inequalities or a tool through which power-relationships are negotiated.

City authorities, therefore, play a dual role both as moderators and as users of public spaces. As moderators they hold the power to regulate the type and character of activities that can take place and define the types of social actors allowed to perform these actions. On the other hand, forced to mediate their own presence, they too use graffiti as one of the tools that enables them to maintain relevance amongst contemporary creative cities.

4.1.1.6 Cultural Organisations

Today it is not uncommon to see work of graffitists in the gallery environment. Several commercial galleries, such as Klughaus in New York, Lawrence Alkin in London or ATM and Intoxicated Demons in Berlin, dedicated their spaces exclusively to graffiti and post-graffiti art. Also some of the most established art institutions in the world have hosted graffiti shows, two of most significant – which are used below as case studies – were *Street Art* at Tate Modern (2008) (Figure 14) and *Art in the Streets* in MOCA Los Angeles (2011).

Acceptance of graffiti into the established art world was welcomed by many graffiti-makers. A chance to expand their practice to new contexts, participate in exhibitions and avail of the organisational support helped them to move from the fringes of cultural production to becoming significant cultural players and establish a more prominent presence. For instance Brazilian graffitist Nunca, who took part in *Street Art* at Tate Modern said:

> I have never before done anything like this, this scale and with a big institution. I'm learning with this, it is kind of another level of work. I think

it challenges people to think what is art and what is not art, where does it
have to come from. (Nunca in *Street Art. Painting TATE Modern* 2008)

Figure 14. *Street Art* exhibition at Tate Modern; 2008; London, UK (Source: Ben Rimmer 2008)

Including graffiti in their programme has been, in turn, important for art institutions.
It contributed to their efforts to remain relevant to current cultural developments and
attract new types of visitors, in particular younger audiences. In a video promoting
the *Street Art* exhibition at Tate Modern, its curator, Cedar Lewisohn, said: 'hopefully
it brings lots of new audiences … [there] is definitely lots of interest in this kind of art
at the minute' (Lewisohn in *Street Art. Painting TATE Modern* 2008). *Art in the Streets*
at MOCA LA curator, Jeffrey Deitch, said he aims at audiences who are

> not the people who make a living as artists, art critics or professional art
> collectors, which is the traditional MOCA audience [but] people who hear
> about a great new film they want to go to. They hear that there's a terrific
> new fashion store that's very cool — they want to go there. They don't
> differentiate between these cultural forms (Deitch in Johnson 2012).

Art in the Streets was attended by over 200 000 visitors, becoming the most popular show in the history of MOCA (Ng 2011).

While many graffitists have found it beneficial to exhibit in established art spaces, the assimilation of graffiti into the mainstream art world has also been controversial. This issue have come to the fore during the *Art in the Streets* exhibition (2011), when a mural painted by invited Italian graffitist Blu was deemed inappropriate and whitewashed (Figure 15). Jeffery Deitch - director of MOCA, and curator of the exhibition – commented that it was 'an example of the challenges of doing a show like this, where artists don't understand or aren't interested in the unspoken rules of participating in a group art exhibition' (Deitch in Leopold 2011). This demonstrates that graffitists showing in established art institutions may need to adjust their creative attitudes as they move between illicit interventions in public spaces and commissioned work for established institutions.

Figure 15. Erasing Blu's mural at MOCA; 2011; Los Angeles, USA (Source: Casey Caplowe/GOOD 2012)

It is also important to note that graffitists who are invited to take part in such exhibitions are relatively well known figures either on the local or international scene, while those who are not yet established or whose practices do not fit into the vision of a given institution or curator, remain marginalised.

Art institutions therefore play a role both as moderators – a body that decides who/what can be present in spaces that they moderate, and to what extent these

81

invited social actors interact with and modify the space; and as a user – a body that negotiates its own presence by using work of graffitists to remain relevant and interesting both from cultural and consumer-driven perspectives.

4.1.1.7 Commercial Enterprises

As processes of assimilation of graffiti into the mainstream culture began, also commercial enterprises saw the potential in using graffiti, mainly for marketing purposes. This development has been particularly controversial for those graffitists who saw it as contradictory to their understanding of the ethos of graffiti. Others, in turn, saw it as an opportunity to expand their practice and make a living from it, seeing collaboration with commercial enterprises as a natural development, mainly because both graffiti and advertising share common traits, such as presence in public spaces and an aim to attract attention and increase visible presence.

The relationship between commerce and cultural trends has never been personal but rather results from commercial interest. As Mark Penfold explains:

> Commerce loves whatever you love. […] Graffiti Writers and Street Artists, whether consciously or not, are part of a larger picture: one where commerce gradually appropriates art and aesthetics as part of the endless battle to convince customers of the need to consume. (Penfold 2007)

Graffiti is used in marketing campaigns of such enterprises as Miller, Opel, Mini, Red Bull, Levi's, Adidas or Converse to attract young urban creatives and those in pursuit of 'cool'. Using the aesthetics of graffiti and values associated with it, such as energy, authenticity, independence, non-conformism, sense of community, the urban, etc., these companies create advertisements that not only sell their products but also a whole life style. Therefore additional 'documentary' videos showing the process of creating the artwork and the artists' stories are often a part of such marketing campaigns. These offer additional inspirational content through which potential customers may develop a deeper connection not only with the artists but also with the advertised brand. This was, for instance, done by Converse, when they invited several artists to take part in their *Converse – the Canvas Experiment* project and by

Opel when two iconic German graffitists, DAIM and Loomit, created graphics for 2011 Opel Corsa advertising campaign (Figure 16)[16].

Figure 16. Screenshot of Opel's website with the artwork by DAIM and Loomit (Source: DAIM 2011)

Graffitists have mixed approaches and experiences related to such collaborations. Italian graffitist 108nero was invited to take part in Converse's project but the parties came to a disagreement when the graffitist refused to paint the company's logo on the artwork. In an e-mail interview 108nero described this experience:

> They said I had to paint their logo… so I said NO!!! For me it was crazy. I lost some easy money and they have found another artist in few days to do the job … Most of street artists are not rich, so it's easy to manipulate them … Often companies pay relatively small fees to use artists' work. People say yes because they think it's cool. It's a good way to exploit artists' ego (108nero, 2013, pres. comm., March).

---

[16] Video from Converse's collaboration with Mentalgassi can be found on YouTube by searching 'Converse – the canvas experiment: Mentalgassi'; video from Opel's collaboration with DAIM and Loomit can be found on YouTube by searching 'Opel Corsa – DAIM & Loomit Interview'; two videos from Levi's' campaign with Vhils can be found on YouTube by searching 'Levi's – Now is our time' and ''Go Forth Murals' making of with Vhils in Berlin'.

Another group of graffitists, Mentalgassi, had in contrast a positive experience collaborating with the same company:

> When someone approaches you and is interested in you working for them, usually for good money, it's hard to say no. It might come down to the point when you ask yourself: 'Can I relate?'. This was not an issue with this whole Converse thing. In this time of financial crisis they gave the artists freedom to do whatever they want and then just labeled it with their name. It was cool but I can't think of another client that can come close to this. (Mentalgassi, 2011, pers. comm., Feb)

For those graffitists who are happy to engage with commercial projects it is not only an opportunity to earn money and a sign of recognition but also a chance to establish greater visibility. This is not only about having their work in public spaces – graffitists can achieve that without corporate funds – but about access to privileged locations and resources available to complete the work. A member of Mentalgassi recalled the advantages of the logistical ease with which commercial projects are realised:

> We were out in the streets with people from this company looking for a location. When we found a spot they just made couple of calls and agreed to pay thousands of euros for renting the space to put our artwork up there. We got a spot in the center and we could work there in the middle of the day for as long as we wanted… there is no way a street artist could afford to do this on his own (Mentalgassi, 2011, pers. comm., Feb).

Multinational corporations with established brand names have the power to influence what is present in our everyday social and physical spaces. Therefore, similarly to authorities and art organizations, commercial enterprises act as moderators of such spaces. Graffitists invited to create work for such companies not only gain financial rewards but also enhanced presence – greater visibility and recognition of their work as an important element of contemporary urban culture. The companies, on the other hand, mediate their own presence within the realm of urban culture by using graffiti to attract the attention of targeted consumer groups. Once again, while some graffitists certainly benefit from such relationships, the commercial enterprises have the power to select the types of graffiti practices to be included and are in control of the content of such projects.

Examination and systematisation of the various messages that are communicated through graffiti is key to identifying patterns that help to explain the function and dynamics of graffiti-making. Examples of graffiti were collected from three socio-politically and culturally distinct parts of the world – Western Countries, Arabic Countries and Latin America, and were analysed in relation to the context within which they were created. This allowed for the interpretation of data in a systematic manner and typologies were used to analyse the occurrence of each thematic category and to consider the context specificity of graffiti-making practices (Section 4.3).

While comparing the thematic typology and the pre-existing theories, an important connection was observed. The categories of graffiti, which emerged from the process of coding relate to the concept of presence. They encompass issues related to the self, the social and the spatial – elements of environment recognised as the main factors influencing people's sense of presence. The three main thematic categories: *Self-Identification & Affiliations*, *Socio-political Environment* and *Physical Environment* (including built and natural elements of environments), and their sub-categories are briefly described and illustrated below.

The category of *Self Identification & Affiliations* comprises examples that manifest personal and existential issues. These range from tags to complex murals, through which social actors exercise notions of their own identities and personal relationships with space and society or touch on broader issues relating to their communities and cultures. Thus this group includes graffiti that represents various individuals or social groups, addressing themes of mass culture and heritage that reflect a contemporary cultural mix.

While much of graffiti considered in the *Self Identification & Affiliations* category is concerned with universal values, they do reflect the matters of importance in a given place and time. Some graffitists celebrate elements of their cultures which they consider important and worthy to be remembered, be it the cultural and historical

traditions or elements of contemporary popular culture. Others focus on ordinary everyday life – magnifying issues related to the rights of marginalised individuals or social groups, negotiating sense of belonging and the right to be respected as equal members of society. This category consists of three subgroups:

Figure 17. Signatures on a lamp post; Limerick, Ireland; 2014

Figure 18. An assemblage of signature logos by Space Invader; Various Locations
(Source: KrieBel 2012)

1) *Marking Territory – Tags and Logos* includes examples where individuals or groups mark public spaces with signatures, symbols or logos. This is most commonly manifested in form of tags, stickers or simple stencilled symbols (logos), and aims at

establishing the presence of given individual or group in certain area, expressing belonging, and sometimes ownership of given physical space. This type of graffiti is commonly used by teenagers (Figure 17), some artists (Figure 18) and at times by political and secular organisations and commercial enterprises as part of their marketing strategies.

Figure 19. (left) Paste-up from a series of *Our Nation Sons* by Joe Caslin, 2014; Limerick, Ireland.
Figure 20. (right) Graffiti by Basco Vazko; Santiago, Chile; ca. 2005 (Source: Basco Vazko 2007)

2) *Portraits* include representations of individuals of special importance as well as anonymous or fictional characters. Through painting portraits, graffitists promote certain attitudes or ideas represented by the subject, commemorate them, or bring attention to marginalised, overlooked or discriminated groups of society (Figure 19). Portrait is also used to explore psychological and spiritual aspects of the human condition (Figure 20).

Figure 21. (left) *I am the guardian of the Eastern gates; the enemy shall not return again* Pharaohic mural by Alaa Awad, 2012; Cairo, Egypt (Source: Soraya Marayef 2012).
 Figure 22 (right) Muhammad Ali vs. Street Fighter by Combo, 2011; Rue Saint-Denis, Paris, France (Source: Sébastien Assouline 2012).

3) *Heritage/Pop Culture/Indigenous Culture* refers to graffiti that explores cultural traditions that influence identity and everyday experiences of people. These range from ancient mythologies (Figure 21) to contemporary cultural icons (Figure 22). Such works examine values associated with traditional and contemporary ways of living and their impact on contemporary society.

Graffiti belonging to the next group – *Socio-Political Environment,* offer critical commentary on the ways we operate as individuals and societies, and on existing power relationships. Thus this category relates to our social presence and is often a means of examining and mediating social structures and political and economic systems. While the previous thematic group (*Self-Identification & Affiliations*) is primarily concerned with an individual and her/his own sense of being a part of the world, this category includes graffiti that examines society as an environment in which individuals operate as a group and collectively create frameworks of existence which then influence the everyday lived reality of each individual. The category of *Socio-Political Environment* consists of four subcategories:

1) Social Commentary comprises works reflecting values and habits of contemporary societies and on social relationships. Such Graffiti may be related to power relationships within society, socio-political indifference of individuals and organisations, consumptionism, religion, social alienation, etc., and usually aims to bring public attention to such social traits and encourage more critical social thinking (Figure 23).

Figure 23. Details of mural by Blu, Messina, Italy; 2013 (Source: Blu 2013)

2) *Politics and Economy* consists of graffiti commenting on practices of authorities and how these impact on our lives on a local and global scale. Such graffiti usually appears in times of political or/and economic unrest and points to the shortcomings of those in power aiming to influence the electorate (Figures 24 and 25).

Figure 24. Anti-Ulises Ruiz Ortiz Graffiti; Oaxaca, Mexico; 2006 (Source: Itandehui Franco Ortiz 2006)

Figure 25. Anonymous Graffiti; Dublin, Ireland; 2014 (Source: Fintan Hardy 2014)

90

3) The subgroup *War/Conflict/Revolution* includes graffiti that addresses protests, uprisings and military interventions. These include slogans motivating to action, depictions of horrors of the conflict, messages of support, calls for peace and works revealing influences of various factions/governments. Such graffiti appears most frequently in areas of military conflict, however it is also present in countries that are indirectly involved in wars (Figure 26).

Figure 26. Fragment of a mural by Jorge Pomar (AMOR) commenting on the international war industry; 2014; Paris, France (Source: Demian Smith 2014)

4) *Activism and Subvertising* includes graffiti that deals with issues of injustice or mal-practices of corporations, civic authorities or certain social groups. These actions are more focused and usually tackle specific issues or organisations (Figure 27). Activists may for instance use graffiti to increase visibility of their campaigns and subvertisers act in opposition to corporate dominance of public spaces by taking over advertising spaces or altering logos or advertising slogans.

Figure 27. *Troy Davis,* Mentalgassi for Amnesty International; Berlin, Germany (Source: Mentalgassi 2010)

The last category, *Physical Environment,* includes graffiti that encourages the re-examination of our relationship with physical surroundings, how we see, understand, create and use them. Physical elements of the urban environment are not only the background to graffiti interventions but often become the focus for graffitists highlighting or modifying the physical features or appearance of the cityscape. This category contains three subheadings:

1) *Built Environment* includes graffiti that reimagines public spaces and brings attention to the ways in which they are built and used. Such works often introduce playful elements adding a unique character to otherwise homogenised urban spaces (Figure 28). They open up urban environments as spaces that can be modified and personalised – customised by their users much like virtual realities.

Figure 28. Site specific intervention by Roadsworth; 2011; Montreal,
Canada (Source: Roadsworth 2013)

2) *Natural Environment* includes images of animals, plants or other elements of natural environment (Figure 29). The presence of such graffiti brings into focus relationships between contemporary urban dwellers and nature, and examines its place in the urban context.

Figure 29. Paste-up by Goliath; 2011; Paris, France; (Source: Fatcap 2011)

3) Some graffitists use more abstract forms, playing with visual elements or surreal scenes that depict alternative worlds with imaginary creatures (Figure 30). Their works are included in the last subcategory – *The Abstract and The Imagined*. These images are harder to describe or interpret and introduce an element of otherworldliness. While not having a specific message, they break the routine of the cityscape but more importantly offer meditative and reflective experiences to the artists that create them, allowing them to experience a stronger relation with the

place and with people who enter it during the creative process. As 108nero (April 2013) mentions in an interview, this leads to more profound experience of space and many artists creating such works value the sense of presence and connection with the surroundings established through the act of graffiti-making as equally or more important than the message or the longevity of the finished artwork.

Figure 30. Mural by 108nero; 2013; Poznań, Poland (Source: Beautiful Decay 2013)

4.2.3 Summary

Graffiti-making practices have been analysed with a focus on the different actors involved in making, disseminating and mediating graffiti and the messages that they transmit through the use of graffiti. A lot of discontinuities or even radically different attitudes and intentions were observed amongst those who create or commission

graffiti. Each graffitist uses the medium in accordance with their own needs and in response to their surroundings, utilising the public character of the shared urban spaces to establish presence of various social actors, ideas and issues. This often represents groups and topics that are excluded or underrepresented in other, more established public channels of communication, such as press, radio, television or popular internet sites. The actors and organisations with the power of moderators also influence graffiti-making practices. In addition, they oftentimes use such practices indirectly to negotiate their own position within the urban socio-cultural environment. Just as there is a wide range of social actors that engage in graffiti-making practices, the variety of messages transmitted through the medium of graffiti is ample and could not be assigned to one ideological agenda. Instead it represents the efforts of the variety of individuals and groups to establish their presence in public spaces and communicate issues that are important to them.

This plethora of different actors and messages associated with graffiti-making may seem as if there was no common pattern between these distinct practices, other than that they are manifested through visual interventions in public spaces. However, considering them as presence mediation and therefore paying a close attention to the contexts in which these interventions are created, reveals that their common trait is that they are strongly influenced by the social and physical environment. This aspect is discussed in the next Section 4.3 *Context-Specificity of Graffiti-Making Practices*. Furthermore, analysis of the dynamics that form between the different actors involved in graffiti-making are key to understanding the collective function and meaning of such practices. This will be undertaken in Sections 4.4 *Socio-Cultural Dimension of Graffiti-Making* and 4.5 *Networks and Interactions*.

4.3 Context-specificity of Graffiti-Making Practices

During the analysis of empirical data, an observation was made that certain topics appear to be more common in certain regions of the world. This was linked to the fact that theorists dealing with the concept of presence put particular emphasis on the dynamics existing between social actors and the environments in which they operate.

Actions are viewed as responses to the social and physical conditions encountered in a given space and therefore it is important to examine relations between different types of graffiti-making practices and contexts within which they are performed.

Gupta and Ferguson (1992) explained that the distinctiveness of any society, nation and/or culture is always considered in relation to the spaces within which they operate. Our connection with spaces and the communities that inhabit them shape our identities and lives. However, the increased mobility and speed with which people and information travel have transformed these connections, which, as Gupta and Ferguson further argue, have always been more fluid than the 'static and typologising approaches of classical anthropology would suggest' (1992, p.9).

This phenomenon has been described as 'space-time-compression' (Harvey 1989) and as Massey (1991) suggests has caused a confusion related to the sense of place reflecting the 'geographical fragmentation of our times' and the 'uncertainty about what we mean by 'places' and how we relate to them' (p.24). This is reflected in the contemporary graffiti-making in that specific styles or topics are no longer characteristic of only specific locations. Many prominent theorists of postmodern urbanism, including Jameson (1985; 1989), Harvey (1989) and Soja (1989) have criticised such fragmentation seeing it as a cause of 'the loss of our ability to position ourselves within space and cognitively map it' (Jameson 1989, p.7). Similarly, fragmentation of graffiti-making practices makes it difficult for us to define them, and therefore to comprehend their meaning and position ourselves in relation to them.

However, other researchers, including Massey (1991), Deutsche (1991; 1996) and Vetters (1999), informed by the feminist theories of representation, argue that this lament is a result of an idealisation of the past and it has led to a certain longing amongst critics of globalisation for the old, supposedly more 'meaningful' spaces inhabited by 'coherent and homogenous communities' (Massey, 1991, p.24) – a stance representing a patriarchal ideal of 'total unity' that can be ordered and controlled (Vetters 1999, p.536), one moderated by only those in power. Indeed, even though specific types of graffiti were found not to be confined to specific locations, it

was also found that they do reflect the context of places in which they occur, which, as Gupta and Ferguson, Massey, Deutche and Vetters argued, is defined by a variety of social actors and their ideas present in these spaces, rather than simplified to the dominant socio-cultural ideologies.

The forthcoming section, is thus devoted to the analysis of links found between graffiti-making and the social, political, cultural and physical characteristics of the environments in which they are produced. To examine this, various graffiti topics were evaluated in specific contexts of Western countries, Arabic countries and Latin America. This allowed for observation of the occurrence of certain topics in specific contexts.

4.3.1 The Occurrence of Topics in Three Selected Regions

After it was noted that certain types of graffiti tend to occur more frequently in certain contexts, a decision was made to further explore this issue. Systematic interpretation of the collected data was built on the thematic typology of graffiti as described in the Methodology Chapter (pp. 10-29). The graph below (Figure 31) shows the results of such cross-categorisation.

.
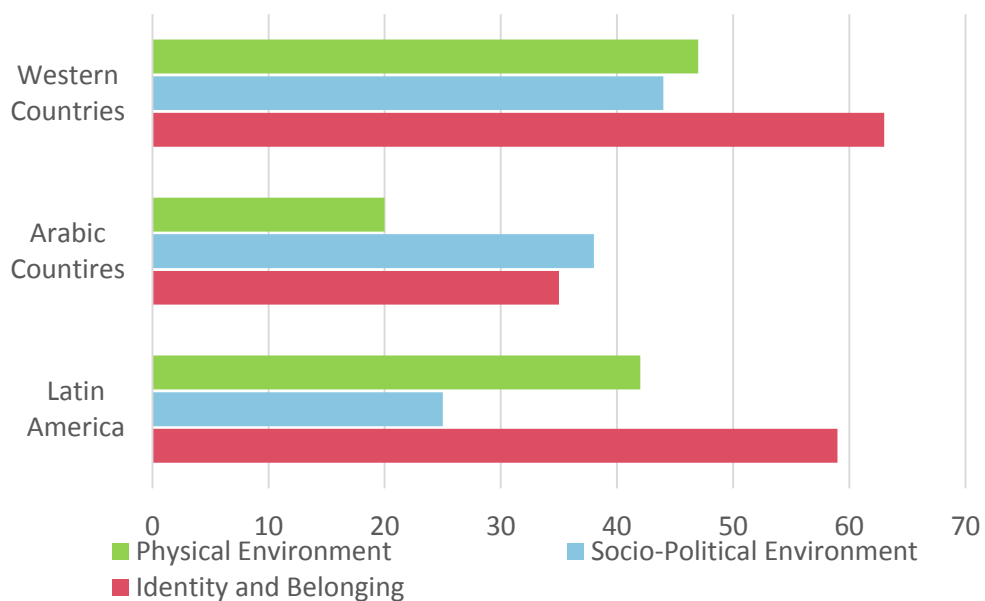
Figure 20. Representation of frequency with which thematic categories occur in works of graffitists from the selected locations

Topics from each thematic cluster were found to occur in all of the three locations. It was observed, however, that their distribution varied with some topics being more popular in certain locations than in others. This observation alone suggests that graffiti-making is place, and therefore context specific. The validity of these observations was further examined by inspecting specific examples from each region. It was found that, despite the global scope of many topics and trends in graffiti-making, in each of the three examined regions social actors used it in connection to the local context and often focused on issues specific not only to the place but also to the time period in which they created. The following paragraphs discuss the tendencies characteristic of each region focusing on the topics that were identified as most prevalent and linking them to the cultural, socio-political and historic context of each region.

In Western countries most of the graffitists are concerned with topics from the *Self-Identification & Affiliations* group. Tags and portraits are ubiquitous reflecting the western focus on the 'self' (Dunn 1998), and contesting the anonymity of life in urban public spaces (Figure 32).

Figure 32. Stencil paste-up by Luas; 2014; Limerick, Ireland.

The influence of contemporary consumer culture is also notable in graffiti of that region. Many feature elements of the mainstream culture, such as popular characters from public life, movies or comic books. Western graffiti itself, more than in any other region, has become a commodity which is used by commercial enterprises, civic authorities and cultural institutions to attract young urban audiences. However, there is also a significant amount of graffiti bringing into focus social, political and economic conditions of our times and questioning existing power-relationships. The pervasiveness of such works indicates an interest of many western graffiti-makers in mediating cultural and social values.

Figure 33. Mural by Guache depicting tribal leader with an owl totem; 2014; Columbia
(Source: Streets On Art 2014)

Topics from the *Self-Identification & Affiliations* category were observed to be the most popular also amongst Latin American graffiteiros. However, while quick tags, posters and stickers constitute majority of uncommissioned graffiti in western

countries, in Latin America murals are more popular. This is a result of local, relatively liberal laws towards 'artistic' graffiti (Ruiz 2011). Bolder use of colours and regular references to indigenous Latin American cultures are characteristic to graffiti of that region (Figure 33), often featuring animals or otherworldly creatures to represent human feelings and relationships.

The influence of Western culture on the local society is also frequently addressed in contemporary Latin-American graffiti. Much of such works echo the post-colonial condition of societies that were once conquered and now struggle to revitalise their cultural heritage while at the same time place themselves within broader global cultural forces (Chanady 1994).

In Arabic Countries the majority of recorded graffiti-makers engaged with topics from *Socio-Political Environment* and *Self-Identification & Affiliations* categories*.* Ideological messages relating to local conflicts were observed most often, reflecting the troubled political situation in the region. Nonetheless the themes of identity and belonging are also commonplace. This is particularly visible in oppressed or occupied territories, such as Palestine. There graffiti is used to sustain identity through presence of cultural or political symbols, portraits of martyrs or messages of hope and unity.

The rich heritage and strong cultural identity of the region are also visible in local graffiti, particularly in form of murals. These make reference to ancient civilisations, popular writers and musicians or religious traditions (such as pilgrimages to Hajj). One of the most culturally distinct occurrences is the use of Arabic calligraphy, which local graffitists have appropriated under the influence of New York style graffiti to develop typical for the region Calligraffiti.

Figure 34. Staircase painted by Dihzahyners; 2012; Beirut, Lebanon (Source: Nadim Kamel 2012)

Works classified as belonging to the *Physical Environment* category were identified as the least frequently occurring in Arabic Countries. However, in post-conflict regions that are in the process of rebuilding cities, such as Lebanon, public spaces are being once again used for leisure and everyday social activities, and graffiti addressing the physical aspects of environment is more usual and applied to question the use of space or to make specific locations more attractive and welcoming (Figure 34).

Works grouped in the *Socio-Political Environment* category were found to be the least common in the practices of Latin American and Western Graffitists included in this study. However, the popularity of such topics is highly dependent on economic and political situation of specific places and time periods. In times of general social contentment fewer graffitists communicate socio-political messages, while in times of conflict, economic downturns and social discontent occurrence of such messages increases particularly through a proliferation of anonymous graffiti in the form of slogans, short messages or simple stencils and stickers.

Hence, even though socio-political issues were the least popular in Western countries and Latin America in general, there exist 'hot spots', such as southern Mexico or Northern Ireland, where political divisions between various groups manifest through murals and other forms of graffiti much more frequently. More recently the economic downturn of 2008 has coincided with an increase in socio-political graffiti, especially in countries most affected by the crisis, such as Greece or Ireland. This suggests that when stimuli for communicating certain messages in public exist, graffiti becomes a tool that is used not only by those that engage with it on regular basis, but also by those that in this specific context develop a need to communicate their own ideas and values publically.

Synthesis of the above findings reveals several features characteristics of graffiti-making practices, which will be discussed in more detail in following sections:

1. All main topics occur on a global scale;
2. Even if occurring globally, topics are influenced by specific local contexts;
3. The mobility of social actors and the simultaneous presence of local and global influences lead to the hybridisation of graffiti;
4. The occurrence and iteration of certain topics is not only place-specific but also time-specific.

4.3.2 The Local, The Global and The Hybrid

Graffiti was announced as a global phenomenon when the New York style graffiti spread all over the world. However, exploring the history of graffiti-making and the relationships between graffiti-making practices in various parts of the contemporary world exposes the global aspect of graffiti to be much more multidimensional than simply a case of it spreading from New York and becoming a world-wide phenomenon.

Graffiti, as a medium, is used universally all around the world. As demonstrated in the historical overview of graffiti-making practices, such use has continued for thousands

of years carried out by diverse groups around the world. It occurred independently and somehow naturally and remains relevant today. This indicates that graffiti existed within societies as an *affordance* – being a simple and accessible tool enabling human beings in a multiplicity of independent contexts to gain visibility, communicate and interact with their surroundings. With its public character, it is a prominent tool through which local cultural heritage and identity are mediated on personal, community and institutional levels. Such themes are prevalent in regions that have experienced territorial and cultural infringement and hence the continuity of the cultural legacy is compromised or endangered. In the context of post-colonial Latin America, for instance, graffiti-making practices exhibit strong aesthetic and thematic ties to the indigenous local traditions and are often used to celebrate and preserve the regional identity derived from Incan, Mayan and Aztec civilizations, traditions of farming, as well as religious believes, including both the indigenous worships and the Christian religion.

Figure 35. Palestinian Hajj paintings by the entrance to a Synagogue in the Muslim Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City (Source: Conflict in Cities 2012)

One of the most distinctive forms of graffiti in Muslim countries, especially in Palestine, are murals painted to mark a pilgrimage to Hajj (Figure 35). Traditions of Arabic calligraphy is another component of the local culture that impacted on the

unique aesthetics found in graffiti of the MENA region. In the western countries in turn, influences of mainstream popular culture, Americanization and the 'cult of cool' are most prominent. However local folklore can also be occasionally found in western graffiti, and this trend has been observed to be on the rise in recent years reflecting the increasing emphasis on national identity especially in European countries.

The thematic categories appear to be globally universal – in each of the examined regions an abundance of examples from all the thematic categories was found. This suggests that the factors that motivate graffiti-making practices are globally consistent and relate to issues of identity and belonging, socio-political conditions and the tangible and subliminal aspects of the physical environment in a given place and time. Emergence of these thematic categories from the coding process indicates an existing relationship between graffiti-making practices and the factors recognised as having crucial influence on humans' sense of being. Thus we can argue that graffiti-making is directly related to the processes of mediating presence in a variety of contexts.

While the same topics were found in various global locations, it was also observed that the works conveyed specific messages, elements and aesthetics, characteristic to local contexts. For instance graffiti created by women campaigning for their rights was found in a variety of contexts and in each location it reflected specific local issues. In Afghanistan, for example, where women have limited rights of participation in public life, female artist Shamsia Hassani works to increase their visibility by introducing female figures into public spaces. Hassani's graffiti gives the female figure visible, even if only symbolic presence, and through such practice she aims to empower women and to gradually change the patriarchal order (Hassani 2014).

The presence of Hassani herself actively participating in public life (Figure 36) is an important statement challenging the image and place of Afghan women within their own communities and internationally since Hassani's work has started to receive global recognition. Graffiti acts here as a tool that not only increases visibility of the

issue through the images that Hassani inserts into public spaces but also on a personal level giving the artist an opportunity to establish a visible presence within her local community and provides an opportunity to act publicly in response to her surroundings.

Figure 36. Shamsia Hassani at work; 2013; Kabul, Afghanistan (Source: Masoud Popalzai 2014)

In western countries, feminist graffitists expose and condemn issues such as objectification of female body and chauvinism. In a series *Stop Telling Women to Smile* (Figure 37), American artist Tatyana Fazlalizadeh contests the social acceptance of verbal harassment that women are subjected to in social situations. Some of the messages that she prints on her paste ups include *'Women Do Not Seek Your Validation'*, *'My Outfit Is Not An Invitation'* or *'Men Do Not Own The Streets'*. Similar messages are conveyed in works created by Israeli artist Foma. Even though her practice is located in the Middle East region, it reflects the westernised character of the Israeli society proving that not only the geographic location but the social, cultural and political context has a significant influence on the character of the local graffiti-making practices.

Figure 37. Paste-up from *Stop Telling Women to Smile* series by Tatyana Fazlalizadeh; 2013; Baltimore; USA (Source: Baltimore Brew 2014)

Figure 38. (left) *Why Aren't You Smiling?* Paste-up by Foma; 2011; Tel Aviv, Israel; 2011 (Source: Foma 2011)

Figure 39. (right) *Many Shoes* Paste-up by Foma; 2012; Tel Aviv, Israel (Source: Foma 2012)

Foma uses masked self-portraits accompanied by remarks that she frequently hears directed at women in the streets of Tel Aviv (Figure 38). The masked face serves to cover the artist's identity but also to remove a sense of individuality of victims of such

harassment highlighting that the problem as a universal one rather than personal. In another series of work she focuses attention on commonly objectified parts of the female body, such as legs or breasts, and assembles them to depict mutated creatures (Figure 39). These images are inserted directly into public spaces in which such discrimination or marginalisation occurs.

Despite a shared interest in feminist issues, works of these three artists differ in content and aesthetics as they respond to the context of specific places and are intended, and therefore designed to grasp interest and influence their specific audiences. Such nuances of place-specific social relationships are very often visible in graffiti revealing its importance for marginalised groups as a tool that can be employed to publically voice their concerns. The effort to bring attention to injustice, alienation, exclusion, malpractices, etc. indicates that such works are created with a desire to instigate change within their specific communities.

Figure 40. Piece by Maser and JR commemorating Dublin Lockout; 2013; Dublin, Ireland (Source: Colin Layde 2013)

This aspect is also visible in works of some established graffitists, many of whom practice internationally but respond to specific local contexts. French graffitist JR, for

example, has brought his work to places dispersed all around the world, and even though the aesthetics of his work remain consistent, the topics and messages respond to the context of places where they are installed. Examples include marginalisation of migrant males in Paris, social divisions amongst Israeli and Palestinian citizens in his West Bank project or the working class Irish in his collaboration with Maser commemorating the 1913 Dublin Lockout (Figure 40).

Graffiti has no doubt been a global phenomenon for thousands of years, however, in recent decades processes of globalisation have brought its global scope to a new level. Not only is graffiti used globally in a sense of atomised local practices, but it has become an element of contemporary globalised urban culture. This is manifested both through international practices of those individuals who turned graffiti into their professional careers and through the scale of dissemination of individual graffiti works. Images are shared in printed publications and, even more prominently, through the Internet. Within seconds, graffiti created in one part of the world can be viewed in another. Blogs, websites and social media pages created by graffiti enthusiasts and graffitists themselves are updated daily with photographs of new works, news about projects, festivals, exhibitions, etc., allowing global audiences to follow such emerging practices. Local graffiti practices are no longer destined only for the eyes of those sharing a physical space but can reach virtually everyone on the planet. In turn everyone can potentially be inspired by such shared content and appropriate graffiti to suit their own needs.

The ease of circulation and increased interest in graffiti has transformed this form of expression into an even more effective tool for communicating messages to large, globally dispersed public. This seems to be particularly important in times of ideological conflict when certain social groups aim at gaining more visibility. This, for instance, was clearly manifested during the Arab Spring protests, when protesters used graffiti to communicate messages not only to other protesters or to the local authorities, but also to the global audience. In such cases a calculated use of English, rather than a local language, helped to attract attention and such graffiti were widely shared in social media as well as included in international news reports (Figure 41).

Figure 41. *Revolution Will Not Be Televised, It Will Be Tweeted* anonymous graffiti; 2012; Istanbul, Turkey (Source: William Gourlay 2013)

Graffiti reflects the ever evolving process of globalising culture and its influence on contemporary local lives worldwide. Many distinct elements of certain graffiti-practices started to occur globally. The most prominent is the example of New York style graffiti, where specific purpose and aesthetics were developed in response to socio-cultural conditions of late 1960s New York but have spread worldwide and were interpreted and appropriated to new contexts. However, in such cases local contexts play an important role in how such foreign elements are adopted. The New York style tagging was taken up in Europe, where exposure to American culture was pervasive and conditions of urban life and social customs relatively similar. In some Arabic and Latin American countries, in contrast, laws are more liberal towards artistic graffiti, and tagging was less relevant and hence not as popular as in the western context. In Lebanon for example, tagging is not as challenging or subversive as it may be in other parts of the world so graffitists more often produce other forms of graffiti. Lebanese graffitist Yazan Halwani explains that:

> Maybe in New York it's a David vs. Goliath thing, like a small graffiti tagger who is fighting this huge system and this system will fix whatever you destroy. In Beirut, nobody fixes, even if you do graffiti the cops end up painting with you. So in my opinion it's pretty useless to be a tagger (Halwani 2013).

110

In the processes of appropriation such displaced types of graffiti are often assigned symbolic meanings, to use Barthes' (1972) terminology, the myth of such styles takes over their original, context specific meaning. Mass media play a prominent role in such processes and the emergence of the Internet accelerated them significantly. Mirroring the increasing hegemony of western culture, much of such homogenised graffiti takes inspiration from well recognised iconic products of the western entertainment industry. Oftentimes their attractiveness lays in the 'mythical' coolness of the subject rather than transmission of an original message (Figures 42 a-c).

Figures 42 a-c. Stencils referencing the iconic scene from Pulp Fiction found in three distinct locations – Colombia, Egypt and UK; **Figure 42a.** (left) Artist Unknown; Bogota, Colombia (Source: Jaquelin Mhadel 2012); **Figure 42b.** (middle) Charlse Akl and Amr Gamal; Cairo; Egypt (Source: Constanza La Mantia 2012); **Figure 42c** (right) Banksy; 2002; London, UK (Source: Art of the State 2004)

The global and local influences overlap in contemporary graffiti-making practices leading to the occurrence of another feature - hybridisation. Increased mobility (both voluntary and involuntary) and growing accessibility of the Internet has transformed isolated local practices of graffitists into a global phenomenon that traverses territorial and cultural boundaries.

In Arabic Countries, for instance, many graffitists who were initially inspired by American graffiti writing, which arrived to the region with the Hip-Hop culture in the 1990s, eventually started to incorporate elements of traditional calligraphy into their work (Zoghbi and Don Karl 2011; Halwani 2013). Bending the strict rules of Arabic calligraphic styles and adopting more flexible approaches to how the letters are painted, they have developed *Calligraffiti* - a style typical for the region. Calligraffiti

can be encountered across all the Arabic speaking countries, both in simple small pieces representing names and monikers and in more complex, at times abstract murals. Iranian artist A1one, for instance, creates highly stylised pieces which composition resembles the Wild Style New York graffiti but at the same time retains strong Middle Eastern identity (Figure 43).

**Figure 43.** Calligraphic mural by A1one; ca. 2010; Teheran, Iran (Source: A1one 2010)

Figure 44. (left) Mural by Nunca; 2007; Sao Paulo, Brazil; (Source: Nunca 2010)
Figure 45. (right) Mural by Nunca; 2008; Sao Paulo, Brazil (Source: Nunca 2014)

Merging of new (contemporary) and old (traditional) cultural elements existing within the same context is particularly well illustrated in works of Brazilian graffitist Nunca, who uses graffiti to confront various elements of Brazilian culture, both related to contemporary Brazilian society and to its indigenous roots (Figures 44 and 45). The figures portrayed in his works have exaggerated facial features emphasising their indigenous descent. However, they are usually pictured in modern day situations surrounded by contemporary everyday products. Through his almost caricature-like style, Nunca questions the way in which different cultures are hierarchized, with the indigenous peoples often presented as savage or uncivilised and the dominant values imposed on them in the name of progress.
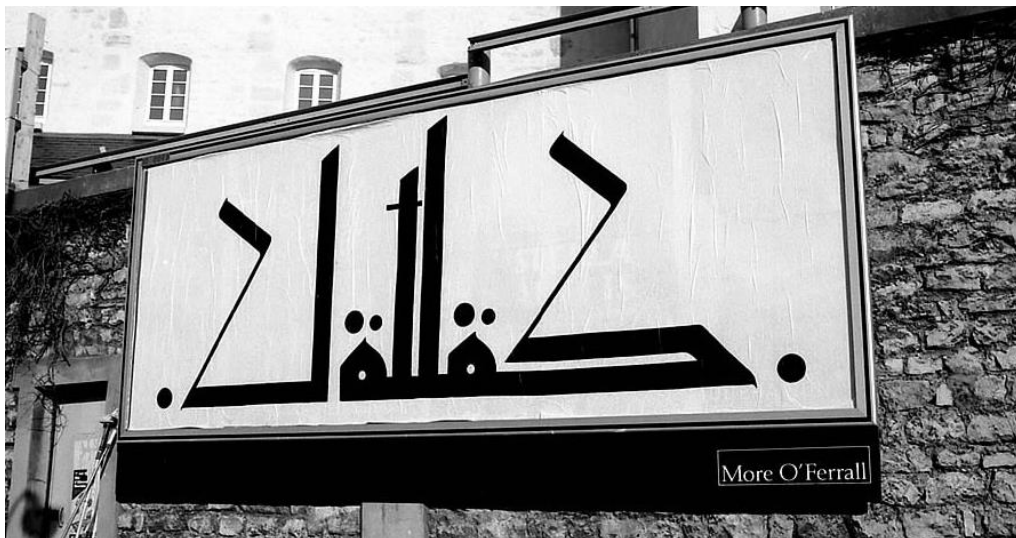
Figure 46. L'Atlas, paste-up on advertising billboard – stylised Latin letters create an impression of Arabic script; 2004; Paris, France (Source: L'Atlas 2011)

The western influences invade the cultural identities present in the graffiti of Arabic and Latin American countries and likewise elements of these cultures can be observed in the Western graffiti. Graffitists from these regions travel or move to western countries bringing along their own cultural and aesthetic influences. Therefore in countries with large Arab communities, such as France or Germany, we can encounter works incorporating Arabic calligraphy created by artists who currently live in Europe, such as Sair 4 who was born in Iran, or by those like eLSeed or l'Atlas who were born in Europe to Arabic parents. In contrast to the Calligraffiti that developed in Arabic

countries, such works produced in a western context exhibit stronger references to western cultural and social conditions reflecting the graffitists' search for personal cultural identity. For instance L'Atlas incorporates Kufic geometric forms into his abstract works or transposes them onto Latin letters so that words painted by him look like Arabic script but are actually written in French or English (Figure 46).

Nonetheless, some other graffiti-makers of Arabic descent, who live in western countries, use only Arabic language in their works. This may create an impression of cultural isolation, yet the public character of such practices makes them in fact acts of establishing presence of their distinctive personal identities within a predominantly different, dominating western culture. EL Seed reveals the importance of such practices when he makes reference to national as well as collective cultural identity:

> Despite me being born in France, I'm not considered actually French … This perception is then internalised, meaning that even I do not perceive myself as completely French, but rather French with strong North African roots which I want to keep alive. Thus, the art I create becomes a reflection of my social reality. … My particular approach to Arabic graffiti is a response to globalisation of the 'Western' culture, [which] serving to homogenise an otherwise diverse world, has effectively shut down expressions of difference. Because of this, it has been my conscious choice to paint solely in classical Arabic with occasional phrase in English or French (eL Seed 2013, pp.111-112).

Graffitists from Latin America, such as Inti from Chile who now lives in France, Paulina Quantonatarnet who moved to Germany from Argentina, or Thiago Ritual who left Brazil for Ireland, introduce elements of their own cultures into western public spaces. Strong decorative patterns, bright colours and references to indigenous Latin American cultures, identity and nature are dominant in their practices. Existence of such 'non-native' works reflects growing presence of local multicultural communities. It acts as an indicator revealing the presence of various minority groups within local, but increasingly globalised society. The need to interact with the surrounding environment, and communicate values and interests to both immediate local community and in the context of the dominant mainstream global culture, is expressed through the use of graffiti.

Such processes of hybridisation are not only driven by the graffiti-makers themselves. In the last decade there has been a proliferation of graffiti festivals and projects. This has been particularly prominent in western countries but is not exclusive to this region. Artists from other parts of the world are frequently brought over to create graffiti at such festivals, and as a result we can encounter works of Brazilian artist Nunca in Łódź, Poland (Figure 47), murals by Mexican artist Saner painted in France, London or Miami, or works by Chilean artist Charquipunk in cities like Berlin. This type of cultural cross-pollination is mediated from the top in a somehow less natural manner. The invited graffitists, usually well-established on the global scene, are artificially thrown into a context with which they oftentimes had no previous connection or personal ties.

Figure 47. Mural by Brazilian graffitist Nunca in Łódź, Poland (Source: Marek Szymański 2014)

Notwithstanding, even in such situations many manage to create works relating to the given context. For example Mexican graffitist Saner, when invited to paint in Europe, created a mural using aesthetics and symbolism derived from his native Mexican

culture and referencing the complex historic relationship between Europe and indigenous Americas (Figure 48).

Figure 48. *The Conquest Of The New World By Spanish Conquistadors* - mural by Saner; 2013; Fleury Les Aubrais, France; (Source: Street Art News 2013)

An interesting pattern has also emerged during analysis of such processes of hybridisation: the trans-cultural and trans-territorial hybridisation takes place almost entirely with western influences mixing with those coming either from Arabic or Latin American region. It was rare to notice such hybridisation between Arabic and Latin American graffiti. This once again reflects the hegemony of western culture and its influence on the everyday lives of people globally.

Another aspect of hybridisation observed in graffiti, is appropriation of forms, modes of display and channels of dissemination between graffiti, mainstream cultural institutions and commercial practices. This processes happen both ways: graffitists

use elements of the different aforementioned practices, and elements characteristic for graffiti are used by them. For example, while graffiti was historically carried out as an informal practice outside cultural mainstream institutions, it started to be shown and used in projects in such institutions. Graffiti projects and exhibitions held in spaces traditionally devoted to fine art, reflect changes in contemporary art practices and efforts of cultural mediators to include practices from outside of the traditional 'high art' circles and attract attention of new audiences. With such an increased interest from the art world, graffiti-making has become a potential artistic career with opportunities to create commissioned work, participate in exhibitions and sell work on canvas, prints or artist books - not unlike the traditional career in fine arts.

Figure 49. Iconic Obey Giant sticker by Shepard Fairey, which subsequently became a brand in itself; New York, USA (Source: Ivan Corsa 2007)

Advertising is another area that both influenced and was influenced by graffiti leading to hybridisation of various elements of both practices. Sharing the same, public space and aiming at high visibility, some graffitists started to appropriate advertising tactics that were deliberately designed to gain public attention. One of such forms are street logos - simple graphic symbols distributed by graffitists in large quantities, usually in

the form of stencils, stickers or paste-ups. Such graffiti spreads quickly and, like corporate logos, becomes recognizable amongst the general public. One of the most famous examples is the Obey Giant created by Shephard Fairey (Figure 49), an image that has successively turned into a brand on its own and is now sold printed on cloths, accessories and posters. Marketing companies, in turn, use graffiti aesthetics to create cool, alternative brand placement for their corporate clients and attract attention of younger consumers. Many such companies appropriate graffiti guerrilla tactics, such as stencils or stickers, others hire established graffitists to create murals and graphics for their advertising campaigns.

The processes of hybridisation observed in contemporary graffiti-making practices are multifaceted and complex. They prove to be constantly evolving with various groups that use graffiti mutually influencing one another - local mixes with global, marginalised merges with mainstream, and one continuously redefines the other. While at times appropriations of specific types of graffiti-making practices deprive them of their authentic meaning when they occur out of the original context, the ability of graffiti to reach global audiences has opened new avenues through which individuals and groups can mediate their presence on a global scale.

4.3.3 Fluidity and Time-Specificity

The various facets of graffiti have revealed the versatility of this medium. The occurrence of graffiti is neither limited to any specific cultural or socio-political context, nor to a specific period in history. On the contrary, it proves to be relevant across a variety of extremely different conditions and used by a variety of different social actors across social classes and cultural backgrounds, as well as across time. The features observed to be characteristic of contemporary graffiti-making reveal the multiplicity of ways in which these practices develop. It is highly sensitive and responsive to the forces which define and rule the complex realities within which graffiti-makers live and mediate their presence.

Graffiti has therefore a fluid character. On its own it does not stand for any specific cause, it exists as an *affordance* that is adopted and adapted for the specific needs of

118

those who choose to use it. Hence we find discrepancies in intentions, forms, and messages. Graffiti takes forms dictated by individual, atomised social actors. Since the social and physical environment, as well as personal circumstances of its users are not static but dynamic and ever-evolving, graffiti reflects such nuances allowing it to be adopted for new purposes as the context of place changes with time.

In his 2010 article *Signs of Change*, Adam Stoneman criticized Irish graffiti for its commercialization, for loosing authenticity and becoming flashy, highly stylised and rather message-free. Comparing it with politically engaged South-Mexican graffiti, Stoneman questioned the integrity of Irish graffitists. This illustrates an understanding of graffiti-making practices as fixed and bearing certain inherent ideological, and in this case, political qualities. However, when we accept the fluid, context-specific and time-specific character of graffiti-making practices it makes sense that Irish graffiti of the first decade of the 21st century, created in a rather complacent, consumer-focused society, was concerned less with political issues and more with aesthetics and the 'coolness' of urban cultures.

When the economic and political context changed in Ireland, it was also reflected in graffiti. While topics of identity and heritage still prevailed in commissioned works, there has been a notable increase in illegal political graffiti relating directly to issues of political and economic crisis in Ireland as well as international affairs (Figures 50-52).

Figure 50. An anonymous comment written on a door of vacant property; 2013; Limerick, Ireland

119

Figure 51. *Don't pay water tax;* 2015; Dublin, Ireland (Source: Niall Carson/PA Wire 2015)

Figure 52. *Fáilte roimh Theifigh* (trans. from Irish: welcome refugees) and *Don't Bomb Syria*, anonymous graffiti; 2016; Galway, Ireland.

The claim of graffiti's time-specificity supports earlier findings of researchers such as Cybriwski and Lay (1974) and Tala Saleh (2009), who highlighted the role of graffiti as a social indicator. Saleh (2009) documented and analysed the occurrence of political and secular graffiti in Beirut and has observed that graffiti reflected the changing political climate and the influence that different factions held over specific parts of the city at different points in time. Political graffiti is perhaps the most prominent example as the political scene and governmental policies are fast-changing. However,

we can also observe other, more subtle changes. One example is the growing number of graffiti murals in European cities reflecting the change of attitude that city authorities hold towards some forms of graffiti-making, using them as a tool to promote local heritage and revitalise public spaces.

Fluidity and time-specificity has been also observed in individual practices of established graffiti-makers. Their practices change over time adjusting to suit the purpose of a given intervention or to reach a specific audience. For instance German trio Mentalgassi engaged in tagging in their teens, when their purpose of creating graffiti was to communicate and interact with their peers - other taggers. After a period of time they developed new ideas and a need to reach other people - those from outside of the taggers circle. They achieved this by using forms of graffiti that are more understandable to the general public - such as photographic paste-ups or site-specific installations (Mentalgassi 2011, pers. comm.).

Graffiti-making practices have to be therefore considered not as a defined, static phenomenon but as one that is highly dynamic. In such a framework graffiti itself acts merely as a tool and the meaning of graffiti-making actions changes depending on specific context and circumstances making the link between graffiti-making and presence mediation explicit.

4.3.4 Summary

Graffiti was examined with a focus on the messages that it carries and the forms that it takes. The development of the thematic typology allowed for a systematic inquiry into the dependence between graffiti-making practices and the contexts within which they take place. It is evident that all types of graffiti-making practices are responsive to the environments within which they take place and reflect local social, political cultural and historical contexts of any given place and time as well as personal circumstances of individual graffiti-makers. The character of these practices is not defined by a specific set of rules or ideology that would make for a cohesive, homogenised graffiti movement. On the contrary even the momentarily defined local

121

practices are fluid and time-specific, which means that they are continuously evolving as new factors come into play.

For centuries such practices developed independently used by various social groups and in various parts of the world to suit their specific needs. However, with progressing globalisation the various forms and aesthetics started to be disseminated worldwide and at times merge to create new, hybrid instances of graffiti-making reflecting the make-up of contemporary global society.

4.4 Socio-cultural Dimension of Graffiti-Making Practices

It has been established that various types of graffiti-making practices vary both in their ideological dimension and the socio-cultural profiles of those engaging in graffiti-making. Through a variety of examples it has been shown that the function and meaning of graffiti is not static, it changes depending on the context of place, time and individual needs of its makers. Building on this key observation, the following section aims at interrogating concepts that were used to analyse and explain graffiti-making in the past as well as introducing new ideas with a goal to expand the understanding of such practices and to define their common root. This demanded a survey of theoretical concepts related to socio-cultural movements such as subcultures, contracultures, post-subcultures, neo-tribes, and Asef Bayat's concept of non-movement.

The concept of subculture proved to be itself problematic to define (Bennett 1999). Hence the following pages include a brief overview of how subcultural theory has developed since its emergence at the start of the 20th century. It is also considers how the various interpretations of the concept of subculture relate to socio-cultural character of graffiti-making. While on the whole the concept of subculture is too narrow to encompass all types of graffiti-making practices, the ideas and concerns put forward by researchers of subcultures were particularly helpful in understanding at least some of the processes graffiti has undergone, particularly its criminalisation (Merton 1938; Fisher 1975 and 1995, Williams 2007, McAuliffe 2012) and assimilation

122

into the mainstream culture (Hebdige 1979). The concepts of post-subcultures and neo-tribes further help to understand the mechanisms behind commercialisation and commodification of graffiti and consumption of artefacts and life-styles associated with it (Maffesoli 1996, Bennett 1999). Yinger's idea of contraculture (1960), in turn, differentiates practices that are simply non-mainstream from those that are carried out purposefully in opposition to the mainstream and can also be related to some instances of graffiti-making.

None of the above concepts, however, provide theoretical grounds that would allow an overarching analysis of the variety of graffiti-making practices resulting in a better understanding of links that exist between them. The theory of non-movement, not previously linked to graffiti-making, proved to bridge that gap providing a theoretical framework through which practices of graffitists can be seen from a new perspective – considered as dynamic and fluid processes. This theory became crucial to the further analysis of graffiti-making presented in this thesis.

4.4.1 Theoretical Concepts

The theory of subculture has served throughout the 20th century to make a sociological sense of a multitude of social and cultural phenomena that somehow differed from mainstream culture. Quite naturally it has also been applied to explain the phenomena of graffiti-making. This was to some extent fitting in relation to the New York style graffiti, however, it became unsatisfactory when the interests of researchers expanded to other forms and contexts of graffiti-making.

Issues surrounding the concept of subculture and its use are complex in themselves, especially in the context of heterogeneous global societies (Bennet 1999). In the Merriam-Webster online dictionary subculture is defined as:

> A group that has beliefs and behaviours that are different from the main groups within a culture or society; an ethnic, regional, economic, or social group exhibiting characteristic patterns of behaviour sufficient to distinguish it from others within an embracing culture or society (Merriam-Webster 2015).

This definition is quite ambiguous and suggests that any group that can be broadly distinguished from the rest of the society can be seen as a subculture. Following such understanding those who create graffiti, and hence share a common pattern of behavior that is not characteristic to the society as a whole, may also be described as a subculture. This concept has been therefore adopted by many researchers to distinguish graffiti-makers from other members of society and applied mainly on the basis of aesthetic qualities (style) and/or perceived antiestablishment character of the graffiti in question. As such there was not one singular graffiti subculture but many different, for example the 1970s' New York style graffitists or the Brazilian Pixaçãoes. Distinctive aesthetics and social backgrounds of these graffitists made it easy to draw cultural boundaries and helped to separate social actors belonging to these groups from the rest of 'normal' society defining them through graffiti seen as a visual manifestation of their identities.

While many researchers are quick to accept such a notion, we should be reminded of Yinger's (1960) concern with the ease with which the concept of subculture is adopted without much awareness of its exact meaning. Yinger warns that if 'carelessly used, our concepts can obscure the facts we seek to understand' (Yinger 1960, p. 628), and furthermore the concept of subculture is itself hard to define precisely. In his review of current trends in youth subcultural studies, Williams (2007) quite correctly observed how different disciplines vary in both their approach and results when adopting the concept of subculture:

> Cultural studies work tends to emphasize the positive (almost heroic) aspects of participants, partially because of the growing numbers of insider researchers, while criminological research still tends to construct youth cultures in terms of delinquency and/or criminal behavior. Meanwhile, young sociologists with subcultural interests (i.e., 'insiders') often take a naïve stance in their research because they are unaware of the research literature that already exists (p.587).

Therefore, is a concept of subculture adopted too lightly by researchers of graffiti-making practices? As it was already established in Section 4.2, graffiti-making practices are undertaken by a variety of individuals from a cross-section of social and

cultural backgrounds, who often belong to more than just one social group. Graffiti is also practiced in very different geographical locations and in various points of history. Therefore it is not a product of one specific social group, geographical or historical conditions. Hence there needs to be a recognition of various and often fluid group-dynamics that exist between different graffitists, between graffitists and the rest of the society as well as the impact of the socio-cultural and spatial environments in which they operate. Before approving or disqualifying the concept of subculture, it is important to interrogate it in more depth and assess in what ways it helps to, or distracts from understanding graffiti-making practices.

The idea of subcultures emerged at the beginning of the 20th century. Significant work was done mainly by the Chicago School sociologists in 1920s and 1930s, focusing on deviant aspects of American youth cultures formed amongst the marginalized urban poor (Williams 2007). The early enquires linked the formation of subcultures to processes of urbanization, which brought diverse social groups into a shared physical environment – a city (Parks 1915; Wirth 1938; Fishe, 1975). They also recognised pressures that lower classes of society experienced from dominant social structures as a catalyst for developing 'deviant' practices (Merton 1938; Fisher 1975 and 1995).

In such context, types of graffiti-making such as tagging and politically and socially loaded slogans, which are deviant in the light of current laws and social conventions, are to be seen as products of a subculture. However members of these subcultures would be grouped together solely on the basis of utilizing the same form of expression – graffiti – without much of an ideological coherence. In addition this leaves other types of graffiti - the legal graffiti that is allowed and even welcomed by authorities, or graffiti created by members of dominant classes of society, outside of such 'deviant' subcultural group, even though it may well share the same ideological or aesthetic characteristics. Furthermore, ideological and aesthetic discrepancies between different instances of illegal graffiti are as varied as these found between legal and illegal graffiti. The concept of subculture understood as a 'deviant' behavior is therefore not sufficient to explain the various instances of graffiti-making.

Sociologists, however, have recognized that defining subculture simply on the grounds of 'deviant' behavior is not sufficient. Yinger (1960) saw such implementation of the idea of subcultures as too broad and suggested a new term - contraculture - 'to distinguish between normative systems of sub-societies and emergent norms that appear in conflict situations' (p.625). He saw subcultures as:

> A result of mobility or an extension of communication that brings groups of different cultural background into membership in the same society, followed by physical or social isolation or both that prevents full assimilation (Yinger 1960, p.635).

His concept of contraculture is, in turn, rooted in social psychological theory – the study of collective behaviour, the frustration-aggression thesis and the theory of group formation, and asserts that:

> Under conditions of deprivation and frustration of major values (in a context where the deprivation is obvious because of extensive communication with the dominant group), and where value confusion and weak social controls obtain, contracultural norms will appear (Yinger 1960, p.635).

Yinger's suggestions, even if not exhausting the need for advancing the definition of subculture, were a step towards a departure from the tendency to link emerging urban youth cultures with criminal practices and considering all 'deviant' groups as subcultures. Adopting Yinger's definitions would suggest that graffiti-makers cannot be collectively described as a subculture, as they do not constitute a united cultural group. The concept of contraculture is fitting to describe some instances of graffiti-making, as many graffitist use the tool of graffiti to express their opposition towards the dominant values. Examples of such were described in Section 4.2 and include brandalism and subvertising, which oppose the dominant presence of corporate messages in public spaces. Another example includes protest graffiti, for instance this created by protesters during the Arab Spring or Zapatista's graffiti in Mexico. However, not all graffiti-making practices are carried out in opposition to the dominant social groups and their values, and hence also the concept of counterculture leaves us with a fragmented understanding of the causes and dynamics of graffiti-making.

Nevertheless, as the research into the concept of subcultures progressed, more fitting definitions were developed. In their paper *Retinking Subculture: An Interactionist Analysis* (1979), Fine and Kleinman suggested that subculture cannot be seen as 'homogenous, static and closed' and that for 'maximal usefulness it needs to be linked to processes of interaction' (p.2). It is through this process of interaction that elements of culture are spread and can be transmitted from one group to another by members interacting with other groups or belonging to multiple groups simultaneously (Fine and Kleinman 1979). Such an approach allows for the consideration of practices such as graffiti-making not as isolated deviances but rather as a part of the urban ecosystem where different social actors are not defined solely by a membership to one specific group but move between various groups as described in the examples of the hybrid practices of graffitists such as L'Atlas and ElSeed, provided in Section 4.3.2. In such light the graffitist is not a defined persona but an individual that adopts certain behavior, in this case graffiti-making, while at the same time carrying a plethora of other behaviors and cultural traits that vary from one graffitist to another.

While that was the start of a more productive direction in subcultural studies, from the 1970s enquiry into the concept of subcultures in USA was mainly undertaken by criminologists and hence further focused on the ideas of deviation and links between subcultures and crime (Williams 2007). Following such developments graffiti-making was conceptualized as a subculture, not only in academia or amongst policy-makers but also in the realm of popular culture. This aided in creating a simplified, stereotypical image of a graffiti-maker which on one hand aided criminalization of such practices by representing them as malicious, anti-establishment and related to criminal activity, and on the other helped to commodify and commercialise it as a cultural product associated with youth and with edgy and 'authentic' urban life-style. Through such representation of graffiti-making practices in mainstream media and popular culture, this perception of graffiti has spread from America to other parts of the world.

In 1960s and 1970s Britain, researchers from the interdisciplinary field of cultural studies at the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham took a distinct approach to explaining the occurrence and dynamics of subcultures. They employed the idea of subculture to study working class youth and centered their analysis on neo-Marxist theory. They conceptualized subculture as a form of resistance used by working class youth in their struggle against dominant classes (Clarke et.al. 1976). Similarly to Jean Baudrillard (2003 (1973)), the CCCS researchers were deeply interested in semiotics. Subcultural practices were tightly linked to style as a visible, symbolic medium through which subcultures such as mods, punks or teddy boys could express their opposition against dominant cultural values (Hebdige 1979). When interest in the New York style graffiti grew in the 1970s and this style expanded to Europe, it was qualified as one of such youth cultures and indeed it has become a popular tool amongst working class teenagers looking to mark their presence within the increasingly anonymous and commodity-focused urban populations.

CCCS researchers paid a great deal of attention to the ways in which the dominant culture appropriates such subcultural symbols. Hebdige (1979) observed that subcultures are first portrayed by media as wild and abnormal but also exciting and fascinating cultural phenomena. Media then attempt to explain it, influencing how the mainstream society understands it. When eventually the visual and verbal language of the particular subculture becomes more familiar and understandable, it can be easily explained and accepted by 'normal' members of society, leading to its assimilation and often the commodification of its symbols, very much as happened with New York style graffiti.

While quite insightful, the understandings of subculture produced in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s were mainly based on the observations of researchers who were from outside of the researched groups and omitted issues such as the internal dynamics of subcultural groups failing to represent the 'lived realities' of their members (Jenks 2004, p.130). For that reason in the 1990s some researchers of youth cultures moved away from the idea of subculture. Redhead (1990), who questioned

the uniformity of youth cultures and suggested that ''authentic' subcultures were produced by subcultural theories, not the other way around' (p.25), proposed to take on Ian Chambers' (1985) idea of post-subculture - something less rigid and definable than subculture (Redhead 1990). Supporters of this concept no longer saw youth identities as derived from the class structure but as 'a product of individual choice [that] reflects the heightened reflexivity that is part and parcel of late modern, consumer–based societies' (Robards and Bennett 2011, p.305).

At the end of 1990s Bennett completely rejected the concept of subculture which at that stage he considered as a 'convenient 'catch-all' term' (1999, p.599) that is 'deeply problematic in that it imposes rigid lines of division over forms of sociation which may, in effect, be rather more fleeting, and in many cases arbitrary' (p.603). He favoured the concept of neo-tribes, an idea proposed by Maffesoli (1996), who considered society to consist of fragmented tribe-like groups that form around products of consumer-culture such as trends, brands or key-words, and are unified through life styles.

Once graffiti was described and presented to the public as a subculture – a cultural product with a defined life-style and rituals attached to it, it became a commodity acting as a center-point of such neo-tribe formations consisting of social actors engaging with this medium both directly as producers, and indirectly as consumers. It has to be noted that not all types of graffiti-makers participate in the culture of neo-tribes. Many who create graffiti for political reasons or as a tool for activism have no interest in the leisure, entertainment or commercial activities build around graffiti. Nonetheless the concept of neo-tribes allows us to contemplate the processes of assimilation of graffiti-making practices into the mainstream popular culture in a manner that is deeply commodified and yet remains highly ritualistic and symbolically meaningful. Practicing graffitists may identify with the tribe through their life-style, relationship with the urban environment, particular aesthetics or topics of their graffiti, brand of spray-paint that they use, locations in which they put up their works, etc. Those that do not make graffiti themselves may also belong to such neo-tribes through consumption of commodities associated with graffiti-making, such as

clothing, books, magazines, graffiti pieces on canvas or prints, products associated with graffiti through advertising, as well as through participating in graffiti exhibitions and festivals. A few examples of such festivals include Kings of Concrete in Dublin (Fig. 53), Upfest in Bristol or Moniker in London, where people that identify with graffiti-making, or with a broader concept of urban culture, gather with their tribe and indulge in activities that define it.

Figure 53. Artwork by Maser at Kings of Concrete Festival; 2011, Dublin, Ireland.

Very much in keeping with Fine and Kleinman's (1979) interactionists approach to the concept of subculture, these new ideas of post-subcultures and neo-tribes consider distinct social cultures not as isolated islands but more so as overlapping neighbourhoods with blurred boundaries. The rigid boundaries perceived to distinguish subcultures from the rest of the society are often devised by the outsiders, be it, as Redhead (1990) noted, the theorists or, as Hebdige (1979) and Thornton (1997) emphasise, the mass media. Academia and media have a strong opinion making power amongst other researchers and the general public respectively. In an effort to conceptualise distinct social groups or their practices, often unintentionally,

they create simplified and at times misleading understandings portraying such groups as well defined, hermetic and static. However, the diverse social actors meet, exchange information and appropriate various practices or ideas making urban social groups and their practices fluid and ever evolving. At aforementioned festivals, exhibitions and other events which bring together graffiti or urban culture neo-tribes, meet people from various walks of life: graffitists, musicians, dancers, skaters, graphic designers, illustrators, journalists, researchers, curators, gallerists, members of general public and so on. They all bring their contributions to the event, either as producers or as members of the audience, and they all leave rich with new experiences and ideas, which they may transfer into other spheres of their socio-cultural life.

Bennett (2004) draws attention to the multiplicity of different scenes (or in other words communities) within which such groups or individuals may exist and disseminate their messages. This includes local, trans-local and virtual scenes, which enable the group members to operate both on a local and global level and requires them to mediate their presence within these environments. A typical example of such is the practice of graffitist Marina Zumi, who started making graffiti in her home-country of Argentina, now lives and works mainly in Sao Paulo but often travels to create graffiti in locations such as Austria, Poland or Kazakhstan, to name a few. While created in the physical world, her works can be found online on her website, Facebook and Instagram profiles, as well being shared by the countless users of such virtual platforms. In addition Zumi works both in a grass-roots community settings and for commercial projects with companies such as Pirelli, as well as exhibiting her works in art galleries. Operating in such a variety of environments and contexts requires her to adjust her graffiti-making practice accordingly in order to successfully establish and mediate her presence in each of these contexts and yet maintain a level of integrity and continuity that allows her connect these various contexts through her practice and to personally identify with performed actions and hence gain a sense of presence and belonging.

This tendency of contemporary cultures to function in multiple localities and blur boundaries between each other has been noted and addressed by scholars dealing with ethnographic research methodologies. In his paper *Ethnography on the Move: From Field to Net to Internet* Andreas Wittel (2000) advocated that in times of increased mobility and the Internet we need to think in terms of multiple interlocking socio-political sites and locations, including the virtual ones. He argues that:

> The idea of 'a culture out there', with the implication of being, firstly, a coherent entity and secondly, unique and different from other cultures becomes increasingly difficult to sustain given the developments and transformations we've been witnessing the last few decades (Wittel 2000, p.1).

While the sociological concepts that were explored in this section so far, seek to somehow define structured socio-cultural formations, the last theory that will be discussed here – the idea of non-movement, provides a different perspective. This concept was put forward by Asef Bayat (1997a and 1997b), who conceptualised a type of socio-cultural phenomena that is characterised by very dynamic levels of relationship-strengths, activity and collectiveness, reliant on the current needs of members of such non-movements. The non-movement theory has developed independently from the studies of western youth cultures and resulted from investigation of the ways in which the Middle Eastern 'urban subaltern' operate. Similarly to the Chicago School scholars, the concept of non-movements relates to the disenfranchised urban dwellers and their socio-cultural behaviours in context of the mainstream society. Nevertheless, while early subculture studies researchers perceived such practices as deviations, Asef Bayat developed his concepts seeing them as ordinary everyday practices that are rooted in a pursuit of better social conditions (Bayat 1997a; 1997b; 2010; 2012).

Theories of subculture imply the existence of closed social groups, which at times interact and exchange information with actors from outside of their groups but who

remain united around a certain ideology. The concept of counterculture assumes that collective efforts are aimed against some aspect of generally accepted socio-cultural structure, the concepts of post-subcultures and neo-tribes portray individuals as more loosely connected but still holding a strong collective identity based around an idolised cultural element and carrying out collective, organised activities. The idea of non-movements, in turn, recognizes the existence of very loose networks made of atomised actors who pressured by a combination of political, economic and socio-cultural conditions create an informal system that enables them to negotiate their presence and right to operate within the public realm (Bayat 1997a; 1997b; 2010; 2012).

These individual actors who make up for a non-movement, even though they have common goals and pursue them by performing similar practices, do not habitually organise. Nevertheless, under certain circumstances, relationships between these individuals may tighten and bring them together for a collective action. As Bayat (1997b, p.58) explains 'this complex mixture of individual and collective action results from both the social position of the actors and … the 'structure of opportunities' available for them'.

Such an allowance for both individual and collective actions of various intensity makes the concept of non-movement able to convey all types of graffiti-making practices. In addition, one of the most important features of non-movements is what was established in previous sections in relation to practices of the overall body of graffitists – they operate not as an organised, revolutionary or antagonistic movements but rather through isolated and episodically organised practices that are not motivated by a specific collective ideology (Bayat 2013b). Practices of graffitists, similarly to non-movements, constitute a response to social, cultural, political and spatial conditions, hence the vast variety of social actors involved in graffiti-making and the messages communicated through graffiti that are described in Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2.

According to Bayat (2012), by forming presence and continuing everyday practices based in public spaces, social actors are able to claim the right to use these spaces and

133

force those with decisive power to, at least partially, accept their presence and allow to carry out their practices. An example of such are the many initiatives of urban authorities that allow certain graffiti-making activities. Through such continuing presence in the public realm, everyday practices become normalised among the general public (Bayat 2004). The process of normalising 'deviant' practices was seen by the theorists of subcultures as a way of domesticating and assimilating the subculture into the mainstream culture, in the context of non-movement, however, it is seen as a positive development. It signifies a higher level of acceptance of previously marginalised social actors and expands their access to the avenues in which these actors can be present. This is explicit in graffiti-making practices in that through operating within the public realm of the urban environment graffitists aim at making themselves visible and encroach with their presence and messages on the everyday shared reality of urban dwellers. Even if breaking the social conventions or legal regulations, their practices aim at establishing and mediating presence – being a part of the environment within which they operate and being able to transmit their own ideas and visions of this environment, rather than being isolated.

While analysing and coding the empirical data representing graffiti-making practices, similarities between the concept of non-movements and graffiti-making practices became explicit. Bayat (2012), however, noted that his theory can only be representative of socio-cultural formations in the context of the MENA region. While graffiti may not exactly be a non-movement, the parallels between the dynamics of non-movements and graffiti-making practices are rather striking and the theoretical framework developed by Bayat can be successfully applied to analysis of social dynamics of a global phenomenon such as graffiti-making. In the next Section 4.5 *Networks and Interactions,* ideas that Bayat developed from the study of non-movements are used to systematise the types of interactions that occur between social actors involved in graffiti-making practices and networks that may form as a result of these interactions.

The results of empirical data coding focused on types of graffiti-makers and messages that they communicate were presented in sections *4.2.1 Users and Moderators* and *4.2.2 Thematic Typology of Graffiti.* These revealed vast differences in the intentions and social, cultural and economic backgrounds of contemporary graffiti-makers, which in turn exposed that their practices do not share a cultural or an ideological agenda.

Subsequently a number of socio-cultural concepts was explored with a view to assess their relevance to contemporary graffiti-making practices. The variety of topics and actors involved in graffiti-making and the lack of common aim or ideology make it impossible to define a cohesive subculture, contraculture, neo-tribe or even, as suggested by Wacławek (2008, 2011), an art movement, one that would account for all instances of graffiti-making practices. Even if we take into account the most flexible definitions of subcultures, such as the one proposed by Fine and Kleinman (1979) who challenged the popular view of subcultures as homogenous, static and closed, the disparities in the practices of graffitists are so ample that it is impossible to generalise them in subcultural terms. Each of the above concepts is therefore useful only in cases of specific types of graffiti and requires the exclusion of others. However, these concepts are not seen as competing with one another but as complimentary. Their fluidity was accepted and the aim was to use them to explain the phenomenon in question rather than using the phenomenon to fit and prove a particular concept.

Graffiti is the visible manifestation of the existence of individuals and groups that create it and therefore the outsiders (public, journalists, researchers, authorities, etc.) identified them as individual graffiti subcultures, art movements, contracultures, etc. While studies of such groups that utilize graffiti failed to uncover the underlying function of graffiti-making practices, they enabled to learn about specific types of graffiti and the groups that used it. They also helped to understand the processes of assimilation of elements of practices such as graffiti-making into the mainstream culture.

The concept of neo-tribes proved useful in explaining some instances of contemporary graffiti-making as a cultural movement. The lifestyle and products associated with it constitute the focus of such graffiti neo-tribe. Its members are not tightly connected with one another by specific ideologies but identify with each another through their mutual interest in graffiti, gather at events and sites of interest to partake in creating or consuming the 'culture' of graffiti-making. However, while for some types of graffitists graffiti-making is indeed the center-point, or one of many center-points, around which they shape their identity and social activities, many others use it simply as a tool. Graffitists belonging to the latter group identify primarily with a message they aim to transmit or the act of modifying the environment than with being a graffitist per se.

Approaching graffiti through the lens of the concept of non-movement promises to be the most productive in fulfilling the aim of this research project – uncovering connections between practices of various types graffiti-makers and creating a framework through which these practices can be understood collectively. In the next section Bayat's ideas are used to analyse and systematize the types of networks and interactions that occur amongst social actors involved in graffiti-making.

4.5 Networks and Interactions

The three previous sections have shown that the overall body of graffitists and those involved in mediating graffiti-making practices is very varied and complex culturally, ideologically and in the degree of official power that they have to shape their social and physical environments. While it was observed that graffiti is most often created by independent individuals, rather than by members of ideologically cohesive group(s) guided by a collective agenda, it is also evident that it is a social activity, one that aims at communication and interaction. Those involved in creating graffiti operate as part of a larger social framework being influenced by and feeding back to the physical, but socially constructed environment in which they carry out their practices. The social dimension of graffiti-making and its placement in shared urban spaces enable graffitists to encounter each other and form relationships and

networks. Affiliations also occur between the users and the moderators of graffiti-making. Those engaging with graffiti continuously use it as a tool of mediating their presence not only through enhanced visibility but also through development of relationships with other social actors.

This section presents analysis of the character of interactions and networks that form between various types of actors involved in graffiti-making. The aim is to account for the role of these various actors and to understand how, despite the overall fragmentation or lack of common direction, their practices create an impression of unity. To achieve that, the analysis began at the level of an atomised individual – a graffiti-maker not (yet) affiliated with other graffiti-makers or institutions. The position of such atomised graffitist was examined in relation to the social and physical environment, and potential relationships that develop within this environment were considered.

Elements of Asef Bayat's (1997a, 1997b, 2010, 2012) theory of non-movement were adopted here as a framework for analysis. Such a choice has been made because of the striking parallels that were noted between the dynamics of graffiti-making practices and those of a non-movement. This concept has not been previously considered in the analysis of graffiti-making and can provide new, useful insights into the nature such activities and help explain how this vast variety of fragmented practices can be understood collectively.

4.5.1 From Atomised Graffiti-Making Practices to Collective Action

Similarly to the overall body of graffiti-makers, non-movement creates an impression of an organised social or cultural movement. It is, however, made up of independent, atomised actors, who – through being perceived as a collective – had become a social or cultural force, without intending so (Bayat 1997b, 2010). As Bayat described:

> What ultimately defines the power of non-movements relates to the (intended and unintended) consequences of the similar practices that a "big number" of subjects simultaneously perform (Bayat 2010, p.21).

One of the most important aspects that should be taken into consideration is the collective, even if not formally organised, presence of such 'similar practices' in shared physical spaces. Such co-presence allows atomised individuals to become aware of each other's practices and, if such need occurs, to develop relationships and networks.

The diagrams in Figure 54 illustrate different types of social connections that can occur amongst urban dwellers (Bayat 1997b, p.65). Bayat observed that a network is formed simply by the coexistence of atomised actors carrying out similar practices in shared space. Identification with the network or conscious and structured exchange of ideas and practices between members of a network are not necessary for it to exist in a passive state (Bayat 1997b).

a	h	m		a	a	a
o	d	x		a	a	a
n	p	b		a	a	a

1. No Network - atomised individuals without a common position   2. No Network - atomised individuals with a common position

4. Passive Network - atomised individuals with similar positions brought together through space

3. Active Network - individuals with a common position brought together by a deliberate attempt: association with an active network

Figure 54. Types of social networks (Source: Asef Bayat 1997b)

While the overall body of individual graffiti-makers is atomised and does not share a common ideology, it shares some characteristics that are specific to all its instances. The most important, and the one that undoubtedly defines them in the eyes of the rest of society, is the use of the same tool – graffiti, or in other words a visual

intervention that temporarily occupies spaces characterised by public access. Such visual interventions can be seen by other social actors who enter these spaces. They act as symbolic representations of individuals or social groups and communicate information, be it facts, opinions or feelings.

That means that by choosing graffiti as their tool, individuals, often unintentionally, put themselves into a common position with other graffitists (Fig 54, Diagram 2). Such common position is not only defined through the type of practice that they perform (using the tool of graffiti) but also through their specific type of presence in public spaces – one that moves from passively using the environment to actively responding to its context and modifying it. Through such presence in shared spaces[17] graffitists unintentionally form passive networks characterised by 'instantaneous communications between atomized individuals, which are established by tacit recognition of their commonalities directly in public spaces or indirectly through mass media' (Asef Bayat 2010, p.22).

As graffitists constituting such a passive network have no intention of organising themselves into a formal group, their relationships remain passive for the majority of time, i.e. are limited to performing similar activities within the same environment. Over time some graffitists will stop making graffiti, others may start, and their individual activities will be characterised by various levels of frequency (from being a professional graffitist to one-off interventions). As long as such practices are carried out within a given environment by multiple individuals, the passive network exists.

---

[17] Bodily presence during the act of graffiti-making, symbolic presence for the time that graffiti stays in that space, as well as extended presence through self- or third party published materials (such as photographs, videos or articles) in a variety of mass media.
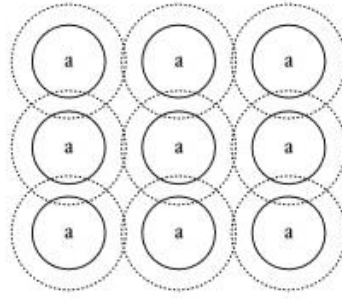
Figure 55. Power in big numbers. Exponential outcome of merging individual acts (Bayat 2010, p.21).

Despite the fact that there is no intention of collective action, the atomised acts of graffiti-making develop into a significant force if a large number of individuals engage in such practices within the same environment and with a similar aim. In his book *Life as Politics,* Bayat (2010, p.20) emphasises that 'whereas each act singularly makes only individual impact, such acts produce larger spaces of alternative practices and norms when they transpire in big numbers' (Figure 55).

The activities of, for example, stencil graffitists such as Blek Le Rat (France), Banksy (UK), Czernobyl (Germany), C215 (France), Icy & Sot (Iran and USA), M-city (Poland) and countless other stencil graffitists, result from their own interests and needs and address various issues but the common medium that they choose creates the impression of unity. Even though graffiti-makers engaging with specific types of graffiti may not have collective intentions, their practices, through their similarity and presence in the same environments, can be jointly seen as collective and described as such creating a belief that there indeed exists collective movement such as subculture, art movement, etc.

Furthermore, as Bayat (1997b) observed, in certain circumstances where there is a strong impulse for collective action, members of a passive network, can indeed activate their relationships and partake in a cohesive, organised action. During the Arab Spring, for example, many local graffitists participated in collective actions of mural painting, most notably at the Mohamed Mahmoud Street in Cairo (El-Hawary 2014). That happened spontaneously and was possible because a passive network of

graffiti-makers – social actors sharing common position within the same space – already existed and their practices were relevant in the context of the events. In such circumstances the character of graffiti as a *ready-at-hand* tool (or *affordance*) becomes apparent. Graffiti starts to be used by social actors who did not engage with it before but turn to it in the context of such mobilisation due to its usefulness and accessibility, often in pursuit of achieving a sense of active and visible contribution to the events.

While the passive networks of graffitists have the ability to activate from the inside, also outsiders (those not belonging to the passive network of graffiti-makers) can initiate such processes. Individuals or organisations interested in graffiti-making may decide to organise events, exhibitions or projects bringing a number of graffitists together to work towards a common goal. Examples include, the advertising takeovers or Street Art exhibitions in Tate Modern and in MOCA L.A., which were described in Section 4.2.1.

Whether initiated by the insiders or outsiders, such acts of activation are, however, temporary. After a period of intensified collective action, the network returns to its passive state when the context that led to formal collective action changes. This may include change of social or political context or an end of a festival, exhibition or project. Nevertheless, even though such temporary collective actions rarely lead to the establishment of permanent collective collaborations, their legacy is important. They allow individual graffitists to formally meet each other and strengthen their relationships. From being just aware of each other's practices they move to a position where they have worked together and recognise the potential of combining their efforts to achieve larger common goals. This increases the probability of organised collective actions in the future. At times formal organisations are also established, which organise regular collective graffiti actions. Examples include Fundacja Urban Forms in Łódź, Poland; City Leaks in Köln, Germany; or A Work Of Art in Cape Town, South Africa. Such organisations often merge graffiti-making with other activities – graffiti-making workshops, community projects, lectures, tourism, etc. further normalising the use of graffiti amongst the general public.

Because organised collective action has a bigger momentarily impact, it also provides greater visibility for graffiti-making practices in general. An atmosphere of community attracts a significant number of additional participants that were not previously engaged in graffiti-making but identify with specific causes and hence tie the action to what they perceive as a significant social/cultural movement or moment in history. Such organised actions are also more likely to be covered in the media, and noticed by the rest of society. This in turn may increase interest in the atomised practices of individual graffiti-makers from before or after the organised collective action took place. All these aspects lead to the normalisation of graffiti-making activities but also create a perception of some sort of socio-cultural movement such as subculture or contraculture.

4.5.2 Quiet Encroachment of Graffiti-Makers

By intensified and prolonged activity of a multitude of individual graffitists or small groups, graffiti-making practices have grown to a scale of a global phenomenon. In the second half of the 20th century, graffitists have gradually colonised the cityscape and established their presence as an integral element of contemporary urban culture. Benefiting largely from the access to new, globally shared virtual spaces, graffitists increased their visibility and their position in the contemporary culture even more so at the start of the 21st century. Such ability of passive networks to gain significance through carrying out uncoordinated, everyday practices is recognised by Bayat as one of the most important elements of non-movement – *quiet encroachment* – that he defines as 'quiet, atomised and prolonged mobilisation with episodic collective action (…) without clear leadership, ideology or structured organisation' (1997b, p.57). Bayat understands the power of quiet encroachment in that:

> by initiating gradual 'molecular' changes, in the long run [the actors involved] progressively modify the pre-existing composition of forces, and hence become the matrix of new changes. (…)[Such activities] carry strong elements of spontaneity, individualism, and inter-group competition, among other features. They place special emphasis, moreover, on action over meaning (1997b, p.57).

Through such practices, graffitist have been able to gain access to new spaces, both physical and virtual, public and private. Despite the general non-acceptance of their illegal practices, they have gained recognition as cultural producers. This brought about a set of new developments and opportunities such as the establishment of legal graffiti walls, representation within the established cultural institutions as well as interest from the commercial world. These new opportunities, even though highly controlled by their providers, deliver a greater level of what most graffitists aim for – visibility, recognition and the possibility of impacting on the socio-cultural and physical environment – conditions that provide an elevated sense of presence.

It is important, however, to highlight that although graffitists operating as a passive network are able to collectively gain more acceptance for their practices, they do not hold control over the course in which their collective practice develops. This results from the fact that their actions are not inherently coordinated, i.e. they do not ordinarily collaborate with each other towards a common goal and therefore cannot foresee the consequences of uncoordinated collective practice. Secondly, because their practices are time and context specific, and social. That means that outsiders significantly, even if unintentionally, influence the character of graffiti-making practices by impacting on the context within which graffiti-making practices are carried out. Those who fulfil the role of social or cultural moderators – city authorities, urban planners, gallerists and curators – play a significant role in this circumstances by facilitating or preventing presence of certain types of graffiti or even individual graffiti-makers.

4.5.3 Users – Moderators Relationships

In Section *4.2.1 Users and Moderators*, the main types of actors involved in contemporary graffiti-making were distinguished and described. It has also been established that both the actors who create graffiti themselves and outsiders have significant influence on the character of graffiti-making practices in any environment. This section examines the possible relationships that exists between these groups.

Diagram in Figure 56 illustrates interactions that commonly occur between users and moderators of graffiti. Groups on the left hand side of the diagram are those who are

predominantly the users – marginalised individuals and groups, activists, artists and designers. For them graffiti-making is an opportunity to gain visibility, communicate their values and beliefs and actively respond to their surroundings. In the light of theories concerned with social aspects of space, explored in Section *4.1.1 Presence and Space*, such 'ordinary' members of society can enter the shared public spaces and use tools made available to them but rarely have an opportunity to set the rules that order these spaces or to significantly impact on their character, be it social or physical.
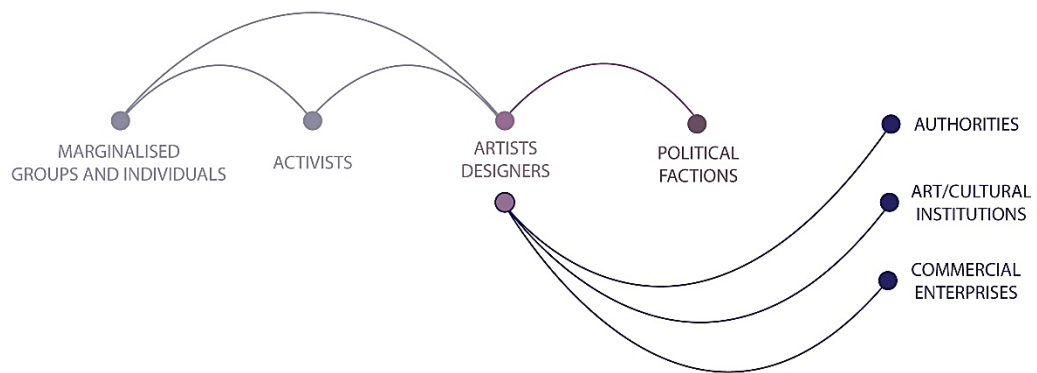
Figure 56. Links between the main types of actors involved in contemporary graffiti-making.

Artists and designers, located in the centre of the diagram, are the group with the biggest number of connections with other groups. On one hand they link to marginalised groups and activists. They often represent such groups in their works and at times originate from them. On the other hand, their technical skills and the aesthetic qualities of their works make them desirable collaborators for the moderators. Having links with groups on both sides of the diagram, artists and designers are often involved in projects initiated or supported by moderators that aim at engaging marginalised groups and revitalising neighbourhoods through creative community projects.

On the right hand side of the diagram there are located groups identified as moderators: authorities, cultural institutions and commercial enterprises. These groups – either by law or by financial capabilities – control contemporary narratives and to a large extent shape lived realities of society. As discussed in Section *4.2.1 Users and Moderators*, they do not ordinarily create graffiti themselves but have a decisive power over the laws that regulate graffiti-making practices and on the ways in which various types of graffiti-making are included or excluded from the mainstream culture. Various examples of such were already provided throughout this thesis, and included, amongst others, the impact of actors from the fine art and media environments on the evolution of western (and subsequently global) graffiti-making practices since the 1970s and on the contemporary understanding of graffiti; the influence of authorities and law enforcement bodies on the type of graffiti-making practices that are preserved or removed from the cityscape; or the decisive power of curators over the content of graffiti exhibitions. Their attitudes towards graffiti are important because they determine the types of practices that are normalised and accepted and those that become stigmatised.

Despite the fact that these moderators play a dominant role in the dynamics between the groups considered here, they are also themselves the users of environments that they control. In contrast to the other groups, moderators do have access to a variety of media that they can use to mediate their own presence within the environments that they control. Therefore, for them using graffiti is not a necessity caused by the lack of other means but is a response to the demands and pressures coming from users of urban environments, including the non-graffiti-making users.

The users witness and are able to position themselves in relation to environments in which they live and the various practices. Through the process of quiet encroachment, graffiti has become popular and desired amongst certain groups of non-graffiti-making users. Examples include the urban youth or members of the creative class. These groups have grown to be important forces of urban development, especially influential in relation to the efforts of contemporary cities to be the economic and

cultural capitals – the 'creative cities'[18]. Moderators and the spaces that they moderate, have to remain relevant to such groups in order to be successful. In such context city authorities and cultural institutions allow and even commission graffiti to be present in their environments in order to forge a progressive image and draw in the users. However, different social actors display various levels of appreciation towards various types of graffiti – some types may be welcomed (most cases of 'artistic' graffiti), others may irritate (for example tagging). In such circumstances the moderators need to address such demands by either facilitating more of such desired activities or preventing undesired ones from happening.

That means that the moderators have to establish relationships with the graffiti-making groups on the user end of the diagram in the Figure 56 in response to the demands that are created by the general body of users of a given environment. In such circumstances the perception of graffiti-making practices as a collective, somehow unified movement allows moderators to selectively foster only the types of graffiti that fit into their own vision. As Figure 56 shows, moderators accommodate primarily graffiti-making practices of professional graffitists – artists and designers, whose work is chosen mainly on the basis of the aesthetic qualities and, even if at times socially engaged, does not undermine the agenda of moderators. Other types of graffiti, and therefore other types of graffiti-makers, remain excluded and even stigmatised.

Furthermore, the contemporary exaltation of creativity and talent and assumption, that graffiti-making in general originates from the need to creatively express oneself, caused that practices of those whose graffiti-making is motivated by different causes are denied value. Hence graffitists are expected to create 'artistic' graffiti through engagement in various projects initiated by city authorities, community organisations

---

[18] Even though the concept of creative city and its impact on contemporary urban development policies has been widely criticised (for example: Peck 2005; Markusen 2006; Barnes et.al. 2006; Pratt 2008; Krätke 2010), it is still at the core of urban strategic planning (Borén and Young 2013).

or cultural institutions rather than 'vandalising' the cityscape with other types of graffiti (McAuliffe 2012; Laruscahim 2014; Jacques 2015).

Such exclusionary practices of moderators can, nonetheless, lead to intensification of the excluded graffiti-making practices. Taking that graffiti is a tool used by various social actors as a means of mediating their sense of presence, hence combating the sense of exclusion, then, if other opportunities of mediating presence are not satisfactory, graffiti remains the *ready-at-hand* tool that marginalised groups continue to use in a form that reflects their positions and an intensity that reflects their need for intervention. Therefore, such use can become even more prominent in cases where a specific type of graffiti-making practice is defined by the moderators as vandalism or an anti-establishment practice. Steward (2009) asserted that this was the case in 1970s New York – when graffiti started to escalate and the authorities responded with antagonism, it further motivated graffiti writers to continue their tagging practices and defeat the system.

The relationships between users and moderators of graffiti-making are therefore mutually dependent and characterised by constant negotiation of the types of graffiti-making practices that enter the environment. The users impose their images and messages upon the environment while the moderators remove these unwanted and promote the ones they consider worthy. That relationship is underlain by opposing efforts of the urban disenfranchised and urban moderators to challenge and maintain existing power-structures, to seize the right to be visible and exercise the boundaries of belonging and power through mediation of presence. What emerges to be particularly important is that it is not about graffiti per se but rather about what or who that graffiti represents.

4.5.4 Summary

Relationships between the different actors involved in graffiti-making and the dynamics of their interactions, were explored using the conceptual framework of non-movements. It was determined that graffiti-making can neither be defined on an ideological basis nor through the types of users that engage with it. However, because

graffiti-makers use similar tools, they create an impression of a collective movement. Nevertheless, the relationships and networks that form between the various actors involved in graffiti-making practices are not simple and stable but highly dynamic and can be best described as passive networks. These networks are activated in a variety of circumstances bringing the atomised graffiti-makers together to perform organised collective actions.

5. Conclusions and Reflections

The overall aim of this research was to advance the understanding of contemporary graffiti-making practices through building a framework within which the dynamics and the role of such practices can be explained. Despite the substantial number of previous studies that focused on specific types of graffiti or case studies based on location, there has been very little enquiry into understanding the collective function of graffiti-making that compares all of its different manifestations from a global perspective. This study built on the work of previous researchers of graffiti and used their findings relating to specific types of graffiti and the contexts in which they were produced. These were complimented by analysis of data collected specifically for this study and positioned in relation to pre-existing socio-cultural theories. This last chapter provides a summary of the project. It revisits the objectives, reflects on the research process and suggests how this research could be progressed.

5.1 Summary of Findings and Closing Conclusions

The research started with an investigation into the ways in which graffiti is defined and conceptualised. Adopting grounded theory approach, this involved interviews with graffiti-makers, a historical overview of graffiti-making practices as well as an in-depth examination of existing literature on the topic. Simultaneously relevant socio-cultural theories were explored and probed/compared with the patterns and observations that emerged from collected data. These included theories and concepts pertaining to subcultures, countercultures, neo-tribes and non-movements with focus on the human-environment relationships.

The first objective was to examine how graffiti-making practices are understood and defined. Historically graffiti is amongst the oldest visual records documenting human activity. It was used by various peoples in remote regions of the world throughout history, and so it can be seen as somehow inherent to human nature to practice it.

However, the assimilation of graffiti into mainstream culture, which started in 1970s, has set a tone for the subsequent interpretation of graffiti-making practices putting the emphasis on the artefact (graffiti) and on the existence of a socio-cultural formation (graffiti subculture) marketed as the exciting 'other' of modern-day urban culture.

Contemporary definitions and understandings of what constituted graffiti-making practices were found to be inconsistent. Traits of some types of graffiti were found to be frequently assigned to all its other types without acknowledging the vast discrepancies existing between these diverse practices. This has often lead to misunderstandings relating to the function of graffiti-making practices and consequently the ways that graffiti is discussed or dealt with are all too often grounded in largely subjective perceptions.

The analysis of data and the process of situating the various observations and concepts in relation to one another continuously pointed towards the issues of presence mediation. The last objective which emerged in the course of this study was to position graffiti-making in relation to such issues. For the purpose of a clearer argument, this objective was addressed early in the thesis – the concept of presence and the importance of public spaces as a forum where presence is established and mediated, were introduced in the first section of the main discussion Chapter - Section 4.1, providing an opportunity to relate these concepts to specific examples throughout Chapter 4. Graffiti was conceptualised as a feature of environment available to all types of social actors to mediate their presence within this environment. Graffitists were considered to exist in a state described by Heidegger (1962 (1926)) as *throwness* – a state in which social actors are forced to react to the context of the environment in order to mediate their own presence, which was later expanded by Massey (2005) to *throwtogetherness* to acknowledge the impact of existence of other social actors. Graffiti itself was considered as an *affordance* and a *tool ready-to-hand* and related to the processes of perception and use of objects and opportunities that social actors find in any given environment.

The second objective of this research was concerned with a need to determine the types of messages communicated through graffiti and to identify the different actors who engage with and influence contemporary graffiti-making practices. It aimed at searching for patterns that could suggest a common ground shared by all types of graffiti-makers. Such an approach has shown that graffiti-making is not an activity limited to one type of ideology or practiced by one type of social group. On the contrary, the forms of graffiti, the social actors who engage with it, and the motivations behind such engagement are characterised by significant diversity. As such, while certain types of graffiti-making practices can be related to concepts of subcultures or neo-tribes, these concepts are not representative of the collective body of graffiti-makers. It has been also proposed that even in the context of 1970s New York, graffiti was not the core of a subculture but a tool through which a certain subculture manifested its presence. However, because graffiti was the element through which these groups made themselves known to the general public, they were invariably described as graffiti subculture.

The importance of connection between specific content and the context of environments has been repeatedly noted during the process of analysing and systemising the topics occurring in graffiti. The next objective, therefore, was to explore this relationship in-depth. Developing the thematic typology of graffiti led to an observation that the various messages communicated through graffiti relate to three main areas: Self-Identification & Affiliations; Socio-Political Environment; and Physical Environment (built and natural). The occurrence of these topics has been investigated in the context of Western countries, Arabic countries and Latin America – areas selected for their cultural, historic and political diversity. It has been observed that in each of these regions graffiti-making practices are influenced by the local context – politics, social customs and vernacular cultural heritage. However, the universality of certain social and cultural elements is also apparent. Local and global influences merge in the practices of contemporary graffitists producing hybrid forms resulting from historical exchanges between the regions and the recent intensification of globalisation and migration processes. Therefore, graffiti-making practices are place specific, which means that they respond directly to the context within which

they are produced and reflect both the indigenous specificity of places in question and the global influences on local realities. It has been also observed that these practices are time-specific and therefore fluid. The forms and messages that occur in specific places or that are transmitted by specific social groups are not fixed but change in response to changing context.

The fourth objective was to examine the relationships between the various actors that engage with and influence contemporary graffiti-making – the types of networks that form and the dynamics of such networks. Analysis of these aspects was related to Asef Bayat's theory of non-movements. It was determined that in most cases graffitists operate as atomised actors or small groups (i.e. crews or collectives), which individually have limited impact on the environment. However, the power of such practices lays in the quantity of actors that engage with them. Through the multitude of individual graffiti-making acts, even though not formally organised, graffitists unintentionally form passive networks and became a force that is perceived by the outsiders as a collective. Such passive networks of graffiti-makers can be temporarily activated to perform an organised collective action. This can be initiated by the graffitists themselves responding to certain element(s) of an environment, for example social injustice or a particular political situation, or by external moderated opportunities such as exhibitions, festivals or community projects.

In most cases graffitists hold the position of the users of environments and are in some way marginalised when operating in environments where moderators set the rules and define opportunities. In such context graffiti is a medium that enables the users to mediate their presence, to encroach on the environment by gaining visibility and modifying the physical and, potentially, the socio-cultural character of the environment. Even though moderators as intermediaries play a dominant role in these relationships, they too, to a certain extent, depend on graffiti and graffiti-makers in mediating their own presence.

Graffiti, as a manifestation of visibility within a cityscape, aids its makers in establishing presence in the public realm of urban spaces. While the physical presence

may be only symbolic, the personal sense of presence is elevated because the act of graffiti-making allows people to communicate meanings and modify environments providing an opportunity to be socially active. This form itself is not a movement, subculture or an art movement but rather a tool or mechanism used by social groups, activists, artists or individuals deprived of other channels of communicating with the broader public. Conceptualising graffiti as a tool, rather than a hypothetical centre-point of a socio-cultural movement enables one to view the different users of graffiti as separate entities, rather than followers of a specific, collective ideology. Through graffiti ideas of such individuals and groups are transmitted and remain pertinent in public spaces giving them a semi-permanent visibility. Graffiti is equally an important source of information about such peoples who are in some way marginalised and to whom other means of mediating presence are not available or considered relevant. Such a role of graffiti as a social and cultural indicator has been noted by several other researchers to date, including Cybriwski and Lay (1974), Alonso (1998) and Saleh (2009).

Situating graffiti-making in relation to the concept of presence has also highlighted that such practices do not exist in a vacuum as hermetic subcultural rituals, but have an explicitly social character. They are rooted in the context of place and time, and this context is a stimuli for graffiti-making action. As such graffitists are not the sole catalysts of such action and the work created as a result is not an end product of it. Therefore graffiti is not only an empowering representation of individuals and groups but also of the specific social and spatial contexts in which it occurs.

5.2 Reflections on the Research Process

Researching graffiti was a journey that caused me to venture in many different directions: our relationships with urban environment; public spaces and the right to use them; cultural institutions, their accessibility and role in mediating ideas; identity, the sense of belonging and constant need to mark one's presence; the complex relationships between the marginalised and the mainstream – these were all part of this investigation.

The initial absence of completely defined objectives and research methods at the beginning of the research process allowed for the exploration of the topic with the opportunity to discover patterns and make connections that could not emerge if the scope of the research was pre-defined. As exciting and productive as such a research approach was, it was also challenging and at times daunting. Many of the aspects that I came to research were new to me and therefore challenging to grasp. In that respect meeting other researchers, being able to exchange experiences, to compare approaches and to discuss our respective projects was of enormous value.

The need to continuously reinterpret the findings as more data was collected and more conceptual ideas generated, characteristic to the grounded theory approach, demanded extensive writing and re-writing. While that was certainly a tedious task and little of this writing constitutes the content of the final text of this thesis, it was nevertheless a necessary and productive process with every re-write producing clearer ideas and synthesising emerging concepts. As such keeping a research journal containing the memos of different observations, ideas and concepts was also of great help and allowed for the creation of a 'bank of ideas', that could be revisited and reconsidered as new data was included.

As the research process was not linear but looped, it was also challenging to structure this final piece of writing, which is by its very nature linear. For example some of the objectives stated at the start of the dissertation emerged only after analysis of the data and the traditional order of specific sections within the thesis was modified to convey that. The methodological strategy was described earlier in the thesis in order to provide clarity for the reader that the literature review and defined aims and objectives did not, as it normally happens, dictate the process of the research but emerged alongside them.

Remaining curious and open-minded to influences from various disciplines brought me into unexpected places. At the beginning of this research I would not have anticipated that it would lead to readings on virtual reality or social movements in Iran, however insights from these fields became instrumental in noticing certain traits

of graffiti and linking them together to build a better understanding of this global phenomenon. Interdisciplinarity was perhaps the strongest element of this project and it allowed me to meet and connect with researchers from a vast range of disciplines related to the urban environment while I worked for an urban art fair in Munich, presented a paper at communication studies conference in Leeds and took part in summer school in urban studies in Vienna.

5.3 Limitations and Further Research Recommendations

As with every research project, this one concludes leaving some questions unanswered. It was the first time such an approach to explaining the phenomenon of graffiti was adopted and therefore more research and discussion is needed to further test the findings more thoroughly. The conclusion that graffiti represents the contexts of specific environments would be strengthened by undertaking similar analysis of relationship between graffiti and local contexts in other parts of the world. Considering that the research was conducted without visiting some parts of the world, and some examples and information about graffiti-making practices were collected remotely, it would be beneficial if such research was undertaken by researchers resident in those regions that could produce their own, possibly better informed, interpretations. This could work well as an international group project.

Current attempts to deal with unwanted graffiti are vastly limited to introducing anti-graffiti laws, painting over unwanted graffiti and occasionally providing platforms for more artistic graffiti produced by established graffitists – an approach that does not produce results and further marginalises some types of graffiti makers. It would be valuable to undertake research on how, in light of the findings presented in this thesis, civic authorities could respond to different types of graffiti-making practices in a more appropriate and constructive manner by viewing graffiti as an indicator which exposes needs of various social actors. While such an approach would not prevent graffiti from appearing in shared public spaces, it would lead to a more constructive way of responding to it.

List of Figures:

Figure 40. Layde, C. (2013) Piece by Maser and JR commemorating Dublin Lockout; 2013; Dublin, Ireland [Photograph] Retrieved from http://www.theliberty.ie/2013/04/30/street-artist-maser-brings-history-to-life/

Figure 41. Gourlay, W. (2013) *Revolution Will Not Be Televised, It Will Be Tweeted* anonymous graffiti; 2012; Istanbul, Turkey [Photograph] Retrieved from https://gypsyplaykurddance.wordpress.com/2013/06/20/gezi-park-questions-arising/

Figure 42a. Mhadel, J. (2012) Stencils referencing the iconic scene from Pulp Fiction found in three distinct locations – Artist Unknown; Bogota, Colombia [Photograph] Retrieved from https://jacquelinemhadel.wordpress.com/category/bogota/bogota-street-art-bogota/

Figure 42b. La Mantia, C. (2012) Stencils referencing the iconic scene from Pulp Fiction found in three distinct locations – Charlse Akl and Amr Gamal; Cairo; Egypt [Photograph] Retrieved from http://www.domusweb.it/en/interviews/2012/01/31/forms-of-energy-15.html

Figure 42c. Art of the State (2004) Stencils referencing the iconic scene from Pulp Fiction found in three distinct locations – Banksy; 2002; London, UK [Photograph] Retrieved from http://www.artofthestate.co.uk/Banksy/Banksy_Pulp_Fiction.htm

Figure 43. A1one (2010) Calligraphic mural by A1one; ca.2010; Teheran, Iran; ca.2010 [Photograph] Retrieved from http://www.a1one.info/calligraffiti/

Figure 44. Nunca (2010) Mural by Nunca; 2007; Sao Paulo, Brazil [Photograph] Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/nunca.art/photos/a.108360872516147.13812.108359002516334/108367062515528/?type=3&theater

Figure 45. Nunca (2014) Mural by Nunca; 2008; Sao Paulo, Brazil [Photograph] Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/nunca.art/photos/pb.108359002516334.-2207520000.1429516371./877248492294044/?type=3&theater

Figure 46. L'Atlas (2011) Paste-up on advertising billboard – stylised Latin letters create an impression of Arabic script; 2004; Paris, France [Photograph] Retrieved from http://www.bkrw.com/atlas-dun-monde-lautre/

Figure 47. Szymański, M. (2014) Mural by Brazilian graffitist Nunca in Łódź, Poland [Photograph] Retrieved from http://www.isupportstreetart.com/17168/

Figure 48. Street Art News (2013) *The Conquest Of The New World By Spanish Conquistadors* - mural by Saner; 2013; Fleury Les Aubrais, France [Photograph] Retrieved from http://www.streetartnews.net/2013/04/saner-new-mural-in-fleury-les-aubrais.html

Figure 49. Corsa, I. (2007) Iconic Obey Giant sticker by Shepard Fairey, which subsequently became a brand in itself; New York, USA [Photograph] Retrieved from http://globalgraphica.com/2007/12/19/obey-giant-sticker-nyc/

List of Tables:

References:

Abu Ayash, H. (2013) Palestine Calling: Hamza Abu Ayyash Interview. *In:* Pramuk, J. (ed.) *Frank* [Online]*,* 29 August. Available: http://www.frank151.com/news/palestine-calling-hamza-abu- ayyash-interview.html [Accessed: 17 August 2014]

Alonso, A. (1998) Urban Graffiti on the City Landscape, *Western Geography Graduate Conference*, San Diego State University, 1998, San Diego: San Diego State University.

Armstrong, J. (2005) The Contested Gallery: Street Art, Ethnography and the Search for Urban Understandings, *AmeriQuests,* 2(1) pp. 1-18.

Aubert, M., Brumm, A., Ramli, M., Sutikna, T., Saptomo, E. W., Hakim, B., Morwood, M., van den Bergh, G. D., Kinsley, L. and Dosseto, A. (2014) Pleistocene Cave Art from Sulawesi, Indonesia, *Nature,* 514(7521), pp. 223-227.

Augé, M. (2008) *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe, London and New York: Verso.

Austin, J. (2010) More To See Than a Canvas In a White Cube: For an Art In the Streets, *City,* 14(1-2), pp. 33-47.

Baird, J. and Taylor, C. eds., (2010) *Ancient graffiti in context*. Routledge.

Barnes, K., Waitt, G., Gill, N. and Gibson, C. (2006) Community and Nostalgia in Urban Revitalisation: A Critique of Urban Village and Creative Class Strategies as Remedies for Social 'Problems', *Australian Geographer,* 37(3), pp. 335-354.

Barthes, R. (1972) *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang

Baudrillard, J. (2003 (1970)) *The Consumer Society.* London: Sage.

Bayat, A. (1997a) *Street politics: poor people's movements in Iran.* Columbia University Press.

Bayat, A. (1997b) Un-civil Society: the Politics of the 'Informal People', *Third World Quarterly,* 18(1), pp. 53-72.

Bayat, A. (2004) The Art of Presence, *ISIM Review,* 14.

Bayat, A. (2010) *Life as politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Bayat, A. (2012) Politics in the City-Inside-Out, *City & Society,* 24(2), pp. 110-128.

Bayat, A. (2013a) Revolution in Bad Times, *New Left Review,* 80, pp. 47-60.

Bayat, A. (2013b) The Urban Subaltern and the Non-movements of the Arab Uprising: An Interview with Asef Bayat. *In:* Ghandour-Demiri, N. (ed.) *Jadaliyya* [Online] 26 March. Available: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/10815/the-urban-subalterns-and-the-non-movements-of-the [Accessed: 26 March 2013]

Beautiful Loosers. [DVD] 2004. Directed by C. Strike and A. Rose. Cincinnati: Iconoclast.

Bennett, A. (1999) Subcultures or Neo-tribes? Rethinking the Relationship Between Youth, Style and Musical Taste, *Sociology,* 33(3), pp. 599-617.

Bennett, A. (2004) Consolidating the Music Scenes Perspective, *Poetics,* 32(3), pp. 223-234.

Bernardoni, M. (2013) Walls and Graffiti: The Strategic Value of Urban Space, *International RC21 Conference: Resourceful Cities*, 2013, Berlin

Blake Knox, K. (2014) Street Artist Joe Caslin Does Bit to Help Men Face up to Mental Health, *Irish Independent* [Online] 7 July. Available at: http://www.independent.ie/life/health-wellbeing/mental-health/street-artist-joe-caslin-does-bit-to-help-men-face-up-to-mental-health-30411138.html [Accessed: 18 February 2015].

Borén, T. and Young, C. (2013) The Migration Dynamics of the "Creative Class": Evidence From a Study of Artists in Stockholm, Sweden, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 103(1), pp. 195-210.

Bowen, T. (2013) Graffiti as Spatializing Practice and Performance, *Rhizomes: Cultural Studies in Emerging Knowledge*[Online], 25(2013) Available: http://rhizomes.net/issue25/bowen/ [Accessed: 21 January 2014].

Bowen, T. E. (1999) Graffiti Art: A Contemporary Study of Toronto Artists, *Studies in Art Education*, 41(1), pp. 22-39.

Brandalism (2014) *About Brandalism* [Online] Available at: http://www.brandalism.org.uk/the-project [Accessed: 23 October 2014].

Brighenti, A. M. (2010) At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain, *Space and Culture,* 13(3), pp. 315-332.

Carney, A. (2013) Investigation Launched After Threatening Graffiti Daubed on City Hall, *Limerick Post* [Online] 17 December. Available at: http://www.limerickpost.ie/2013/12/17/investigation-launched-after-threatening-graffiti-daubed-on-city-hall/ [Accessed: 27 January 2014].

Carney, A. (2013) 'Warrant Issued for Arrest of Graffiti Artists', *Limerick Post* [Online] 30 November. Available at: http://www.limerickpost.ie/2013/11/30/warrant-issued-for-arrest-of-graffiti-artists/ [Accessed: 27 January 2014].

Cascone, S. (2016) Italian Street Artist Blu Destroys 20 Years of His Own Work To Protest Upcoming Exhibition, *Artnet News* [Online] 14 March. Available: https://news.artnet.com/people/blu-destroys-bologna-street-art-448658 [Accessed 25 March 2016].

Castells, M. (2004) *The Network Society. A Cross-cultural Perspective.* Cheltenham, Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Castleman, C. (1982) *Getting Up: Subway Graffiti in New York.* Mit Press.

Chaffee, L. G. (1993) *Political Protest and Street Art*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Chanady, A. B. (1994) *Latin American Identity and Constructions of Difference.* University of Minnesota Press.

Chambers, I. (1985) *Urban Rhythms: Pop Music and Popular Culture*. Macmillan.

Charmaz, K. (1996) The Search for Meanings - Grounded Theory, in J.A. Smith, R.H., & L. Van Langernhove (ed.) *Rethinking Methods in Psychology*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 27-49.

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory*. Sage

Chomsky, N. 2013. Noam Chomsky: The Responsibility of Privilege. *In:* Jordan, R. (ed.) *Talk To AlJazeera. AlJazeera* [Online] 13 January. Available: http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2013/01/201311294541129427.html [Accessed 14 January 2013]

Citizen Information (2014) *Litter Prevention and Control*. Available at: http://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/environment/environmental_protection/litter_law.html [Accessed: 12 October 2015].

Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T. and Roberts, B. (1976) Subcultures, Cultures and Class, in Jefferson, S.H.a.T. (ed.) *Resistance Through Rituals*. London: Routledge, pp. 9 - 74.

Conklin, T. (2012) *Street Art, Ideology, and Public Space.* Masters, Portland State University, Portland.

Cooper, M. and Chalfant, H. (1984) *Subway Art.* Macmillan.

Craven, D. (2006) *Art and revolution in Latin America, 1910-1990.* Yale University Press.

Crovara, E. (2014) *Tensions in Urban Street Art: a Visual Analysis of the Online Media Coverage of Banksy Slave Labour.* Masters of Science, London School of Economics and Political Science, London.

Curry, C. S. (2009). Walrus TV Artist Feature: Swoon Interview from 'The Run Up'. In: Playground, U. (ed.) *Walrus TV* [Online] Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YtEDSQblGVo [Accessed: 16 March 2013]

Curry, C. S. (2010) Callie Curry (Swoon) TED Talk. *TEDxBrooklyn* [Online] Available:
    http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5298KZuW_JE [Accessed: 23 October 2012]

Curry, C. S. (2014) Swoon's Mother Lode. In: McVey, K. (ed.) *Interview Magazine* [Online] 4
    October. Available: http://www.interviewmagazine.com/art/swoon-submerged-
    motherlands [Accessed: 20 December 2014]

Cybriwsky, R. and Lay, D. (1974) Urban Graffiti as Territorial Markers, *Annals of the
    Association of American Geographers,* 64(4), pp. 491 - 505.

D'Amico, D. J. and Block, W. (2007) A Legal and Economic Analysis of Graffiti, *Humanomics,*
    23(1), pp. 29-38.

Deutsche, R. (1991) Boys Town, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 9(1), pp. 5-
    30.

Deutsche, R. (1996) *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics.* MIT Press Cambridge, MA.

Dickens, L. (2010) Pictures on the Walls? Producing, Pricing and Collecting the Street Art
    Print, *City,* 14(1-2), pp. 63-81.

Dunn, R. G. (1998) *Identity crises: A Social Critique of Postmodernity.* University of
    Minnesota Press.

El-Hawary, N.A.A. (2014) *The Graffiti of Mohamed Mahmoud and The Politics of Transition In
    Egypt: The Transformation of Space, Sociality and Identities*. Doctoral Dissertation, The
    American University in Cairo.

eL Seed (2013) Arabic Graffiti: A Quest for Identity, in Karl, P.Z.a.D. (ed.) *Arabic Graffiti.* 3 ed.
    Berlin, Germany: From Here To Fame Publishing.

Ez (2007) Street Art vs Graffiti, *New York Graffiti Tag-Line*. Available: http://tag-
    line.blogspot.ie/2007/04/evaluations-debates-and-comparisons.html [Accessed: 30
    January 2011]

Feral, D. (2012) *The Feral Diagram 2.0.* London: Graffuturism.

Ferrell, J. and Stewart-Huidobro, E. (1996) *Crimes of Style: Urban Graffiti And The Politics of
    Criminality.* Northeastern University Press Boston.

Fine, G. A. and Kleinman, S. (1979) Rethinking Subculture: An Interactionist Analysis,
    American Journal of Sociology, pp. 1-20.

Fischer, C. S. (1975) Toward a Subcultural Theory of Urbanism, *American Journal of
    Sociology*, pp. 1319-1341.

Fischer, C. S. (1995) The Subcultural Theory of Urbanism: A Twentieth-Year Assessment,
    American Journal of Sociology, pp. 543-577.

Flegg, E. (2015) Treasures.... Putting money into the Banksy, *Irish Independent* [Online] 20
    February. Available: http://www.independent.ie/life/home-garden/treasures-putting-
    money-into-the-banksy-31006122.html [Accessed: 21 February 2015].

Florida, R. (2002) *The Rise of The Creative Class. And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure
    And Everyday Life.* New York: Basic Books.

Friedman, J. (2014) How Selective Enforcement of Illegal Advertising Laws Punishes creative
    Activism, *Hyperallergic* [Online] 29 September. Available:
    http://hyperallergic.com/151561/illegal-advertising/ [Accessed: 13 April 2015]

Gadsby, J. M. (1995) Looking At The Writing On The Wall: A Critical Review and Taxonomy of
    Graffiti Texts, *Art Crimes* [online] Available:
    https://www.graffiti.org/faq/critical.review.html [Accessed 23 January 2013).

Galluzzo, M. and Johnson, Z. (2011) Lawyers Explain Graffiti Making and Related Laws in
    New York, *New York Criminal Defense Blawg*. Available at:
    http://newyorkcriminaldefenseblawg.com/2011/03/graffiti-making-and-related-laws-
    in-new-york/ [Accessed 10 March 2012].

Gibson, J. J. (2014 (1979)) *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception: Classic Edition.*
    Psychology Press.

Glaser, B. S. and Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Strategies for Qualitative Research.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Gleaton, K. M. (2012) *Power to the People: Street Art as an Agency for Change.* Master of Liberal Studies, University of Minnesota

Glueck, G. (1983) Gallery Views; On Canvass, Yes, But Still Eyesore, *The New York Times* [Online] 25 December. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/1983/12/25/arts/gallery-view-on-canvas-yes-but-still-eyesores.html?pagewanted=1 [Accessed: 30 April 2013].

Güneş, S. and Yılmaz, G. (2006) Understanding Graffiti in the Built Environment. In *42nd ISoCaRP Congress*.

Gunnell, K. (2010) *Street Art: Its Display in Public Spaces and Issues with a Municipality.* Masters, University of New Orleans, New Orleans.

Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (1992) Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference, *Cultural anthropology,* 7(1), pp. 6-23.

Halwani, Y. (2013) An Interview with Yazan Halwani. *In:* Shabandar, A. (ed.) *Lebanese Walls* [Online] 19 October. Available: http://www.lebanesewalls.com/2013/10/19/yazanhalwani/ [Accessed: 15 September 2014]

Harrington, C. (2010) Vandalog Interviews Conor Harrington. *In:* Hunt, A. (ed.) *Vandalog* [Online] 18 July. Available: https://blog.vandalog.com/2010/07/interview-conor-harrington/ [Accessed: 25 October 2013]

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity.* Blackwell Oxford.

Hassani, S. (2014) Colouring Afganistan. *In:* Verfurth, S.K.a.E.-M. (ed.) *Tea After Twelve* (2) [Online]. Available: http://www.tea-after-twelve.com/all-issues/issue-01/issue-01-overview/chapter2/afghanistans-first-graffiti-artist/ [Accessed: 27 December 2014]

Hayes, K. (2013) Judge Unmoved by Political Pressure, *Limerick Post* [Online] 7 August. Available: http://www.limerickpost.ie/2013/08/07/judge-unmoved-by-political-pressure/ [Accessed: 27/01/2014].

Hebdige, D. (1979) *Subculture - the Meaning of Style.* London.

Heeter, C. (1992) Being there: The Subjective Experience of Presence, *Presence: Teleoperators and virtual environments,* 1(2), pp. 262-271.

Heidegger, M. (1962 (1926)) *Being and Time.* New York: Harper & Row.

Herzog, L. A. (2006) *Return to Centre: Culture, Public Space, and City Building in Global Era.* Texas, USA: University of Texas Press.

Hughes, M. L. (2009) *Street Art & Graffiti: Developing an Understanding.* Masters, Georgia State University, Georgia.

Icy & Sot 4 March (2013) Icy and Sot Interview. *In:* Lindberg, S. (ed.) *Steez Magazine* (26) [Online]. Available: http://www.steezminimag.com/2013/03/04/issue-26-icy-sot-interview/ [Accessed: 26 May 2013]

Irish Independent (2014a) Graffiti 'Scourge' Must Be Tackled, *Irish Independent* [Online] 13 September. Available at: http://www.independent.ie/regionals/droghedaindependent/news/graffiti-scourge-must-be-tackled-30575736.html [Accessed: 21 February 2015]

Irish Independent (2014b) VIDEO: Big Increase in Illegal Graffiti Reported in Dublin, *Irish Independent* [Online] 2 October. Available at: http://www.independent.ie/videos/irish-news/video-big-increase-in-illegal-graffiti-reported-in-dublin-30631654.html [Accessed: 21 February 2015]

Irish Independent (2015) Racist graffiti painted at social homes site, *Irish Independent* [Online] 31 January. Available: http://www.independent.ie/regionals/fingalindependent/news/racist-graffiti-painted-at-social-homes-site-30938151.html [Accessed: 21 February 2015]

Jacques, A. (2015) Graffiti on Sarsfield Bridge: A 'New Low', *Limerick Post* [Online] 13 June. Available: http://www.limerickpost.ie/2015/06/13/graffiti-on-sarsfield-bridge-a-new-low/ [Accessed 25 September 2015]

Jaehne, K. (1984) Charles Ahearn:" Wild Style", *Film Quarterly*, pp. 2-5.

Jameson, F. (1985) Postmodernism and Consumer Society, in Foster, H. (ed.) *Postmodern Culture*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 111-25.

Jameson, F. (1989) Regarding postmodernism--A conversation with Fredric Jameson. *In:* Stephanson, A. (ed.) *Social Text,* pp.3-30.

Jenks, C. (2004) *Subculture: The Fragmentation of The Social.* Sage.

Johnes, G. A. and Ward, P. M. (2004) Memoria of the Bi-national Conference: The End of Public Space in the Latin American City?. *The End of Public Space in Latin American City?*, The Mexican Center of LLILAS , 2004. Austin: University of Texas at Austin.

Johnson, R. (2012) MOCA Director Jeffrey Deitch Defends 'Seriousnes' of Shows, *Los Angeles Times* [Online] 4 August. Available: http://articles.latimes.com/2012/aug/04/entertainment/la-et-0805-moca-deitch-20120805 [Accessed: 23 November 2012].

Kapila, L. (2015) Dublin's Traffic Signal Boxes Are Going From Grey to Glorious, *Dublin Inquirer* [Online] 11 August. Available: http://dublininquirer.com/2015/08/11/dublins-traffic-boxes-are-going-from-grey-to-glorious/ [Accessed: 12 October 2015].

Keegan, P. (2014) *Graffiti in Antiquity.* Routledge.

Khosravi, S. (2013) Graffiti in Tehran, *Anthropology Now,* 5(1), pp. 1-17.

Kim, T. (1996) Effects of Presence on Memory and Persuasion, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.*

Kleber, T. (2010) Após Invasão em 2008, Pichadores São Convidados a Voltar à Bienal. *Globo* [Online], 15 September. Available: http://g1.globo.com/sao-paulo/noticia/2010/09/apos-invasao-em-2008-pichadores-sao-convidados-voltar-bienal.html [Accessed: 24 July 2011].

Korody, N. (2011) The Revolutionary Art: Street Art Before and After the Tunisian Revolution, *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection* [Online] Paper 1134. Available: http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/1134 [Accessed: 23 April 2013]

Krippendorff, K. (2004) *Content Analysis. An Introduction to Its Methodology.* Second edn. London: Sage.

Krätke, S. (2010) 'Creative Cities' and the Rise of the Dealer Class: a Critique of Richard Florida's Approach to Urban Theory, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 34(4), pp. 835-853.

Lachmann, R. (1988) Graffiti as Career and Ideology, *American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 229-250.

Landry, C. (2000) *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators.* London: Earthscan.

Landry, C. and Bianchini, F. (1995) *The Creative City.* London: Demos.

Larruscahim, P. G. (2014) From Graffiti to Pixacao; Urban Protest in Brazil, *Tijdschrift over Cultuur & Criminaliteit,* 4(2), pp. 69 - 84.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space.* London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (2003 (1970)) *The Urban Revolution.* University of Minnesota Press.

Lennon, J. (2014) Assembling a Revolution: Graffiti, Cairo and the Arab Spring, *Cultural Studies Review,* 20(1), pp. 237-75.

Leopold, S. (2011) Street Art at MOCA, *LA Weekly* [Online] 7 April. Available: http://www.laweekly.com/arts/street-art-at-moca-2169958 [Accessed: 24 November 2012]

Lewisohn, C. (2009) Cedar Lewisohn Curating Street Art. *In:* Christina Eberhart, W.L. (ed.) *Rolling Plinth* [Online] 7 July. Available: http://www.rollingplinth.com/2009/07/interview-cedar-lewisohn/ [Accessed: 23 April 2013]

Little, R. E. and Sheble, M. A. (1987) Graffiti Vandalism: Frequency and Context Differences Between the Sexes, *American Journal of Criminal Justice,* 11(2), pp. 217-226.

Limerick City Council (2010) *Limerick City Council Litter Management Plan 2010-2013* [Online]. Available: http://limerickcity.ie/media/Final%20Litter%20Management%20Plan%202010%20to%202013.pdf [Accessed: 26 October 2015]

Lombard, M. and Ditton, T. (1997) At the Heart of It All: The Concept of Presence, *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication,* 3(2), pp. 0-0.

MacDonald, N. (2001) *The Graffiti Subculture: Youth, Masculinity and Identity in London and New York.* London: Pelgrave Macmillan.

Maffesoli, M. (1996) *The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society* (Vol. 41). SAGE.

Manco, T. (2002) *Stencil Graffiti.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Manco, T. (2004) *Street Logos.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Mantovani, G. and Riva, G. (1999) "Real" Presence: How Different Ontologies Generate Different Criteria for Presence, Telepresence, and Virtual Presence, *Presence: Teleoperators and Virtual Environments,* 8(5), pp. 540-550.

Markusen, A. (2006) Urban Development and the Politics of a Creative Class: Evidence from a Study of Artists, *Environment and Planning A,* 38(10), pp. 1921-1940.

Masemann, E. (2010) *Definitions and Transitions. Graffiti and Street Art in New York City: A Peripheral and Mainstream Presence since 1980s.* BA Hons, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Massey, D. (1991) A Global Sense of Place, *Marxism Today* (June), pp. 24-29.

Massey, D. (2005) *For space.* Sage.

McAuliffe, C. (2012) Graffiti or Street Art? Negotiating the Moral Geographies of the Creative City, *Journal of Urban Affairs,* 34(2), pp. 189-206.

McLean, S. (2013) Graffiti Artist Who Caused €32,000 in Damage 'Thought Public Would Be Interested', *Irish Independent* [Online] 20th March. Available: http://www.independent.ie/irish-news/courts/graffiti-artists-who-caused-32000-in-damage-thought-public-would-be-interested-29143958.html [Accessed: 12 October 2015]

Merriam-Webster (2015) Subculture Definition. *An Encyclopædia Britannica Company* [Online] Available: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/subculture [Accessed: 10 March 2015].

Merton, R. K. (1938) Social Structure and Anomie, *American sociological review,* 3(5), pp. 672-682.

Mitchell, D. (1995) The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 85, pp. 108 - 133.

Nevaer, L. E. V. (2009) *Protest Graffiti Mexico:Oaxaca.* New York: Mark Batty Publisher.

New York City Authority (1995) *City and State Anti-Graffiti Legislation* [Online]. Available: http://www.nyc.gov/html/nograffiti/html/legislation.html [Accessed: 10/03 2012]

Ng, D. (2011) Art in the Streets Sets Records for MOCA, Sort of. *Los Angeles Times* [Online] 10 August. Available: http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/culturemonster/2011/08/art-in-the-streets-is-most-attended-show-in-moca-history.html [Accessed 23 November 2011]

Nicoarea, G. (2014) Cairo's New Colors: Rethinking Identity in the Graffiti of the Egyptian Revolution, *Romano - Arabica,* 14(1), pp. 247 - 262.

Park, R. E. (1915) The City: Suggestions for The Investigation of Human Behavior In The City Environment, *The American Journal of Sociology,* 20(5), pp. 577-612.

Peck, J. (2005) Struggling with the Creative Class, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 29(4), pp. 740-770.

Penfold, M. (2007) Strictly Business, *Street Art. Graffiti in Digital Age (supplement to Computer Arts Projects)*, pp. 48-54.

Powers, L. A. (1996) Whatever Happened to the Graffiti Art Movement? *The Journal of Popular Culture,* 29(4), pp. 137-142.

Pratt, A. C. (2008) Creative Cities: the Cultural Industries and the Creative Class, *Geografiska annaler: Series B, Human Geography,* 90(2), pp. 107-117.

Rafei, A. (2014) Getting to Know Ali Rafei. *In:* Shabandar, A. (ed.) *Lebanese Walls* [Online] 10 February. Available: http://www.lebanesewalls.com/2014/02/10/1171/ [Accessed: 8 December 2014]

Ralph, N., Birks, M. and Chapman, Y. (2014) Contextual Positioning: Using Documents as Extant Data in Grounded Theory Research, *Sage Open,* 4(3), pp. 1-7.

Redhead, S. (1990) *The End of the Century Party: Youth and Pop Towards 2000.* Manchester University Press.

Regen, H. and Birg (dir.) (2011) *Unlike U. Trainwriting in Berlin*. Berlin.

Reinecke, J. 2007. Interview with Julia Reinecke. *In:* Jens, T. (ed.) *Telepolis Artikel* [Online] 14 September. Available: http://www.heise.de/tp/artikel/26/26069/1.html [Accessed: 20 May 2012]

Reinecke, J. (2012) *Street-Art: Eine Subkultur zwischen Kunst und Kommerz.* Second edn. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Reisner, R. (1971) *Graffiti: Two Thousand Years of Wall Writting.* New York: Cowles Book Company.

Riva, G., Davide, F. and IJsselsteijn, W.A. (2003) Being There: The Experience of Presence in Mediated Environments. *In:* G. Riva, F. Davide, W.A IJsselsteijn (Eds.) *Being There: Concepts, Effects and Measurement of User Presence in Synthetic Environments*. Amsterdam: Ios Press.

Robards, B. and Bennett, A. (2011) MyTribe: Post-Subcultural Manifestations of Belonging on Social Network Sites, *Sociology,* 45(2), pp. 303-317.

Rolston, B. (1991) *Politics and painting: Murals and conflict in Northern Ireland.* Fairleigh Dickinson Universiy Press

Rolston, B. (2014) Messages of allegiancA and Defiance: the Murals of Gaza', *Race & Class,* 55(4), pp. 40-64.

Ruiz, M. (2011) *Nuevo Mundo. Latin American Street Art.* Berlin: Gestalten.

Salas, A. (2012) State-Sponsored Rebels with a Cause: Los Grupos, Ancient American Iconography, and the Mexican Nation-State, *American Studies Association Annual Meeting*, 2012. San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Saleh, T. F. (2009) *Marking Beirut: A City Revealed Through its Graffiti.* Beirut: Joseph Brakhya.

Salti, R. (2008) Urban Scrolls and Modern-Day Oracles. The Secret Life of Beirut's Walls. *Third Text,* 22(5), pp. 615-627.

Schacter, R., 2014. Ornament and Order: Graffiti, Street Art and the Parergon. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Sheridan, T. B. (1999) Descartes, Heidegger, Gibson, and God: Toward an Eclectic Ontology of Presence, *Presence: Teleoperators and virtual environments,* 8(5), pp. 551-559.

Sligo Champion (2014) 'Street Art Comes to Adelaide Car Park', *Sligo Champion*. [Online] 19 July. Available: http://www.independent.ie/regionals/sligochampion/lifestyle/street-art-comes-to-adelaide-car-park-30432174.html [Accessed: 23 October 2014]

Sligo Tidy Towns (2015) *Sligo Tidy Towns, About Us* [Online]. Available: http://sligotidytowns.ie/aboutus/ [Accessed: 12 October 2015]

Smith, N. (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City.* Psychology Press.

Smith, N. (2002) New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy, *Antipode,* 34(3), pp. 427-450.

Snyder, G. J. (2006) Graffiti Media and the Perpetuation of an Illegal Subculture, *Crime Media Culture,* 2(1), pp. 93.

Soja, E. W. (1989) *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory.* Verso.

Soja, E. W. (2009) Taking Space Personally. *In:* Barney Warf, S.A. (ed.) *The spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 11.

Sorkin, M. (1992) *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space.* Macmillan.

Springer, S. (2011) Public Space as Emancipation: Mediations on Anarchism, Radical Democracy, Neoliberalism and Violence, *Antipode,* 43(2/2011).

Steward, J. (2009) *Graffiti Kings.* New York: Abrams.

Stewart, M. and Kortright, C. (2015) Cracks and Contestation: Toward an Ecology of Graffiti and Abatement, *Visual Anthropology,* 28(1), pp. 67-87.

Stoneman, A. (2010) Signs of Change, *The Visual Artists' News Sheet*, p. 16.

Street Art. Painting TATE Modern. 2008 [Online] Directed by T. Haines; Available: http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-modern/exhibition/street-art [Accessed: 14 June 2011].

Sweeney, K. (2011) Director Makes a Splash with Street Art Campaign', *Irish Independent* [Online] 4 February. Available: http://www.independent.ie/irish-news/elections/director-makes-a-splash-with-street-art-campaign-26654249.html [Accessed: 21 February 2015]

Tanzer, H. (1950) *The Common People Of Pompeii: A Study of The Graffiti.* Johns Hopkins Press.

The Keith Haring Foundation (1997) *Bigraphy of Keith Haring*. Available: http://www.haring.com/about_haring/bio/index.html [Accessed: 3 March 2012].

Thornton, S. (1997) The Social Logic of Subcultural Capital, *In*: Thornton, S. (ed.) *The Subcultures Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 200-209.

Trip Advisor (2015a) *Top Tours & Activities in Berlin* [Online]. Available: http://www.tripadvisor.ie/Attractions-g187323-Activities-Berlin.html#TtD [Accessed: 25 October 2015].

Trip Advisor (2015b) *Top Tours & Activities in London* [Online]. Available: http://www.tripadvisor.ie/Attractions-g186338-Activities-London_England.html#TtD [Accessed: 25 October 2015].

Trip Advisor (2015c) *Top Tours & Activities in Melbourn* [Online] Available: http://www.tripadvisor.ie/Attractions-g255100-Activities-Melbourne_Victoria.html#TtD [Accessed: 25 October 2015].

Trip Advisor (2015d) *Top Tours & Activities in Valparaiso* [Online]. Available: http://www.tripadvisor.ie/Attractions-g294306-Activities-Valparaiso_Valparaiso_Region.html#TtD [Accessed: 25 October 2015]

Trip Advisor (2015e) *Top Tours & Attractions in Brooklyn* [Online]. Available: http://www.tripadvisor.ie/Attractions-g60827-Activities-c42-Brooklyn_New_York.html [Accessed: 25 October 2015].

Truman, E. J. (2010) The (In) Visible Artist: Stencil Graffiti, Activist Art, and the Value of Public Space, *Shift Queen's Journal of Visual and Material Culture,* (3).

Vartanlan, H. (2009) Public Space Can Be Used Against You: NY Street Ad Takeover #2, *Hyperallergic* [Online] 27 October. Available: http://hyperallergic.com/687/nysat/ [Accessed 13 May 2012]

Vetters, T. (1999) 'Night on Earth': Urban Practices and the Blindness of Metatheory, *The Urban Condition: Space, Community, and Self in the Contemporary Metropolis,* 57.

Vimercati, G. (2016) Blu v Bologna: New Shades of Grey in the Street Art Debate, *The Guardian* [Online] 17 March. Available: http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/mar/17/street-artist-blu-destroys-murals-in-bologna [Accessed 25 March 2016]

Wacławek, A. (2008) *From Graffiti to The Street Art Movement: Negotiating Art Worlds, Urban Spaces, And Visual Culture, c. 1970-2008.* Doctoral Dissertation, Concordia University.

Wacławek, A. (2011) *Graffiti and street art.* Thames & Hudson.

Waldner, L.K. and Dobratz, B.A. (2013) Graffiti as a Form of Contentious Political Participation, *Sociology Compass*, 7(5), pp.377-389

Weber, J. P. (2003)Politics and Practice of Community Public Art: Whose Mural Get Saved? *Mural Painting and Conservation in the Americas*, Getty Centre, 2004. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.

Wild Style (1982) Directed by Ahearn, C., Braithwaite, F. and Dickson, J. *New York: First Run Features*.

Williams, J. P. (2007) Youth-Subcultural Studies: Sociological Traditions and Core Concepts, *Sociology Compass,* 1(2), pp. 572-593.

Wilson, J. Q. and Kelling, G. L. (1982) Broken Windows, *Atlantic Monthly,* 249(3), pp. 29-38.

Wirth, L. (1938) Urbanism as a Way of Life, *American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 1-24.

Wittel, A. (2000) Ethnography on the Move: From Field to Net to Internet, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* 1(1).

Yinger, J. M. (1960) Contraculture and Subculture, *American Sociological Review*, pp. 625-635.

Young, A. (2013) *Street Art, Public City: Law, Crime and the Urban Imagination.* Routledge.

Zahorik, P. and Jenison, R. L. (1998) Presence as Being-in-The-World, *Presence,* 7(1), pp. 78-89.

Zimberg, A. M. (2012) *The Spray Can is Mightier than the Sword: Street Art as a Medium for Political Discourse in the Post-Soviet Region*. MA Thesis, Georgetown University.

Zoghbi, P. and Don Karl (2013) *Arabic Graffiti.* 3 edn. Berlin: From Here To Fame.

Bibliography:

5 minutes with: C215 (2013) [Online Video]. Directed by E. Beauvias. [Online] Available: https://vimeo.com/71808026 [Accessed: 15 October 2014].

A1one (2008) Rebel Without a Crew: Street Artist A1one in Teheran. *In:* Vartanian, H. (ed.) *ArtCat Zine* [Online], 21 July Available: http://zine.artcat.com/2008/07/interview.php [Accessed: 16 September 2013]

A1one Video Interview (2010) [Online] Directed by M. Amiri. Online: Vimeo. Available: http://vimeo.com/15834387 [Accessed: 16 September 2013]

Abaza, M. (2012a) An Emerging Memorial Space? In Praise of Mohammed Mahmud Street, *Jadaliyya* [Online], 10 March. Available: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/4625/an-emerging-memorial-space-in-praise-of-mohammed-m [Accessed 16 December 2014].

Abaza, M. (2012b) The Buraqs of "Tahrir", *Jadaliyya* [Online], 27 May. Available: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/5725/the-buraqs-of-tahrir [Accessed 16 December 2014].

Abaza, M. (2012c) The Revolution's Barometer, *Jadaliyya* [Online], 12 June. Available: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/5978/the-revolutions-barometer [Accessed 16 December 2014]

Abaza, M. (2013a) The Dramaturgy of A Street Corner, *Jadaliyya* [Online], 25 January. Available: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/9724/the-dramaturgy-of-a-street-corner [Accessed 16 December 2014].

Abaza, M. (2013b) Intimidation and Resistance: Imagining Gender in Cairene Graffiti, *Ahram Online* [Online], 2 July. Available: http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75459.aspx [Accessed 9 July 2013].

Abaza, M. (2013c) Satire, Laughter and Mourning in Cairo's Graffiti. *Inverted Worlds: Cultural Motion in the Arab Region*, 4-8 October 2013; Beirut, Orient Institute Studies. Online: *Perspectivia.net.* Available: http://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/orient-institut-studies/2-2013/abaza_satire [Accessed: 15 December 2014]

Abaza, M. (2013d) Mourning, Narratives and Interactions with the Martyrs through Cairo's Graffiti, *E-International Relations* [Online], 7 October. Available: http://www.e-ir.info/2013/10/07/mourning-narratives-and-interactions-with-the-martyrs-through-cairos-graffiti/ [Accessed 4 December 2014]

Abaza, M. (2014) Three Taveling Plaques Become Four in Mohamed Mahmoud Street, *Jadaliyya* [Online], 10 July. Available: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/18471/three-travelling-plaques-become-four-in-mohamed-ma [Accessed 23 August 2014].

Absolut (2012) *From Fine Art of Advertising to Advertising of Fine Arts* [Online] Available: http://www.absolutad.com/absolut_about/history/advertising/ [Accessed: 3 March 2012].

Abu Ayash, H. (2013) Palestine Calling: Hamza Abu Ayyash Interview. *In:* Pramuk, J. (ed.) *Frank* [Online]*,* 29 August. Available: http://www.frank151.com/news/palestine-calling-hamza-abu- ayyash-interview.html [Accessed: 17 August 2014]

Abu Ayash, H. (2014) Graffiti Creator Hamza Abu Ayyash (Palestine & Jordan) Questions and Answers, *Street Art Mecca* [Online], 25 June Available: http://streetartmecca.com/graffiti-creator-hamza-abu-ayyash/ [Accessed: 17 August 2014]

Adorno, T. (1991) *The Culture Industry.* London: Routledge.

Agrawal, N. (2010) Arts Innovator: Dasic Fernandez, Chile, *Quarterly Americas* [Online], Fall. Available: http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/1916 [Accessed: 21 October 2014]

Alonso, A. (1998) Urban Graffiti on the City Landscape, *Western Geography Graduate Conference*, San Diego State University, 1998, San Diego: San Diego State University.

Alpers, S. (1991) The Museum as a Way of Seeing. *In* I. Karp. And S. Lavine (eds.) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 25 - 32.

Amin, A. (2004) Regions Unbound: Towards a New Politics of Place, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography,* 86(1), pp. 33-44.

Amro, A. (2013) Alexandria Re-Imagined: The Revolution through Art. *Jadaliyya* [Online], 25 January. Available: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/9760/alexandria-re-imagined_the-revolution-through-art [Accessed: 16 December 2014].

Arenas, I. (2011) *Rearticulating the Social: Spatial Practices,Collective Subjects, and Oaxaca's Art of Protest.* PhD in Antropology, University of California, Berkley, Berkley.

Armed with Art: A New Revolution is Necessary - Art and Resistance in Mexico (2011) [Online Video] Directed by B Media Collective. [Online] Available: http://www.bmediacollective.org/2011/05/armed-with-art-a-new-revolution-is-necessary-art-resistance-in-mexico-film-short/ [Accessed: 16 April 2013].

Armstrong, J. (2005) The Contested Gallery: Street Art, Ethnography and the Search for Urban Understandings, *AmeriQuests,* 2(1) pp. 1-18.

Aqrabawi, R. (2013) Taking It To The Streets - Ala Tarek. *Reorient* [Online], 7 October. Available: http://www.reorientmag.com/2013/10/aya-tarek/ [Accessed: 10 October 2013].

Aubert, M., Brumm, A., Ramli, M., Sutikna, T., Saptomo, E. W., Hakim, B., Morwood, M., van den Bergh, G. D., Kinsley, L. and Dosseto, A. (2014) Pleistocene Cave Art from Sulawesi, Indonesia, *Nature,* 514(7521), pp. 223-227.

Augé, M. (2008) *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe, London and New York: Verso.

Austin, J. (2010) More To See Than a Canvas In a White Cube: For an Art In the Streets, *City,* 14(1-2), pp. 33-47.

Baird, J. and Taylor, C. eds., (2010) *Ancient graffiti in context*. Routledge..

Bardhan, S. & Foss, K. (forthcoming) Revolutionary Graffiti and Cairene Women: Performing Agency through Gaze Aversion.*In* Charrad, M & R. Stephan (Eds.) *Women and the Arab Spring: Resistance, Revolution, and Reform*.

Barnes, K., Waitt, G., Gill, N. and Gibson, C. (2006) Community and Nostalgia in Urban Revitalisation: A Critique of Urban Village and Creative Class Strategies as Remedies for Social 'Problems', *Australian Geographer,* 37(3), pp. 335-354.

Barthes, R. (1972) *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang Batalla, G. B. (1975) 'The Problem of National Culture', *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, pp. 28-32.

Battersby, M. (2012) Brandalism: Street Artists Hijack Billboards for 'Subverting Campaign. *The Independent* [Online], 17 July. Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/features/brandalism-street-artists-hijack-billboards-for-subverting-campaign-7953151.html [Accessed: 14 July 2013].

Baudrillard, J. (2003 (1970)) *The Consumer Society.* London: Sage.

Bauman, Z. (2006) *Płynna nowoczesność [Liquid Modernity]*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Bayat, A. (1997a) *Street politics: poor people's movements in Iran.* Columbia University Press.

Bayat, A. (1997b) Un-civil Society: the Politics of the 'Informal People', *Third World Quarterly,* 18(1), pp. 53-72.

Bayat, A. (2004) The Art of Presence, *ISIM Review,* 14.

Bayat, A. (2010) *Life as politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Bayat, A. (2012) Politics in the City-Inside-Out, *City & Society,* 24(2), pp. 110-128.

Bayat, A. (2013a) Revolution in Bad Times, *New Left Review,* 80, pp. 47-60.

Bayat, A. (2013b) The Urban Subaltern and the Non-movements of the Arab Uprising: An Interview with Asef Bayat. *In:* Ghandour-Demiri, N. (ed.) *Jadaliyya* [Online] 26 March. Available: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/10815/the-urban-subalterns-and-the-non-movements-of-the [Accessed: 26 March 2013]

Beautiful Loosers. [DVD] 2004. Directed by C. Strike and A. Rose. Cincinnati: Iconoclast.

Bearman, J. (2008) Street Cred: Why Would Barack Obama Invite A Graffiti Artist With A Long Rap Sheet To Launch A Guerilla Marketing Campaign On His Behalf?, *Modern Painters,* October 2008.

Beirut Art Centre (2012) *White Wall* [Online] Available: http://beirutartcenter.org/exhibitions.php?exhibid=278&statusid=3 [Accessed: 23 October 2012].

Bennett, A. (1999) Subcultures or Neo-tribes? Rethinking the Relationship Between Youth, Style and Musical Taste, *Sociology,* 33(3), pp. 599-617.

Bennett, A. (2004) Consolidating the Music Scenes Perspective, *Poetics,* 32(3), pp. 223-234.

Berger, J. (1972) *Ways of Seeing.* London: Penguin Books.

Bernardoni, M. (2013) Walls and Graffiti: The Strategic Value of Urban Space, *International RC21 Conference: Resourceful Cities*, 2013, Berlin

Bernt, M. (2012) The 'Double Movements' of Neighborhood Change: Gentrification and Public Policy in Harlem and Prenzlauer Berg. *Urban Studies,* 49(14), pp. 3045 - 3062.

Bickford, S. (2000) Constructing Inequality: City Spaces and the Architecture of Citizenship, *Political Theory*, pp. 355-376.

Blaish, I. (2014) Interview: The Street Artist Foma. *Telavivian* [Online], 24 July. Available: http://itayblaish.telavivian.com/2014/07/24/interview-the-street-artist-foma/ [Accessed: 8 November 2014]

Blake Knox, K. (2014) Street Artist Joe Caslin Does Bit to Help Men Face up to Mental Health, *Irish Independent* [Online] 7 July. Available at: http://www.independent.ie/life/health-wellbeing/mental-health/street-artist-joe-caslin-does-bit-to-help-men-face-up-to-mental-health-30411138.html [Accessed: 18 February 2015].

Borén, T. and Young, C. (2013) The Migration Dynamics of the "Creative Class": Evidence From a Study of Artists in Stockholm, Sweden, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 103(1), pp. 195-210.

Bourdieu, P. (1993) *The Field of Cultural Production.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Bowen, T. (2013) Graffiti as Spatializing Practice and Performance, *Rhizomes: Cultural Studies in Emerging Knowledge*[Online], 25(2013) Available: http://rhizomes.net/issue25/bowen/ [Accessed: 21 January 2014].

Bowen, T. E. (1999) Graffiti Art: A Contemporary Study of Toronto Artists, *Studies in Art Education*, 41(1), pp. 22-39.

Brandalism (2014) *About Brandalism* [Online] Available at: http://www.brandalism.org.uk/the-project [Accessed: 23 October 2014].

Brighenti, A. M. (2010) At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain, *Space and Culture,* 13(3), pp. 315-332.

Brooklyn Street Art (2011) *Walls Underway in Preparation for MOCA Show* [Online] Available: http://www.brooklynstreetart.com/theblog/2011/04/14/bsa-in-la-walls-underway-in-prep-for-moca-show/#.UZPzv783ROw [Accessed: 24 November 2012].

Buck, S. (2010) The Escif Interview. *Unurth* [Online] Available: http://www.unurth.com/The-Escif-Interview [Accessed: 23 November 2011].

Bures, F. (2012) The Fall of The Creative Class, *Thitry Two Magazine* [Online], Summer Issue. Available: http://thirtytwomag.com/2012/06/the-fall-of-thecreative-class/ [Accessed 15 October 2012].

Burnham, S. (2010) The Call and Response of Street Art and The City. *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Policy Theory, Action.,* 14(1-2), pp. 137-153.

Burton, J. (2012) Where The Streets Have New Names. *Mashallah News/Babelmed* [Online], 15 April. Available: http://eng.babelmed.net/arte-e-spettacolo/127-libia/13126-where-the-streets-have-new-names.html [Accessed 13 September 2013].

Buxton, J. (2014) Punk Politics: The Street Art of Spagnola. *Societe Perrier* [Online], 13 March. Available: http://www.societeperrier.com/us/miami/punk-politics-the-street-art-of-spagnola/ [Accessed: 14 June 2014]

C215 (2009) Stencil Art: C215 Interview. *In:* Brennenstuhl, J. *Urban Art Core* [Online], 10 August. Available: http://www.urbanartcore.eu/c215-life-in-the-streets-through-art/ [Accessed: 15 October 2014].

Campbell, M. S. and Martin, R. (eds.) (2006) *Artistic Citizenship. A Public Voice for the Arts*. New York: Routledge.

Carney, A. (2013) Investigation Launched After Threatening Graffiti Daubed on City Hall, *Limerick Post* [Online] 17 December. Available at: http://www.limerickpost.ie/2013/12/17/investigation-launched-after-threatening-graffiti-daubed-on-city-hall/ [Accessed: 27 January 2014].

Carney, A. (2013) 'Warrant Issued for Arrest of Graffiti Artists', *Limerick Post* [Online] 30 November. Available at: http://www.limerickpost.ie/2013/11/30/warrant-issued-for-arrest-of-graffiti-artists/ [Accessed: 27 January 2014].

Cascone, S. (2016) Italian Street Artist Blu Destroys 20 Years of His Own Work To Protest Upcoming Exhibition, *Artnet News* [Online] 14 March. Available: https://news.artnet.com/people/blu-destroys-bologna-street-art-448658 [Accessed 25 March 2016].

Caslin, J. (2014) *Joe Caslin* [Online] Available: http://www.joecaslin.com [Accessed: 15 May 2014].

Castells, M. (2004) *The Network Society. A Cross-cultural Perspective.* Cheltenham, Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Castleman, C. (1982) *Getting Up: Subway Graffiti in New York.* Mit Press.

Chaffee, L. G. (1993) *Political Protest and Street Art*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Chanady, A. B. (1994) *Latin American Identity and Constructions of Difference.* University of Minnesota Press.

Chambers, I. (1985) *Urban Rhythms: Pop Music and Popular Culture*. Macmillan.

Charlton, B. (2012) Kif Kif. *Lobtrap* [Online], 1 April. Available: http://lobtrap.com/2012/04/01/kif-kif/ [Accessed 12/09/2013].

Charmaz, K. (1996) The Search for Meanings - Grounded Theory, in J.A. Smith, R.H., & L. Van Langernhove (ed.) *Rethinking Methods in Psychology*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 27-49.

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory*. Sage

Charmaz, K. (2011) Grounded theory methods in social justice research. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research,* 4, pp. 359-380.

Chelkowski, P. J. and Dabashi, H. (1999) *Staging a revolution: The art of persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran.* New York University Press.

Ricky Lee Gordon. Creative Mornings Cape Town Talk (2012) [Online Video] Directed by One Dog Chicken. [Online] Available: http://vimeo.com/58888353 [Accessed: 23 March 2013]

Chivers, C. J. (2011) Libyan Street Art: Freedom, Defiance and Troubling Signs. *The New York Times* [Online], 8 August. Available: http://atwar.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/08/page/2/?_r=0 [Accessed: 20 March 2012]

Chmielewska, E. (2007) Framing [Con] text Graffiti and Place. *Space and Culture,* 10(2), pp. 145-169.

Chmielewska, E. and Brighenti, A. (2009) Writing on The Ruins or Graffiti as a Design Gesture. *The Wall and The City*, pp. 31-46.

Chomsky, N. 2013. Noam Chomsky: The Responsibility of Privilege. *In:* Jordan, R. (ed.) *Talk To AlJazeera. AlJazeera* [Online] 13 January. Available: http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2013/01/201311294541129427.html [Accessed 14 January 2013]

Citizen Information (2014) *Litter Prevention and Control.* Available at: http://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/environment/environmental_protection/litter_law.html [Accessed: 12 October 2015].

Clark, H. and David, B. (eds.) (2009) *Design Studies. A Reader.* Oxford: Berg.

Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T. and Roberts, B. (1976) Subcultures, Cultures and Class, in Jefferson, S.H.a.T. (ed.) *Resistance Through Rituals*. London: Routledge, pp. 9 - 74.

Cleaver Jr, H. M. (1998). The Zapatista effect: The Internet and the rise of an alternative political fabric. *Journal of International Affairs*, 621-640.

Combs, D. and Combs, C. (2007) Shepard Fairey on Selling Out. *Peel Magazine,* Issue 7, pp.18-21. [Online] Available: https://issuu.com/peelmagazine/docs/peelmagazine7/20 [Accessed: 20 March 2012].

Guillaume Alby explains his working process v.1 & v.2 (2012) [Online Video] Directed by Urban Art Commission. [Online] Available: http://vimeo.com/24463297 [Accessed: 10 September 2012]

Conklin, T. (2014) Graffiti and Activism: Unmediated Access & Communication in Public Space. *Portland Street Art Aliance* [Online], 21 November. Available: http://pdxstreetart.wordpress.com/2014/11/21/graffiti-and-activism-unmediated-access-communication-in-space/ [Accessed 13 December 2014].

Conklin, T. (2012) *Street Art, Ideology, and Public Space.* Masters, Portland State University, Portland.

Cooper, M. and Chalfant, H. (1984) *Subway Art.* Macmillan.

Cousineau, M. (2013) When the Road Becomes a Canvas. *Lumec* [Online], 9 December. Available: http://www.lumec.com/blog/index.php/2013/12/09/when-the-road-becomes-a-canvas/ [Accessed: 20 December 2013]

Craven, D. (2006) *Art and revolution in Latin America, 1910-1990.* Yale University Press.

Crovara, E. (2014) *Tensions in Urban Street Art: a Visual Analysis of the Online Media Coverage of Banksy Slave Labour.* Masters of Science, London School of Economics and Political Science, London.

Crow, D. (2003) *An Introduction to Semiotics in Visual Arts.* Ava Publishing.

Curry, C. S. (2009). Walrus TV Artist Feature: Swoon Interview from 'The Run Up'. In: Playground, U. (ed.) *Walrus TV* [Online] Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YtEDSQblGVo [Accessed: 16 March 2013]

Curry, C. S. (2010) Callie Curry (Swoon) TED Talk. *TEDxBrooklyn* [Online] Available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5298KZuW_JE [Accessed: 23 October 2012]

Curry, C. S. (2014) Swoon's Mother Lode. In: McVey, K. (ed.) *Interview Magazine* [Online] 4 October. Available: http://www.interviewmagazine.com/art/swoon-submerged-motherlands [Accessed: 20 December 2014]

Cybriwsky, R. and Lay, D. (1974) Urban Graffiti as Territorial Markers. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 64(4), pp. 491 - 505.

D'Amico, D. J. and Block, W. (2007) A Legal and Economic Analysis of Graffiti. *Humanomics,* 23(1), pp. 29-38.

Davies, M. (2013) Bogota's Finest: Stinkfish. *The Street Art Curator* [Online], 31 September. Available: http://thestreetartcurator.com/not-so-stinky-art-interview-colombias-stinkfish/ [Accessed: 7 October 2013].

Debord, G. (1967). Society of the spectacle (Translated by Ken Knabb)(2009 edition).

Deimling, K. (2012) Meet Iranian Street Art Duo Icy and Sot. *Blouin Art Info* [Online], 9 March. Available: http://www.blouinartinfo.com/news/story/762153/meet-iranian-street-art-duo-icy-and-sot?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%253A+artinfo-all+%2528All+Content+%7c+ARTINFO%2529&utm_content=Google+Reader [Accessed 16 September 2013].

Desmond, K. K. (2011) *Ideas About Art.* Malden: Wiley - Blackwell.

Deutsche, R. (1991) Boys Town, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 9(1), pp. 5-30.

Deutsche, R. (1996) *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics.* MIT Press Cambridge, MA.

Diani, M. (2000) Social Movement Networks Virtual and Real. *Information, Communication & Society,* 3(3), pp. 386-401.

Dickens, L. (2010) Pictures on the Walls? Producing, Pricing and Collecting the Street Art Print, *City,* 14(1-2), pp. 63-81.

Dickinson, J. (2012). From graffiti to murals and back again: Philadelphia's spectacular streetscape. *VISUALIDADES*, pp. 64-79.

Discursos Murales (2013) [Online Video] Directed by UN3 TV. Episodes 01 – 23. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FozO1UtSwD4 [Accessed: 14 October 2014]

Doc Street Biennale Sao Paulo (2011) [Online Video] Directed by A. Burger. [Online] Available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JqJHV4CBgmc [Accessed: 29 March 2013].

Dorling, D. and Shaw, M. (2002) Geographies of The Agenda: Public Policy, The Discipline and Its (Re)'Turns'. *Progress in Human Geography,* 26(5), pp. 629-641.

Dovey, K., Wollan, S. and Woodcock, I. (2012) Placing Graffiti: Creating and Contesting Character in Inner-City Melbourne, *Journal of urban design,* 17(1), pp. 21-41.

Duncombe, S. (ed.) (2002) *Cultural Resistance Reader*. London, New York: Verso.

Duncombe, S. and Lambert, S. (2012) *An Open Letter to Critics Writing about Political Art.* New York: Center For Artistic Activism. [Online] Available: http://artisticactivism.org/2012/10/an-open-letter-to-critics-writing-about-political-art/ [Accesed: 15 March 2013]

Dunn, R. G. (1998) *Identity crises: A social critique of postmodernity.* University of Minnesota Press.

El Nabawi, M. (2013) Graffiti Campaigns Bring Women and Children into Street Art. *Egypt Independent*. [Online], 18 February. Available: http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/graffiti-campaigns-bring-women-and-children-street-art [Accessed: 15 September 2014].

El-Hawary, N.A.A. (2014) *The graffiti of Mohamed Mahmoud and the politics of transition in Egypt: The transformation of space, sociality and identities*. Doctoral Dissertation, The American University in Cairo.

eL Seed (2013) Arabic Graffiti: A Quest for Identity, in Karl, P.Z.a.D. (ed.) *Arabic Graffiti.* 3 ed. Berlin, Germany: From Here To Fame Publishing.

Ez (2007) Street Art vs Graffiti. *New York Graffiti Tag-Line* [Online] Available: http://tag-line.blogspot.ie/2007/04/evaluations-debates-and-comparisons.html [Accessed: 30 January 2011]

Fairney, S. 1990. *Manifesto.* [Online] Available: http://www.obeygiant.com/about [Accessed: 27 January 2011]

Farrell, S. (2012) Beirut's Divisions over Syria Emerge in Graffiti. *BBC News* [Online], 19 May. Available: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-18118752 [Accessed: 6 October 2013]

Feral, D. (2012) *The Feral Diagram 2.0.* London: Graffuturism.

Ferrell, J. and Stewart-Huidobro, E. (1996) *Crimes of style: Urban graffiti and the politics of criminality.* Northeastern University Press Boston.

Fine, G. A. and Kleinman, S. (1979) Rethinking Subculture: An Interactionist Analysis, *American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 1-20.

Fischer, C. S. (1973) On Urban Alienations and Anomie: Powerlessness and Social Isolation. *American Sociological Review*, pp. 311-326.

Fischer, C. S. (1975) Toward a Subcultural Theory of Urbanism, *American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 1319-1341.

Fischer, C. S. (1995) The Subcultural Theory of Urbanism: A Twentieth-Year Assessment, *American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 543-577.

Flegg, E. (2015) Treasures.... Putting money into the Banksy, *Irish Independent* [Online] 20 February. Available: http://www.independent.ie/life/home-garden/treasures-putting-money-into-the-banksy-31006122.html [Accessed: 21 February 2015].

Florida, R. (2002) *The rise of the creative class. And how it's transforming work, leisure and everyday life.* New York: Basic Books.

Florida, R. (2003) Cities and Creative Class *City & Community,* 2(1), pp. 3-19.

Forster, A. M., Vettese-Forster, S. and Borland, J. (2012) Evaluating the Cultural Significance of Historic Graffiti. *Structural Survey,* 30(1), pp. 43-64.

Fraenkel, B. (2010) Writing Acts: When Writing is Doing. *In* David Barton, U.P. (ed.) *The Anthropology of Writing: Understanding Textually-Mediated Worlds*. London, New York: Continuum.

Freddy Sam_RVCA (2011) [Online Video] Directed by R. Pybus. [Online] Available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ztZFt-iExE [Accessed: 12 September 2012]

Friedman, J. (2014) How Selective Enforcement of Illegal Advertising Laws Punishes creative Activism, *Hyperallergic* [Online] 29 September. Available: http://hyperallergic.com/151561/illegal-advertising/ [Accessed: 13 April 2015]

Fuchs, C. (2008) Street Art Sell Out. 'Guerrilla' Advertising Masquerades as Graffiti. *Spiegel International* [Online], 10 December. Available: http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/street-art-sell-out-guerilla-advertising-masquerades-as-graffiti-a-595692.html [Accessed: 18 September 2010].

Just Writing My Name - Limerick, Ireland 2009 (2009) [Online Video] Directed by Fudos. [Online] Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tfvt8D6qoaA#t=102 [Accessed: 14 March 2013]

Gadsby, J. M. (1995) Looking At The Writing On The Wall: A Critical Review and Taxonomy of Graffiti Texts, *Art Crimes* [online] Available: https://www.graffiti.org/faq/critical.review.html [Accessed 23 January 2013].

Galluzzo, M. and Johnson, Z. (2011) Lawyers Explain Graffiti Making and Related Laws in New York, *New York Criminal Defense Blawg*. Available at: http://newyorkcriminaldefenseblawg.com/2011/03/graffiti-making-and-related-laws-in-new-york/ [Accessed 10 March 2012].

Gibson, J. J. (2014 (1979)) *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception: Classic Edition.* Psychology Press.

Glaser, B. S. and Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Strategies for Qualitative Research.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Gleason, M. (2010) MOCA Blu Street Art Whitewash is No Smithsonian-esque Censorship. *Huffpost Art & Culture* [Online], 14 December. Available: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mat-gleason/moca-blu-street-art-white_b_796315.html [Accessed: 24 November 2012].

Gleaton, K. M. (2012) *Power to the People: Street Art as an Agency for Change.* Master of Liberal Studies, University of Minnesota

Global Street Art: Libya (2013) [Online] Directed Osama Al Fitory. Online: MOCAtv. Available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WJAWx6-ZM0U [Accessed: 10 July 2013]

Global Street Art: Palestine (2013) [Online] Directed Fouad Hindieh and May Odeh. Online: MOCAtv. Available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2TUivH2oSAo [Accessed: 10 July 2013]

Global Street Art: Egypt (2013) [Online] Directed Marwan Imam. Online: MOCAtv. Available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_sAUNy1u0KE [Accessed: 10 July 2013]

Global Street Art: Lebanon (2013) [Online] Directed Amahl Khouri, Fuad Halwani and Stephanie
Yamine. Online: MOCAtv. Available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=94cPZogkXB8 [Accessed: 10 July 2013]

Glueck, G. (1983) Gallery Views; On Canvass, Yes, But Still Eyesore, *The New York Times* [Online] 25 December. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/1983/12/25/arts/gallery-view-on-canvas-yes-but-still-eyesores.html?pagewanted=1 [Accessed: 30 April 2013].

Graham-Harrison, E. (2012) Art in the Streets of Kabul. *The Guardian* [Online], 24 February. Available: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/24/graffiti-street-art-kabul [Accessed 18 January 2016].

Grira, S. (2012) Lebanese Artist risks Jail Time for Graffiti Depicting Soldiers. *The Observers - France 24* [Online], 6 April. Available: http://observers.france24.com/en/20120406-lebanese-artist-risks-jail-time-graffiti-soldiers-lebanon-civil-war-christians-muslims-censorship-beirut [Accessed: 6 October 2012].

Guevara-Rosas, E. (2015) Mexico: Six Months of Frustration and Failure in Search for Missing Ayotzinapa Students. *Amnesty International* [Online] Available: https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/03/mexico-six-months-of-failure-in-search-for-missing-ayotzinapa-students/ [Accessed 10 April 2015].

Gunnell, K. (2010) *Street Art: Its Display in Public Spaces and Issues with a Municipality.* Masters, University of New Orleans, New Orleans.

Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (1992) Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference, *Cultural anthropology,* 7(1), pp. 6-23.

Gutmann, M. C. (1993) Rituals of Resistance: a Critique of The Theory of Everyday Forms of Resistance. *Latin American Perspectives,* 20(2), pp. 74-92.

Güneş, S. and Yılmaz, G. (2006) Understanding Graffiti in the Built Environment. In *42nd ISoCaRP Congress*.

Halwani, Y. (2013) An Interview with Yazan Halwani. *In:* Shabandar, A. (ed.) *Lebanese Walls* [Online] 19 October. Available: http://www.lebanesewalls.com/2013/10/19/yazanhalwani/ [Accessed: 15 September 2014]

Harrington, C. (2010) Vandalog Interviews Conor Harrington. *In:* Hunt, A. (ed.) *Vandalog* [Online] 18 July. Available: https://blog.vandalog.com/2010/07/interview-conor-harrington/ [Accessed: 25 October 2013]

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity.* Blackwell Oxford.

Harvey, D. and Braun, B. (1996) *Justice, nature and the geography of difference*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hassani, S. (2014) Colouring Afganistan. *In:* Verfurth, S.K.a.E.-M. (ed.) *Tea After Twelve* (2) [Online]. Available: http://www.tea-after-twelve.com/all-issues/issue-01/issue-01-overview/chapter2/afghanistans-first-graffiti-artist/ [Accessed: 27 December 2014]

Hayes, K. (2013) Judge Unmoved by Political Pressure, *Limerick Post* [Online] 7 August. Available: http://www.limerickpost.ie/2013/08/07/judge-unmoved-by-political-pressure/ [Accessed: 27/01/2014].

HCTN Episode 1: Introducing The Walls (2011) [Online Content] Directed by HTCN [Online]. Available: https://vimeo.com/32424117 [Accessed: 24 May 2012]

HCTN Episode 2: Gaia (2011) [Online Content] Directed by HTCN [Online]. Available: https://vimeo.com/32567252 [Accessed: 24 May 2012]

HCTN Episode 3: Kenny Sharf (2011) [Online Content] Directed by HTCN [Online]. Available: https://vimeo.com/32556207 [Accessed: 24 May 2012]

HCTN Episode 4: Intercambio (2011) [Online Content] Directed by HTCN [Online]. Available: https://vimeo.com/32771944 [Accessed: 24 May 2012]

HCTN Episode 5: Sego & Saner (2011) [Online Content] Directed by HTCN [Online]. Available: https://vimeo.com/32690243 [Accessed: 24 May 2012]

HCTN Episode 6: Irak (2011) [Online Content] Directed by HTCN [Online]. Available: https://vimeo.com/33137486 [Accessed: 24 May 2012]

HCTN Episode 7: Martha Cooper (2011) [Online Content] Directed by HTCN [Online]. Available: https://vimeo.com/33129339 [Accessed: 24 May 2012]

HCTN Episode 8: Gentrification (2011) [Online Content] Directed by HTCN [Online]. Available: https://vimeo.com/36213345 [Accessed: 24 May 2012]

Hebdige, D. (1979) *Subculture - the Meaning of Style.* London.

Heeter, C. (1992) Being there: The Subjective Experience of Presence, *Presence: Teleoperators and virtual environments,* 1(2), pp. 262-271.

Heidegger, M. (1962 (1926)) *Being and Time.* New York: Harper & Row.

Hein, H. (1996) What Is Public Art?: Time, Place, and Meaning. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism,* 54(1), pp. 1-7.

Henning, M. (2006) *Museums, Media and Cultural Theory.* Maidenhead, New York.

Herwees, T. (2014) Street Art Festival That Puts Women on Walls. *Good* [Online], 16 October. Available: https://www.good.is/articles/women-on-walls-street-art [Accessed: 3 November 2014].

Herzog, L. A. (2006) *Return to Centre: Culture, Public Space, and City Building in Global Era.* Texas, USA: University of Texas Press.

Holdstock, N. (2011) Beirut Graffiti. *LBR Blog* [Online], 24 May. Available: http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2011/05/24/nick-holdstock/beirut-graffiti/ [Accessed 24 November 2013].

Holston, J. (1999) *Cities and citizenship.* Duke University Press.

hooks, b. (1992) *Black Looks: Race and Representation.* South End Press.

Howell, P. (1993) Public Space and The Public Sphere: Political Theory and The Historical Geography of Modernity. *Environment and Planning D,* 11, pp. 303-303.

Hubbard, P. and Kitchin, R. (eds.) (2011) *Key Thinkers on Space and Place.* Second edn. London: Sage.

Hughes, M. L. (2009) *Street Art & Graffiti: Developing an Understanding.* Masters, Georgia State University, Georgia.

IJsselsteijn, W. A., de Ridder, H., Freeman, J., & Avons, S. E. (2000, June). Presence: concept, determinants, and measurement. In *Electronic Imaging* (pp. 520-529). International Society for Optics and Photonics.

I Art Soweto (2011) [Online Video] Directed by R. Pybus. [Online] Available:
    http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UWp-KBOHyIo&feature=player_embedded
    [Accessed: 12 September 2012]

I Art Woodstock (2011) [Online Video] Directed by R. Pybus. [Online] Available:
    http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eKy4wFat5UE&feature=player_embedded
    [Accessed: 12 September 2012]

Irish Independent (2014a) Graffiti 'Scourge' Must Be Tackled, *Irish Independent* [Online] 13
    September. Available at:
    http://www.independent.ie/regionals/droghedaindependent/news/graffiti-scourge-
    must-be-tackled-30575736.html [Accessed: 21 February 2015]

Irish Independent (2014b) VIDEO: Big Increase in Illegal Graffiti Reported in Dublin, *Irish
    Independent* [Online] 2 October. Available at:
    http://www.independent.ie/videos/irish-news/video-big-increase-in-illegal-graffiti-
    reported-in-dublin-30631654.html [Accessed: 21 February 2015]

Irish Independent (2015) Racist graffiti painted at social homes site, *Irish Independent*
    [Online] 31 January. Available:
    http://www.independent.ie/regionals/fingalindependent/news/racist-graffiti-
    painted-at-social-homes-site-30938151.html [Accessed: 21 February 2015]

Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception of the Environment. Essays in Livelihood, dwelling and skill.*
    New York: Routledge.

Irvine, M. (2012). The work on the street: Street art and visual culture. *The handbook of
    visual culture*, 235-278.

Jacobs, M. J. (2006) Making Space for Art. *In:* Marincola, P. (ed.) *What Makes a Great
    Exhibition*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibition Initiative.

Jacques, A. (2015) Graffiti on Sarsfield Bridge: A 'New Low', *Limerick Post* [Online] 13 June
    Available: http://www.limerickpost.ie/2015/06/13/graffiti-on-sarsfield-bridge-a-
    new-low/ [Accessed 25 September 2015]

Jaehne, K. (1984) Charles Ahearn:" Wild Style", *Film Quarterly*, pp. 2-5.

Jameson, F. (1985) Postmodernism and Consumer Society, in Foster, H. (ed.) *Postmodern
    Culture*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 111-25.

Jameson, F. (1989) Regarding postmodernism--A conversation with Fredric Jameson. *In:*
    Stephanson, A. (ed.) *Social Text,* pp.3-30.

Jenks, C. (2004) *Subculture: The Fragmentation of The Social.* Sage.

Jobson, C. (2013) Street Artist Roadsworth Transforms the Streets of Montreal into a Visual
    Playground. [Online], *Colossal* [Online], 10 April. Available:
    http://www.thisiscolossal.com/2013/04/street-artist-roadsworth-transforms-the-
    streets-of-montreal-into-a-visual-playground/ [Accessed 21 October 2014].

Johnes, G. A. and Ward, P. M. (2004) Memoria of the Bi-national Conference: "The End of
    Public Space in the Latin American City?". *The End of Public Space in Latin American
    City?* The Mexican Center of LLILAS , 2004. Austin: University of Texas at Austin.

Johnson, R. (2012) MOCA Director Jeffrey Deitch Defends 'Seriousnes' of Shows, *Los Angeles
    Times* [Online] 4 August. Available:
    http://articles.latimes.com/2012/aug/04/entertainment/la-et-0805-moca-deitch-
    20120805 [Accessed: 23 November 2012].

Kamali Dehghan, S. (2014) Iran's Banksy: The walls of my city are the canvas for my paintings
    The Guardian [Online], 6 August. Available:
    http://www.theguardian.com/world/iran-blog/2014/aug/06/iran-banksy-street-
    graffiti-tehran-black-hand-interview [Accessed 20 October 2014].

Kapila, L. (2015) Dublin's Traffic Signal Boxes Are Going From Grey to Glorious, *Dublin Inquirer* [Online] 11 August. Available: http://dublininquirer.com/2015/08/11/dublins-traffic-boxes-are-going-from-grey-to-glorious/ [Accessed: 12 October 2015].

Keegan, P. (2014) *Graffiti in Antiquity.* Routledge.

Kennedy, M. (2012) A Whitewashed Wall Erases Egypt's Revolution', *NPR* [Online], 6 October. Available: http://www.npr.org/2012/10/06/162415964/graffiti-recalls-revolution-in-tahrir-square-for-now [Accessed: 24 January 2013].

Khosravi, S. (2013) Graffiti in Tehran, *Anthropology Now,* 5(1), pp. 1-17.

Khoury, S. (2012) Graffiti's Day in Court *Al-Alkhabra* [Online], 4 April. Available: http://english.al-akhbar.com/content/graffitis-day-court (Accessed 24/11/2013).

Kim, T. (1996) Effects of Presence on Memory and Persuasion, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.*

Klein, N. (2004) *No Logo.* Izabelin, Poland: Świat Literacki.

Koonings, K. and Kruijt, D. (2007) *Fractured Cities: Social Exclusion, Urban Violence and Contested Spaces In Latin America.* Zed Books.

Korody, N. (2011) The Revolutionary Art: Street Art Before and After the Tunisian Revolution, *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection* [Online] Paper 1134. Available: http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/1134 [Accessed: 23 April 2013]

Kraidy, M. M. (2013) A Heterotopology of Graffiti: A Preliminary Exploration. *Inverted Worlds: Cultural Motion in the Arab Region*, 4-8 October 2013; Beirut, Orient Institute Studies. Online: *Perspectivia.net.* Available: http://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/orient-institut-studies/2-2013/abaza_satire [Accessed: 15 December 2014]

Krippendorff, K. (2004) *Content Analysis. An Introduction to Its Methodology.* Second edn. London: Sage.

Krätke, S. (2010) 'Creative Cities' and the Rise of the Dealer Class: a Critique of Richard Florida's Approach to Urban Theory, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 34(4), pp. 835-853.

Lachmann, R. (1988) Graffiti as Career and Ideology, *American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 229-250.

Landry, C. (2000) *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators.* London: Earthscan.

Landry, C. and Bianchini, F. (1995) *The Creative City.* London: Demos.

Larruscahim, P. G. (2014) From Graffiti to Pixacao; Urban Protest in Brazil, *Tijdschrift over Cultuur & Criminaliteit,* 4(2), pp. 69 - 84.

Layde, C. (2013) Street Artist Maser Brings History to Life. *The Liberty* [Online], 30 April. Available: http://www.theliberty.ie/2013/04/30/street-artist-maser-brings-history-to-life/ [Accessed: 21 October 2014]

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space.* London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (2003 (1970)) *The Urban Revolution.* University of Minnesota Press.

Lennon, J. (2014) Assembling a Revolution: Graffiti, Cairo and the Arab Spring, *Cultural Studies Review,* 20(1), pp. 237-75.

Lennon, J. and Shabandar, J. (2014) In Conversation with Phat2. *Lebanese Walls* [Online], 8 April. Available: http://www.lebanesewalls.com/2014/04/08/in-conversation-with-phat2/ [Accessed: 8 December 2014]

Leopold, S. (2011) Street Art at MOCA, *LA Weekly* [Online] 7 April. Available: http://www.laweekly.com/arts/street-art-at-moca-2169958 [Accessed: 24 November 2012]

Levis - Now is Our Time! Launch in Berlin - Vhils Explosion (2011) [Online Video] Directed by Levis. [Online] Available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HQUUknfjqNY [Accessed: 10 August 2011]

Levis Making Of Video (2011) [Online Video] Directed by Levis. [Online] Available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=paPJF0ovVDE [Accessed: 10 August 2011]

Lewisohn, C. (2008) *Street Art: The Graffiti Revolution*. London: Tate Modern

Lewisohn, C. (2009) Cedar Lewisohn Curating Street Art. *In:* Christina Eberhart, W.L. (ed.) *Rolling Plinth* [Online] 7 July. Available: http://www.rollingplinth.com/2009/07/interview-cedar-lewisohn/ [Accessed: 23 April 2013]

Lichfield, J. (2010) JR, the Man Who Shot the Slums Wins Humanitarian Award, *The Independent*, pp. 32-33.

Limerick City Council (2010) *Limerick City Council Litter Management Plan 2010-2013* [Online]. Available: http://limerickcity.ie/media/Final%20Litter%20Management%20Plan%202010%20to%202013.pdf [Accessed: 26 October 2015]

Limerick Post (2012) Limerick to Have own 'Designated' Graffiti Street. *Limerick Post* [Online], 12 July. Available: http://www.limerickpost.ie/2012/07/12/limerick-to-have-own-designated-graffiti-street/ [Accessed: 27 January 2014].

Limerick Post (2009) To p Graffiti Artists to Paint the City 'Red', *Limerick Post* [Online], 28 September. Available: http://www.limerickpost.ie/2009/09/28/top-graffiti-artists-to-paint-the-city-red/ [Accessed: 27 January 2014].

Lindberg, S. (2013) Icy and Sot Interview. *Steez Magazine* [Online], 4 March. Available: http://www.steezminimag.com/2013/03/04/issue-26-icy-sot-interview/ [Accessed: 16 September 2013]

Lisiak, A. (2014) Women in Recent Revolutionary Iconography, *IWM Junior Visiting Fellows' Conferences,* 33. Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna. [Online] Available: http://www.iwm.at/publications/5-junior-visiting-fellows-conferences/women-in-recent-revolutionary-iconography/ [Accessed: 17 December 2014]

Little, R. E. and Sheble, M. A. (1987) Graffiti Vandalism: Frequency and Context Differences Between the Sexes, *American Journal of Criminal Justice,* 11(2), pp. 217-226.

Litvin, Y. (2013) Tel Aviv Street Artist Dede Talks about his City and his Work. *Brooklin Street Art* [Online], 18 August. Available: http://www.brooklynstreetart.com/theblog/2013/04/18/dede-paints-tel-aviv/#.U_IR24U99PX [Accessed 24 August 2013].

Litvin, Y. (2014) Belonging, Territoriality and Healing in Israel: Interview with Dede. *Brooklyn Street Art.* [Online], 28 July. Available: http://www.brooklynstreetart.com/theblog/2014/07/28/dede-discusses-new-site-specific-stencil-series-in-tel-aviv/#.U_IfaIU99PU [Accessed: 30 August 2014]

Live, Love, Beirut (2013) [Online Video] Directed by B. Roudet. [Online] Available: http://vimeo.com/81378886 [Accessed: 22 March 2014]

Loeffler, S. (2012) Urban warriors. *Irish Arts Review*, pp. 70-75.

Lombard, M. and Ditton, T. (1997) At the Heart of It All: The Concept of Presence, *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication,* 3(2), pp. 0-0.

Lomme, F. (ed.) (2011) *The Voice of... Public Opinion Forming as Citizenship?* Eindhoven: Onomatopee.

Longhurst, B., Smith, G., Ogborn, M., Bagnall, G., Crawford, G., McCracken, S. and Baldwin, E. (2008) *Introducung Cultural Studies (Second Edition)* Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Lovatt, H. (2010) *The Aesthetics of Space: West Bank Graffiti and Global Artists.* Master of Arts, University of London.

Lubeck, P. and Britts, B. (2001) Muslim Civil Society In Urban Public Spaces: Globalization, Discursive Shifts, and Social Movements. *Center for Global, International and Regional Studies*.

MacDiarmid, L. and Downing, S. (2012) A Rough Aging out: Graffiti Writers and Subcultural Drift. *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences,* 7(2), pp. 235-253.

MacDonald, N. (2001) *The Graffiti Subculture: Youth, Masculinity and Identity in London and New York.* London: Pelgrave Macmillan.

Mackey, R. (2012) Cairo's Graffiti Revolutionaries Reclaim Wall. *The New York Times* [Online], 20 September. Available: http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/09/20/cairos-graffiti-revolutionaries-reclaim-wall/ [Accessed: 10 July 2013]

Mackey, R. (2013) Street Art in The Arab World on YouTube. *The New York Times* [Online], 5 April. Available: http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/04/05/street-art-of-the-arab-world-on-youtube/?ref=museumofcontemporaryart [Accessed 06/04/2013].

Maffesoli, M. (1996) *The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society* (Vol. 41). SAGE.

Mahoney, R. (2013) Graffiti and Agency: Some Thoughts on Graffiti In Egypt Since 2011. *rmarts* [Online], 13 July. Available: https://rjamahoney.wordpress.com/2014/02/04/graffiti-and-agency-some-thoughts-on-graffiti-in-egypt-since-2011-july-2013/ [Accessed 15 January 2014].

Maleuvre, D. (1999) *Museum Memories: History, Technology, Art.* Stanford University Press.

Malone, K. (2002) Street life: youth, culture and competing uses of public space. *Environment and Urbanization,* 14(2), pp. 157-168.

Manco, T. (2002) *Stencil Graffiti.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Manco, T. (2004) *Street Logos.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Mantovani, G. and Riva, G. (1999) "Real" Presence: How Different Ontologies Generate Different Criteria for Presence, Telepresence, and Virtual Presence, *Presence: Teleoperators and Virtual Environments,* 8(5), pp. 540-550.

Marayef, S. (2012) In the Midst of Madness: Graffiti of the Ultras on Mohamed Mahmoud Street. *Suzzie In The City* [Online], 8 February. Available at: http://suzeeinthecity.wordpress.com/2012/02/08/in-the-midst-of-madness-graffiti-of-the-ultras-on-mohamed-mahmoud-street/ [Accessed: 13 September 2013].

Marayef, S. (2013) The Story of Egyptian Revolt, Told Through Street Art In Cairo. *Quartz* [Online], 15 July. Available: http://qz.com/104014/cairos-street-art-tells-the-story-of-a-people-in-revolt/ [Accessed 20 September 2014].

Markusen, A. (2006) Urban Development and the Politics of a Creative Class: Evidence from a Study of Artists, *Environment and Planning A,* 38(10), pp. 1921-1940.

Masemann, E. (2010) *Definitions and Transitions. Graffiti and Street Art in New York City: A Peripheral and Mainstream Presence since 1980s.* BA Hons, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Massey, D. (1991) A Global Sense of Place, *Marxism Today* (June), pp. 24-29.

Massey, D. (1992) Politics and Space/Time. *New Left Review*, pp. 65-65.

Massey, D. (1994) *Space, place, and gender.* University of Minnesota Press.

Massey, D. (1995) Making Spaces. *Soundings,* 1, pp. 193-208.

Massey, D. (2004) 'Geographies of responsibility', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography,* 86(1), pp. 5-18.

Massey, D. (2005) *For space.* Sage.

Massey, D. (2006) Landscape as a Provocation Reflections on Moving Mountains. *Journal of Material Culture,* 11(1-2), pp. 33-48.

Massey, D (2013) Doreen Massey on Sapce. *Social Science Bites* [Online], 1 February. Available: http://www.socialsciencespace.com/2013/02/podcastdoreen-massey-on-space/ [Accessed: 27 March 2014].

Mc Guigan, J. (2009) *Cool Capitalism.* Pluto Press.

McAuliffe, C. (2012) Graffiti or Street Art? Negotiating the Moral Geographies of the Creative City', *Journal of Urban Affairs,* 34(2), pp. 189-206.

M-City en Mexico (2011) [Online Video] Directed by Filmaciones de la Ciudad. [Online] Available: http://vimeo.com/33812808 [Accessed: 23 June 2012].

McLean, S. (2013) Graffiti Artist Who Caused €32,000 in Damage 'Thought Public Would Be Interested', *Irish Independent* [Online] 20th March. Available: http://www.independent.ie/irish-news/courts/graffiti-artists-who-caused-32000-in-damage-thought-public-would-be-interested-29143958.html [Accessed: 12 October 2015]

Mentalgassi. Doing Beautiful Things to Common Objects (2010) [Online Video] Directed by Converse. [Online] Available: http://www.converse.com/content/1321.html [Accesed: 13 December 2010]

Mentalgassi. The Canvas Experiment. Objects (2010) [Online Video] Directed by Converse. [Online] Available: http://www.converseblog.com/2011/05/mentalgassi-chuck-taylor-all-star-the-canvas-experiment/ [Accesed: 13 December 2010]

Merriam-Webster (2015) Subculture Definition. *An Encyclopædia Britannica Company* [Online] Available: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/subculture [Accessed: 10 March 2015].

Merton, R. K. (1938) Social Structure and Anomie, *American sociological review,* 3(5), pp. 672-682.

Milliard, C. (2015) Street Artist Combo Brutally Attacked for Pacifist Tag Post Charlie Hebdo. *Artnet News* [Online], 5 February. Available: https://news.artnet.com/art-world/street-artist-combo-brutally-attacked-for-pacifist-tag-post-charlie-hebdo-244569 [Accessed 14 April 2015]

Mitchell, D. (1995) The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 85, pp. 108 - 133.

Moghadam, V. M. Patriarchy, the Taleban, and politics of public space in Afghanistan. *Women's Studies International Forum*: Elsevier, 19-31.

Moran, I. P. (2011) Punk: The Do-It-Yourself Subculture. *Social Sciences Journal,* 10(1), pp. 13.

Mosley, M. (2010) Beirut's Wall Art gets Pinned to the Wall. *The Daily Star* [Online], 12 January. Available: http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Culture/Art/2010/Jan-12/120377-beiruts-wall-art-gets-pinned-to-the-page.ashx#axzz3FJ8xwsyQ [Accessed 24 November 2012].

Mossalli, M. (2010) Marking Beirut: A City Revealed through its Graffiti. *Arab News* [Online], 14 January. Available: http://www.arabnews.com/node/332704 [Accessed 18 December 2011].

Moynihan, C. (2009) On New York City Billboards, a Battle of Ads vs. Art. *The New York Times* [Online], 25 October. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/26/nyregion/26posters.html [Accessed: 14 July 2013].

Muniz, V. (2008) Os Gemeos Interview. *BOMB Magazine* [Online]. Available: http://bombmagazine.org/article/3045/os-g-meos [Accessed: 12 May 2012]

Murray, T. & Lois, S. (2013) Speaking to Dasic Fernandez. *Street Art NYC* [Online], 29 November. Available: http://streetartnyc.org/blog/2013/11/29/speaking-with-dasic-fernandez/ [Accessed: 16 May 2014].

Museum of Contemporary Art San Diego (2010) *Viva la Revolucion: A Dialogue with the Urban Landscape* [Online] Available at: http://www.mcasd.org/exhibitions/viva-la-revolucion-dialogue-urban-landscape [Accessed: 24 November 2011]

Nevaer, L. E. V. (2009) *Protest Graffiti Mexico:Oaxaca.* New York: Mark Batty Publisher.

New York City Authority (1995) *City and State Anti-Graffiti Legislation* [Online]. Available: http://www.nyc.gov/html/nograffiti/html/legislation.html [Accessed: 10/03 2012]

Ng, D. (2011) Art in the Streets Sets Records for MOCA, Sort of. *Los Angeles Times* [Online] 10 August. Available: http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/culturemonster/2011/08/art-in-the-streets-is-most-attended-show-in-moca-history.html [Accessed 23 November 2011]

Nicoarea, G. (2012) Cultural Interactions in The Graffiti Subculture of The Arab World. Between Globalization and Cosmopolitanism. *Romano-Arabica Journal,* (55 Years of Arab Studies in Romania), pp. 205 - 215.

Nicoarea, G. (2014) Cairo's New Colors: Rethinking Identity in the Graffiti of the Egyptian Revolution, *Romano - Arabica,* 14(1), pp. 247 - 262.

Novak, C. and Bowen, K. (2010) Advertisers and Street artists Swap Tactics in Berlin. *Deutche Welle* [Online], 28 June. Available: http://www.dw.de/advertisers-and-street-artists-swap-tactics-in-berlin/a-5739016 [Accessed: 10 December 2010].

Obrador, P. and Carter, S. (2010) Art, Politics, Memory: Tactical Tourism and The Route of Anarchism in Barcelona. *Cultural Geographies,* 17(4), pp. 525-531.

Ollman, L. (2010) Welcoming the Street Art 'Revolucion''. *Los Angeles Times* [Online], 31 October. Available: http://articles.latimes.com/2010/oct/31/entertainment/la-ca-streetart-20101031 [Accessed: 24 November 2012].

Palmer, R. (2008) *Street Art Chile.* Eight Books Ltd.

Park, R. E. (1915) The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment, *The American Journal of Sociology,* 20(5), pp. 577-612.

Peck, J. (2005) Struggling with the Creative Class, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 29(4), pp. 740-770.

Penfold, M. (2007) Strictly Business, *Street Art. Graffiti in Digital Age (supplement to Computer Arts Projects)*, pp. 48-54.

Peteet, J. (1996) The writing on the walls: The graffiti of the Intifada. *Cultural Anthropology,* 11(2), pp. 139-159.

Pixacao (2009) [Online Content] Directed by G. Mitnick. [Online] Available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8-lDyq6pw0E [Accesed: 14 April 2013]

Pixacao in Sao Paulo (2011) [Online Video] Directed by T. Sjostrand. Available: http://vimeo.com/28005979 [Accessed: 12 January 2013]

Pollman, L. (2013) Art is Stronger Than War: Afganistans First Female Graffiti Artist Speaks Out. *Art Radar* [Online], 19 July. Available: http://artradarjournal.com/2013/07/19/art-is-stronger-than-war-afghanistans-first-female-street-artist-speaks-out/ [Accessed: 14 March 2014]

Pollman, L. (2014) French-Tunisian Graffiti Artist eL Seed on His Arabic Roots, 'Lost Walls' and Reclaiming Purple - Interview. *Art Radar* [Online], 6 June. Available: http://artradarjournal.com/2014/06/06/french-tunisian-graffiti-artist-el-seed-on-his-arabic-roots-lost-walls-and-reclaiming-purple-interview/ [Accessed:17 June 2015]

Powers, L. A. (1996) Whatever Happened to the Graffiti Art Movement?, *The Journal of Popular Culture,* 29(4), pp. 137-142.

Pratt, A. C. (2008) Creative Cities: the Cultural Industries and the Creative Class, *Geografiska annaler: Series B, Human Geography,* 90(2), pp. 107-117.

Rafei, A. (2014) Getting to Know Ali Rafei. *In:* Shabandar, A. (ed.) *Lebanese Walls* [Online] 10 February. Available: http://www.lebanesewalls.com/2014/02/10/1171/ [Accessed: 8 December 2014]

Ralph, N., Birks, M. and Chapman, Y. (2014) Contextual Positioning: Using Documents as Extant Data in Grounded Theory Research, *Sage Open,* 4(3), pp. 1-7.

Rasmussen, K. B. (2008) General Approaches to Data Quality and Internet-generated Data. *In* Nigel G Fielding, R.M.L., Grant Blank (ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Online Research Methods*. London: Sage.

Redhead, S. (1990) *The End of the Century Party: Youth and Pop Towards 2000.* Manchester University Press.

Regen, H. and Birg (dir.) (2011) *Unlike U. Trainwriting in Berlin*. Berlin.

Reinecke, J. (2007) Interview with Julia Reinecke. *In:* Jens, T. (ed.) *Telepolis Artikel* [Online] 14 September. Available: http://www.heise.de/tp/artikel/26/26069/1.html [Accessed: 20 May 2012]

Reinecke, J. (2012) *Street-Art: Eine Subkultur zwischen Kunst und Kommerz.* Second edn. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Reisner, R. (1971) *Graffiti: Two Thousand Years of Wall Writting.* New York: Cowles Book Company.

Riggle, N. A. (2010) Street Art: The Transfiguration of The Commonplaces. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism,* 68(3), pp. 243-257.

Riva, G., Davide, F. and IJsselsteijn, W.A. (2003) Being There: The Experience of Presence in Mediated Environments. *In:* G. Riva, F. Davide, W.A IJsselsteijn (Eds.) *Being There: Concepts, Effects and Measurement of User Presence in Synthetic Environments*. Amsterdam: Ios Press.

Riva, G. (2006) Being-In-The-World-With: Presence Meets Social and Cognitive Neuroscience. *From Communication To Presence: Cognition, Emotions And Culture Towards The Ultimate Communicative Experience*, pp. 47-80.

Roadsworth (Date Unknown) *Roadsworth Statement* [Online] Available at: http://roadsworth.com/home/statement/ [Accessed: 20 December 2013]

Robards, B. and Bennett, A. (2011) MyTribe: Post-Subcultural Manifestations of Belonging on Social Network Sites, *Sociology,* 45(2), pp. 303-317.

Roberts, L. (2013) Interview: Inti Castro's Graffiti Legacy in Chile's Port City. *Santiago Times* [Online]. Avaialable: http://santiagotimes.cl/interview-inti-castros-graffiti-legacy-in-chiles-port-city/ [Accessed: 23 April 2013]

Rolston, B. (1991) *Politics and painting: Murals and conflict in Northern Ireland.* Fairleigh Dickinson Universiy Press

Rolston, B. (2014) Messages of allegiancA and Defiance: the Murals of Gaza', *Race & Class,* 55(4), pp. 40-64.

Ruiz, M. (2011) *Nuevo Mundo. Latin American Street Art.* Berlin: Gestalten.

Salas, A. (2012) State-Sponsored Rebels with a Cause: Los Grupos, Ancient American Iconography, and the Mexican Nation-State, *American Studies Association Annual Meeting*, 2012. San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Saleh, T. F. (2009) *Marking Beirut: A City Revealed Through its Graffiti.* Beirut: Joseph Brakhya.

Salti, R. (2008) Urban Scrolls and Modern-Day Oracles. The Secret Life of Beirut's Walls. *Third Text,* 22(5), pp. 615-627.

Saner 180 Minutos di Vida (2010) [Online Video] Directed by Centro Cultural Border. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XJ8hLhJ38MM [Accessed 11 May 2012]

Saner, Dhear, Neuzz. Imaginary Worlds (2010) [Online Video] Directed by Producciones Bajo
        Tierra. Available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F7lLxMSPdpA [Accessed: 24
        June 2014]

Sassen, S. (2011) The Global Street: Making the Political. *Globalizations,* 8(5), pp. 573-579.

Schielke, S. and Winegar, J. (2012) The Writing On The Walls of Egypt. *Middle East Reaserch
        and Information Project,* 42(Winter 2012).

Schloerb, D. W. (1995) A Quantitative Measure of Telepresence. *Presence: Teleoperators
        and Virtual Environments,* 4(1), pp. 64-80.

Schneider, A. (2003) On 'Appropriation'. A Critical Reappraisal of The Concept and its
        Application In Global Art Practices. *Social Anthropology,* 11(2), pp. 215-229.

Selz, P. and Stiles, K. (eds.) (1996) *Theories and Documents of Contemporary Art: A
        Sourcebook of Artists' Writings*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of
        California Press.

Sheridan, T. B. (1999) Descartes, Heidegger, Gibson, and God: Toward an Eclectic Ontology
        of Presence, *Presence: Teleoperators and virtual environments,* 8(5), pp. 551-559.

Street Art Exhibit in San Diego: Viva la Revolution (2010) [Online Video] Directed by
        justinxbeautiful. [Online] Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9-
        GvO3AE510 [Accessed: 10 April 2012]

Street Art Mecca (2014) Graffiti Creator Ashekman. *Street Art Mecca* [Online], 16 February.
        Available: http://streetartmecca.tumblr.com/post/76870156347/graffiti-creator-
        ashekman [Accessed 18 August 2014].

Street Art News (2013) An Introduction to Street Art in Beirut, Lebanon. *Street Art News*
        [Online], 31 December. Available: http://www.streetartnews.net/2013/12/an-
        introduction-to-street-art-in-beirut.html [Accessed: 12 February 2014].

Street Art Walking Tour (2008) [Online Video] Directed by Tate Shots. Available:
        http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-modern/exhibition/street-art [Accessed: 14
        June 2011]

Sinnreich, H. J. (2004) Reading The Writing On The Wall: A Textual Analysis Of Łódź Graffiti.
        Religion, State and Society, 32(1), pp. 53-58.

Skliar, L. (1995) *Sociology of the Global System.* London: Prentice Hall.

Sligo Champion (2014) 'Street Art Comes to Adelaide Car Park', *Sligo Champion*. [Online] 19
        July. Available:
        http://www.independent.ie/regionals/sligochampion/lifestyle/street-art-comes-to-
        adelaide-car-park-30432174.html [Accessed: 23 October 2014]

Sligo Tidy Towns (2015) *Sligo Tidy Towns, About Us* [Online]. Available:
        http://sligotidytowns.ie/aboutus/ [Accessed: 12 October 2015]

Smith, N. (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City.* Psychology
        Press.

Smith, N. (2002) New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy,
        Antipode, 34(3), pp. 427-450.

Snyder, G. J. (2006) Graffiti Media and The Perpetuation of an Illegal Subculture, *Crime
        Media Culture,* 2(1), pp. 93.

Snyder, G. J. (2009) *Graffiti lives: Beyond the tag in New York's urban underground.* NYU
        Press.

Soja, E. W. (1989) *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space In Critical Social
        Theory.* Verso.

Soja, E. W. (2009) Taking Space Personally. *In:* Barney Warf, S.A. (ed.) *The spatial turn:
        Interdisciplinary perspectives*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 11.

Sorkin, M. (1992) *Variations on a theme park: The new American city and the end of public
        space.* Macmillan.

Springer, S. (2011) Public Space as Emancipation: Mediations on Anarchism, Radical Democracy, Neoliberalism and Violence, *Antipode,* 43(2/2011).

Stanley-Price, N. (2007) *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery: Papers.* International centre for the study of the preservation and restoration of cultural property (ICCROM).

Stephen Powers - Urban love letters (2011) [Online Video] Directed by Ted Talks. Available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e9bkEOGVO0k&feature=relmfu [Accessed 23 October 2011]

Steward, J. (2009) *Graffiti Kings.* New York: Abrams.

Stewart, M. and Kortright, C. (2015) Cracks and Contestation: Toward an Ecology of Graffiti and Abatement, *Visual Anthropology,* 28(1), pp. 67-87.

Stoneman, A. (2010) Signs of Change, *The Visual Artists' News Sheet*, p. 16.

Strinati, D. (2004) *An Introduction to Theories on Popular Culture.* London, New York: Routledge.

Street Art. Painting TATE Modern. 2008 [Online] Directed by T. Haines; Available: http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-modern/exhibition/street-art [Accessed: 14 June 2011].

Sweeney, K. (2011) Director Makes a Splash with Street Art Campaign', *Irish Independent* [Online] 4 February. Available: http://www.independent.ie/irish-news/elections/director-makes-a-splash-with-street-art-campaign-26654249.html [Accessed: 21 February 2015]

Swoon Interview (2011) [Online Video] Directed by L. Mitchell and M. Danischewski [Online] Available: https://vimeo.com/21594324 [Accessed:14 July 2011]

Swoon's Konbit Shelter - Art in the Streets. Interview with Callie Curry (2012) [Online Video] Directed by F. King (MOCA TV) [Online] Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7YBbK-XAHYw [Accessed: 16 March 2013]

Synnott, G. (2012) Liberties Women Immortalised by Meath Street Graffiti Art. *The Liberty* [Online], 23 October. Available: http://www.theliberty.ie/2012/10/23/liberties-woman-immortalised-by-meath-street-graffiti-art/ [Accessed: 18 December 2012].

Talty, A. (2013) Postcard From Beirut. *Forbes* [Online], 5 March .Available: http://www.forbes.com/sites/deborahljacobs/2013/05/03/the-booming-business-of-beirut-street-art-2/ [Accessed: 22 March 2014].

Tanzer, H. (1950) *The Common People Of Pompeii: A Study of The Graffiti.* Johns Hopkins Press.

Ted Prize (2010) *JR – The 2011 TED Prize Winner* [Online] Available: http://www.tedprize.org/jr-2011-ted-prize-winner/ [Accessed: 29 December 2011].

The Keith Haring Foundation (1997) *Bigraphy of Keith Haring*. Available: http://www.haring.com/about_haring/bio/index.html [Accessed: 3 March 2012].

The Local (2014) Graffiti Vandal Gets 14 Months in Prison, *The Local* [Online], 25 July. Available: http://www.thelocal.at/20140725/graffiti-vandal-gets-14-months-in-prison [Accessed 11 September 2014].

Thornton, S. (1997) The Social Logic of Subcultural Capital, *In*: Thornton, S. (ed.) *The Subcultures Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 200-209.

Thornton, S. (2013) *Club cultures: Music, media and subcultural capital.* John Wiley & Sons.

Torgovnick, M. (1991) *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives.* University of Chicago.

Trew, B. (2012) Street Artists Paint 'Through' SCAF Walls In Protest. *Ahram Online* [Online], 12 March. Available: http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/5/35/36405/Arts--Culture/Stage--Street/-Street-artists-paint-through-SCAF-walls,-in-prote.aspx [Accessed 20 September 2014].

Trip Advisor (2015a) *Top Tours & Activities in Berlin* [Online]. Available: http://www.tripadvisor.ie/Attractions-g187323-Activities-Berlin.html#TtD [Accessed: 25 October 2015].

Trip Advisor (2015b) *Top Tours & Activities in London* [Online]. Available:
http://www.tripadvisor.ie/Attractions-g186338-Activities-
London_England.html#TtD [Accessed: 25 October 2015].

Trip Advisor (2015c) *Top Tours & Activities in Melbourn* [Online] Available:
http://www.tripadvisor.ie/Attractions-g255100-Activities-
Melbourne_Victoria.html#TtD [Accessed: 25 October 2015].

Trip Advisor (2015d) *Top Tours & Activities in Valparaiso* [Online]. Available:
http://www.tripadvisor.ie/Attractions-g294306-Activities-
Valparaiso_Valparaiso_Region.html#TtD [Accessed: 25 October 2015]

Trip Advisor (2015e) *Top Tours & Attractions in Brooklyn* [Online]. Available:
http://www.tripadvisor.ie/Attractions-g60827-Activities-c42-
Brooklyn_New_York.html [Accessed: 25 October 2015].

Truman, E. J. (2010) The (In) Visible Artist: Stencil Graffiti, Activist Art, and the Value of
Public Space, *Shift Queen's Journal of Visual and Material Culture,* (3).

Unurth Street Art (2014) Fauxreel Interview. *Unurth* [Online] Available:
http://www.unurth.com/The-Fauxreel-Interview [Accessed: 4 November 2014].

Vartanlan, H. (2009) Public Space Can Be Used Against You: NY Street Ad Takeover #2,
Hyperallergic [Online] 27 October. Available: http://hyperallergic.com/687/nysat/
[Accessed 13 May 2012]

Veblen, T. (2003) *The Theory of The Leisure Class* Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State
University.

Vetters, T. (1999) 'Night on Earth': Urban Practices and the Blindness of Metatheory, *The
Urban Condition: Space, Community, and Self in the Contemporary Metropolis,* 57.

Vimercati, G. (2016) Blu v Bologna: New Shades of Grey in the Street Art Debate, *The
Guardian* [Online] 17 March. Available:
http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/mar/17/street-artist-blu-
destroys-murals-in-bologna [Accessed 25 March 2016]

Visconti, L. M., Sherry, J. F. J., Borghini, S. and Anderson, L. (2010) Street Art, Sweet Art?
Reclaiming the "Public" in Public Place. *Journal of Consumer Research,* 37(3), pp.
511-529.

Vékony, D. 2013. Controversies in the Contemporary Art World. Hungary: cartc.

Wall Art and Morals In Palestine: Nablus, Jenin, Bethlehem, Qualquilia, Ramallah, Jericho
(2012)[Online Video] Directed by Betsey Coleman. [Online] Available:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OO-jX4jSVKY#t=76 [Accessed: 20 September
2014]

Walls That Speak (2013) [Online Video] Directed by Ali Zaraket Online: Aljazeera. Available:
http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/aljazeeraworld/2013/04/20134311513909
921.html [Accessed: 10 July 2013]

Wacławek, A. (2008) *From Graffiti to The Street Art Movement: Negotiating Art Worlds,
Urban Spaces, And Visual Culture, c. 1970-2008.* Doctoral Dissertation, Concordia
University.

Wacławek, A. (2011) *Graffiti and street art.* Thames & Hudson.

Waldner, L.K. and Dobratz, B.A. (2013) Graffiti as a Form of Contentious Political
Participation, *Sociology Compass*, 7(5), pp.377-389

Wallin, Y. (2010) Blu's Street Art Whitewashed. *The Guardian* [Online], 14 December.
Available:
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2010/dec/14/art-
california [Accessed: 21 May 2013]

Weber, J. P. (1996) Murals As Peoples' Art (1971), in Seltz, P.H. & Stiles, K. (eds.) *Theories
and Documents of Contemporary Art: A Sourcebook of Artists' Writings*. Berkeley:
University of California Press.

Weber, J. P. (2003) Politics and Practice of Community Public Art: Whose Mural Get Saved? *Mural Painting and Conservation in the Americas*, Getty Centre, 2004. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.

Whybrow, N. (2010) *Art in the City.* London: I.B. Tauris.

Wide Open Walls (2011) *Wide Open Walls Press Release* [Online] Available: http://www.wideopenwalls.co.za/about/ [Accessed: 23 January 2013]

Wild Style (1982) Directed by Ahearn, C., Braithwaite, F. and Dickson, J. *New York: First Run Features*.

Williams, J. P. (2007) Youth-Subcultural Studies: Sociological Traditions and Core Concepts, *Sociology Compass,* 1(2), pp. 572-593.

Wilson, B. (2006) Ethnography, the Internet, and Youth Culture: Strategies for Examining Social Resistance and" Online-Offline" Relationships. *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'éducation*, pp. 307-328.

Wilson, J. Q. and Kelling, G. L. (1982) Broken Windows, *Atlantic Monthly,* 249(3), pp. 29-38.

Wirth, L. (1938) Urbanism as a Way of Life, *American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 1-24.

Wittel, A. (2000) Ethnography on the Move: From Field to Net to Internet, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* 1(1).

Wolf, M. (2014) Egypt's Graffiti Artists Make Their Mark. *Aljazeera* [Online], 06 May. Available: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/04/egypts-graffiti-artists-make-their-mark-20144178384439962.html [Accessed 20 September 2014].

Wrest, R. (2012) *Graffiti as Vandalism: An Analysis of Intentions, Influence and Growth of Graffiti.* Master of Arts, California State University, Fresno.

Yinger, J. M. (1960) Contraculture and Subculture, *American Sociological Review*, pp. 625-635.Young, A. (2013) *Street Art, Public City: Law, Crime and the Urban Imagination.* Routledge.

Young, A. (2013) *Street Art, Public City: Law, Crime and the Urban Imagination.* Routledge.

Zahorik, P. and Jenison, R. L. (1998) Presence as Being-in-The-World, *Presence,* 7(1), pp. 78-89.

Zimberg, A. M. (2012) *The Spray Can is Mightier than the Sword: Street Art as a Medium for Political Discourse in the Post-Soviet Region*. MA Thesis, Georgetown University.

Zimmerman, J. (2014) Interview with Buenos Aires Street Artist Jorge Pomar in Paris. *Under-Ground Paris* [Online] 15 September. Available: http://undergroundparis.org/interview-buenos-aires-street-artist-jorge-pomar-paris [Accessed: 19 May 2015].

Zoghbi, P. and Don Karl (2013) *Arabic Graffiti.* 3 edn. Berlin: From Here To Fame.

Appendix A

Example of Open Coding – Excerpt from a Transcript of Interview/Conversation with Mentalgassi, Berlin, 25th February 2011

Marta Sławińska: Why did you start to put your works/messages out into public spaces, what motivated you?

Mentalgassi: *Actually we started as graffiti artists, as graffiti writers around 10 years ago and we kept doing this until some things happened* **[external influence]** *that that made us stop doing illegal stuff* **[change in practice]**. *It was kind of boring then, because we went to walls that we could do legally and sometimes there was a lot of people, and even if you make up a good concept it doesn't last long* **[purpose, value]**. *You work collectively on a wall and in the end it's just colours, it's two dimensional, it's not for everybody, it's just for other writers and if you want to go out and show your artwork to other people, that are normal people, you have hard time as graffiti artist.* **[ability to communicate within extended 'audience']**
If you do it for so long then something new has to come. It was boring. I mean we still do it but sometimes you realise that it's for a very small group of people, it's not like a public.

MS: So it was more like just communicating between the graffiti writers, not with people from outside this community?

M: *Yes, exactly it's a very small space with graffiti artists, with the spray can and the marker so it's very limited to that actual graffiti world, that's why it becomes boring after few years.* **[specific form not relevant anymore after a period of time]**
And also you recognise that if, for example, you want to do portraits or so on, I mean use a spray can as a medium to do to photorealistic artworks or something like that you have to train really, really hard, and we are really, really lazy. **[suitability of form for individual]** *And at this point we also didn't have the money to do it, because if you wanna do some really good stuff you have to buy a lot of colours or you have to steal them, what is not easy, or you have to get some sponsorship, and what's the point?* **[financial feasibility, affordability]** *Just to do the next big graffiti piece that none has done before and that actually none is interested in neither?* **[relevance of practice to graffitists and to others]** *So it was more like setting yourself free and just do what else is on your mind.* **[freedom to fulfil ambitions]**

MS: And Street Art meant more freedom to you?

M: *Yes, and also we've always been interested in photography, just taking photos in different places...* **[mixing forms/interdisciplinary]** *At the beginning* **[progress]** *it was some really crappy stuff just to get to know the camera but we were enjoying it, we were looking for old places in Berlin, like the old airport, just to find some interesting spots* **[keeping it interesting]** *and to do something with the camera but to do it together* **[being active] [possibility of collaboration]**. *And then our street art started do be more like graphic design, there were more vector based designs that we were pasting up, it was like graffiti. But then it was more and more into photography* **[mixing forms/interdisciplinary]** *and more people, like friends and family, were suddenly saying: 'oh, I like this photo of that guy that you took' or something like that, and they were never saying that about graffiti we did and if you go to let's say your parents with a graffiti piece and say: 'hey, look, i did this', they're like: 'eem... I like the yellow', I guess they will never get it.* **[communication] [connection with other people/being relevant/noticed]**

MS: So you wanted to carry a dialog with other people, that communication was important...

M: *It was important and also as an artist you want to reinvent yourself For example when we met yesterday we just discovered that maybe it's time for another change too, to do something more out of the box because we just have to change it constantly if we don't want to get bored* **[progress, change]**. *We travelled a lot during the last one and half year and it brings new input* **[influence of different experiences]**, *we experiment a lot and basically this is the reason. It's inside ourselves I guess – that need for a change - that's why we need to experiment.*

MS: Most of you work is socially and spatially conscious...

M: *Do you think so? Since the project with Amnesty International?*

MS: That as well but also let's say your ticket validators, they bring attention to objects in the public space and change our perception of them, what you've done caused that this 'invisible' items get noticed and maybe it motivates people to question the space we live in. That's my interpretation, what was your intention while doing that?

M: *When you go out and do graffiti for example you could as well go out and do advertising because what advertisers and graffiti or street artists have in common is to take space, and to take more space each time* **[using space/taking ownership of space]**, *to do pictures that stimulate senses in the way that people react, maybe they get aggressive, maybe they laugh* **[influencing others]** *but it's definitely so massive that you can't just go somewhere else* **[public space as place where others can be reached and influenced]**.
And I guess the challenge was to take something that already existed and that is easy to recognise for people in the working system **[changing/modifying meaning]**. *Ticket validator is something that many people use like 2, 4 or more times a day and you have so many people going pass them* **[quantity of people reached]**. *It was just trying to interpret the public space, seeing as much as you can out of the things that just became regular. This items are almost like something that is not existing. And there is a kind of big challenge of looking through a certain pair of glasses and to change something that is normal to become something that is not normal anymore* **[changing elements of space]**. *It's like cultivation maybe... it's not only making the ticket validator look nice cause it has a nice face on it. It's actually hard to explain...* **[internal need hard to verbalise].**

It's a lot of (? -57.34) too. We are sitting together, talking bullshit and someone says 'hey, let's do this' and then we develop that idea.

Yeah, actually the name came up because we tend to talk shit for hours and we came up with a lot of ideas when we took a dog for a walk. When you just walk around and talk for an hour or two and discover some new places where you want to create some new artwork **[inspired by environment/ideas come from specifics of places]**, *we discovered that it was actually like we took the dog for a walk but for our minds it was like going for a walk as well, just like letting it loose* **[a way of clearing the mind]**. *'Gassi gehen' in german means to take a dog for a walk so that's how we came up with the name Mentalgassi. It's just letting our minds loose and connecting to something that inspires us* **[connecting]**.

Appendix B
Sample Memos from the Research Journal

Mediating presence does not look,
or mean, the same for everyone, but
everyone does mediate their presence on
everyday basis. Some For some this means
using Graffiti (happens through use of Graffiti,
but again using Graffiti the Graffiti-making
does not look the same thing for every
Graffiti-maker, however everyone's use
emerge the same needs - to be seen, to interact
and to modify

Contemporary view of Graffiti)
Considering Graffiti as something that started
in United States and spread around the world
reflects the hegemony of western culture and
its focus on artefact. As it was to face
Graffiti has been history in most parts of
the world, however commodification of Graffiti
and turning it into an iconic product of
American culture overshadowed this history and
caused that Graffiti started to be considered
in rather one-dimensional manner - as an element
of western youth culture - whether and or
as vandalism - it has been categorised as something
that is an aim in itself, a subculture, or
other socio-cultural formation that is centred
around Graffiti - an artifact, an endproduct.

PRESENCE = PRACTICE

GRAFFITI AS A TOOL

Heidegger "ready-to-hand" (Zahornik & Jenison, p. 7)
Graffiti being "ready-to-hand" tool used to achieve goals
extending beyond simply creating an image. For instance
the aim of a tagger is ultimately to dominate the landscape
and develop a personal sense of importance and achievement.
Also for those creating more artistic graffiti
the goal is not merely in creating the image but in
expressing oneself through it, engaging audience, communicating
a message
engaging with the surroundings. The image, the process
can image
of creating is a mean through which these aims
are achieved, it is a process through which presence
is established and the image that stays as a result
of such practise continue the presence in a symbolic
way until the image is removed

can willing to play
the game

Presence of and unexpected
challenging projects in public spaces
Breaking the everyday open (Swan, 2010)
to allow possibility for change
Collie Curry (Swan)
pushing boundaries creates cracks leap
lets in possibilities (Swan 2010)

(not direct quotes)

Site specificity & psychogeography

Art and organisations / cultural organisations
Authorities & commercial enterprises
as moderators of our reality - they decide
what enters our surroundings, what ideas to
are presented, what tools are available and
how we can use them, how much interaction
we can perform and how much to what extent
we can modify our environment. However
the interaction with the users is two-way - while
they have the decisive power as for what is available and
how we can use it, to to remain relevant they
also have to keep the users interested. When Graffiti became
popularised and strengthened its position as a mean of
mediating presence, the moderators had to provide it, had to create

Appendix C
Open Interviews Guiding Questions (First Round of Interviews)

1. What does graffiti/street art mean to you?

2. What motivated you to start making graffiti/street art?

3. What messages does your graffiti/street art convey? What are your inspirations?

4. How do you choose places to put up your work?

5. How is making graffiti/street art in the streets different from exhibiting work in art galleries?

6. Do you do graffiti/street art for commercial projects? If yes - what are your experiences? If no - Would you consider it? Why?

7. Do you exhibit in galleries/museums? If yes - what are your experiences? If no - Would you consider it? Why?

8. Has you work changed in any way overtime? If yes – what caused it?

Specific for curators/gallerists/festival organisers:

9. Why are you interested in bringing graffiti/street art into a formal art environment?

10. How do you choose graffitists or particular works to include in your exhibitions/events?

11. Is it possible to convey the 'authenticity' of graffiti/street art when it is exhibited in the established art/culture environment?

12. Is the audience that comes to graffiti/street art events different from the usual art audience?

Email Interviews Questions Template

Marta Sławińska, Masters by Research Student, IT Sligo, Ireland
Working title of the project: Understanding Contemporary Graffiti-Making Practices

Here is why I am doing this research:
Nowadays consequences of our actions are global and it's important to question our practices and understand their impact on society. The aim of this work is to understand the dynamics between graffiti-making practices (including street art), public spaces and established art world / commerce, and to explore how our surroundings as well as local and global cultural policies affect graffiti-making.
I really appreciate your contribution into my research. I aim to present outcomes of this study at various events and publish them in relevant publications to bring them into consideration of practitioners, theorists and policy-makers. If you wish, I'll be happy to share with you an electronic copy of my thesis, which will be final outcome of this project.

Before starting to answer questions please specify whether, in cases that I quote your answers in publically accessible sources, you prefer to remain anonymous or do you prefer that your name or moniker is used? Your answers will not be shared with third parties without your consensus.

☐ **I prefer to remain anonymous.**

☐ **I prefer to be quoted by the name/moniker _____.**

Let's start:

1. What, in your opinion, is the role of graffiti-making (including street art) and who benefits (or should benefit) from it?

2. What, in the first place, motivated you to start putting your works into public spaces and what motivates you to keep doing it?

3. How do you choose places and walls to paint on? How important is connection between your works and specific spaces?

4. How important is the public in your practice? What are the most important messages that you want to communicate through your graffiti-making?

5. *(This question was only included in interviews with established graffiti-makers)*

   Nowadays your work is known and admired by very broad audience. How gaining recognition in the Street Art world has changed your practice? Did it change the way you work, your priorities, the way you communicate with your audience?

6. (This question was only included in interviews with graffiti-makers who exhibit in galleries)

Aside from working in the streets you also exhibit in galleries a lot. What are adventages and disadvantages of exhibiting in established gallery spaces as in relation to working in the streets? Which do you enjoy more?

7. You are travelling around the world with your art, you've worked both in the streets and with established art institutions and festivals meeting different people: other artists, curators, passers-by seeing you working on the streets, gallery visitors… How your experiences vary in different environments? Do you notice any differences between working in formal (gallery/festival/commercial project) and informal (streets, unauthorised interventions) settings? Do you notice any contrasts in relation to different geographical settings?

8. Why, in your understanding, artistic intervention in public spaces without having permission from authorities is illegal in most of the countries around the globe?

9. Do you think recent popularity of Graffiti and Street Art have in any way challenged and changed the way public spaces are perceived? Does it encourage people to question our freedom to be involved with and to alter our living environment?

10. Could you share your thoughts on the topic of using graffiti for commercial purposes and corporate support/sponsorship for graffiti projects/events?

11. Since Street Art became popular its aesthetics are used in promotional campaigns by many companies (for example Miller, Opel, Mini, Red Bull, Levis) and some street artists get involved in advertising business. What is your opinion on such development?

12. Do you think that presence of graffiti (including street art) in programmes of established cultural organisations, can encourage new audiences to engage with galleries and museums or is it still mostly the 'traditional' art audience who comes to graffiti exhibitions?

13. Do you think graffiti authentically represented in established cultural institutions? Is it important to maintain authenticity and freedom of expression characteristic to graffiti-making when it is done for commissions or exhibited in established cultural environments? Or does exhibiting in galleries have different aim than doing graffiti in the streets and cannot be compared?

14. Since graffiti-making gained popularity a lot of artists got involved in establishing independent galleries and events. What new, in your opinion, these initiatives bring into the art world?

That was the last question. **Thank you for your time and involvement, I really appreciate it!** If there is anything else that I didn't ask and you would like to add feel free to do it.

Appendix E

Occurrence of the Main Thematic Categories in Work of Established Graffitists in the Three Selected Regions

WESTERN COUNTRIES				
Graffitist	**Location**	**Self-Identification & Affiliations**	**Socio-Political Environment**	**Physical Environment**
Combo	France	1	1	0
MTO	France	1	0	0
Ludo	France	0	0	1
NemO	Italy	0	1	0
Tika Thek	Nomadic	1	0	1
NeSpoon	Poland	1	0	0
Iemza	France	0	0	1
Escif	Spain	1	1	0
Nero108	Italy	0	0	1
IRGH	Germany	1	0	0
Don John	Denmark	1	0	1
Feral	USA	1	0	0
NohJColey	USA	1	1	0
Akash Nihalani	USA	0	0	1
Never2501	Italy	0	0	1
Kevin Ledo	Canada	1	0	0
Basik	Italy	1	0	1
Rone	Australia	1	0	0
Bleck le Rat	France	1	1	0
Isaac Cordal	UK/Spain	0	1	0
Carolina Falkholt	Sweden	1	0	1
Mcity	Poland	0	0	1
Pisa73	Germany	1	1	0
Czarnobyl	Germany	1	1	0
Reka1	Germany	1	0	1
Emest Zacharevich	Lithuania	1	0	1
Banksy	UK	1	1	1
P183	Russia	0	0	1
Mentalgassi	Germany	1	1	1
Symon Kilman	Slovakia	1	0	0
OnOff Crew	France	1	0	1
Pixel Pancho	Italy	1	1	1
Oliver Leo	Germany	1	1	0
Natalia Rak	Poland	1	0	1
Truth	Poland	0	0	1
Sepe	Poland	0	1	1
Chazme	Poland	0	1	1

WESTERN COUNTRIES				
Graffitist	**Location**	**Self-Identification & Affiliations**	**Socio-Political Environment**	**Physical Environment**
3Fala	Poland	0	1	0
Coxie	Poland	1	0	0
2SH	Poland	0	1	0
Peter Fuss	Poland	0	1	0
Otecki	Poland	1	0	1
Pan Jarema	Poland	0	0	1
Conor Harrington	Ireland	1	1	1
Maser	Ireland	1	1	1
Mr. Thoms	Italy	0	1	0
Sr. X	Spain	1	1	0
MESA	Spain	1	0	0
Roadsworth	Canada	0	0	1
br1	Italy	1	1	0
Microbo	Italy	0	0	1
Dimitris Ntokos	Greece	1	0	1
C215	France	1	1	0
Shoote061	Ireland	1	0	1
Alice Pasquini	Italy	1	0	0
Kidult	USA	1	1	0
ADW	ireland	1	1	0
Will Saint Leger	Ireland	1	1	0
Canvaz	Ireland	1	1	0
Littleman	Ireland	1	1	1
Karma	Ireland	1	1	0
Xπr	Ireland	0	1	0
Gene	Ireland	0	0	1
SmugOne	UK	1	0	0
DMC	Ireland	1	0	0
Stamatis	Greece	1	1	0
Alex Kataras	Greece	0	0	1
WD	Greece	0	1	0
Paul	Greece	0	1	0
Woozy	Greece	1	1	1
Absent	Greece	0	1	1
El Bocho	Germany	1	0	0
Aryz	Spain	1	0	1
Herakut	Germany	1	1	1
Erase	Bulgaria	1	0	1
Interesni Kazaki	Ukraine	1	1	1
Fintan Magee	Australia	1	1	1
Bordalo II	Portugal	0	0	1
Rustam Qbic	Russia	1	1	1
Dface	USA	1	0	1
Faile	USA	1	1	0
Shepard Fairney	USA	1	1	0

WESTERN COUNTRIES				
Graffitist	**Location**	**Self-Identification & Affiliations**	**Socio-Political Environment**	**Physical Environment**
Vhils	Portugal	1	0	0
Phlegm	UK	0	0	1
NYAT	USA	0	1	0
Paige Smith	USA	0	0	1
London Police	Netherlands	1	0	0
Space Inader	France	1	0	0
Nuria	Spain	0	0	1
Fauxreel	Canada	1	0	1
Jerm IX	Canada	1	1	0
Resto	Belgium	1	0	1
Spagnola	USA	1	1	0
Total (Western Countries)		**63**	**44**	**47**

ARABIC COUNTRIES				
Graffitist	**Location**	**Self-Identification & Affiliations**	**Socio-Political Environment**	**Physical Environment**
Semaan Khawam	Lebanon	0	1	0
Ali Rafei	Lebanon	0	1	1
Ashekman	Lebanon	1	0	0
Eli Zaarour (Zed)	Lebanon	1	1	1
Ziad Chakhtoura	Lebanon	1	0	1
Dizahyners	Lebanon	0	0	1
Red Eyed Kamikazes	Lebanon	1	0	0
El-Mou3alim	Lebanon	1	0	1
Horek	Lebanon	1	0	0
Yazan Halwani	Lebanon	1	0	1
Rana Maktabi	Lebanon	0	1	0
Hamza Abu Ayash	Palestine	1	1	0
Hafez Omar	Palestine	0	1	0
Heba al Baghdadi	Palestine	0	1	0
Areej Mawasi	Palestine	0	1	1
Dede	Israel	1	1	0
Ame72	Israel	1	0	0
Inspire Collective	Israel	0	1	1
Know Hope	Israel	1	1	1
Foma	Israel	1	1	0
Zero Cents	Israel	1	0	0
Klone	Israel	1	0	0
Aya Tarek	Egypt	1	1	1
Hend Kheera	Egypt	1	1	0
Nooneswa	Egypt	1	1	0
Mira Shihadeh	Egypt	1	1	0
Hanaa El Degham	Egypt	1	1	0

ARABIC COUNTRIES				
Graffitist	**Location**	**Self-Identification & Affiliations**	**Socio-Political Environment**	**Physical Environment**
Bahaia Shebab	Egypt	1	1	0
El Moshir	Egypt	0	1	0
Ammar Abo Bakr	Egypt	1	1	0
Omar Fathy	Egypt	0	1	0
Ali Khaled	Egypt	0	1	0
Mahmoud Magdy	Egypt	0	1	0
El Zeft	Egypt	1	1	1
Laila Maged	Egypt	1	1	0
Kaizer	Egypt	1	1	1
Brigades Mona Lisa	Egypt	1	1	0
Nemo	Egypt	1	1	0
Naazer	Egypt	0	1	0
Omar Picasso	Egypt	0	1	0
Ganzeer	Egypt	0	1	0
Laila Ajjavi	Jordan	1	0	1
Shamsia Hassani	Afghanistan	1	1	1
A1one	Iran	1	0	1
Icy and Sot	Iran	1	1	0
Black Hand	Iran	0	1	0
MAD	Iran	1	1	0
OWL	Iran	0	1	0
Elf Crew	Iran	1	0	1
Nafir	Iran	1	0	1
Tajassom	Iran	1	0	1
R-Ash	Iran	0	0	1
Geo	Iran	0	1	0
Mr. Niko	Iran	1	0	1
Taha	Iran	0	1	0
Total (Arabic Countries)		**35**	**38**	**20**

LATIN AMERICA				
Graffitist	**Location**	**Self-Identification & Affiliations**	**Socio-Political Environment**	**Physical Environment**
Os Gemeos	Brazil	1	1	1
Rodrigo Branco	Brazil	1	0	0
Enivo	Brazil	1	0	0
Jerry Batista	Brazil	1	0	1
Tinho	Brazil	1	1	1
Cranio	Brazil	1	1	0
Ignoto	Brazil	1	0	0
Sipros	Brazil	1	0	0
Margela	Brazil	1	0	0

		LATIN AMERICA		
Graffitist	**Location**	**Self-Identification & Affiliations**	**Socio-Political Environment**	**Physical Environment**
Iskotr	Brazil	1	1	0
Fefe Talvera	Brazil	1	0	0
Emol	Brazil	1	0	1
Alexandre Orion	Brazil	1	0	1
B-47	Brazil	1	0	1
Cripta Djan	Brazil	1	0	0
Dalata	Brazil	1	0	0
Dedablio	Brazil	1	0	0
Ethos	Brazil	1	0	0
Flip	Brazil	1	0	1
Medo	Brazil	1	0	0
Nove	Brazil	1	0	0
Onesto	Brazil	1	1	1
Pia	Brazil	1	0	1
Ramon Martins	Brazil	1	0	1
Raul Zito	Brazil	1	0	0
Rodrigo Level	Brazil	1	0	0
Selon	Brazil	0	0	1
Smael	Brazil	0	0	1
Treco	Brazil	1	0	0
Vitche	Brazil	1	0	1
Yusk Imai	Brazil	1	0	1
Zezao	Brazil	1	1	1
6emeia	Brazil	0	1	1
Marina Zumi	Brazil	1	0	1
Bastardilla	Colombia	1	0	0
Caifas	Colombia	0	1	0
DjLu	Colombia	0	1	1
Guache	Colombia	1	0	0
Lesivo	Colombia	1	1	0
Nomada	Colombia	0	0	1
Rodez	Colombia	1	0	1
Stinkfish	Colombia	1	0	0
Toxicomand	Colombia	1	1	0
Amor	Argentina	0	0	1
Aire	Argentina	1	0	1
Buenos Aires Stencil	Argentina	0	1	0
Doma	Argentina	0	1	0
Emy Mariani	Argentina	1	0	1
Ever	Argentina	1	1	0
Grolou	Argentina	1	0	1
Jaz	Argentina	1	1	0
Jorge Pomar	Argentina	0	1	0
Nazza	Argentina	1	1	0
Nerf	Argentina	0	0	1

LATIN AMERICA				
Graffitist	Location	Self-Identification & Affiliations	Socio-Political Environment	Physical Environment
Pastel	Argentina	0	0	1
Vomito Attack	Argentina	0	1	0
Robot de Madeira	Chile	1	0	0
Charquipunk	Chile	1	0	1
Agotok Collective	Chile	1	0	1
Blok	Chile	0	0	1
Cekis	Chile	1	0	1
Crudo	Chile	0	1	0
Esec	Chile	0	1	1
Inti	Chile/France	1	1	0
Don Lucho & Quillo	Chile	0	1	0
Piguan	Chile	1	0	0
Saile	Chile	1	0	1
Yaikel	Chile	0	0	1
Decertor	Peru	1	0	0
Faber	Peru	1	1	0
Fuma Kaka	Peru	0	0	1
Marco Sueno	Peru	1	1	0
Pesimo	Peru	1	0	1
Blast	Mexico	1	0	1
Buytronic	Mexico	0	1	1
Dhear	Mexico	0	0	1
Edgar Argaez	Mexico	0	0	1
Neuzz	Mexico	1	0	0
Saner	Mexico	1	0	1
Sego	Mexico	1	0	1
Smithe	Mexico	1	0	1
Total (Latin America)		59	25	42

Appendix F
Review of Publications/Research on Graffiti

AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	TERM USED (Graffiti/ Street Art?)	APPROACH / FOCUS	METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION	LOCATION
Melissa Hughes	2009	*Street Art & Graffiti: Developing an Understanding*	both	Definition and distinction between Street Art and Graffiti	Literature Review and interviews	Atlanta
Katherine Gunnell	2010	*Street Art: Its Display in Public Space and Issues within a Municipality*	both	Definition and distinction between Street Art and Graffiti, motivations of Street Artists Legal issues, Graffiti Prevention	Ethnographic methods: Interviews, case studies Blogs	New Orleans
Tiffany Renée Conklin	2012	*Street Art, Ideology, and Public Space*	Street Art	Perception of Street Art, Reactions of Audience	Surveys, , Participation, Participant Observation	Portland
Cybriwsky and Ley	1974	*Urban Graffiti as Territorial Markers*	Graffiti	Graffiti as territorial markers and indicators of attitudes, behavioural dispositions and social processes present in given area	Observation of presence and density of tags belonging to different individuals and groups	Philadelphia
Dickens	2010	*Pictures on walls? Producing, pricing and collecting street art screen print.*	Street Art	Commercial Street Art, case study of Pictures on Walls – Banksy's print business	Interviews with POW workers and with collectors of Street Art prints	London/ commercial field
Truman	2010	*The (In)Visible Artist: Stencil Graffiti, Activist Art, and the Value of Visual Public Space*	Other (Stencil Graffiti)	Stencil Graffiti	Literature Review	Western World
Weber	2003	*Politics and Practice of Community. Public Art: Whose Murals Get Saved?*	Other (Murals)	Community Murals	Participation, case study	Chicago
Manco	2002	*Stencil Graffiti*	Other (Stencil Graffiti)	Stencil Graffiti	Visual data analysis	Mainly Western World
Manco	2004	*Street Logos*	Street Art	Street Art that acts as logos	Visual data analysis	Mainly Western World
Ruiz	2011	*Nuevo Mundo. Latin American Street Art*	Street Art	Review of Street Art from Latin America	Archive of images and blurbs from artists	Latin America
Palmer	2008	*Street Art Chile*	Street Art	Review of Street Art from Chile	Archive of images and blurbs from artists	Chile
Nevaer	2009	*Protest Graffiti Mexico Oaxaca*	Graffiti	Use of Street Art and Graffiti as tools for protest	Archive of images	Oaxaca, Mexico
Zoghbi & Don Karl	2011	*Arabic Graffiti*	Graffiti	Review of Street Art from Arabic Countries	Occurrences of Street Art reviewed within local context and case studies of artists	Arabic Countries
Macdonald	2001	*The Graffiti Subculture. Youth, Masculinity and Identity in London and New York*	Graffiti	Analysis of Graffiti Subculture	Participant observation, interviews	New York, London
Young	2014	*Street Art, Public City: Law, Crime and the Public Imagination*	both	Legal issues with Street Art, Graffiti Prevention	Interviews, case studies	Western World
Lisiak	2014	*Women in Recent Revolutionary Iconography*	Street Art	Revolutionary/Protest Street Art, Women	Case study	Global – case studies of Cairo and USA -

AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	TERM USED (Graffiti/ Street Art?)	APPROACH / FOCUS	METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION	LOCATION
Steward and Kortright	2015	*Cracks and Contestation: Towards an Ecology of Graffiti and Abatement*	Graffiti	Graffiti removal, spatial antagonism, graffiti as a form of conversation	Walking researcher, interviews with police and authorities	USA and Canada
Rolston	2014	*Messages of allegiance and defiance: the murals of Gaza*	Other (Murals)	Murals of Gaza	Ethnographic research, field work in Gaza	Gaza
Bardhan and Foss	unpublished	*Revolutionary Graffiti and Cairene Women: Performing Agency through Gaze Aversion*	Graffiti	Female presence, identity, revolution	Field research,	Cairo, Egypt
Lennon	2014	*Assembling a Revolution Graffiti, Cairo and the Arab Spring*	Graffiti	Revolution in Egyptian Graffiti	Interviews, social media	Cairo, Egypt
Korody	2011	*The Revolutionary Art: Street Art Before and After the Tunisian Revolution*	Street Art	Revolution Street Art in Tunisia	Ethnographic research, interviews, field work	Tunisia
Laruscahim	2014	*From Graffiti to Pixacao*	Graffiti	Pixacao Graffiti criminalisation	Ethnographic research	Brazil, Sao Paulo
Nicoarea	2014	*Cairo's New Colors: Rethinking Identity in the Graffiti of the Egyptian Revolution*	Graffiti	Identity, National symbols	Analysis of images	Cairo, Egypt
El-Hawary	2014	*The Graffiti of Mohamed Mahmoud and the Politics of Transition in Egypt: The Transformation of Space, Sociality and Identities*	Graffiti	Graffiti of Mohamed Mahmoud street, transformation of space	Participant observation, observations of changes in spatial environment, interviews, narrative inquiry,	Mohamed Mahmoud street, Cairo, Egypt
MacDiarmid & Downing	2012	*A Rough Aging out: Graffiti Writers and Subcultural Drift*	Graffiti	Criminalisation of Graffiti, Graffiti as deviant activity, Graffiti as a subculture, relation between age and Graffiti practice	Analysing Graffiti on the basis of life-time theory and subcultural theories of criminality; qualitative interviews and ethnography	Midsized town in southern Ontario, Canada
Armstrong	2005	*The Contested Gallery: Street Art, Ethnography and the Search for Urban Understandings*	Street Art	Relationship between Street Artists and the city space, motivations of Street Artists and significance of their work to them	Interviews and internet sources: *if it had not been for the Web and its many street art related sites, my exposure to world street art would have been far less wide-ranging*	Western World
Bowen	2013	*Graffiti as Spatializing Practice and Performance*	Graffiti	Graffiti writing as place-making	Ethnographic research, field observations	Toronto and San Francisco
Dovey, Wollan, Woodcock	2012	*Placing graffiti: creating and contesting character in inner-city Melbourne*	Graffiti	Graffiti as urban spatial practice	Interviews and mapping of the inner city	Inner city Melbourne
Brighenti	2010	*At The Wall : Graffiti writers, urban territoriality, and the public domain*	Graffiti	Territorial dimension of graffiti writing, *social territory-making capacity in relationship to urban public space;* Preserving graffiti (she is against it)	Ethnographic observation of graffiti crew	Northeast Italy

AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	TERM USED (Graffiti/ Street Art?)	APPROACH / FOCUS	METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION	LOCATION
Loeffler	2012	*Urban Warriors*	both	Overview of Graffiti and Street Art Development with special attention to Ireland	Magazine article/ not specifyied	Western World
Keys	2008	*Contemporary Visual Culture Jamming: Redefining Collage as Collective, Communal, &Urban*	Street Art	Stickers, street art in education curricula	Photographing the stickers	
D'Amico & Block	2007	*A legal and economic analysis of graffiti*	Graffiti	legal, ethical, and economic implications of governmentally criminalized graffiti.	Case Study	Western World
Forster, Vettese-Forster & Borland	2012	*Evaluating the cultural significance of historic graffiti*	Graffiti	Preserving graffiti, determining cultural significance of graffiti	Literature review and case studies of relatively high profile graffitists	Western World
Waldner & Dobratz	2013	*Graffiti as a Form of Contentious Political Participation*	*Graffiti*	*(1) why some forms of graffiti should be considered a serious form of political participation; (2) compare and contrast graffiti to other forms of resistance including squatting and culture jamming; (3) review research findings on graffiti; and (4) conceptual and methodological challenges for doing graffiti research.*	Graffiti analysed as form of political participation from sociological point of view	
Bernardoni	2013	*Walls and Graffiti The Strategic Value of Urban Space*	Graffiti	Graffiti challenging the public and private character of urban spaces, uses Lefebvre as theoretical framework		Istanbul
McAuliffe	2012	*Graffiti or Street Art? Negotiating the Moral Geographies of the Creative City*	both	Legality of Street Art and Graffiti, inclusion and exclusion of Street Artists and Graffiti Writers from wider social relations **Moral Geographies**	Visual ethnography, interviews, review of policy documents, discussions with local government	Sydney, Australia
Crovara	2014	*Tensions in Urban Street Art: a Visual Analysis of the Online Media Coverage of Banksy Slave Labour*	Street Art	Terminology and legality of Street Art an Graffiti	Case Study, visual discourse analysis of media content	Western World, London
Chmielewska	2007	*Framing [Con]text: Graffiti and Place*	Graffiti	Place		Warsaw, Montreal
Chmielewska	2009	*Writing on the Ruins or Graffiti as Design Gesture*	Graffiti	The act of writing, lettering		
Gleaton	2012	*Power to the People: Street Art as an Agency for Change*	Both	Graffiti and Street Art as tools for instigating change	Not specified	America, Egypt, Brazil
Peteet	1996	*The Writing on the Walls: The Graffiti of the Intifada*	Graffiti	Graffiti created during the first Intafada: Graffiti as a form of cultural production during a sustained political contest	Ethnographic: field work in the West Bank collecting instances of Graffiti	West Bank
Irvine	2012	*The Work on the Street: Street Art and Visual Culture*	Street Art	Street Art Practice	Book chapter, no methods specified, general analysis of Street Art	Western World
Neff	2007	*Killing Kool: The Graffiti Museum*	Graffiti	Graffiti as performative act, as action rather	Lierature review, internet images	Germany

204

AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	TERM USED (Graffiti/ Street Art?)	APPROACH / FOCUS	METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION	LOCATION
				than predefined meaningful symbol		
Klein	2007	*Art and Street Art: tensions and approaches*	Street Art	Conceptualization of Street Art: relationship with the city as a territory; link with the art market; relationship to cultural policy	Not specified	Barcelona and Montevideo
Riggle	2010	*Street Art: The Transfiguration of the Commonplaces*	Street Art	Definition Of Street Art, Street Art in relation to modernism and post-modernism	Theoretical analysis	Western World, general
Lovatt	2010	*The Aesthetics of Space: West Bank Graffiti and Global Artists*	Graffiti	Graffiti in West Bank and work of global artists there	Field work	West Bank
Günes & Yýlmaz	2006	*Understanding Graffiti in the built Environment*	Graffiti	link between the built environment and graffiti		Ankara, Turkey New York
Salti	2008	*Urban Scrolls and Modern-Day Oracles The Secret Life of Beirut's Walls*	Graffiti	Wall Graffiti in Beirut		Beirut
Wrest	2012	*Graffiti as Vandalism: An Analysis of Intentions, Influence and Growth of Graffiti*	Graffiti	Distinguishing between illegal 'vandal' graffiti and its more artistic instances		
Masemann	2010	*Definitions and Transitions Graffiti and Street Art in New York City: A peripheral and mainstream presence since the 1980s*	both	definitions	Literature review	Western world
Dickinson	2012	*From graffiti to murals and back again: Philadelphia's spectacular streetscape*	Graffiti	Approach of Philadelphia authorities to deal with the problem of Graffiti through establishing a programme of community mural painting	Literature review, case study	Philadelphia
Lachmann	1988	*Graffiti as Career and Ideology*		Along with tracing the ways in which writers and others come together to create the social organization of graffiti, this study is concerned with understanding how the content of graffiti is formed and transformed by graffiti writers' social interactions with their audiences.	Literature Review, inrterviews	New York
Little and Sheble	1987	*Graffiti vandalism: Frequency and context differences between the sexes*	Graffiti	Exploration of Graffiti vandalism in male and female restrooms	Visual data collection, content analysis	
Ferrel	1995		Graffiti	Various ways in which graffiti writers attempt to resist the controls of the legal and political authorities.		USA and Europe
Castleman	2004	*The Politics of Graffiti*	Graffiti	Historical perspective on 'war on Graffiti', graffiti as vandalism, influence of popular	Newspaper articles	New York

AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	TERM USED (Graffiti/ Street Art?)	APPROACH / FOCUS	METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION	LOCATION
				press on development of NY Graffiti scene		
Sinnreich	2004	*Reading the writing on the wall: a textual analysis of Łódź graffiti*	Graffiti	Linguistic analysis of anti-Semitic graffiti in Łódź, Poland	Visual data collection	Łódź, Poland
Waclawek	2008	*From graffiti to the street art movement: negotiating art worlds, urban spaces, and visual culture, c. 1970-2008.*	Both	Explores how signature graffiti and street art contribute to the experience of the urban environment and to the history of art	Interviews, critical analisys	Western world
Snyder	2006	*Graffiti media and the perpetuation of an illegal subculture*	Graffiti Subculture	How information about Graffiti was disseminated through media and influenced its disemmination	Historical overview	USA
Nicoarea	2012	*Cultural Interactions in The Graffiti Subculture of The Arab World. Between Globalization and Cosmopolitanism*	Graffiti	Analysis of Arabic Graffiti and comparison with Western Graffiti; cultural representation of Arabic youth	Interviews, field studies; content analysis of Graffiti	Arabic Countries
Abaza, Mona	2012	*Satire, Laughter and Mourning in Cairo's Graffiti*	Both with no distinction	Political graffiti of Arab Spring in Cairo, it's satirical character and role as a medium of grieving	Field study, content analysis	Cairo
Kraidy	2012	*A Heterotopology of Graffiti. A Preliminary Exploration*	Graffiti	How do graffiti put forth critiques of other media in Lebanon and the Arab world? What is the best way to understand and theorize graffiti's dual role as at once part of Beirut's media ecology but also distinct and relatively autonomous from that environment?	Field study, content analysis	Arabic Countries with focus on Beirut

Appendix G

Image Archive and the *List of Images* from Western Countries, Arabic countries and Latin America are available on the attached CD.