Creative Cities, Tourism and Street Art in a Global Frame

The City as Discovery

Ricardo Klein
Caitlin Bruce

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Acknowledgements

Contents

vii

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List of Figures

Graffiti, Street Art, Tourism, and Creative Cities in a Global Frame: The City as Discovery

Caitlin Bruce and Ricardo Klein

Introduction

Graffiti and street art are forms of cultural expression with global roots, connected to diverse subcultures and social movements. Often framed by authorities in the early years of style-writing as a public nuisance and then embraced in the early 2000s as a resource for tourism and creative place-making, graffiti and street art offer an ideal lens to consider how municipal and cultural agents mobilize creativity in the present. *Graffiti, Street Art, Tourism, and Creative Cities in a Global Frame: The City as Discovery* investigates how discourses of creative cities, practices of graffiti and street art tourism, and shifting global contexts combine to position a selection of eight different cities as sites of discovery. To unlock tourism's transformative potential, this text offers scholars, cultural workers, tourism agencies, and governments a framework more attuned to equity, context, and education.

This book discusses Bogotá, Barcelona, Paris/Aubervilliers, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Porto. However, we begin this project by looking towards Miami, Florida, to account for a prominent

example in scholarship around graffiti/street art tourism. This starting point will better explain the significance of the other examples we bring to bear in considerations of discourses of creativity and discovery in global graffiti/street art tourism. The United States is largely known as the origin point for the global graffiti movement, and the most famous site for graffiti and street art tours is the Wynwood neighborhood in Miami. Wynwood offers a helpful point of departure to show how ideas of creativity and discovery are yoked together in tourism initiatives around street art and graffiti. In just one neighborhood we can see interconnections between tourism and discourses of discovery, real estate speculation, and global capital flows, and the evolution and recontextualization of graffiti and street art practices.[1]

As of 2023, Wynwood is host to two organizations that tout themselves as representatives of related urban art movements and offer different points of emphasis on *art* and *the street*: Wynwood Walls and the Museum of Graffiti. Wynwood Walls was created by the late property mogul Tony Goldman and is managed by Goldman Properties and Goldman Global Galleries. Wynwood Walls is more focused on graffiti *style* work rather than graffiti history and context, emphasizing on the skill and beauty of artists' works, with less attention to the street itself as participants in the street art movement. In contrast, the Museum of Graffiti identifies itself as a voice for the graffiti art movement, and emphasizes the historical context of the street for unsanctioned graffiti as a political and self-actualization practice. It was co-founded in the early 2010s by Alan Kets, a style writer, curator, and programmer.

The first iteration of Wynwood Walls, held in 2009, illuminates a spectacular transformation of graffiti as a culturally marginal practice to street art, a culturally valorized object. Wynwood, a former residential neighborhood west of Miami's downtown, has long been a transnational place where street artists make their name during the Art Basel fair, coming from across the globe to converge on the neighborhood, embellish walls,

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[1] Goldman Properties touts its role in the intersection of art and urban development: "For over forty years, Goldman Properties has been recognizing the value in depressed, undervalued urban areas, reconstructing and transforming declining historic districts into popular, thriving global destinations. The company has been recognized as the driving force behind the transformations of the Upper West Side, the Wall Street Financial District and Soho in New York City, Center City in Philadelphia, South Beach in Miami, and most recently the transformation of the warehouse/arts district in Miami's Wynwood." https://thewynwood-walls.com/goldman-properties, Site visited September 3, 2021.

and then leave. Wynwood Walls helped formalize the neighborhood's status as a destination for celebrity writers and street artists. The event was curated by Jeffrey Deitch, who went on to serve as curator for the germinal "Art in the Streets" exhibit at the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art in 2011. In Wynwood, Deitch commissioned murals on six warehouses to showcase the "the greatest street art ever seen in one place," leading to Goldman Properties purchasing adjoining buildings to create Wynwood Doors, a set of metal roll-down gates reminiscent of New York City's downtown aesthetic and a nod to the "graffiti" set of murals on six warehouses (Wynwood Walls Website, n.d.). Then Goldman Properties bought an adjacent lot to further grow the project, which had the goal, in the words of the late Goldman:

> to create this kind of 'road warrior,' desolate, deteriorated, forgotten, inner-city street scene that had all of the street frontage closed down with rolling gates. I wanted to wrap this area in gates of different sizes, helter-skelter, and then I wanted to bomb it, write it and tag it—but by the best bombers and writers available in the country, really let it be the worst of a graffiti-laden forgotten neighborhood. This would be my homage and tip of the hat to early writers. And then—because there's always got to be a surprise in a Goldman project—I wanted the opportunity to have, like any museum does, a portrait gallery. I wanted the surprise of rolling the gates up and revealing a whole collection of humanly scaled works by a host of different artists. (Wynwood Walls Website, n.d.).

There is much to say about Goldman's statement. It traffics in ideas of slumming, the thrill seeking of upper-class elites visiting "gritty" lower class environs but with little to no risk to their person. It also appropriates the rhetoric of style writers—bombing (writing one's name in large scale to cover the most space possible), tagging as name writing—without taking any of the risks that writers undergo when they inscribe their names without permission. Additionally, the statement reifies binaries between graffiti and street art and fine art suggesting that the surprise is that there can be portraits in the "worst … graffiti laden neighborhood." Many of the assumptions at work here: that outsiders must visit a neighborhood for thrill seeking based on rendering graffiti neighborhoods as "other"; seeing writing alone as important without its legal and cultural contexts; asserting that fine art and graffiti/street art are in opposition, are not necessary to the work of developing cultural programs that connect graffiti/street art to tourism but are unfortunately well-trodden tropes that we seek to challenge.

There are some implicit and explicit grounding concepts and contexts at work in the statement that merit naming, since they are recurring topoi, common places, in both anti-graffiti/street art policy *and* tourism development projects. Of most interest to this project and the book's co-authors is how rhetoric that Goldman used is fundamentally reliant on the concept of creative cities discourse: language and particular ideologies about the relationship between creative practices and economic growth. Creative cities discourse often enabled real estate investment practices, and the idea created a bridge for street art and graffiti to serve as ideal mechanisms for urban discovery. Consider the adjectives Goldman used to describe the space and the kind of art to be created: "desolate, deteriorated, forgotten … the worst of a graffiti-laden neighborhood," which opens up into a "portrait gallery." His emphasis on decay, abandonment, and forgetting performs the trope of cultural entrepreneur as discoverer, the one visionary who then supports the capacity of artists to revalue places for future investment and exchange value (the portrait gallery). The aesthetic of decay/destruction activates the thrill of discovery and emphasizes the ingenuity of the discoverer. As such, spaces like Wynwood Walls seek to curate an emotional *experience* for viewers as explorers of a "forgotten" urban area and participants in its renewal.

When Bruce went to Wynwood Walls in 2011 the space had gates around the sides but was open to the public without charge. On the surrounding streets, graffiti writers and street artists covered other walls in works, sometimes competing for the same surfaces. Upon returning in 2021, gates surrounded the entire enlarged compound and a $10 fee was required for entry (Fig. 1.1). The gates created a seemingly arbitrary boundary between the art space (containing street art) and the surrounding neighborhood (also containing verdant forms of street art and graffiti). The enclosed space was given the status of "museum," by the property mogul, and consecrated with plaques that read: "Wynwood Walls Official." Yet, on the drive from the airport to the arts district, one could see that public art was everywhere.

The Museum of Graffiti, on the other hand, has a "collection" outside the walls of its gallery building in the surrounding Wynwood neighborhood. The collection is a set of pieces and murals creative with the curatorial support of the museum staff, and are often connected to educational initiatives like workshops or live streamed lectures by luminaries in the graffiti/street art movement. This collection is more vulnerable to the ups and downs of the real estate market (Fig. 1.2). Since the Museum does not

Fig. 1.1 Wynwood Walls, Goldman Properties and surrounding art work. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2021

Fig. 1.2 "Welcome to Wynwood…" Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2021

own the buildings, when property owners shift, or buildings are renovated, work is often destroyed. In this way, it more aptly reflects the ephemerality of graffiti and street art in its unofficial contexts but poses logistical and political challenges for organizers who seek to preserve the stories that such works tell.

We begin with Miami because it is an example of a highly iconic and overdetermined form of urban art tourism in a transnational context that is the product of creative cities, post-industrialism, and transnational flows of art and ideology. In this book, we complicate that story by offering many other examples in cities in Europe, Latin America, and the United States to draw out a series of questions that scholars and planners interested in urbanism, tourism, and cultural policy might ask when developing and executing art programs.

This book will help the reader move from apprehending graffiti/street art as novelty items to understanding the practice and its potential use as a means of tourism as forms of communication and education with rich histories and powerful uses in terms of urban redevelopment, civic participation, and stimulating dialogues about social differences.

Theory and Proposed Framework

This is a book for lovers of cities: art and city nerds who may not have academic or municipal affiliations, artists considering participating in tourism initiatives, urban planners and cultural programmers developing tourism projects, and scholars of art, tourism, cities, and subcultures. Though graffiti/street art are often seen as exciting resources for urban development, marketing, and branding, policymakers and scholars often approach this work with varying degrees of context due to the way that graffiti/street art forms have historically been marginalized in art history and urban policy. By providing a comparative framework we hope to broaden the set of examples that urban actors have to work with, and make informed and careful decisions about how to develop tourism initiatives that foreground context, equity, and education. In this book, we will use some scholarly concepts as shorthand for much longer and larger debates in academic research fields, but our hope is that the takeaways in this volume will be useful to you whether or not you are affiliated with the academy. Here we define key terms and contexts that motivate the questions that we investigate in this work.

Creative Cities

The fervor that municipal and cultural agents have had for creativity as a driver for economic and real estate development emerged from specific late twentieth-century contexts, largely gaining currency in Northern and Western European and North American post-industrial spaces where cities had to compete for resources less on the basis of manufacturing might and more for white-collar industries and workers. The idea of creative cities was popularized in 1995 with Richard Florida's *The Creative Class,* which asserted that cities can build economies by catering to creative types, and that such creative populations promote talent, diversity, and innovation. *The Creative Class* resonates with older ideas like that of slumming (Heap, 2008), and contemporaneous ideas of neo-bohemia (Lloyd, 2010). The concept of creativity traffics on sub-values of authenticity, experience, diversity/globality, innovation and beauty (Belfiore, 2009; Boym, 2008; Bruce, 2016; Giband, 2017; Gilmore, 2017; Harvey, 1989; Kinney, 2016; Klein 2023; Landry & Bianchini, 1995; McLean 2014; McRobbie, 2018; Mould, 2018; Peck & Tickell, 2001; Pieroni & Naef, 2019; Rius-Ulldemolins, 2014; Rosler, 2010; Rowan, 2016; Tuck & McKenzie, 2014; Zukin, 1989). Moreover, creative cities as physical locales have specific recurring geographic affordances, namely, post-industrial geographies (Wilson, 2017). Cities in the Western Hemisphere in the 1990s were left with swathes of fallow manufacturing districts, and have slowly been transformed into creative sites for technology, the arts, education, and medicine (Veitch, 1997).

Creativity is often assigned a role of generating new added value (economic, social, cultural) to city dynamics (Anheier & Raj Isar, 2010; Kirchberg & Kagan, 2013; Ratiu, 2013). Indeed, "cities around the world are building and branding urban cultural life as a way to develop local economies and revitalize urban centers" (Rosenstein, 2011, 9). Creative cities practices frequently rely upon business-favoring policies. Largely mobilized through public-private partnerships and maintained through municipal codes like broken windows theory and zero tolerance policing, the creative city is one that is meant to be aesthetically appealing and diverse, but not so disorderly that it would invite lower- or working-class populations to loiter or set up shop, causing discomfort to executives planning to base an office there.

Graffiti and street art are inextricable from the tensions of creative city ideology. Creative cities discourse expresses support for diversity and authentic expression, but rigidly privilege property ownership, economic values, and consensus politics, values that cut against the possibility for

free expression and diversity. The possibility of graffiti/street art to serve as decoration and augment attractiveness, or to be seen as ugly and, therefore, dangerous are deeply connected to how such forms are sanctioned in different cities. Rafael Schacter argues that since roughly 2009 "Street Art," a term he uses in contrast to graffiti

> "has come in fact to stand as an art form almost entirely bound to a corporate, institutional visual regime … [that has] … emerged through what is now an almost total complicity with the world-dominating gospel of the Creative City, an almost total complicity with a globally domineering cultural policy in which the arts are reduced to a mere instrumental cog in the 'creative', 'regenerative' wheel … becoming an institutionalized Public Art entirely beholden to the strategic, acquisitive desires of the contemporary, neo-liberal city." (2014, 162)

Schacter goes on to lament how street art not only sells "*itself*" but hawks "a false notion of *place*" a "mere marketing tool for the Creative City brand" (2014, 162). In our different case studies, particularly in Paris, Bogotá, and Cleveland, we see how street art and graffiti are used to promote the idea of the diverse and attractive city in the wake of violence and economic distress. While some forms of tourism are a-contextual and sell places without an attention to their histories, other tours are deeply connected to their sites and create productive moments of discomfort and reckoning for tourists.

In this book, we offer some historic context around different ways creative cities have been taken up in the United State, Europe, and Latin America to shape visitor experiences, art worlds, and neighborhoods. By pointing out continuities and differences across different cities, we seek to challenge the idea that broken windows theory and order-based urbanism ought to be the only way to create vibrant and diverse places to live and visit.

Street Art/Graffiti

It is impossible to find a definitive and universal definition of what constitutes graffiti or street art. Rather, approaching such practices entails a complex net of qualifiers about medium, context, and form, intertwined in different ways. For example, it is common to point out that urban art is all kinds of art that take place in the urban space. Yet, graffiti on freight trains travels through rural and suburban spaces with regularity. In different case studies street art and graffiti are defined differently, or not at all. For example, Rafael Schacter defines street art as image-based and

figurative and graffiti as "illicit urban image making (focusing on typographical experimentation—working from the chosen pseudonyms and 'crews' of their producers)" (2014, 161–162). Yet, in places like Bogotá there are forms of typographical expressions using pseudonyms that are not necessarily illicit depending on their space of inscription. Not all graffiti or street art is done illegally (Klein, 2014; Bruce, 2019). Contrary to what authors such as Cedar Lewisohn (2010) argue, the best graffiti or street art produced is not always illegal—"best" is relative, but we would contend that if it means oppositional, aesthetically complex, or daring, there are permission contexts, too, where graffiti/street art can open up important conversations.

The role of creative industries in shifting definition of graffiti and street art is substantial, as they create new institutional frameworks for engagements with public space. Klein (2012) reminds us that legitimization and valorization of the status of graffiti and street art *as* art or non/art relates to processes and agents affiliated with the art market, but also within the world of graffiti and street art itself. Many members of these collectives do not even recognize themselves as artists, even though they sell work and are considered professionals (Menger, 1999). Creative industries come from cultural fields such as design, communication, photography, advertising, and even architecture and heritage. The latter, architecture and heritage industries, often are in tension with graffiti and street art due to the way historic preservation programs are imagined. For instance, tagging or stencils on UNESCO recognized architecture might be impugned as damage. In cities where street art and graffiti still find themselves with vague status with regards to their legitimization by public administration, this tension between permission spaces and architectural patrimony is marked. For instance, in Montevideo there is a permanent contradiction between allowing the artistic practice of graffiti/street art in urban spaces without prosecution, which is allowed in the service of promoting an urban, modern, and creative urban landscape, while at the same time, there is vociferous questioning over the site for graffiti/street art interventions, and debates over whether said architecture has value (symbolic, emotional, patrimonial) for the city (Klein, 2021). Graffiti and street art are not passive media in the face of these processes; these forms of "independent culture" have generated their own forms of legitimization (Guerra Lage, 2009) in the form of gallery and museum exhibits, and design work for sports shoes, soft drinks, energy drinks, and casual clothing. For

example, brands such as Red Bull, Coca-Cola, Nike, Adidas, or Johnny Walker have used this "street aesthetic" as part of their commercial campaigns.

A crucial political and social function of graffiti and street art is the ways such practices question the limits of social space and through interventions in the city, sparking discussions about the limits between where the public begins and where the private ends (Herrera & Olaya, 2011). Silva Téllez (1987) explores graffiti as a form of signification with "seven valences: marginality, anonymity, spontaneity, scenic nature, precarity, velocity, and fugacity and seven imperatives: communication, ideology, psychology, aesthetic, economic, physical and social." Jaime Bernal Leongómez writes of Silva's treatment of graffiti: "Graffiti can synthesize, through one phrase, an entire political situation, intimate frustration, unsatisfied desire, metaphysical alienation, or a state of consciousness, it's there. Present and self-evident" (Ibid., 11). Both Parisian students in 1968 (Armstrong, 2005; Badenes Salazar, 2008; López, 1998) and Black and Latinx youth in New York in the late 1960s (Abel, 2008; Chang, 2006, 2014) used graffiti and street art to criticize social exclusion and division. In its origins, New York graffiti gave an account of a segregated society, a city where the American dream did not end up being realized. Thus, these practices are acts of interpreting, questioning, and transforming the city, performing a right to the city (Harvey, 1989; Kirchberg & Kagan, 2013). Street art and graffiti modify public space, often involving tensions with public administration (Dabène, 2020).

Some scholars attempt to define graffiti and street art based on how long it endures on the surfaces in which it is inscribed. On the one hand, it is described as "durable forms of aesthetic transformation of public settings (e.g., walls, floors, urban design, metro stations, traffic lights, signposts)" (Visconti et al., 2010: 514). Writers who practiced subway art (Castleman, 2002; Cooper & Chalfant, 1984) in New York City in the 1970s took the durability of the work as one of its most important components. It was part of that getting up (Castleman, 2002) so necessary to achieve valorization, respect, and legitimization as members of a collective. Crossing out or dissing work subverted the visibility achieved by getting up valued by the group (Becker, 2009). Yet, many works of graffiti and street art are produced without the expectation of permanence (Calogirou, 2010). Some forms of urban art such as street theater, clowning, or emerging forms, such as parkour movement, take up impermanence as central, as well. The temporary nature of unsanctioned or

ephemeral street art and graffiti becomes relative with the new technologies, the internet and the digital camera. The main role of the internet is the possibility of transcending the city where the work is presented: for post-graffiti artists the internet is simply "another wall" (Abarca, 2010a, 2010b), and so works that might not persist physically achieve a second life circulating through digital images and environs.

Increasingly complex techniques used by artists and writers are used by some scholars to herald the transition from graffiti to "post-graffiti" near the end of the 1990s. This period refers to a second moment, where the forms of intervention originally recognized as graffiti: the tag, bombing, wildstyle writing, among others, are joined by a diversity of techniques and materials. Forms such as posters, stickers or stencils create a "new rhetoric of the walls" (Herrera & Olaya, 2011: 100), generating new languages and symbolic appropriations circulating in shared public space. Tags, bombing or throwups, wildstyle, pieces, murals, stickers, poetics, posters, laser projects, trash, cellograff, or yarn bombing, are just some of the forms that graffiti and street art artists assume to materialize their production in public space. For example, the stencil, unlike other forms of street intervention (such as tagging or poetics), requires certain technical knowledge of software to design and print works to cut out. In the construction of links between the field of creative industries and street art, stencil art perhaps is the one with the closest ties.

For our purposes, we are interested in how practitioners—street artists, writers, tourism agents, and municipal agents—*frame forms of communication as graffiti/street art in the service of creative city initiatives.* As such, in each chapter we are attentive to how the history of the city is connected to the history of graffiti and street art, and how creative city tourism programs explicitly or implicitly narrate such historical connections to graffiti/street art. By understanding definitions as contextual and political, wielded by agents—tour guides, artists, planners—to generate particular understandings of urban places we can resist romanticizing or abstracting these important forms of communication.

Tourism

Tourism is an important tool for creative cities—it is a means for both residents and visitors to connect to elements of the creative city, furnishing stronger emotional bonds to place and promoting return visits to neighborhoods. Phaedra Pezzullo defines tourism as "traveling from place to

place in a sequence" (2009, 26). Tourism involves "much broader social patterns and trajectories" that involve "power relations between the people, places, and values involved" (2009, 26). Pezzullo emphasizes the importance of multi-sensorial, embodied, registers for experience in tourism (28), suggesting that those investigating tourism practices should pay attention to not just what is visible but olfactory, auditory, and tactile experience.

Critiques of tourism have existed as long as humans have traveled. Phaedra Pezzullo charts how tourists are often represented either as "an uneducated crass stereotype," or "romantically" as "noble explorers, danger seekers, risk takers" (2009, 24). Here we might remember the framing statements that were used around Wynwood Walls that situated the real estate developer and visitor as thrill seekers who get to vicariously experience danger. This association of tourism with discovery is connected to a longer genealogy of travel writing that Mary Louise Pratt charts back to colonial endeavors (2007). John Urry, too, has identified how the "tourist gaze" is "typical of the mass tourism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (Rose, 2022, 7), often cultivating objectifying practices of looking at others.

Tourism has increasingly shifted from the spectacular to the everyday, from product-oriented to experience-oriented (Richards, 2011). Often falling into the category of experience tourism, or creative place-making, graffiti and street art tours are less about consuming particular products (though there are commercialized art objects that visitors often can buy) but instead getting to claim a relationship to place, people, and a cultural practice.

In this book, we draw on Pezzullo's call to both argue for accountability in tourism and recognize the practice as a space for ethical possibilities (2009, 4). Phaedra Pezzullo has explored how tourism is often understood as "toxic." She elaborates: "Tourism contaminates the people and the places where it occurs. Tourism corrodes. Tourism offends. Tourism exploits" (2009, 2). She argues that simply dismissing tourism is unrealistic, as it is "the second largest industry in the world," and further explains that such dismissal is dangerous because "claiming that tourism is toxic is also about giving up on the hope that we as people and as tourists can expect more from ourselves" (2009, 2–3). Indeed, we agree with Pezzullo that it is crucial to "recognize how and when practices of tourism may be motivated by our more admirable desires for fun, connection, difference, civic spirit, social environmental change, and education" (2009, 3). In the

case studies in this book, we map out ways that stakeholders attempt to use tourism around graffiti and street art to promote more inclusive cities, but also how some tourism initiatives simply reinscribe or ignore existing social inequality.

Discovery

Discovery is a dominant trope for tourism and it allows the tourist to feel a sense of empowerment, uniqueness, and mastery over spaces that might otherwise seem strange or overwhelming. We are critical of discovery frameworks. This book has the subtitle, "City as Discovery" to draw attention to the *dominant* ways that graffiti/street art are often marketed and celebrated to argue for a *different model*. Christa Olson investigates discovery's epistemological underpinnings and communicative infrastructure in her work, *American Magnitude* and argues that discovery relies on assumptions that one must be from an outside community who then makes "public" the object that has been discovered. We can see how this might play out in street art tours: often framed as the hidden side of cities, located in alleyways and inscribed in indecipherable script, the tour enables the tourist to "find" tags and then make them public through social media use. This process of making-public, Olson explains, involves making claims about importance or magnitude: "every act of discovery … is an assertion of magnitude" (2021, 109). While we agree that street art and graffiti are important, we seek to locate their importance in the kinds of stories they might help tell about the richness and diversity of places, rather than their simple fact of existence.

Instead of "discovery," Susan Phillips offers the idea of "uncovering" which:

> is the opposite of a colonial project. It resists multiple layers of erasure by drawing attention to the destruction of neighborhoods, the whitewashing of people's experiences, the promotion of patriarchy, the insularity of blue-collar labor, and the development and demise of subcultures. Uncovering drives a focus on unseen images and attempts to reconnect them with the people surrounding their original production …. Uncovering fuses ethnography and archaeology and embraces a sometimes-chaotic stratigraphy where names and keywords are invitations to engage in multiple fields across time. (2019, 5)

Phillips emphasizes uncovering as a sensitivity to context, peoples' stories, and trying to draw attention to the unseen and muted.

In terms of our methodology and our recommendations for generative models for street art/graffiti tourism, this project affirms the value of uncovering rather than discovery. Uncovering resists the allure of encountering graffiti as a beautiful ruin, a kind of nostalgic practice that wishes away the complexities of past and present. Instead, following Boym, we suggest that graffiti/street art can be engaged as a resource for questioning prevailing orders. Boym argues: "the ruins of modernity as viewed from a 21st-century perspective point at possible futures that never came to be. But those futures do not necessarily inspire restorative nostalgia. Instead, they make us aware of the vagaries of progressive vision as such" (2011). We investigate how graffiti/street art can illuminate rich social networks and stories already in place, even if such narratives are not always recognized by the powerful or by outsiders.

Taken together, our framework insists on attending to context, the role of the tourist, the history of place, the degree of community and artist participation, and the ecosystem of institutions (public, private, nonprofit, educational) involved in developing street art/graffiti tours in the service of creative city initiatives. To ensure that tourism is not simply extracting value from place without establishing forms of accountability, it is important to consider the following questions. We ask whether initiatives are clear about the relationship between tours, place and people; how issues of mobility, equity, power, pleasure, reality and fantasy, sensorial experience, and emotions shape the experience of the tourist and how they understand themselves relating to cities through graffiti/street art tours; how spatial dynamics are illuminated or elided in tours such as the relationship between center and periphery, urban development, and gentrification; to what degree are neighbors involved in the design, delivery, funding, and public policies around tours, and whether neighbors are represented in terms of process, content, and the final work, as caretakers for murals; how are artists empowered or simply contracted, their work celebrated or dictated, to what extent they receive compensation for their work and time, levels of support, and freedom of expression; and finally what are the mix of institutions and organizations involved in developing street art/graffiti tour initiatives, and how does their location (government, university, businesses, cultural organizations) shape the kinds of objectives and frameworks developed for tours and the messages promoted on tours. These questions are related to the larger concern that this

book has with the role of art in informing public education and generative relationships between people from different backgrounds.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Each city discussed in this book has its own discrete history which will be attended to in the case study chapters. However, there are interconnected factors that shape the boom in street art/graffiti tours starting in the early 2010s connected to global economic, policy, security, and cultural transformations that were in motion much earlier. Globalization, deindustrialization, and intercity-competition for knowledge workers and visitors fomented a tourism sector invested in creating unique experiences for tourists. As heavy industry left cities, vacated manufacturing districts served as unsanctioned and then later heavily marketed sites for creative practice. Social media, too, connected writers and artists, accelerated travel and cultural exchanges that helped create official and unofficial graffiti and street art districts, and served as an important tool for visibility for artists and experience for tourists.

The global popularity of creative cities models for urban development has also been significant. Since the 1980s, culture has been used to spark urban renewal in Europe, with the EU connecting creativity with economic competition and social diversity. Designations such as European City of Culture (ECOC) under the EU are used to capture "global tourism markets" (Bruce, 2019). In Latin America, too, graffiti and street art have been used to create "open air museums" (LaTorre, 2019) and spotlight the creative side of industrial cities (Bruce, 2023).

Museums and galleries have also played a key role in graffiti and street art gaining greater visibility as potential urban branding tools. The Tate Modern's 2008 *Street Art* exhibit and the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art's *Art in the Streets* exhibit in 2011 (Schacter, 2014, p. 163). As discussed above, the creation of Wynwood Walls also supercharged the commercial viability and visibility of street art. Universities and scholarly writing, too, have played important roles in accenting the public importance of graffiti/street art. For instance, in the lawsuit over the destruction of 5Pointz, a permission graffiti space in Queens, New York, the idea of "recognizable stature" informed legal debates about the importance of the artwork featured on the warehouse's walls, and part of the way such stature is measured is in scholarly references to the artworks or artists (Bruce, 2019).

Generational shifts in writer and street artist cohorts have also shaped the growth of public-facing programming. As the movements have grown and expanded, their adherents have also pursued professionalization, grown older with different responsibilities, and built more access to different institutions of public culture, politics, media, and business (Facheur, 2022). More street artists and writers are going to art school, opening their own businesses, getting degrees in higher education, and academic coverage of the movements has also grown substantially since 2010.

Although street art and graffiti have always been global movements with practitioners traveling across the globe and collaborating with other writers in other cities, this dynamic has been intensified with social media (Macdowell, 2019) and the increasing institutionalization of graffiti and street art. Many cities build graffiti/street art tours with the explicit goal of showcasing international talent, and/or are even founded by visitors, expats, or returnees.

Finally, the global War on Terror after the terrorist attacks in New York and Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001, led to more heavily policed cities and public transit networks in particular in North America and Western and Northern Europe. Increased fines and other penalties made it even more risky to create unsanctioned art, incentivizing practitioners finding permission frameworks.

These interconnected elements of economics, security policy, cultural policy, and sociological trends are important contexts for understanding the global rise in street art/graffiti tourism, and can help us understand how and why ecosystems develop in particular ways in particular cities.

Methodology

The approach in this book is a combination of in-person and site-based research, secondary contextualization and historical analysis and interpretation using concepts from diverse academic fields in the humanities and social sciences. Our approach is informed by a humanistic lens where we seek to explore and develop insights about and for a living and feeling city (Gehl, 2010). As researchers with over fifteen years of experience documenting and studying graffiti and street art, when we are visitors to sites we are not the average tourist, and our commitments are in seeking out educational and political possibilities rather than simply seeing culture as an economic resource.

We used a mixed methodology comprised of oral history interviews, site visits, investigating archival documents about cities' graffiti/street art policies, sifted through and with concepts from sociology, cultural studies, rhetorical theory, race and cultural theory, and urban studies about place, race, identity, tourism, visuality, and urban imaginaries. We draw from an archive of 15,000 original photographs taken from 15 years of research on graffiti/street art globally. The reader will observe that some photographs have specific artists credited, while others do not. In some instances, it was possible to find the creators of works, but in others when work was done anonymously or, in many cases, was temporary, we were not able to find out the name of the particular artist or artists. This slide between anonymity and visibility is a core characteristic of street art/graffiti and how it is presented in tourism contexts. Forty personal interviews with cultural workers, city officials, and artists contextualize different frameworks for street art tourism. These methods allow us to investigate how creativity and rediscovery are managed and expressed by different stakeholders.

Our positionalities shaped our ability to access many of these spaces. As light-skinned white-appearing cisgendered subjects with university affiliations, foundation funding, and residences in Europe and the United States, we are able to move and travel with relative ease. Klein is from Uruguay, is white, middle class, and studied in and presently lives in Barcelona. Bruce is mixed race (Black and White), white appearing, middle class, is from the United States, and lived and studied in Chicago, Paris, and León Guanajuato, and currently lives in Pittsburgh.

We are not graffiti writers or street artists, but we have studied these scenes for many years. Our point of observation then is as outsiders with high levels of familiarity. Moreover, Bruce has collaborated with artists for eight years in creating conversations and public works in Pittsburgh and so has had growing experience in the production side of street art/graffiti. These trajectories provide us the capacity to observe the growth of graffiti/street art tourism industries over time and in many locales with a high degree of proximity.

In this writing we typically use the third person when describing the history, context, and relevant theories for understanding the case studies. However, in the case studies we will often invoke the first person "I" or "we" since this book is intended to offer a perspective of tourism and graffiti/street art that is experiential and speaks to questions of everyday life in the city. We think that identity and the embodied experience of being in different places is important for understanding how tourism works and

who it works for. There is no abstract tourist subject. As a result, we seek to be explicit about our commitments and our identities and how they impact our interpretation of particular dynamics.

SUMMARY OF CASE STUDIES

The book is structured through eight case studies ordered via four thematic sections: gentrification and whose right to the city (Porto and Cleveland); urban renewal and social imagination (Paris and Buenos Aires); the postindustrial and alternative forms of tourism (Pittsburgh and Barcelona); protest and community meaning-making (Bogotá and Montevideo). By addressing established and emerging dynamics for tourism shaped by global historic contexts like industrial to creative shifts, political uprising, and post-pandemic approaches to conviviality, and identifying core strategies for tourism: street art as emergent, alternative, urban attraction, post-industrial intimacy, visual noise and activist pedagogy, philanthropy, artivism, and form for transforming imaginaries, we offer scholars and practitioners an accessible and cutting-edge vocabulary for understanding the interaction between art, tourism, and issues of social inequality. By attending to the dynamics of creative cities, tourism, and street art as interconnected, transnational, and comparative issues, we develop a systematic approach to urban visual culture offering the first comprehensive and transnational treatment of street art as a mechanism for supposedly discovering lost parts of cities. Each chapter provides context, theoretical frameworks, and in-depth analysis of one or two cases. Some chapters focus on tour itineraries, others focus on larger initiatives, and yet others address the development of arts districts. The range of cases in the chapters allows for us to think about creative city and street art/ graffiti tourism capaciously: sometimes it is a group of people going on a preset list of stops, but in other contexts is more open-ended about cultivating a sense of place. Such range allows us to address the diverse ways in which street art and graffiti are drawn upon across the globe to express, market, and educate about places and people. The case study chapters are written by individual authors even though the book is a collaborative project.

Gentrification and Whose Right to the City

Chapter 2 is about Porto, Portugal and is written by Klein. This chapter examines how the city of Porto manages street art as a means of tourist attraction but also indirectly enhances the value of the city. A tourist attraction generates alterations in neighborhood dynamics, including shaping gentrification processes in some areas of the city. This urban reconfiguration of the material and symbolic space generates new signs and meanings for those who pass through the city and adds an attraction for the visiting tourist. An example of this is a painted street furniture initiative on Rua Das Flores, in the historic center of the city of Porto, where artists intervened upon light meter boxes of the company Energias de Portugal (EDP), thus creating an open air gallery.

Chapter 3 is about Cleveland, Ohio and is written by Bruce. Cleveland, a rust belt city, is undergoing what David Wilson has criticized as a highly uneven form of urban revitalization hinged on the creative industry. GraffitiHeArt, a local non-profit, uses art creation, workshops, and public programming in tandem with philanthropic efforts to address inequality in urban spaces. Inspire Your City, an artist-run mural initiative uses literacy-themed murals to draw attention to dynamics of racial capitalism in Cleveland's uneven development. The chapter investigates the similar and different ways that the two programs imagine graffiti/street art as a resource for discovering Cleveland.

Urban Renewal and Social Imagination

Chapter 4 investigates a suburb of Paris, Aubvervilliers and is written by Bruce. This chapter discusses how nine years after many of the uprisings in the banlieues north of Paris In Situ Art Festival figured street art as an anticipatory aesthetic mechanism for urban transition. The chapter offers the idea of urban art as "transitional form" wherein the foundational ephemerality of the art form was seized upon as an argument for creative destruction to later build a mixed-use eco-quarter. The "transitional form" of urban art in a festival setting served as an aesthetic resource for imagining a multicultural future, in particular by drawing on loaded images for dissent—the burned-out car and van—as well as images of women and children as references to a different future. In Situ used the language of creativity and implied multiculturalism to transform a seemingly forgotten space into a favored target for urban development.

Chapter 5 is about Buenos Aires and is written by Klein. This chapter analyzes Buenos Aires' strategy to rehabilitate its image as a city through public administration, with the aim of promoting cultural and artistic elements in public spaces. Shaping an urban imaginary, Buenos Aires is constituted as a "city of art" in public spaces, but not from a conservative artistic-cultural matrix, but rather formalized as transgressive and creative. The public administration exploited this tactic to invest in cultural and creative facilities that would add value to neighborhoods, as in the case of the Usina del Arte in the La Boca neighborhood. The emergence of different types of creative tourism, complementary to the more traditional ones, has allowed Buenos Aires to distinguish itself in a national, regional, and international context.

Post-industrial and Alternative Forms of Tourism

Chapter 6 turns to Barcelona and is written by Klei). This chapter analyzes how Barcelona has become, through a prolonged process that began in the 1980s, one of the most significant European cities in attracting world tourism. Part of this is due to its urban policy of city branding characterized by its multiculturalism and artistic development. Street art has a distinguished role as a means of intervention that enhances public space. Faced with the current development of intensified tourism in Barcelona (some authors call it touristification), the emergence of alternative forms of tourism to the traditional ones is part of an ongoing dynamic of contestation in urban spaces. Alternative tourism is a form of tourism that opens and makes visible community and social values, and enables both locals and tourists to enjoy the cultural offerings of the city and share positive interactions. The development of this type of creative tourism is coupled with urban processes linked to the creation of artistic neighborhoods.

Chapter 7 focuses on Pittsburgh and is written by Bruce. This chapter discusses a particular site, the Carrie Furnaces, a pre–World War I iron blast furnace that went from being an active industrial site to a hybrid patrimonial site connecting industrial history with graffiti history. The chapter closely reads the Graffiti Art Tour itself and how some of the artworks were produced for the tour as an example of "alternative" forms of tourism. It reflects on how this model of tourism aims to generate an experience of authenticity cultivated through the intimate relationships between the graffiti works and the site. The Furnaces are a significant site for debate, public memory (Hayden, 1997), and attachment for multiple people, especially because they are one of the largest spaces for industrial patrimony in

the United States. The context of the space deeply informs the tour both in the history relayed by the guide and the spray-paint practices in which participants are invited to engage. As a result, tour participants are invited to discover graffiti as a place-based process, not just a selfie spot.

Protest and Community Meaning-Making

Chapter 8 moves to Bogotá and is written by Bruce. This chapter discusses how graffiti and street art serve as "visual noise": traces of activism, dissent, or residues of exclusion that point to unequal social geographies under the façade of narratives about inclusive renaissance in the city of Bogotá. Following Marxist urbanists and indigenous studies scholars, it argues that the more established Bogotá Graffiti Tour offers a kind of political remapping of the city center, and the newer Grafficable Tour offers an asset-driven beautification program.

Chapter 9 addresses Montevideo and is written by Klein. This chapter explores the construction of a consolidated urban art scene in the city of Montevideo and the factors that explain this development. Even though there are consolidated/highly visible spaces for urban art, cultural programmers' attempts to expand such sites demonstrates how urban art tourism creates opportunities for new tourism zones. In some way, it has become a functional tool to achieve a positive image of the city together with the empowerment of the neighborhood. These processes foment urban experiences that generate an aesthetic change, and add economic, cultural, and touristic value to the local environment.

We close the book with Chap. 10, which is written jointly, where we offer our conclusions. This chapter summarizes the text and discusses potential models for scholars, students, neighbors, programmers, and policy makers to use for thinking about the intersection of urban art, the creative city, and tourism initiatives. In the wake of a global pandemic, multiple wars, and global uprisings, public art continues to be a vibrant tool for representing society, even when there is significant societal division. Here we offer a framework for future tourism initiatives, and questions scholars, programmers, and cultural workers might ask in the future to move from discovering the city to really engaging the city in its plurality.

As the cover image for our book indicates, the story of graffiti/street art and discovery, education, tourism, and urban change is complex and involves many places. The cover depicts a former industrial space-turned-cultural center in Barcelona called Nau Bostik, where urban art has been a

key part of the identity of the site through a program called B-Murals. The surrounding neighborhood of La Sagrera is under threat of gentrification in the wake of urban development and train construction. One approach to telling the story of street art and tourism in Barcelona would be to simply offer up a series of beautiful sites, but what we try to do is offer context and place sites like Nau Bostik in conversation with global dynamics of deindustrialization, creative cities, city security policies, and the efforts of cultural workers and organizers to use art to tell *different* stories of the city.

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Porto. Tensions Between Urban Renewal and the Use of Street Art as a Tourist Attraction

Ricardo Klein

Introduction

The city of Porto is internationally known for its rich history, extraordinary architecture, and culture. However, its gastronomy stands out among all its many outstanding features, as a permanent imprint on the public perception of the city. In this context, it is not surprising that the initial association many make with Porto is closely linked to this aspect: its outstanding cuisine. As part of its construction as a cultural and creative city, recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1996, Porto deploys an important set of culinary elements that are emblematic of the region. From its famous wine with denomination of origin to traditional dishes and local specialties such as *bolinhas de bacalao*. Additionally, its traditional markets, family restaurants, and wine cellars offer unique experiences that combines tradition with innovation. For example, beyond its economic impact on local development, Porto wine embodies a deep Portuguese winemaking tradition and features prominently in festivals and events, representing one of the region's most cherished treasures.

27

Among Porto's most outstanding specialties is an iconic and paradigmatic dish, the *Francesinha*, a decadent sandwich that fuses meat, sausages, cheese, and a special sauce. Dishes like this one reflect the rich gastronomic tradition in Porto and are widely appreciated by residents and visitors alike. Seafood products are also featured prominently, with grilled sardines being a particularly popular choice as an integral part of the Mediterranean diet. Traditional sweets such as *pastel de Nata*, although more associated with Lisbon, also find their place in Porto. The city's gastronomic offerings reflect its cultural identity.

Moreover, Porto's unique and distinctive element gastronomic offer plays a crucial role in building its image as a tourist destination and even exacerbating the impact of tourism, at times. The city's reputation as a place where authentic gastronomic experiences can be enjoyed attracts travelers from all over the world in search of new experiences. Furthermore, the promotion of local gastronomy helps to position Porto as a culturally enriching destination, offering much more than just scenery and historical monuments. This construction of the city's image can also entail a risk in terms of commodification of its identity, by promoting a city more oriented towards the reception of visitors and tourists than towards the consolidation of a local identity in harmony with its inhabitants. This image is also promoted by the public administration, showing a growing tendency towards options that create an image of the city that excludes its residents (Teixeira Lopes, 2020) (Fig. 2.1).

Porto is much more than a bustling city on the banks of the Douro River; it is a center of creativity and culture that invites travelers to explore its cobblestone streets, discover its historical heritage, and indulge in its outstanding artistic and gastronomic scene. From its historic architecture to its contemporary art and music festivals, it presents a wide variety of cultural activities that reflect its identity as a center of innovation and artistic expression on a global level. Historic neighborhoods such as *Ribeira* and the architecture of the old city provide an attractive backdrop for a variety of cultural events, from *fado* concerts to contemporary art exhibitions in galleries. Fado, for example, Portugal's signature musical genre, also plays a central role in Porto's cultural scene. With melancholic and emotional lyrics, this musical style reflects the experiences and emotions of the Portuguese people. Landmarks such as the *Fado* houses in Porto offer local and foreign visitors the opportunity to experience this unique cultural expression.

Fig. 2.1 Touristy local gastronomy, commercial gentrification. Aestheticized tins of sardines, from €3 to €7.5. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2019

The analysis of Porto reveals a complex configuration in the constitution of its urban image, with elements that are constantly interacting with one another, such as its history, culture, politics, gastronomy, architecture, and art. Moreover, the "beauty of abandonment," as it could be called (Klein, 2023a), is used strategically to enhance public space and strengthen urban identity. This concept refers to the presence of fragile and deteriorated architecture that exerts a peculiar charm on those who inhabit the city and those who visit it. This aspect of urban visualization is integrated into the city's daily life in a natural way, even becoming a tourist attraction. Visitors are attracted by the authenticity and uniqueness of urban landscapes marked by decadence, seeking aesthetic and cultural experiences that escape from more conventional destinations. The aesthetics of decadent architecture becomes a distinctive resource that, paradoxically, drives both tourist attraction and urban transformation processes. This aesthetic has also been co-opted by the tourism industry, leading to an increasing commercialization and exploitation of degraded urban spaces (Klein, 2023a) (Fig. 2.2).

However, this fascination with the "beauty of abandonment" can also have implications for gentrification processes. The process of

Fig. 2.2 Samples of the beauty of abandonment in Porto. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2023

gentrification, originally described by Ruth Glass in 1964, manifests itself in the transformation of working-class neighborhoods into middle/upper-class enclaves. This process is accompanied by a cultural and economic upgrading of neighborhoods, which attracts new residents with cultural and economic capital. As demand for housing and commercial space in these areas increases, rental and property prices skyrocket, resulting in the displacement of original residents and the loss of community identity.

As certain neighborhoods are "discovered" and valued for their decaying aesthetics, they become targets for real estate investment and urban renewal. This often results in the displacement of low-income residents and the transformation of the socioeconomic and cultural identity of local communities (Sousa & Rodríguez-Barcón, 2021). From a critical perspective, it is argued that the Câmara Municipal has not been sufficiently keeping real estate developers in check, opting for a superficial conservation policy that threatens the exceptional value of its architecture, of which it had pledged to protect (Quental et al., 2018). Likewise, no measures have been implemented to curb the loss of population in the historic city center or to counteract the processes of gentrification and touristification it is currently experiencing (Alves, 2017). These dynamics have resulted in the

demolition of emblematic buildings and historic establishments, which is a cause for concern (Quental et al., 2018).

Urban art with its diversity of expressions has emerged in this general scenario as a powerful tool in the strategy of many cities to attract tourists and revitalize urban areas. In the specific case of Porto, the use of street art as a lure for visitors not only highlights local creativity but also seeks to energize spaces that might have been neglected or undervalued in the past (Klein, 2018).

However, this strategy is not without controversy, as it is intertwined with gentrification processes. Gentrification is an urban phenomenon where previously marginalized areas are transformed to attract wealthier residents, and can be driven by the tourist attraction generated through urban art. In a short period of time, a significant increase has been observed in Porto, doubling housing prices across the city simultaneously (Carvalho et al., 2019). This phenomenon has triggered a rapid revitalization of buildings, mainly led by the private sector, which has generated various forms of social, economic, and actual physical pressure in a city with a population of around 230,000 inhabitants. These processes have created tensions and conflicts within the local community. Many residents face challenges such as rising rental costs and real estate speculation, making it difficult for them to remain in the historic city center (Barbosa and Teixeira Lopes, 2020). The increase in the number of tourists and the proliferation of touristic accommodations have caused the displacement of original residents and traditional businesses in the last five years; approximately 40 percent of retail stores in the Center have undergone functional and/or ownership changes (Fernandes et al., 2018).

Thus, the transformation of spaces such as *Rua Das Flores* into open air urban art galleries can be perceived as a symbol of urban revitalization, as well as fuel the process of gentrification. The presence of urban art in previously underappreciated areas can change the public perception of these places, turning them into "trendy" destinations for tourists and upper-middle-class residents. The integration of urban art into street furniture, such as light meter boxes transformed into galleries, demonstrates how this form of expression is inserted into everyday life in the city. However, it is important to analyze how these interventions affect the original inhabitants of the area. Do they feel represented by these artistic expressions? Do they benefit from the urban transformations that attract tourists?

This chapter focuses on analyzing the influence of tourism and urban art in the transformation of Porto's image as a city. It focuses specifically

on how these aspects affect different social, economic, and cultural changes experienced by the city. The main objective is to provide a comprehensive understanding of how the interaction between tourism, urban art, and urban change is shaping Porto's identity and development in the twenty-first century. Through the analysis of these topics, it will seek to shed light on the dynamic processes that characterize the evolution of this Portuguese city and their implications for its local and foreign inhabitants and visitors. To achieve this purpose, a series of key questions and issues will guide the analysis. Among them, factors could contribute to the construction of Porto and its identity as a city tourist destination will be discussed. In addition, the role of urban art in the city's tourism promotion strategy and how it influences the public perception of Porto as a cultural destination will be explored. Finally, the implications that could generate gentrification processes in Porto will be called into question, especially regarding its relationship with tourism, urban revitalization, and street art.

New Forms of Urban Life in Porto

Urban and cultural transformations in Porto are intrinsically linked to different dynamics and visions that reflect both the challenges and opportunities faced by the city. At an earlier period of at least ten years, the city was affected by an evident cultural vacuum, mainly due to a lack of support from the municipal administration and the Ministry of Culture. This lack of institutional backing left the city in an impoverished environment in terms of cultural programs, where independent initiatives struggled to find a space to flourish.

> Porto came out of a decade in which the president of the Câmara Municipal, Rui Moreira, had an extremely austere attitude towards the cultural and artistic field. (Teixeira Lopes)

However, despite these obstacles, the city's cultural agents demonstrated remarkable resilience by reinventing themselves and creating informal and collaborative spaces. This situation led local cultural agents to reinvent themselves, even increasing independent cultural activity (Teixeira Lopes, interview). This cultural fortitude has been key in preserving the cultural vitality of the city. These spaces not only maintained independent cultural activity but have provided a vital haven for creativity and cultural expression.

In terms of existing cultural policies, although the city's current administration has a conservative orientation, there has been a change in its attitude towards culture, adopting a more open stance. This stance is reflected in the support given to prominent cultural institutions such as the Teatro Municipal Rivoli and the Teatro Nacional São João. Despite this progress, the Casa da Música and the Serralves Foundation among other institutions still face challenges in terms of their ability to expand their audiences and connect with local communities.

> We have after the Foundations, the case of Casa da Música and the case of Serralves, which do not work so well. This indicates the need for more inclusive and participatory policies that promote an accessible culture for all citizens. (Teixeira Lopes)

While there has been progress in institutional support for culture, there is still work to be done to ensure that all cultural expressions can flourish and reach a wider audience. Despite efforts to democratize culture, there are persistent challenges to the effective participation of local communities in cultural processes. Although programs such as "Culture in Expansion" attempt to bring culture to neighborhoods and communities, the lack of consultation and effective participation remains a major obstacle.

> "If these people are empowered to feel willing to legitimately use cultural spaces and not to feel strange as a rare bird, they will be more willing in that space." (Teixeira Lopes)

This means that, despite advances in the promotion of culture, there is still a significant gap between cultural initiatives and the needs of the local population and the preservation of local identities. Furthermore, the influence of tourism on culture and urban policy has led to the commercial colonization of public spaces and the transformation of popular neighborhoods, highlighting the need to address these issues in a comprehensive manner to ensure equitable and sustainable urban development.

The increase in tourism in the city in recent decades has had a significant impact on several aspects of urban life in Porto, including culture. The influence of tourism has produced notable changes in the urban landscape and consumption patterns, but it has also had a profound effect on the cultural scene. Tourist pressure has led to an increasing commercialization and staging of public spaces, often at the expense of authenticity and

the participation of local communities in the cultural life of the city (Monteiro Rocha, 2017). For example, it is possible to make mention of Downtown Porto, which encompasses areas such as *Cordoaria*, *Bolhão*, the surroundings of *Avenida dos Aliados*, as well as *Cedofeita*, *La Ribeira*, and the *Sé* neighborhood. In addition, there are also residential areas for upper social classes, such as *Foz* and *Boavista*, which have a wide variety of stores and gastronomic establishments. This situation raises important questions about the preservation of cultural identity in an increasingly tourist-oriented environment.

> Here there are contradictory dynamics. It is because, simultaneously, there is also a very great pressure for public spaces to become increasingly generic in the sense of generic urbanism. (Teixeira Lopes)
>
> There are two or more approved records on the cultural policy, that is, of the institution Câmara Municipal do Porto, which for a long time has made culture an axis of tourist attraction. Culture has served to attract more visitors, and for that reason it invests a lot in big events, even in the theater, and now with the opening of the cinema. Therefore, there is in fact a will that is not only that. In other words, it has a sense of interest, because it is, in fact, to attract more tourists. It is not only because they are very concerned about the future. (Barbosa)

The case of the *Bonfim* neighborhood is also notable, which is currently undergoing a process of gentrification and faces uncertainty on the part of the local community. In recent years, Bonfim has emerged as one of the most outstanding neighborhoods in Europe, according to renowned media such as *The Guardian* (The Guardian, 2020), attracting the attention of important global tour operators and specialized media such as *Time Out*. This type of international recognition has positioned Bonfim in the spotlight and aroused the interest of investors, making it a promising business opportunity. However, this increasing focus on that neighborhood also poses a growing risk to the local community (Ferro, 2018) (Fig. 2.3).

At the same time, gentrification accelerated by the tourist boom has rapidly displaced the working classes from the city's historic neighborhoods. This phenomenon has not only altered the socioeconomic composition of these areas but has also contributed to the loss of neighborhood culture and created social problems such as inequality and housing insecurity. This duality of external pressures poses significant challenges for the sustainable and equitable development of the city, as local culture is

Fig. 2.3 Urban views in Bonfim. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2023

threatened by external forces that prioritize economic profit over the preservation of cultural heritage and social inclusion. In this context, in Porto it becomes essential to find a balance between the economic boost of tourism and the protection and promotion of cultural diversity and community participation in the cultural life of the city.

> Obviously, when we talk about gentrification or tourist gentrification, it is never simple, it is never just good and bad. In other words, tourism has helped many people to have precarious jobs most of the time, but in areas that were very poor, very scarce areas, areas even considered dangerous in the city, because they were original areas, they were revitalized by tourism. In other words, I found something positive for many people. However, it is always tense, because later, with the increase in income, people are forced to leave their places. (Barbosa)

In this scenario, resistance and activism play a crucial role in the defense of urban rights and housing. Although there are social movements and demonstrations in defense of these rights in Porto, the need for more effective organization to achieve significant changes is recognized. This implies not only the mobilization of civil society, but also citizen participation in the formulation of public policies. Only through a collective and

coordinated approach with the public sector will it be possible to adequately address the challenges posed by the urban and cultural transformation of the city.

STREET ART AS CONTRADICTION: TOURISM, GENTRIFICATION, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR URBAN IDENTITY

Over the last decade, tourism in Porto has experienced a remarkable increase, driven by several factors. These include the designation of the historic city center as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1996, its declaration as European Capital of Culture in 2001 and the expansion of Sá Carneiro Airport in 2007. During this period, several interventions were carried out in public space, urban renovations were implemented, mobility was improved, and housing projects were implemented to revitalize the Historic City Center and attract new activities and initiatives. These actions have had a significant impact on Porto's transformation, securing its position as a leading European destination. In fact, the institution European Best Destination has recognized it as the best destination in Europe in the years 2012, 2014, and 2017.

The increase in tourism in Porto in the last decade has generated positive effects on the sector but has also aggravated social inequalities (Gusman et al., 2019). Tensions and conflicts in the local community have arisen, such as a significant increase in housing costs and a loss of traditional spaces and stores in the historic city center, caused by the rapid restoration of buildings by the private sector (Alves, 2017). Despite international recognition and efforts to revitalize the city, the lack of a comprehensive urban policy has compromised the protection of Porto's exceptional value and accelerated processes of gentrification and touristification.

The quick transformation of neighborhoods, driven by tourism demand and real estate investment, has led to the displacement of low-income residents and the homogenization of the local community. This process not only threatens the cultural and social diversity of the city but can also erode its authenticity and distinctiveness (Fig. 2.4).

Likewise, a significant influx of visitors to the city is occurring, and with it comes a transformation of the urban space to adapt to the needs and expectations of tourists. This may include changes in the commercial structure, the supply of services and the tourist infrastructure. In Porto, touristification has resulted in a proliferation of tourist accommodations,

Fig. 2.4   "So many houses without people, so many people without houses." On Boavista Avenue, Massarelos. Photo: Ricardo Klein, 2023

restaurants, and stores aimed at foreign visitors, which can displace locals and alter the authentic feel of the neighborhood. Commercial gentrification is another important aspect of the process, where old commercial establishments are replaced by businesses geared to the new social classes moving into the neighborhood (Vollmer, 2019). This includes coffee shops, bars, fashion stores, and gourmet restaurants, all of which change the image and atmosphere of the neighborhood (Sequera Fernández, 2020).

Street art has become a fundamental tool for transforming urban public spaces (Klein, 2015), and is now an integral part of the public agenda. This form of artistic expression not only embellishes deteriorated areas, but also promotes social and political awareness, as well as inclusion and citizen participation (Romeiro, 2017). However, on certain occasions, urban art is used as a beautification strategy by parties involved in gentrification, as argued by Grodach et al. (2014). Murals and graffiti by well-known artists are used to attract new residents with high purchasing power, which often conceals processes of displacement and exclusion (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). Despite this, urban art in Porto also emerges as a form of resistance to gentrification, using public space to express discontent and shed light on the issues of the affected communities (Barbosa

& Teixeira Lopes, 2019, 2020). Additionally, it plays a crucial role in the preservation of collective memory in neighborhoods affected by gentrification, since through murals cultural symbols, historical moments and important local figures are represented, being visual testimonies of the identity and resistance of these communities against the transformation of the neighborhood.

Street art in Porto, as a cultural manifestation and expression of resistance, adds an additional layer of complexity to the dynamics of gentrification and touristification. Often, street art emerges in marginalized urban spaces as a way to give voice to underrepresented communities and challenge dominant narratives (de la Torre & Ferro, 2016). In this city, street art has been both an expression of local identity and a magnet for tourism. Large murals, like other forms of street art, have transformed the appearance of certain neighborhoods, adding a unique visual appeal. However, the incorporation of street art into urban revitalization projects often spurs debates about authenticity and cultural appropriation.

Touristification also poses challenges for street art. As the influx of tourists increases, pressure on public spaces can lead to the regulation and cleanup of graffiti and street murals, often viewed as "vandalism" by local authorities and property owners. This can limit the freedom of expression of street artists and reduce the aesthetic diversity of the city.

In this context, street art can be a powerful tool for preserving a neighborhood's identity and resisting gentrification by highlighting local history and culture, and paradoxically, when street art becomes a tourist attraction, it can contribute to the commercialization of culture and the displacement of original residents. In this sense, street art in Porto is both a victim and a perpetrator in the processes of gentrification and touristification. While it can play a role in resisting cultural homogenization and the loss of local identity, it is also subject to commercialization and co-optation by economic interests.

VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF STREET ART IN OPORTO

Nowadays, urban art and graffiti in Porto not only serve as an aesthetic expression but also play a significant role in the visual representation of the city and its urban reinterpretation. This transformation visually revitalizes the environment, providing a new sense of identity and belonging for residents, for the new urban agenda of the public administration, and also for private sector interests.

As in other cities around the world, the phenomenon of urban aestheticization in Porto through street art is evident. Berlin and Budapest could be other outstanding examples in Europe, where urban art has been fundamental in the redefinition of degraded urban spaces. In these cases, urban art not only beautifies such environments, but also contributes to the promotion of the image of the place. However, it is important to be aware of the possible contradictions that this approach can produce. Although street art can showcase a creative image of the city, this representation does not always reflect the authentic identity rooted in the local community (Klein, 2023b). Street art plays a crucial role in enhancing urban aesthetics; a dynamic and attractive city should offer visual diversity and artistic expression in its public spaces (Jacobs, 1961) (Fig. 2.5).

Current urban public policies seek to turn public spaces into creative places to enrich the city (Redaelli & Stevenson, 2022). These urban revitalization efforts, led by the public sector, aim to change the perception of the city through art and cultural participation, to establish a globally attractive urban branding ((Leary & Mccarthy, 2013). Nevertheless, this process also influences the creation of a social contract between citizens and the public administration (Castells, 1974), as urban branding must be

Fig. 2.5 Muralism in Oporto, Massarelos area. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2022

accepted and valued by the population as an authentic representation of the city, rather than just a well-structured façade for sale.

In the case of Porto, the transformation of emblematic spaces such as *Rua das Flores* into open air street art galleries can be seen as a symbol of urban revitalization. However, this metamorphosis can also fuel the process of gentrification in the city. The presence of urban art in previously underappreciated areas has the potential to alter public perception of these places, turning them into "trendy" destinations for tourists and upper-middle-class residents alike. The transformation of building façades in the Ribeira neighborhood, which has attracted a new public to the area, is a clear example of this. Likewise, the incorporation of street art into everyday urban elements, such as light meter boxes, turned into improvised galleries, exemplifies how this form of expression has taken root in the city's daily life (Fig. 2.6).

However, it is essential to consider how these interventions affect the original residents of the area. For example, the once predominantly working-class neighborhood of *Cedofeita* has experienced a rise in housing prices and rent due to its popularity among young artists and creative professionals. Moreover, there is an inherent risk that these cultural initiatives

Fig. 2.6 Examples of light meters intervened upon in Rua das Flores. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2017/2022

may trigger gentrification processes in the neighborhoods where they take place. As urban art attracts the attention of a wider audience and contributes to the revitalization of previously marginalized areas, there is a risk that housing prices will rise, displacing low-income residents and altering the social and cultural composition of local communities (Ashlin Rich, 2019). Therefore, it is crucial to critically address these issues and consider the long-term impact of urban art on the city and its inhabitants.

In this regard, urban activist artists play an important role in questioning the urban processes that are currently taking place in the city of Porto. These activists not only visualize the concerns and struggles of local communities in the face of gentrification and the commercialization of urban space, but also advocate for the preservation of the city's authenticity and cultural diversity through their art. Their works are not only expressions of creativity, but also forms of resistance and social advocacy that seek to create awareness and promote dialogue on sustainable and equitable urban development (Barbosa et al., 2023). Ultimately, urban art in Porto becomes a powerful tool not only to beautify the city, but also to empower its inhabitants and defend their rights in a context of rapid and often challenging changes, resisting gentrification processes and promoting citizen participation in the definition of urban development (Campos, 2021; Barbosa & Teixeira Lopes, 2020) (Fig. 2.7).

However, the role of artists in relation to gentrification is complex. In several cities, such as Berlin, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Porto, and Lisbon, a phenomenon is observed where numerous artists, mostly young and precariously employed, move to urban areas previously considered disadvantaged. They set up studios, galleries, and alternative stores, giving shape to a culture with a marked hipster style (Lloyd, 2005). Although some of these artists contribute to revitalizing neighborhoods in decline, their presence can also be instrumentalized by economic interests to justify gentrification (Ashlin Rich, 2019) and rising housing prices, leading to the displacement of the popular classes from these areas (Barbosa & Teixeira Lopes, 2020). This process in Porto bears similarities with Sharon Zukin's 1982 research on the transformation of SOHO in New York (Zukin, 1982).

Moreover, while some artists use art as a protest tool "artivism" can, paradoxically, reinforce urban commercialization policies (Ashlin Rich, 2019). On the walls of Porto, messages criticizing touristification, loss of identity, evictions, and corruption can be seen. These messages reflect a deep concern about the social repercussions of urban transformation. Local artists and activists use art as a tool to resist and bring awareness to

Fig. 2.7 Samples of artivist action: "Portugal for sale"/"Hostile no hostel, make Porto rotten again"/"Boavista resists" (about the Boavista neighborhood)/ "Campanhá is my home" (about the Campanhá neighborhood). Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2017/2022

gentrification, touristification, and real estate speculation, seeking to raise awareness and mobilize the community in defense of the right to housing and to a more inclusive and just city (Barbosa & Teixeira Lopes, 2020; Barbosa et al., 2023).

CONCLUSIONS

Tourism development in Porto has triggered a series of paradoxes that resonate deeply within the city. On the one hand, it has been a key driving force in the revitalization of the Historic City Center and the commercial fabric, attracting a constant influx of visitors eager to explore its charms. Urban art has been instrumental in this revitalization, transforming run-down urban spaces into open air galleries that attract tourists and locals alike.

Although, on the other hand, this touristic development has also had negative consequences. Skyrocketing housing costs have led to the displacement of original residents, creating palpable pressure on the local

community. Previously accessible neighborhoods are becoming exclusive areas, inaccessible to those of lower incomes. Cultural and alternative tourism has experienced significant growth in recent years, turning some neighborhoods into popular touristic destinations. While this has brought economic benefits to the local community, it has also raised concerns about gentrification and loss of authenticity in these neighborhoods.

The commercialization of art and culture is evident in places like the *Ribeira* Quarter and the *Rua Miguel Bombarda* area, where art galleries, design stores, and trendy cafés have proliferated, attracting both tourists and new residents. This transformation has led to tensions with residents, especially in areas such as *Sé*, where rising housing prices have driven out many of its lifelong residents.

Street art, which has long been an important form of expression in Porto, is also being affected by these changes. While street art can be a form of resistance and authenticity in neighborhoods, it is also threatened by gentrification and touristification. Street murals and graffiti, once an integral part of Porto's urban landscape, are now at risk of being removed or cleaned up in the name of urban beautification and attracting tourists.

To address these challenges, it is essential to find a balance between promoting cultural tourism and preserving the authenticity and diversity of local communities. Urban policies must consider not only the economic aspects of tourism, but also its social and cultural impacts. This includes protecting public spaces for street art, supporting local businesses, and promoting inclusion and diversity throughout the city.

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Cleveland: Philanthropic Tourism or Community Counter Reading: Race and Place in Rust Belt Rediscovery

Caitlin Bruce

INTRODUCTION

Cleveland embodies the ironies of so-called "rust belt Renewal" which is often hinged on a combination of economic shifts from heavy industry to education, medicine, technology, and the arts. Visually stunning with an emphasis on its diversity, less visible is the persistent inequality that follows from development policies that favor only certain segments of the population, reifying the realities of racialized geographies. The city occupies a gorgeous lakefront surrounded by stadiums. The revamped downtown is adorned with iconic skyscrapers. Adjacent to downtown, a historic food market is just blocks away from a "Welcome to Cleveland" postcard-style mural. Nearby sit several bombs and tags (Fig. 3.1). Well-maintained parklands surround the city, and several historic districts with stately single-family homes on wide tree-covered streets offer an image of Americana with urban amenities. Simultaneously, the mid-sized metropole is also populated with people just surviving or barely so. A graffiti writer and his partner lost their home in the COVID-19 pandemic and became nomadic. An increasingly buzzy MidTown covered in murals is

Fig. 3.1 Greetings from Cleveland mural and graffiti in the Downtown. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, June 2023

also a heat desert with no cover for unhoused people. Drug addiction and gun violence devastate communities particularly in East Cleveland. The Cuyahoga River is no longer on fire, but it is still a hotspot in collective feelings as racial divisions that are legacies of redlining and segregation between East and West Cleveland persist.

The opening images in this chapter illuminate how urban art accents different experiences of Cleveland's rediscovery, ranging from an emphasis on beautiful spaces to a more message-driven approach, both shaped by the exigencies of racial capitalism and a response geared toward building race capital. The first image, "Greetings from Cleveland," is a mural by the "Greetings Tour," a collective that travels the United States painting retro postcard-themed artworks to serve as captions for tourism campaigns. The Greetings mural points to well-trodden tropes of the city: the house in Tremont from the famous film *A Christmas Story* (1983, Bob Clark); the Red Line train; the Terminal Tower Residences, buildings that were part of the city's urban renewal in the 1920s; the Guardian, art-deco statues on the sandstone pylons by the Lorrain-Carnegie bridge; churches; and the Browns football team. It spurred a similar-style mural, "Welcome to Tremont," painted by Vic Savage through a process managed by Graffiti HeArt (Fig. 3.2).

Fig. 3.2 Welcome to Tremont mural. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2023

The second side of Fig. 3.1 depicts graffiti just steps away from the Greetings mural, around the corner on 28th street. This wall is just across the street from a Red Line train station. Throw-ups and tags emphasize the names and crews of writers who use the Red Line train as their canvas but are not often featured in stories of urban renaissance, their work covered up by sanctioned murals (Dayz Whun, 2023). Among them are works by Yoga, who uses a sticker business to make a living, but continues to use unsanctioned graffiti work and social media accounts to voice a critique of racist practices in and out of the art world. Graffiti has long been a tool for voice for young Black Clevelanders. Co-founder of the legendary Doing Everything Funky and Cleveland Skribe Tribe crews, Sanoizm, explained that for him, the social connections and opportunities for expression afforded by graffiti allowed him to survive in the midst of domestic violence (Sanoizm, 2023). Yoga narrates that the tag sticker exchange business he and his partner developed in the wake of losing their home enabled them to travel the United States (Yoga, 2023). Yet, these kinds of practices have long been stigmatized in city discourses as visual pollution, and their erasure is well funded by philanthropic dollars.

This chapter investigates how permission street art, mural, and graffiti programs in Cleveland differently spotlight disparities in Cleveland's rediscovery with an emphasis on racial dynamics of urban development. It

draws on the concept of "racial capitalism," the idea, from Jodi Melamed, that histories of race and racism shape the way that economic wealth is violently accumulated and unequally distributed (2011). It is also inspired by Adam Green's work on "race capital" or the labor of cultural production by Black communities that embraces the "contradictory meanings and outcomes" of "initiative at the personal level and development at the group level" (2007, 16). Racial capitalism is bound up in creative cities discourse insofar as such discourses are a tool of redevelopment and gentrification. To explore how graffiti and street art tours enable and challenge unequal development, I focus primarily on Graffiti HeArt (GH), a non-profit organization, and Inspire Your City, an artist-run collective. Graffiti HeArt reckons with the imperative to market Cleveland as a recovered rust belt space and Inspire Your City positions itself as model of accountability to the communities who routinely lose out in capitalist urban renewal gambles. If both of these objectives sound complex, it is because they are. Graffiti HeArt engages in high-profile tourism campaigns in partnership with the city's premier convention and tourism organization and using luxury bus tours to offer a vision of graffiti that is accessible and non-threatening to largely white and bourgeois visitors and residents. Inspire Your City draws from foundation funding and long-standing networks for Black artists in the East Cleveland community to work with young people and other artists to promote a message about literacy and community strength to offer an empowering vision for Black Clevelanders through graffiti-style murals. Both are constrained by the realities of development dynamics that privilege capital accumulation, extracting the most economic value out of spaces that have been disinvested in due to racist policies.

I argue that the two organizations offer examples of different approaches and organizational models of street art tourism that differently engage the idea of the "right to the city" in the context of racial capitalism. Balancing the desire for global recognition and distinction through courting high-profile "greats" of the graffiti and street art scene with the capacity for these aesthetic mediums to function as powerful resources for storytelling about local experiences and lives is difficult when working within the funding structures and capitalist dynamics that frequently disempower artists and gentrify economically impoverished neighborhoods of color. Indeed, Melamed writes that "As official antiracisms validate some orders of difference and make others illegible, they exert their strongest influence in a viral fashion by shaping the content of modern knowledge systems

(e.g., law, politics, and economy) and delimiting permissible expressions of personhood" (2011, 2). In other words, policies geared toward promoting images of diversity in public spaces often rely upon rendering other forms of difference inadmissible or irrelevant or even not allowed. In the context of graffiti/street art, the reduction of graffiti to "illegal" via criminalization situates writing culture as an impermissible "expression of personhood."

The more recent emergence of *permission* graffiti art or *commissioned* graffiti-style murals evinces recognition of the value of writing culture for channeling voice, but often with a decontextualized understanding of the relationships to place an identity that make such practices powerful. In short, we see the "Welcome to Cleveland" and "Welcome to Tremont" postcard murals as representative of the city and the graffiti near the city's Red Line as an incursion. In Cleveland's history, graffiti was looped in with violent crime in policy documents and situated as a cause of social decay and instability. Its limited revindication by Graffiti HeArt and to some extent by Inspire Your City necessitates a larger discussion of who is seen as having the right to the city. Urban studies scholars draw on Henri Lefebvre's concept of the "right to the city" to identify moments where urban denizens have power to shape their environs (Lefebvre et al., 1996). This right is intimately shaped by the realities of racial capitalism. Urban art programs then can function as mechanisms for a "right to the city" but also a veneer for social equality. John Lennon has argued that touristic spaces like Wynwood, Miami, are an "archetype" of "racial capitalism" and its uses of graffiti (Lennon, 2022, 177). As we discussed in the introduction, Wynwood Walls figures graffiti as an aesthetic form divorced from larger conversations about spatial justice, and ignoring how the creation of the site involved gentrification and the displacement of many people of color.

Both Inspire Your City and Graffiti HeArt offer partial correctives to stigma around graffiti and the disenfranchisement of Black artists and neglect of majority-Black neighborhoods. Graffiti HeArt seeks to establish Cleveland as a global destination, in part by providing artist management and representation services for artists to "cut through red tape" for creatives who have little experience working through commissioning processes. Graffiti HeArt fundraises for philanthropic efforts and mural projects through traditional galas and by taking a percentage of commissions. Inspire Your City asserts the importance of artist-run projects and

foregrounds the spatial dynamics of racial exclusion in East Cleveland by situating literacy-themed murals in a part of Cleveland that has borne the brunt of redlining and economic disinvestment. Inspire Your City project director, Mr. Soul, represents himself and his organization as an unencumbered, free from "middlemen."

This chapter builds on conversations in urban studies and communication studies about race, place, and creativity by attending to racialized dynamics of creative cities projects. David Wilson argues that many creative cities projects, including programs in Cleveland, continue immiseration under the guise of aesthetics (2017). Africana Studies scholar Amanda Boston has written about the intersections of race, place, and gentrification arguing that those interested in just development in cities must attend to the way that race and creativity are intimate parts of gentrification, not just class dynamics, as Neil Smith has posited (Boston, 2021, 963). Indeed, race is a leading factor in the kinds of displacement activated by gentrification (Mumm & Sternberg, 2023). Yet, in discussions of creative cities work and arts-based city branding, race and racialized geographies are not always investigated. Cleveland, a mid-sized rust belt American city with a complex history of race, urban development, and creativity initiatives, offers an ideal place from which to approach some of the tensions and challenges in using graffiti and street art tourism to ostensibly heal social divides and promote economic reinvestment in the city. In a historical moment shaped by the Movement for Black Lives and protests around the violent murder of George Floyd Jr., Cleveland offers an example of different pathways for urban art programming more cognizant of racial inequalities.

The chapter proceeds with an analysis of the history of graffiti in Cleveland in relation to the city's contemporary history before turning to Graffiti HeArt and Inspire Your City. It concludes with some reflections on what the case studies teach us about tourism, and how graffiti/street art programs imagine the "right to the city" differently. The "right to the city" articulated by each organization is distinct. For Graffiti HeArt it is an entrepreneurial model focused on the artist's rights to create work freely. Inspire Your City is also invested in artistic freedom but also centers the role of racism in shaping urban space and different subjects' mobility and power. These rights are inextricable from the realities of funding models and development dynamics.

Histories of Race, Place, Graffiti and Urban Appearance

The racial history of Cleveland is characterized by public progressivism and ongoing inequality. Cleveland is a northern city and was a stop on the Underground Railroad, an informal network of support for enslaved African Americans seeking freedom, fomenting the city's racial diversity, though a diversity not accompanied by full integration. The city is divided roughly by the Cuyahoga River, with most Black Clevelanders living east of the waterway, and white Clevelanders to the west. Many Black Clevelanders were "confined to a large, increasingly overcrowded, single contiguous residential district extending dozens of blocks to the east of downtown, known as Cedar-Central" but in the postwar period many African American residents moved to the "outer city" (Michney, 2017, 5–6). The Great Migration in the 1910s grew Cleveland's Black population (Reynolds, 2020, 43). Like many cities, Cleveland had a "racially segregated, 'dual' housing market" to limit housing options for African Americans creating "overcrowding and the deterioration of housing stock" (Michney, 2017, 6). Redlining, a practice that began formally in 1934 is when lenders would deny loans to individuals due to where they lived, which, in most instances, aligned with race. The Federal Housing Administration issued maps outlining "high risk" loan areas which aligned with where communities of color and poor communities lived. This created a self-perpetuating cycle of disinvestment in majority-minority areas (Kirwan Institute/OSU Library/Library of Congress, 1936).

Civil rights reforms including the Fair Housing Act of 1968 created legal pathways for more housing mobility for African Americans, which primarily benefited the middle class to wealthy folks (Michney, 2017, 6). Demand for workers from industrial production during World War II and the Korean War continued the migration of Black southerners to the city (Michney, 2017, 5). By 1953, Cleveland's Black population was at its peak, with 915,000 residents, and over 147,000 Black residents (more than in Memphis, Atlanta, Newark, Boston, Miami, Milwaukee) at the time (Michney, 2017, 5). Though Cleveland had established a well-reputed Community Relations Commission in 1945 to "oversee employment opportunities" and "mediation in racial incidence" housing segregation persisted, with the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) refusing mortgages to many Black families while white real estate brokers "steered them away from properties in white areas," and Black realters

were prohibited from the Cleveland Federation of Real Estate Brokers (Jenkins, 2001, 485). Race riots in the Hough neighborhood of Cleveland and general white flight meant that 126,000 people left the city in the 1970s (Mallach, 2018, 16). Tara Conley notes that in the present-day Cleveland is the fifth most segregated city in the United States (Conley, 2020, p. 23). Mark V. Reynolds emphasizes that such segregation is marked by the river: "Berlin had a wall. Cleveland has a river" (2020, 42). The city's east is largely Black and West is largely white (Reynolds, 2020, 42).

Public art has long served as a commentary on Cleveland's race relations. After the Hough riots, Cleveland elected the first Black mayor in the United States, Carl Stokes. Stokes also commissioned what is now Cleveland's oldest mural: a piece situated in the Downtown on East Ninth Street that states: "Life is sharing the same park bench," by artist John Francis Morrell (Petras, 2023). The mural depicts three white figures and one black figure of different ages and genders, seated on a bench. Painted in block-print style with black, white, and brown, the mural is an optimistic and humble aspiration for interracial co-existence. Stylistically, it resonates with the kinds of murals created by progressive groups in Chile during the dictatorship called Brigadas (LaTorre, 2019). Created during a moment of hope for racial harmony and situated in the center of the city's cultural and political institutions, the mural is an example of how public art visualizes social and political sensibilities.

Cleveland's history of housing segregation and redlining also created legacies for investment and disinvestment in the city, echoed in cultural assets. Although since the late 1960s, there have been public art works, including murals, throughout the city, much of such public art holdings in the city are concentrated West of the river, or close to the downtown or University Circle (Petras, 2023). Thus, the geography of segregated housing is echoed by the geography of public art initiatives, with clusters of city-funded art projects in the city center and Gordon Square, with more recent initiatives to the city's south and east. Indeed, Mr. Soul observed in our interview that over $200,000 was spent on murals within a half-mile radius in Gordon Square, while the south and east of Cleveland has a few sparse works scattered across several mile (2023). Tarra Petras, Public Art Coordinator in the Department of City Planning, created a public art database starting in 2017. In a personal interview she explained that "what stood out are concentrations" of public art, with most "closer to the city center—Ohio City, the Shoreway, Tremont—the further you get from

Downtown the more sparse it is" (2023). In the wake of the city's decline, public art would play an important role in renewal.

Cleveland's story of economic decline is similar to rust belt cities like Pittsburgh. After World War II, with declining demand and increasing costs for metal and auto production, there was industrial flight to the country's sunbelt region or increasingly overseas (Teaford, 1990). By 1980, Cleveland changed from being one of the ten biggest American cities to the 18th (Michney, 2017, 5). Such deindustrialization disproportionately impacted the Black population of Cleveland and impacted neighborhood dynamics (Michney, 2017, 5). Public responses to economic decline largely focused on building up the Downtown. Informal responses included the development of Cleveland's graffiti movement.

As in many cities in the U.S., graffiti emerged in response to economic and political dynamics that had shaped urban spaces. Contemporary spray can art was visible in Cleveland starting in the 1980s. Like the Bronx, Cleveland was facing post-industrial economic challenges that resulted in significant disinvestment but "endless walls to paint and a police force busy with more serious crimes" (Gastman & Neelon, 2011, 176). Youth were inspired by iconic films like *Style Wars* (1983, Tony Silver) and *Beat Street* (1984, Stan Lathan) (Mr. Soul, 2023).

Graffiti was a form of public art that was not commissioned, but nevertheless voiced the realities and experiences of youth growing up in the midst of the birth of hip hop and industrial decline. Local initiators of graffiti included figures like CLYDE and SCHEME (see Table 3.1 for a longer list) (Gastman and Neelon, 176). RANGER is attributed with the fame of gaining fame for going all-city on the city's rapid transit rail system, and mentored "style master" SANO, OOPS from the East Side, and NOMAD (Ibid 176; Sanoizm interview 2023). One of the earliest crews were the ALPHA OMEGAS (Ibid). The AOs got fame for an elaborate "DESTROY" piece in 1981 and a multi-colored "ANDREA" piece in 1985 by PJAY of KOS (Kings of Style) on the city's Red Line. Doing Everything Funky crew's "PANIK ZONE" piece on the Red Line was iconic, along with an all-silver piece spelling out DEF (Gastman and Neelon, 177).

As in many cities, graffiti crews served as collective networks for mentorship, skill sharing, and in some instances, entrepreneurship: alternative forms of infrastructure building in the wake of economic and political disinvestment. Crucially, many of Cleveland's historic crews were majority-Black using their collectives for expression and building forms of capital.

Table 3.1 First-generation writers in Cleveland

SANO
CLEVELAND ROCKS
CLYDE
BARON
SUEDE
SPLAT
RANGER
BLUES ZEPH
DARKSIDE
PHRASE 1
DEK
FOLK ANDY
KRAZO
SCHEME
PHANTASM
OOPS
NOMAD

In 1986, SANO co-founded Cleveland's "first major graffiti crew," DEF (Doing Everything Funky) with PRESTO and was joined by other east-siders like C-LIVE, Crisis, and JAZ E as well as younger members like Mr. Soul and OSMAN (Mr. Soul, 2023). DEF was distinctive in focusing not just tagging and doing pieces but learning to do "graphic design, air-brush … how to use markers, how to spray paint, all of these different things from this super-advanced superhero, to us [SANO]" (Mr. Soul, 2023). Sano narrated that graffiti was a way for him to build connections and family while living in the midst of violence at home (Sanoizm, 2023). In short, DEF was an early model of creative industry and cultural asset building and also a form of youth-organized collective mentorship and healing.

Crews like DEF, Cleveland Skribe Tribe (CST) and For Us By Us (FUBU), which were either mixed race or majority-Black point to the value of graffiti culture in generating spaces for solidarity, skill building, and survival in spaces that are often hostile to Black youth. Later influential crews included the CST, created in 1990/1991 after DEF disbanded. Still existent, CST is a predominantly Black crew led by SANO and DayzWhun (Yoga, 2023). Plutonium G was an all-Black crew and one of the very first artist-run spray paint distributors (Yoga, 2023). FUBU is another Cleveland-based all-Black crew created by YOGA and colleagues.

Yoga explained that in the wake of his displacement during the COVID-19 epidemic, he and his family used their sticker business and his writing practice to enable them to travel all over the United States (Yoga, 2023). This cultural work echoes Adam Green's accounts of post-War Black Chicagoans efforts in "fashioning institutional, entrepreneurial, market-driven, and national forms of black culture" as part of "creative and strategic alignment as much as resistance" (Green, 2007, 12).

Graffiti offered a more expansive geography for youth, less constrained by redlining both echoing and exceeding formal clusters of institutional cultural assets. The geography for writing, like many cities, was structured around train lines and major thoroughfares. The Red Line rail line became "Cleveland's graffiti hub" (Gaston and Neelon, 177). Busing programs to promote racial integration also made it more likely that writers could achieve "all-city status." The Red Line "that's the gallery, "where all the "infamous" pieces were made," Soul narrated, like "World Deluxe" and DEF piece, though now "most of that history is stripped away" (Soul Interview, 2023). DayzWhun recalled how he "loved watching people's reactions" to work he painted on the Red Line as a young person (2023). Places like Downtown Records were a kind of "writers bench" for young Clevelanders (Gastman and Neelon, 177). Streets like Lorrain Avenue, Detroit Avenue, West 25th Street as well as leisure spaces and abandoned spaces provided more canvases for expression. City Expressions/Xpressions Fest was Cleveland's major graffiti jam. Located in Ohio City, near an informal permission spot on 28th Street, a "fun wall" where "everyone important painted" (Yoga, 2023), Yoga described Xpressions Fest as a "smaller Scribble Jam" (2023). Scribble Jam is a nationally reputed festival held annually in St. Louis. Bars in Ohio City, Cleveland's commercial hub, served as hangout spots for writers, as well as Touch Supper Club. Tremont, a neighborhood just south of Ohio City, had a number of galleries that would feature graffiti at one-night shows (Yoga, 2023). Across Cleveland, graffiti practice is a story of local and global connection (Sanoizm, 2023; Yoga, 2023) (Fig. 3.3).

Urban renewal in the wake of post-industrial decline followed Harvey Molotch's "growth machine" model with a focus on high-visibility real-estate construction: a "stadium boom" (Mallach, 2018, 235–7). The city spent $633 million dollars constructing Progressive Field for the Browns baseball team (formerly called the Indians), the Quicken Loans (formerly
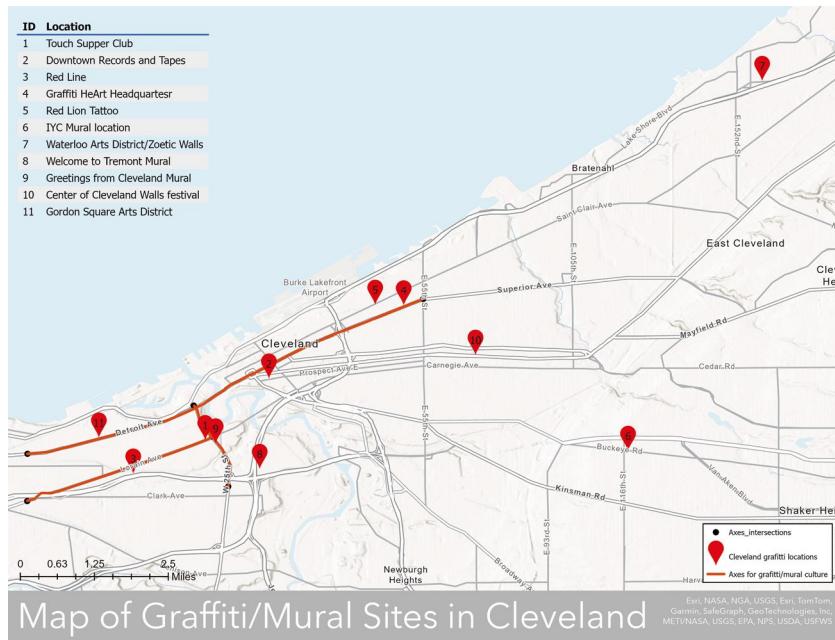
Fig. 3.3 Map of Graffiti sites in Cleveland. Created by Boris Michev

Gund) basketball stadium for the Cavaliers, and First Energy Stadium for the Browns football team. Stadium construction was spearheaded by "a coalition of local business leaders" who saw such sites as boons for attracting tourists, corporate leaders, and a way to "spiff up" the city's image, despite opposition from civic and union groups (Mallach, Ibid). Indeed, as David Wilson has argued, such spectacular construction did not meaningfully help working-class residents. Mallach emphasizes that over one in three working people made "less than $15,000 in 2014" with median income for all workers "under $23,000 a year," just a few thousand dollars over the federal poverty line (Mallach, 2018, p. 205). The poverty rate for Black Clevelanders was 40 percent in 2018 (Mallach, 2018). Serious issues with crime plagued the city, but graffiti was folded into anti-violent crime approaches due to its impact on the city's image.

Focus on spiffing up the city's image also shaped funding around graffiti. Although challenges from violent crime meant that policing of graffiti was not as intensive as cities like New York or Philadelphia in the 1980s,

significant philanthropic and municipal resources were dedicated to eradicating tagging in the late 1980s and early 1990s. One such effort was the Anti-Graffiti Project (AGP) by the Cleveland Task Force on Violent Crime (TFVC). The Task Force on Violent Crime, a public-private group, was founded in 1981 by the Cleveland Bar Association. On February 8, 1988, they approached the Cleveland Foundation about funding, enclosing a copy of James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling's *Atlantic* article on "Broken Windows." It is significant that the "broken windows" argument was used as evidence for needed philanthropic funding: part of a regime of common sense that persists to the day, it suggests that property crimes like graffiti create an environment conducive to violent crime. At its heart, broken windows theory equates visible order with social order, often with pernicious consequences for poor people and people who appear "out of place."

Such an order-driven model of graffiti deterrence also established public narratives for how under-resourced majority Black neighborhoods on Cleveland's South East Side should be understood. Rhetoric about disorder framed Black neighborhoods largely as spaces in need of management. Kelling and Wilson's article argued without evidence that visual disorder fosters violent crime (Container 368, Folder 43, 1988, Cleveland Foundation). The AGP was framed as an effort to "reduce … the impact of graffiti and vandalism on Cleveland's continued revitalization" through "Defensible Space" and reducing "Fear of crime" (George Gund Foundation, Series II, Box 123, Folder 2736, Anti graffiti project proposal, June 21, 1988, WRHS p. 2; Grant Files, Folder 2736, TFVC, Anti graffiti project proposal, August 15, 1988, p. 2, Gund Series II, Grant files, Box 123 Folder 2726, WRHS). The rhetoric of "fear of crime" and "defensible space" exemplifies how broken windows theory shaped policymaker imaginations, reducing the geography of the South East Side to sites of criminality, erasing the people living their lives there.

The project was later funded by the George Gund Foundation in the amount of $25,000 to promote cleanup along the Cedar Avenue corridor in Cleveland's 6th Ward (George Gund Foundation Series II Box 123, Folder 2736, August 15, 1988). The 6th Ward includes several East Side neighborhoods: Fairfax, Larchmere, Little Italy, Woodland Hills, and parts of Buckeye-Shaker, University Circle, North Broadway, Slavic Village, and Union-Miles. At the time of application Cleveland's 6th Ward had one of the highest crime rates but only "5% of Cleveland's population" (George Gund Foundation Series II Box 123, Folder 2736, August

15, 1988, p. 1). Notably, the East Side continues to be a site of significant disinvestment and recent efforts to pilot public art projects, like those of Inspire Your City, draw on similar networks as those activated by the AGP, but instead of seeing graffiti as a sign of disorder, it is reread as a resource for community uplift. These are many of the same neighborhoods that Mr. Soul has designated as focal points for Inspire Your City murals.

The array of collaborators in the AGP echo partnerships used by Graffiti HeArt and Inspire Your City, but while both organizations figure graffiti as a resource for community uplift, the Task Force read it as a sign of disorder and social breakdown. The Task Force collaborated with Cleveland Public Schools, the Cleveland Court Community Service, the Cleveland City Council, Cuyahoga Metro Housing Authority, Police departments, Juvenile Court, City Planning, and local economic development groups (George Gund Foundation Series II Box 123, Folder 2736, June 21, 1988). Public schools were a prominent focal point in the Task Force's efforts. Outreach in the form of advertising and beautification campaigns were carried out at schools evidencing a pedagogical application of broken windows theory. The superintendent of Cleveland Public Schools argued that the initiative would promote student "well-being" and improved success and "academic achievement" (Tutela, A.D., George Gund Foundation Series II Box 123, Folder 2736, July 8 1988). This rhetoric of well-being is interesting given that many practitioners of graffiti were young people who, as Sano and Yoga attested in their interviews, were surviving traumatic experiences and used graffiti as a means of expression and community support (Sanoizm, 2023; Yoga, 2023).

The AGP occurred a little after public art planning initiatives in Cleveland began to turn to tourism as a mechanism for urban rediscovery. Such programs were largely focused on Cleveland's downtown, lakefront, or institution-dense University Circle, a cluster of educational and cultural institutions just west of the river. In contrast, neighborhoods on the East Side, like Glenville and Forest Hills, lost population and did not receive much municipal attention (Mallach, Ibid). New industries in Cleveland privileged white-collar workers and specialized education, but residents have not benefited from educational access: less than one out of six adults in Cleveland have received a bachelor's degree or higher (Ibid). This educational discrepancy provided part of the impetus for Inspire Your City's literacy-themed murals.

Public art, Petras argued, was understood in Cleveland's post-industrial period as "an attractor for people and for economic growth in the region"

(2023). The role of public art as a resource for telling local stories is visible in archival documents from the city's Committee for Public Art. In 1984, the Committee for Public Art was formed as part of the "revitalization of Cleveland's Historic Warehouse District," and in 1988 the Committee put out a pamphlet called "The Hidden City Revealed: A Walking Tour" (WRHS). This tour focused on remnants of Cleveland's industrial spaces in the warehouse area just east of the Ohio River. By 1995 the committee also developed a Walking Tour and Guide to Public Art in Downtown Cleveland, funded by the Gund Foundation and the Cleveland Foundation among others (Young, 1995). Here we see how philanthropic capital provides much of the infrastructure for the city's public art efforts. Unlike the Hidden City, this tour focused on iconic sculptures and installations in Public Square and on municipal buildings in the center of downtown. I draw attention to these early initiatives to point out the way that the geography of early arts tourism reiterated racial geographies in the city and also diverged from the more expansive geographic itineraries of early graffiti culture.

In more recent mural initiatives, there is a kind of oscillation between focusing on attracting high-profile international artists to beautify spaces, and telling more locally connected stories. Petras explained that in the past ten years, like many cities, Cleveland has been the site of numerous mural projects. In 2015 Zoetic Walls was Cleveland's first large-scale mural project. Situated east of the Downtown, in the Euclid neighborhood and Waterloo Art District, it was facilitated by LAND studios, a local art and design collective, as well as "community development corporations, foundations … and private funders" (Gill, 2018). The project included a mix of local, national, and international artists (Fig. 3.4).

In 2016 Creative Fusion took place in the Detroit-Shoreway/Hingetown/Ohio City neighborhoods on the city's West Side (Petras, 2023). Notable among the murals produced was a community-engaged collaboration between a public housing site, a theater company and a group of muralists. Cleveland Public Theater collaborated with Creative Fusion artists Ananda Nahu, Gary Williams, and Robin Robinson to work with young people from the Lakeview Estates public housing project. They featured the children's images across a 620-foot wall of the Shoreway, the "largest single mural in Ohio" (Gill, 2018). (Fig. 3.5) In 2017 and 2021, Front International generated more murals in the Downtown. In 2019 a "more grassroots" project in the South East Buckeye neighborhood, Inner City Hues, generated murals as part of a larger hip hop
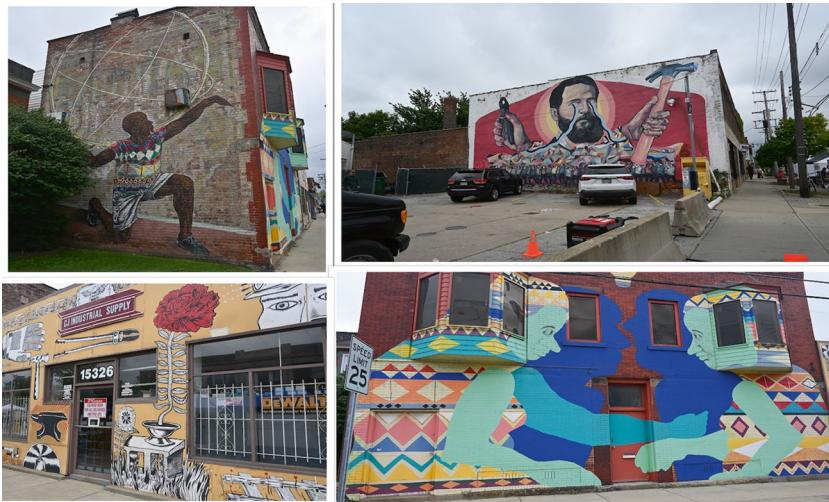
Fig. 3.4 Zoetic Walls murals. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2023

festival (Petras, 2023). DayzWhun and Mr. Soul and the Cleveland Skribe Tribe were a key part of Inner City Hues. In 2020, Voices of Cleveland was launched in the Downtown as a space to voice protest about the killing of George Floyd Jr. The murals were done by artists of color and were meant to comment on the historic moment. Destination Cleveland promoted the Voices initiative (Belsito & Scalia, 2023). Graffiti HeArt also curated the creation of a "Black Lives Matter" ground-level mural on East 93rd Street. Soon after, in 2021, Cleveland Walls were held in MidTown. The festival was an extension of Pow!Wow! Festival from Hawai'i, curated by Jaspar Wong. Petras explained that the event did not use the name Pow! Wow! due to cultural sensitivity concerns, particularly given the old name and racist logo of Cleveland's baseball team (now the Guardians, previously, the Indians). During 2023, Graffiti HeArt worked with Destination Cleveland to develop a Murals Across the City initiative, installing murals celebrating the city across six neighborhoods (Petras, 2023). (Fig. 3.6). The above initiatives created at least forty new murals throughout the city, most concentrated near the Downtown or on the West Side, and balanced recruiting high-profile, out-of-town artists (like Blek le Rat) and promoting local histories and experiences (like the Nahu, Williams, and Robinson mural).

Fig. 3.5 Ananda Nahu, Gary Williams, and Robin Robinson mural with Lakeview Estates and Cleveland Public Theater. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2023
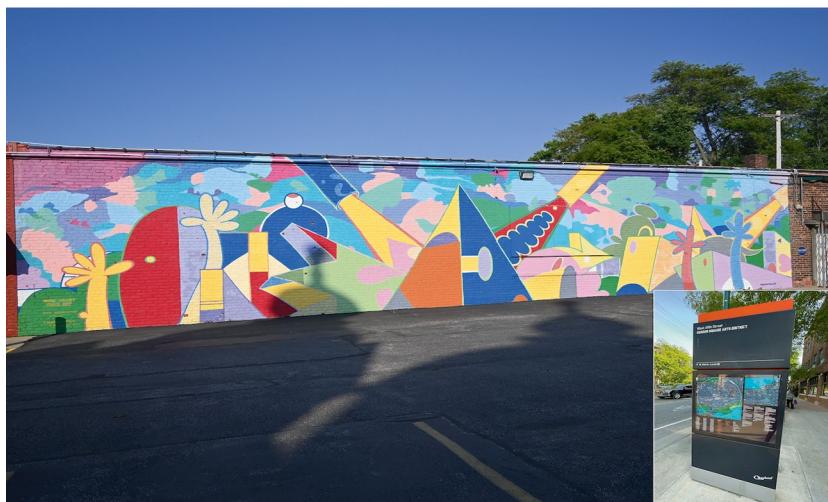
Fig. 3.6 Gordon Square Arts District signage and Ish Muhammed and Eileen Dorsey Mural on Detroit Ave. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2023

This burst of mural creation helped fuel ongoing funding for mural projects, yet, disparate treatment of graffiti continued. YOGA narrated that in the wake of the 2016 National Republican Convention, the city buff was mobilized to clean up "Train Avenue" (the Red Line) so that the city would "look good" for tourism, further explaining that graffiti is "not a part of the clean image … but, that is not a real image … it's a lie to the world" (2023). The "lie" that Yoga sees in much commissioned work speaks to the ongoing racial dynamics of housing and unequal development in Cleveland that are often replicated in art commissioning.

I turn next to Graffiti HeArt and Inspire Your City to investigate how two organizations respond to the geographies of racial capitalism by developing philanthropically funded programming to use graffiti and street art-style murals to reimagine spaces on Cleveland's East and South East Side. Both Graffiti HeArt and Inspire Your City are headquartered on Cleveland's East Side and understand murals as a vehicle to reimagine spaces in Cleveland. However, the latter is run by a Black Clevelander and focused explicitly on neighborhood needs and assets. The former takes a more race-neutral approach to programming.

GRAFFITI HEART

Graffiti HeArt's headquarters are eye-catching. The three-story building—a former bar—is covered from roof to sidewalk and front to back in a wash of rainbow drips of paint. The exterior was painted by RISK ROCK MSK forming the background for massive murals in its courtyard, one by Beau Stanton of the Cleveland Guardians statues, and smaller pieces scattered around the back patio door. Located in the Goodrich-Kirtland Park neighborhood, Graffiti HeArt boasts exterior and interior work by the "greats" of graffiti and street art in a neighborhood not known as a major tourism destination (Fig. 3.7).

Graffiti HeArt was founded in 2013 by Stamy Paul, a human resources executive at Airgas with a long-standing interest in the arts and street culture. Graffiti HeArt provides art management services for graffiti and street artists along with philanthropic work, fundraising both for scholarships at the Cleveland Institute for the Art's pre-college program and for LGBTQIA+ centers (Riva, 2022; Segall, 2020; Nickoloff, 2019). When Paul moved to the Tremont neighborhood of Cleveland (just south of Ohio City), she wanted graffiti art in her home and found it challenging
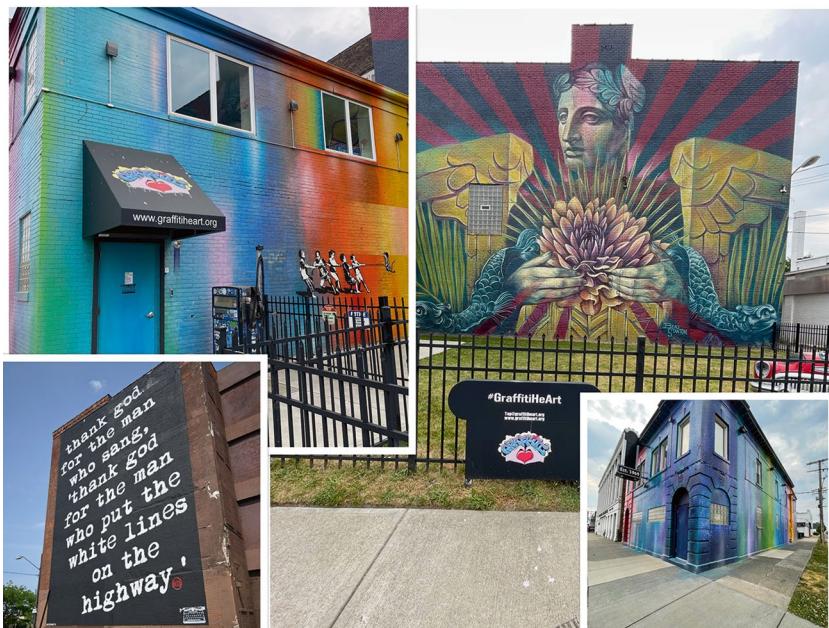
Fig. 3.7 Graffiti HeArt building exterior painted by Risk Rock and Beau Stanton. WRDSMTH "Thank god for the man" mural. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2023

to find a local writer to do so. Soon after, in New York City, she met Victor Ving, co-founder of the Greetings Tour, a project where he paints vintage-style postcard murals of cities around the United States. Ving helped connect Paul to local artists, and she saw the need for an organization to facilitate the commissioning of graffiti work—from matching artists to commissions to managing projects and client relationships "from cradle to grave" (2023). Paul emphasized the importance of rotating artists with an eye to promoting diversity and supporting an apprenticeship model, particularly because Black aerosol artists are underrepresented in commission opportunities (Ibid).

Graffiti HeArt was born from her vision of project management and offers one of only a handful of organizations dedicated to representing graffiti and street artists. The organization got a boost in 2014 when Paul was on the planning committee for the Cleveland Gay Games, and she proposed a live painting event at Festival Village. That boost in visibility,

and working with local street artist Bob Peck, enabled Paul to expand her portfolio of artists, build a cadre of volunteers, construct a board, and "self-educate" about not-for-profit management making Graffiti HeArt into a 501 c 3. Crucially, Graffiti HeArt benefits from partnership with Sherman Williams Paint, the Downtown Cleveland Alliance, and recognitions from the Regional Transit Authority, somewhat echoing the partnerships cultivated by the Anti Graffiti Project in 1988, but capitalizing on them to promote permission graffiti and street art. In our conversation, Paul emphasized her organization's ability to "cut through red tape" and work quickly and efficiently with an all-volunteer workforce.

Graffiti HeArt has managed numerous local and international mural projects, achieving a high profile in the city as a partner for official tourism initiatives. When we spoke in 2023, Graffiti HeArt had created sixty murals in Cleveland and some in Puerto Rico; developed a tour based on a collection of murals by street artist WRDSMTH; and hosted a historic meeting between Blek le Rat, one of France's original street artists, and Taki 183, one of New York City's graffiti legends. Graffiti HeArt's building opening convened major writers from Cleveland and outside of it. While world famous RISK from the eponymous MSK crew from LA painted the exterior of the building, a temporary wall inside was painted by Yoga, Poke TKO, Dayz Whun of the Cleveland Scribe Tribe, Bob Peck (a street artist), and Ish Rock from Gary Indiana (Yoga, 2023). Yoga lauded GH's inclusion of key writers from the city, and that they helped foment a Black Lives Matter mural on Cleveland's East Side in the wake of the protests against police brutality and the murder of George Floyd, but YOGA also lamented how in general, across the U.S. as the graffiti movement gets older it is now "a lot of white kids and Black writers are not promoted as much" (Yoga, 2023). "Street art," Yoga reflected acerbically, "is muralist without risking your freedom" (2023).

Graffiti HeArt's approach to street art tourism is one that features building up Cleveland as a global destination with world-class cultural assets. Graffiti HeArt has done two forms of tours to date, the first, a driving tour that focused exclusively on a collection created by WRDSMTH. The second is a luxury bus tour that spotlights the mural collection that they have built. An ongoing initiative includes a new mural project called "Murals Across the City" for Destination Cleveland (https://www.thisiscleveland.com) where artists from Northeast Ohio will paint ten murals that speak to the "brand bible" for Destination Cleveland by using one of ten slogans from the organization (Belsito & Scalia, 2023).

Graffiti HeArt's focus on high-profile "greats" of the movement aligns with a world cities approach to creative city tourism. Saskia Sassen introduced the idea of the "global city" as a way to name the way that world systems have been re-scaled where cities function as command centers for capital that compete with each other (2004). In the lexicon of urban planners and programmers in a rust belt city like Cleveland, to be a global city is a desire and a term that speaks to economic aspirations. In speaking with Paul, she characterized iconic writers like Taki 183 as "the museum" that "come to Cleveland" and the "archive" the artwork that she collects as a result of such encounters. WRDSMTH, whose legible type-writer font works were featured in a 2021 initiative, is from Cleveland but has long been based out of Los Angeles (Rice, 2021). Figure 3.7 is a tribute that WRDSMTH did for local musician and radio host, Michael Stanley, with lyrics from the song "Lover." Though Graffiti HeArt supports artists from Northeast Ohio, some of the higher-profile projects and events such as the Taki 183/Blek le Rat meeting, which also included the Washington Heights style-writing originators the Boys from the Heights, Graffiti HeArt established itself as a base for a *global history* of graffiti in which Cleveland is a stage though not necessarily core context for the story. Creativity is a tool for activating the recognition of a city being a global city.

Desire for global visibility shaped the marketing for the luxury bus tour. The new bus tour was launched with a guest visit by YOSH from Paris to solidify its international status. This particular tour, Paul explained, departs from a walking tour model where "you get saturated," and instead promotes art five miles east and west of downtown. The spread-out nature of the tour is partly a function of Cleveland's geography and the relative recency of the contemporary street art/mural movement in the city. Paul emphasized that bus tour will narrate the history of Cleveland as a major commercial city, it's present status as a current powerhouse in the arts and culture and will cover works in both West and East Cleveland to challenge the divisions of redlining and get people to "come back on their own" to parts of the city they might not otherwise visit. To support local businesses, Graffiti HeArt was also considering "developing a passport to talk about the culture and have coupons for local businesses." The goal for the bus tours is to offer one tour a month and then scale up to multiple days a month so that the Graffiti HeArt tour "will become one of the top experiences in CLE." The imagined audience for Graffiti HeArt tours includes street art aficionados in Cleveland, or non-artists or non-aerosol artists visiting Cleveland who "are not part of the underserved community" and

are mostly "novices" in their understanding of the art form (Paul, 2023). This imagined audience then largely are not Black working-class Clevelanders even if presumably such residents might be beneficiaries of the tours.

To further zoom in on the way that Graffiti HeArt uses graffiti/street art as a form of placemaking, a key tool in tourism programming, I want to focus on the burgeoning Destination Cleveland mural initiative. This project, called "Murals Across the City," is more focused on local artists but shares GH's general approach to murals as a form of "placemaking." Placemaking is the idea that cultural practices can serve as an attractor for visitors and investment to build up the assets of a site. Echoing Paul's awareness of Cleveland's racialized geographies, Destination Cleveland's Chief Experience Officer, Hannah Belsito, and Marie Scalia, Chief Marketing Officer, explained in an interview how they saw the mural program fitting into Destination Cleveland's overall approach and goals. The organization's turn to muralism is part of Destination Cleveland's larger approach of not just "brand marketing" but also "brand management" (Belsito & Scalia, 2023). Narrating the history of the tourism organization from a private not-for-profit promoting conventions and visitor experience to a larger private organization that attempts not just to reflect what Cleveland possesses but actively intervene and build new assets, Belsito figures Destination Cleveland as a kind of mediator of experience, including experiences of social differences.

Destination Cleveland, like many city tourism organizations, was borne out of a shift from being a Convention and Visitors Bureau to focusing on destination marketing—"marketing places" (Belsito & Scalia, 2023). The partnership with GH, Belsito explained, was a recent strategy to build destination development and engagement, related to previous initiatives like "vinyl graphics in storefront windows and vacant buildings," "pedestrian wayfinding" systems, and the "Cleveland Script sign" in six neighborhoods (Belsito & Scalia, 2023). Scalia, who developed the mural project, connected it to the organization's re-branding initiative, which yielded a "brand voice" described as "unapologetic, proud, bold, clever, and passionate … a lot of grit and determination" (Belsito & Scalia, 2023). Creativity is central to Destination Cleveland's branding efforts and the creatives and creative initiatives help provide a visual complement to the "brand voice." The new brand was launched in 2014 using social media and a series of videos on the city and on creatives (This is Cleveland, 2022).

The Murals Across the City initiative emphasizes its footprint beyond the Downtown, and rationalizes the location as a way to build *resident* engagement as a "core strategy" to promote the city to visitors, focusing on "residents and their stories, and the authentic side of Cleveland" (Belsito & Scalia, 2023). The murals have a QR code next to the mural that will promote local businesses and the local artists and their inspirations (Bradsovich, 2023). At the date of our interview there were two of the six confirmed mural locations in the Slavic Village neighborhood, south of Downtown, and the Detroit Shoreway neighborhood, west of Downtown (Nyorkor, 2023). The mural project is one way of extending the branding initiative into neighborhoods to "put up brand statements" that "people take photos in front of and … really … understand who we are as a destination, then also promote it" (Belsito & Scalia, 2023). This use of murals as a tool of authenticity connects to Sharon Zukin's understanding of "authenticity" as a performance that connects to urban marketing and seeing cities as competing for talent, capital, and prestige (Zukin, 1989). Indeed, Belsito and Scalia explained that in their consumer research they found that Cleveland had a "communication problem" in that they had the "assets of a first-tier city … but we just haven't been saying anything about them," situating Cleveland as a not-yet-discovered world-class city (Belsito & Scalia, 2023). As we emphasized in this book's introduction, tropes of discovery are tricky: they can feed into the excitement a visitor might experience as a "discoverer" but also erase the presence and history of people already in locales.

The history of racial capitalism in Cleveland also shapes tourism infrastructure and narratives of discovery. Belsito comments: "Where there was redlining, there has been systemic disinvestment, and for the first five years I was with Destination Cleveland we were promoting where things were" framed in terms of "visitor ready neighborhoods" (2023). However, she continued, "we learned that visitors want to discover those hidden gems" so "this Murals Across the City program and our experience program" allows the visitor to go to a neighborhood and take a picture with a mural and then "experience the authentic identity of the neighborhood." She added: "we are not going to solve systemic racism or disinvestment, but how can we drop people into a neighborhood to discover it?" (Belsito & Scalia, 2023). This approach marks a shift from what Destination Cleveland termed "a demographic strategy to a psychographic strategy," instead of finding the "core person" trying to promote shared "interests" (Belsito & Scalia, 2023). In Scalia's account, murals serve as a mechanism for the

visitor to have an authentic encounter with a neighborhood, transforming racial stigma and allowing "discovery" of neighborhoods that they would not otherwise. Given racist patterns of investment due to histories of redlining those neighborhoods to be discovered are largely neighborhoods of color, like those on the East and South East Side.

We can see that Graffiti HeArt's approach to using street art as a mechanism to make Cleveland more visible as a world-class city aligns with Destination Cleveland's "destination management" approach wherein creative practices can actually build, amplify, and promote the "discovery" of cities. Both Graffiti HeArt and Destination Cleveland function with an awareness of racist geographies in the city and understand discovery and mobility as a way to generate more economic upliftment. The bus tour emphasizes a cross-city approach to tourism rather than a sense neighborhood-focused mural initiative like that of Zoetic Walls. The more panoramic approach was designed to make visitors less anxious about visiting neighborhoods outside of the Downtown while narrating Cleveland's burgeoning role as an attractor for world famous graffiti and street artists. The Murals Across the City initiative takes a similar approach while focusing on artists from the region, rather than the globe. But what kind of messages *about* the neighborhoods are visitors going to discover?

I will turn to a different initiative next, Inspire Your City, which offers a critique and counterpoint to Graffiti HeArt and Destination Cleveland's mural tourism processes and content. Led by a Black artist focused on promoting stories of literacy to Black residents and youth within the city, drawing on art networks within the city's Black arts community, Inspire Your City foregrounds the importance of Black artist led development and messaging to empower Black residents as a primary goal.

INSPIRE YOUR CITY

Red Lion Tattoo and Kutz is a few blocks away from Graffiti HeArt, but offers a different energy from the spectacularly painted structure. Red Lion has a modest aluminum siding covered façade adjacent to a meat market. The "Red Lion" sign hangs over the door of the otherwise gray building. Inside, however, is a vibrant gallery of drawings, paintings, and stickers, with the buzz of electronic needles, the beats of music, and the steady chatter of the tattoo artists. Owned by DayzWhun of the Cleveland Skribe Tribe, Red Lion is the hub for much of the collaborations connected to graffiti and hip hop occur in the city: the site is the center of an

Fig. 3.8 Red Lion Tattooand Kutz exterior, interior, and block party flier. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2023

annual block party, celebrating the fundamentals of hip hop and turning plywood walls in the parking garage behind the shop into evolving canvases, as well as weekly drink and draw sessions (Fig. 3.8).

In this section I focus on a recent project curated by Mr. Soul. The project is based in Cleveland's South East Side, and uses graffiti-style murals to share messages about community literacy in order to redistribute cultural capital to an under-resourced part of the city.

Mr. Soul is a graphic designer, muralist, and project manager from the Lee-Harvard neighborhood of East Cleveland who spent a significant amount of his professional life in Atlanta. He started writing in elementary school and joined the Cleveland Skribe Tribe in high school. SANO was his mentor. Studying at the Art Institute of Pittsburgh from 1991 to 1992 Soul connected to many of the old school writers who also painted at spaces like the Carrie Furnaces. While in Pittsburgh, he spent time at Time Bomb, the abandoned cork factory, and met Force One, Nekcsce and CLEAR (Roger Gastman), the latter of whom he invited back to Cleveland to paint (2023). After graduating from the Art Institute he focused on graphic design, creating logos and cassette covers, worked with *Planet Black Magazine*, and grew his network through work travel, eventually

moving to Atlanta in 1996 to work with Organized Noize, a production company responsible for discovering musical luminaries like Outkast. With collaborator Miya Bailey he curated an annual art show at City of Ink tattoo shop, which is also a gallery and cultural center in Castleberry, Atlanta. Soul returned to Cleveland in 2016 after the passing of his father and found a different art ecosystem than that in Atlanta. He explained that the middle-class market for design work was much sparser in Cleveland, so he shifted to mural work, leveraging his experience and networks, and learning about the rich philanthropic resources in the city. I spend time on Soul's biography to emphasize the ways that graffiti writing culture informed his professional trajectory, and how his crew networks also promoted skill building and skill sharing—a narrative that is often elided in broken windows ideology.

Inspire Your City is a series of five murals that focus on the theme of literacy and empowerment. Funded by a $100,000 grant by the St. Luke's Foundation, the murals are in the footprint of the medical campus. Soul has developed a set of strategic partnerships to use the murals to activate public spaces and enable larger conversations about literacy and reading. Collaborators include Fresh Fest, teachers and students at John Adams High School; Burten, Bell, Carr Development Corporation; Cleveland Reads; Seeds of Literacy, and Literacy in the Hood. Soul connected educational, community development, and non-profit institutions. The collection of partners he has engaged mirrors large-scale urban development initiatives in terms of connecting with economic drivers (CDCs) and municipal agents (school sites) but differs in a focus on not for profits dedicated to promoting literacy.

Soul's body of work serves as the site for literacy events, stops on a tour he developed for John Adams High School students, and as mechanisms to celebrate Black Clevelanders. Soul elaborated:

> there are not efforts to bring art culture and experiences to that side of town because it's not a part of town that is being gentrified which is what we know art is used to make it comfortable to be a place to be gentrified and so because there is no money over there so no artists are looking there to work, but because I don't rely on art money, per se, I built my relationships differently, to date I have … about eight or nine murals in seven years over there. When I moved home there was maybe one or two. It's important for me that part of town which is a predominantly Black part of town, gets the same psychotherapy through public art that Gordon Square does. There is at least $200,000 worth of public art in an 8–10 block radius over here [interview

took place in a Gordon Square coffee shop] for me, it made more sense to focus my efforts where there was neglect, and because I am from over there and I know the value of public art in spaces like that. (2023)

Soul's focus on East Cleveland is a direct response to the racialized political economy of urban redevelopment. Amanda Boston avers that one ought to understand

> the city as a space that is fundamentally structured by racial power and racial hierarchies that generate deep and lasting inequalities for which class-only explanations cannot account … we cannot fully understand gentrification's operation and impact unless we reckon directly with the role of race and structural racism at the heart of the urban political economy, in the organization and functioning of the urban landscape, and in the distribution of the burdens and benefits of urban redevelopment. (2021, 967–968).

By locating the project in South East Cleveland, Soul seeks to generate new patterns for artistic investment, and then connect such art resources to local tour initiatives that bring youth into the project.

The tourism initiative that came out of the project was locally focused: a program for a group of students from John Adams High School. Soul developed a curriculum through weekly visits with students over a ten-week period and then took them on a tour of his murals as well as a trip to Deep Roots Experience Art Gallery on 79th Street and Central Avenue. The gallery was showing photographs from Donald Black Jr., which informed Soul's reference material for his first two murals. Soul noted: "For many students it was not only their first time at an art gallery that predominantly and specifically features the work of Black and Brown artists, but it was their first visit to an art gallery ever" (Soul, 2023). The murals themselves feature youth from East Cleveland. For instance, the first in the literacy series, at 12814 Buckeye Road is a store called Uniek Creations owned by Letha Richards-Moore, and her daughter is the central figure in the mural. The site was selected by "Buckeye Community Ambassador Julian Khan" (Gill, 2023). Soul recalled that the students on the tour were "excited, proud … informed, surprised, there was a certain feeling that they had being able to hear what the murals meant from the people that did them" and that the murals spoke to some of the experiences that students had gone through (2023). This sort of initiative, which focuses on making art responsive to and in dialogue with the residents of communities by demystifying the process of artistic production offers a different

kind of tourism. Here, tourism is a form of education for residents who can discover their city anew and feel a sense of connection to and belonging in spaces, particularly in the context of histories of displacement and resource limitation. Rather than making East Cleveland palatable to a visitor, it is about celebrating East Clevelanders for East Clevelanders (Figs. 3.9 and 3.10).

One of the effects of the Inspire Your City is emotional and geared toward promoting positive psychic experiences for Black youth. Dayz, who has collaborated with Mr. Soul on some of his projects, notes that beautification efforts on the East Side, especially in the St. Clair—Superior area he lives and works in, should have "images of love to promote psychological change" rather than "lose the neighborhood … to accommodate people that have no history of uplifting the city" (2023). For instance, he painted a mural at East 131st and Union that had the phrase, "The sun doesn't ask permission to shine or the flower to bloom—so why should you?" This mural, he explained, urges "every son and daughter to do their best and be great" especially in an under-resourced Black neighborhood

Fig. 3.9 Maya Angelou Mural, Inspire Your City. By DayzWhun, Sano, Mr. Soul. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2023

Fig. 3.10 Literacy mural, Inspire Your City. By Mr. Soul. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2023

facing many challenges, and that the "message" of the mural is crucial to informing such possibilities (Ibid). Poke, a writer and tattoo artists from Cleveland Heights, added that the work that Inspire Your City does, as well as the efforts of the tattoo collective run out of Red Lion Tattoos and Kutz (owned by Dayz Whun) helps youth to learn that you "can be young and Black and appreciate art outside of stereotypes" (2023).

Crucial to Soul's project is the process, that it is Black and artist-driven, rather than mediated by "middlemen" from outside the East Cleveland and outside art communities. He noted that he was

> very sensitive about Black and Brown culture being facilitated by non-Black and Brown people … those middlemen are valuable in places where they are needed … so they need infrastructure to help with that. But my goal is for artists to run those types of platforms. These platforms are always run by people who profit off of artists, whether it is social profit, advertising profit, economic profit, position profit … I was not a part of MidTown Walls because the first time I went to the initial meeting I said I didn't just want to be a hired gun. I didn't just want to come out…I wanted to be a

decisionmaker. I wanted to be empowered in the process of bringing murals to Cleveland. I had already installed five or six murals without the middleman, but they already had a structure in place to make me the hired help, and so many times you look at a Graffiti HeArt or a Midtown Walls or some of the other campaigns…they are not led by the artists themselves, so the artists don't get a chance to emphasize what is valuable or important to them *first*. So that's my goal, and that's the opportunity I got with my grant. (2023)

Here, Soul draws attention to the importance of organizational design and the process for art program development. Rather than simply featuring artists of color, he emphasizes that they have a voice at the level of program design rather than being considered "hired help."

Soul distinguishes the content of his work from other organizations as message-driven rather than "decorative," and explains that the process of art creation being artist-driven and locally connected also impacts the outcome of such art in terms of equitable or exclusionary redevelopment. He explained:

Money is frivolously given away on big pretty things in a city that is destroyed by lack of cultural respect … because when we have an opportunity to speak from this work it's some big pretty flowers. It's not that I knock that, it's just that we as an artist have the responsibility to educate, uplift, and inform with the work so every mural that you see that I have does that. I have not murals up for *decorative value* … Cleveland primarily is a city that uses art … for décor, maybe some historic value, but mostly to say 'hey we are doing murals in here, too.' That's what it feels like to me. And it's being orchestrated by people who don't even have real relationships with artists. So, I feel that it is contrived. I understand there is a political ploy with Midtown Walls to move into MidTown, and what better way to do that … When I did the research on [Pow!Wow! Mural Festival] in San Francisco or wherever they did it, they would do it in these impoverished areas and it rose the property value and people started moving in, and people who was struggling in those areas, they had to get the hell out, because they couldn't afford to stay there … Like you said, there is a surge in muralism, that's a great thing, but I think more artists being empowered to run and facilitate those projects will produce better results. (2023)

The distinction between beautification and education is one that also emerged in Bogotá's history of graffiti/street art commissioning. Often art that draws attention to uncomfortable realities is harder to get funded.

Another key question arises in Soul's distinction between projects run by artists from the neighborhoods hosting art, and those that are directed by outsiders: are development outcomes different? Soul asserts that development outcomes are more inclusive when artists from targeted neighborhoods get to be part of the conversation. Yet, it is unclear if simply being an artist can redirect exploitative patterns of capital.

Inspire Your City is situated in a larger constraining context, that of racial capitalism where access to property and ownership are seen as one and the same as the eradication of racial inequality. Jodi Melamed argues in the postwar moment "sanctioned antiracist discourses … integrate the knowledge architecture of state-capital formations (e.g., property rights, free markets, and financial deregulation) into what racial equality may signify, and what may signify as racial equality" (2011, 1). Ownership—of process, product, and space—emerges as a necessary strategy for racial equality in the context of long-standing histories of unequal development.

Conclusion

In a city where racial inequalities are spatially enforced, graffiti has offered practitioners a way to rewrite and reread the city as a space that can reflect their identities, experiences, and aspirations. For Black writers from East Cleveland, graffiti and mural practice is a way to offer messages of healing from trauma, empowerment, and celebrating cultural value from an embedded relationship to place.

In contemporary tourism and urban rebranding projects where permission graffiti murals are purposefully commissioned, there are different degrees to which the potential of graffiti as a tool to challenge racist geographies can be unlocked. For Graffiti HeArt, graffiti figures as a global movement with national and global legends who should be courted to create work in Cleveland in order to enable the city to compete with other cities famous for their urban art collections. For Inspire Your City, the project is more message-directed and local even as it draws on skills, networks, and knowledge bases from graffiti communities that come from national and global networks. If the former is about drawing potential visitors in, the latter is more focused on cultivating power and self-regard for and by Black Clevelanders foregrounding Black artists as leaders and agents in shaping messaging through public art.

Tourism and creative practices alone cannot solve long-standing problems of racism and social inequality, but they can be important tools for

telling different stories and agenda setting (Sisco-King, 2023). While Graffiti HeArt focuses on a general idea of the movement, celebrating urban artists as a broad category and leveraging strategic partnerships to offer targeted philanthropic interventions, Inspire Your City draws on philanthropic resources local partnerships to offer a more particular and exigent message, one that draws from specific challenges and is spatially rooted in Black, which is to say, East Cleveland geographies.

In communication studies, I have insisted on understanding graffiti and street art as vectors for bringing into intense visibility the rhetoricity of space, that is, how space is constantly being produced through the labor of social interaction in concert with layered economic, political, and technological forces (Bruce, 2019). With the global spread of creative cities discourse and its impact on urban marketing and redevelopment, graffiti has become a featured object due to its ability to promote intergenerational and intercultural exchange. Graffiti and street art are also attractive for urban branding programs because of their easy decontextualization into beautiful images or what Diedrich Diederichsen has called a "caption" for "urbanity" (Bruce, 2019). When graffiti is seen as only a mechanism for creating attractive urban spaces, what are lost are the "interdependent and plural networks and the dynamic relationships that make graffiti what it is" particularly in the context of neighborhoods of color (Bruce, 2019).

When contextualized, Alastair Pennycook has argued that graffiti is, following Dwight Conquergood, a form of "counter literacy" that "challenges, mimics, and plays with the relationship between text, private ownership, and the control of public space" (2011, 140). Pennycook relies on a definition of graffiti based on its illegality and crafts the concept of "global graffscapes," an idea of graffiti as a reflection of the holistic meaning of cities (2011, 144). Arguably, permission graffiti, too, can serve as a fulcrum for voice and a means for educating both residents and visitors about the history of a space.

As a scholar of communication, social difference, and public art, I would love to see some of the messaging of Inspire Your City amplified and given more support by entities like Destination Cleveland and Graffiti HeArt, perhaps doing some of the infrastructural labor of supporting youth artists who can be tour guides and ambassadors for their neighborhoods, while also supporting civic education programs that support young residents and citizens in having more of a say in development plans for

their neighborhood so that beautification does not usher in displacement. As Mr. Soul stated at the end of our interview: "Artists shouldn't be exploited and people who live in these [redeveloping] communities shouldn't be displaced" (2023), but to make that possible requires building infrastructures for city development and arts creation that values the voices and experiences of residents in meaningful ways.

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Paris. Paris/Aubervilliers. In Situ Art Festival: Urban Art as Transitional Form for Urban Development

Caitlin Bruce

INTRODUCTION

Fort D'Aubervilliers, a few metro stops northeast of central Paris, has a layered history. It is a former army base that was the site of Madame Curie's radium experiments (Legout & Isnard, 2007). Later, the Fort became an auto demolition site/junkyard, hip-hop epicenter, and then an industrial brownfield. Most recently, the Fort has been a staging ground for urban art as a mechanism for urban development. The Fort is in a suburb. The suburb, or *banlieue*, is a historically marginalized space with respect to the Parisian city center. In 2014 two organizations, Art en Ville (Art in the City) and the AFTRP (a public-private partnership, now operating under the name Grand Paris Aménagement) collaborated to create a festival that would use street art to reimagine the site under the theme of "transition." The project was meant to create reflection on the site's history and anticipation of its future as a mixed-use eco-district development three minutes from a new rapid train system, the Grand Paris Express.

The festival convened fifty street artists, many French and some international, to develop site-specific works on rusted or burned-out

"carcasses" of minivans, in crumbling brick alcoves, over corrugated industrial warehouse walls, and on top of concrete paving, and even building art installations out of the rubble and found objects previously strewn about the site. Inspired by an earlier transitional project in Paris' 13th district, Tour13, a temporary exhibit in a housing project slated to be demolished, In Situ Art Festival was a temporary activation of the site. The festival ran from May 17 to July 14, 2014, and was only open Wednesdays through Sundays from 14 h to 19:30 h. In addition to the site-specific art installations, there were live events including painting, concerts, dances, and guided tours to further entice visitors and tourists from the city center into the suburb.

Like the Graffiti Art Tours at the Carrie Furnaces, the project took up industrial landscapes in a post-industrial context to use and foreground creativity as the pathway of the future. The thematic of "transition" at In Situ highlights the role of street art as an aesthetic form that shapes users' and visitors' relationships to the space in the past, present, and future. However, some transitions are inclusionary, others less so (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2).

In this chapter I discuss In Situ as an example of street art-driven urban development that uses street art as a transitional form. As a transitional medium, street art functions rhetorically as a form of address to future

Fig. 4.1   Fort private property sign. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

Fig. 4.2 Long view of housing imprint by JIM and Casse Automobilière building. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

beneficiaries—potentially a broad set of populations, or a narrow one where tourists are imagined as the ideal public for future urban sites. In such a use of street art practitioners, cultural programmers and audiences negotiate between what interlocutors describe as "*fond*" and "*forme*" or essence and form, sometimes using street art as robust substance for making material commentary about the history, present and future of targeted sites, while at other times using street art as generic embellishment abstracted from context and enabling reimaginations of the site that have little accountability to the people who currently make Aubervilliers their home. Form, Leslie Hahner argues, calibrates "affective expectation," creating anticipatory public feelings and frameworks for apprehension for viewers, participants, listeners engaging with cultural practices (2021). "Affect" is a term that describes public feelings but feelings that often can't quite be named.

I first discuss the history of Aubervilliers and situate the festival within larger contexts of urban development, center/periphery relations in Paris' metropolitan history, and the politics of racialized and classed space where some transitions are framed as threatening. Then I discuss the festival and some of its works drawing on media coverage and interviews with the organizer and some of the participating artists to understand both abstract

and contextual experiences with the site (Lefebvre, 1996). I conclude with an argument about the way In Situ reckoned with ephemerality and sought to encourage a more plural future for the space but was limited in the extent to which it engaged with the precarious realities of residents *in* Fort d'Aubervilliers, pointing to the dangers of street art as transitional mechanism, the limits of the tour as a tool for education in relation to spatial justice.

D'AUBERVILLIERS: STRATEGIC LOCATIONS AND LAYERED HISTORIES NEAR A STREET ART CAPITAL OF THE WORLD

Anthropologist Virginie Milliot commented that in the French context, and the Parisian metropole the "periphery of Paris is not just a physical border, but a border in the imaginary of Parisians" (2022). The surrounding banlieues (suburbs) are stigmatized spaces, seen as socially marginal and racially other, pushing at the limits of the ostensibly inclusionary promises of the republican imaginary of liberté, egalité, and fraternité. Aubervilliers is a working-class suburb located in the department of Seine-Saint-Denis, part of a ring of suburbs that surround Paris, including Saint-Denis, Montrouge, Montreuil, Alfortville, and Ivry (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 3). The suburb has a 40 percent immigrant population, many of whom are from the Maghreb, Eastern Europe, East Africa, and other EU nations (Piasecka, 2015). Notable in the center of the suburb is Maladrerie, a set of public housing structures created by René Gailhoustet (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 7), and the Nôtre-Dame-des-Vertus Church alongside the Mairie (city administration) offices, along with "little buildings in Fabourien style" (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 8). The Maladrerie, photographer Pierre Terrasson explained, was a housing project built in 1978 with the utopian vision of fomenting social mixing between artists and working-class residents who each have their own "garden" (May 8, 2022, Personal Interview).

Aubervilliers was not a planned development—it took off in the nineteenth century as a hub for industrial manufacturing that responded to the "demand of Paris" (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 8). The "Glorious Thirties" saw "chaotic" growth creating the Maladrerie slums, and the population dipped between 1968 and 1999 and then resurged in 2006, all without increased housing, leading to "unsanitary living conditions … one of the current challenges facing the suburb" (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 8). Dallas figures Aubervilliers as the "dustbin of the world" for surplus products, and textile warehouses called *solderies*, developed in the 1970s where surplus was bought by *soldeurs*. In the 1970s, many of the soldeurs were

Jewish immigrants from North Africa. Now soldeurs largely come from the Chinese immigrant populations (Dallas, 2008, 135–136). Most of the remaining industry in Aubervilliers is located west of the Saint-Denis canal, where logistics, storage, and recycling industries are situated. Most residential and municipal buildings are east of the canal (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 7).

Deindustrialization and a shift to commerce and wholesale textile industries have created a number of brownfields (*friches*) in the neighborhood "creating the opportunity for urban development" (Ibid). At the same time, community residents have created a vast network of urban gardens adjacent to the Fort. The 36-hectare space (roughly 90 acres) around the Fort offers an "one of the last spaces of this size in a highly urbanized geographical area" and was previously "overlooked, in particular due to significant radioactive pollution of its soil" (Lasserre, 2020). Currently, the suburb is a "transit municipality" meaning that there is a great deal of turnover in residents: 23.7% of Albertivillariens have only lived there for less than five years according to a 2007 survey (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 9).

Aubervilliers is part of a collection of regional development policies focused on sustainability and social and economic pluralism. Aubervilliers is part of the "red belt," a circuit of suburbs with communist mayors. The red belt has formed an inter-suburban sustainable development group called Plaine Commune (CAPC) that includes Épinay-sur-Seine, Ile-Saint-Denis, La Courneuve, Pierrefitte, Saint-Denis, Staines, Villantaneuse (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 10). This inter-suburban network was informed by urbanism trends in the 2010s informed by United Nations Agenda 21 and the idea of the "sustainable city" (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 3). One of the initiatives coming out of the CAPC is a 2007 regional development plan (plan d'aménagement de developpement durable, PADD) prioritizing social and economic mixing: mixed housing, public spaces, and green spaces, and the growth of transportation and logistics jobs (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 10). Such policies laid the groundwork for initiatives like the mixed-use eco-district at Fort d'Aubervilliers.

The Fort is located in one of the targeted areas for development, called in French urban planning cirlces a ZAC (zone d'aménagement concertée, concerted management zone) that includes the larger industrial footprint of the canal and port on which Aubervilliers is situated. In a document created by a planning agency, the Fort was identified as a future "center for research and application on the theme of 'city and sustainable development'" (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 11). As part of the larger ZAC area, the Fort

would be proximate to "...lodgings, a commercial and office center, a research campus called Condorcet, an Olympic-sized swimming pool, an eco-district neighborhood in the Fort, a music observatory, a hospital an extension of the 12-metro line and construction of the Y tram," among other initiatives (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 11–12). The ZAC also encompassed three other neighborhoods: le Landy, La Villette/Quatre Chemins, and the north sector of the city. It is worth analyzing the rhetoric of the development website, which states that the goal of the plan for Aubervilliers is to:

> create a harmonious equilibrium between urban development and the protection of natural spaces and landscapes; to create a diversity of urban functions to respond to present and future needs in terms of economic, commercial and social mixed activities; to envision a form of sustainable development that preserves the environment and quality of life with mindful utilization of space (urbanism office, 2009). (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 12).

This emphasis on harmony, equilibrium, ecological protection, diversity, and social mixing are laudable. However, it remains to be seen who benefits from this use of "sustainable development" as a "vector for urban renewal" (Chelzen & Pech, 2011, 13). For instance, there were protests against construction of the 2024 village for the Olympic Games, which was slated to be built in a protected public green space, the Patin gardens (Pavitt, 2021). Moreover, the emergency housing in the Fort is at greater risk of closure/demolition in the wake of development.

Delipidated or blighted neighborhoods are the primary target for urban renewal (Lévy-Vroelant, 2007, 112) and the suburbs have long been seen as a problem from the perspective of urban planners. Emily Somberg notes that "media discourse constructs the suburbs—of Paris, specifically—as sites of inherent disorder that house problematic populations, much like how the media in the United States constructs a public understanding of inner-cities (Fredette, 2014, 127)" (Somberg, 2019, 2). As a "red suburb" with primarily working-class residents, Aubervilliers is marked by a "prevalent sense of precarity" particularly in social housing (Bacqué & Sintomer, 2001, 229).

Those who live in the suburbs are often stigmatized and youth can feel "despised" (Ibid, 230). Historically, urban renewal plans often do not consider the needs of the working class resulting in "repauperization" (Bacqué & Sintomer, 2001, 239). For instance, when hip hop came to France in the 1980s it was most popular in the banlieues. Rap "made present the image

of the banlieue or the projects and transformed stigma into something positive" (Bacqué & Sintomer, 2001, 243). The Fort was the site of various hip-hop events, a part of its history that In Situ trumpets loudly.

These layered histories for Aubervilliers and the Fort provide some of the larger context for the art festival. The Fort is a space that has been at different times military, commercial, research, and cultural. Aubervilliers is a solidly working-class suburb with a large immigrant population in a cultural context where the suburbs and their residents are often stigmatized in public media and banlieue dwellers are excluded from much policymaking. The global economic shifts that took place from the 1970s to the 1990s have rendered many spaces like that of Aubervilliers ripe for redevelopment due to the devaluation and infrastructural collapse of former industrial sites. In the next section I discuss the history of street art as a transitional mechanism in urban development in Paris, then offer a close reading of the site and its works as well as the public framing of the project (by media outlets and the sponsoring entities) exploring how "transition" is made visible through form.

VISUALIZING CHANGE: STREET ART AS TRANSITIONAL FORM

In my past work, I have argued that street art and graffiti are transitional forms. Urban art attends to changes in urban space by highlighting, commenting, and intervening in such spaces, and in so doing attunes viewers to transformations. Moreover, the histories of street art and graffiti movements map onto moments of profound social, economic, and political transition (Bruce, 2019, 2016).

Olivier Landes, co-founder of Art en Ville, one of the key movers and shakers in the In Situ project, also argued that in France transitional spaces are an important site for urban art (2015, 1). The site, he explained, was one that was largely "a place of mystery," and so the festival offered an opportunity to redefine its character, from military to civilian, from masculine to a place where women (and femmes) and children might dwell (2022). There were at least two audiences for the festival, one audience was the residents of Aubervilliers who may have been aware of the Fort but denied access to it, and, the second audience were largely Parisians and visitors to Paris, as the festival sought to "create a cultural place and destination for people from Paris" (2022).

The use of urban art to activate and narrate transition is part of graffiti/ street art's history in France. In the 1970s and 1980s when France was in

the midst of another wave of urban renewal, Ernest Pignon Ernest installed a collage in the 14th arrondissement titled "Les expulses," "The Expelled," depicting a poor couple displaced by urban development (Landes, 2015, 2). In the 1980s the American hip-hop movement came to France, and with it, graffiti, shaping the work of influential artists like Mode2 and Bando, and brownfields and "wastelands" like the Plaza Stalingrad by the 2-metro line became the site for weekly block parties with b-boys, DJs, and painting (Ibid). In 1984, a series of festivals hosted at former forts around the periphery of France, called, Fêtes et Forts, sought to use cultural events to showcase the culture of the banlieue and create a more porous border between Paris' edges and centers.

Landes argues that in the 2000s shifts in institutional and spatial affordances offered the conditions for projects like In Situ. In the 2000s street art became "massified" largely by digital photography and the internet. Simultaneously, there started to be artist residencies that took advantage of brownfields as transitional sites for artistic production, such as the secret project "Mausolée," an abandoned supermarket at Porte de la Villette transformed by forty artists and revealed in a video and book anthology organized by Kan, celebrating a kind of urbex (urban exploration) experience (Landes, 2015, 3). Collaboratives like Un Nuit and Le M.U.R. (Modulable, Urbain et Réactif), co-founded in 2000 and 2002, respectively, by Jean Facheur, used billboard spaces in Paris' trendy Oberkampf neighborhood to share a rotating series of street art interventions (Jean Facheur, 2022). Finally, institutional bandwidth for graffiti/ expanded in 2009 when the Foundation Cartier held an exhibit called "Born in the Streets," which Facheur emphasizes contributed to street art's increased visibility within broader public culture (Facheur, 2022).

The year 2013 marked an important year for spectacular events using street art as a transitional form. The Bains Douches residencies and Tour13 achieved "massive popular success" (Landes, 2015, 3). These events spurred others: Villa Ocupada in Nantes, a former office building, saw 59,800 visitors in 2014, In Situ saw 30,000 visitors, and Résidence Aux Tableaux in the former St-Thomas d'Aquin school in Marseille received 43,000 visitors in 2015 (Landes, 2015, 3). What distinguishes street art events like Tour13, In Situ, and the Bains Douches are that the event takes advantage of a unique site, as Landes narrates: "site is consubstantial with the work and in some cases, allows in a way to tell the story of the place, its trajectory, its present moment, thanks to value that the art provides for it" (Landes, 2015, 3).

Clotilde Kullmann points out that in France street art is increasingly used during "deconstruction/reconstruction processes" by amplifying the visibility of spaces in transition with "attractive image[s]" (2017, 228). Thus, transitional street art events can enable developers to profit off of spaces before they have even been redeveloped (2017, 228). Kullmann explains:

> By temporarily changing the function of a site that is bound to be transformed, artists are expected to help residents through the transition to a new city, to facilitate a change of mindset for people who have a negative perception of construction sites that can be associated with dust, sound or visual nuisances. They give urban projects a symbolic value in order to sustain the memory of old 'days' of an area. They are also resorted to as a means to entertain residents and help them stay patient when works last for several years, as well as to attract new inhabitants and tourists. And lastly, through the new image their actions can help to seduce companies into settling in the area before construction works are over. (Kullmann, 2017, 228–229)

Street art as a transitional mechanism for urban development provides an affective fix. "Affect" is a term for feelings that aren't quite name-able as emotions but nevertheless are something that we can sense in our bodies and in space. Street art creates intriguing, exciting, and beautiful spaces in sites that previously might be seen as mysterious, ruined, or otherwise "useless." Street art is ideal as a medium because of its cheapness and fundamental ephemerality, and how it activates the fact of the city being made up of layered histories, a "palimpsest (di méo 1998)" (Kullmann, 2017, 229).

Urban planners and cultural authorities are increasingly recognizing the strategic value of street art as a transitional mechanism: after the Tour13 project, the representative for Paris' cultural department, Bruno Juillard, dedicated part of Nuit Blanche to a street art tour on the city's Left Bank (Rive Gauche). Nuit Blanche is Paris' annual city-wide night of cultural events and programming and receives major media and municipal diffusion. Juillard argued that "Paris must become the international capital of street art" which Kullman argues solidified "street art as a competition instrument between cities and districts within a globalized context" (Kullmann, 2017, 236). Likewise, in 2018, Facheur curated an exposition of street art, called "À l'echelle de la vie" ("In the streets of life"), supported by the Ministry of Culture and Planète Émergences, a Marseillaise organization headed by Gérard Paquet. The exhibit was on windows of the Palais Royal, Bons Enfants, and across from the columns in the plaza

of the Palais Royal. This placed the exhibit just minutes from the Louvre, the Tuileries, and other highly visible icons for high culture. Controversy arose when the work of a street artist was installed by the plaza, since it sought to be in dialogue with a public art piece from the 1970s by Daniel Buren on the columns, and said artist insisted that it violated his "moral rights" and had the newer street art installation removed. The controversy led Facheur and his team directing a Ministry of Culture-funded study in 2019 on the state of urban art in France (Facheur, 2022; Le M.U.R. and the Ministry of Culture, 2019).

Crucially, street art allows aestheticized *form* to be given to banal urban processes (Kullmann, 2017, 237). Yet, the aestheticization of such moments of urban transition also risks spectacularizing them, rather than creating opportunities for generative democratic debate about how development is happening and who stands to benefit or lose out (Kullmann, 2017, 238). Indeed, Landes reflected:

> there are opportunities to go *beyond* decoration. For urban art to be … not only to decorate, but also to interpolate, to question, you see what I mean? To bring something more than *form*, that unfortunately that you see more and more—easy art, decoration, something pretty, cute, and unfortunately we've talked about Instafame and all that—something efficient. There is a word that I detest that is used in French, "l'effet wow!" The wow effect. But wow, in general, is empty. (2022)

It is in this larger context of street art being used increasingly as a transitional form during Paris' attempt to balance sustainable and inclusive development that In Situ took place.

Visualizing and Valorizing Transition: In Situ

The Fort is accessible from the Fort D'Aubervilliers stop on the 7-metro line. When I visited in 2014, the station appeared to have been recently remodeled. A short five-minute walk along Juares Avenue from the metro led to the entrance to the Fort, a large fence, a small wooden security station with faded and cracked white paint, and text stenciled indicating that the Fort was private property and only open on the weekends. From there, I followed a narrow gravel pathway that looked freshly laid: weeds had not yet cropped up. The festival was indicated by small signs stenciled "In SITU Art Festival." Cyclops eyes painted on metal fence posts lined the gravel path (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4).

Fig. 4.3   Cyklop-Macadam on metal posts. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

Fig. 4.4   Concessions stand. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

A five-minute walk along the path, flanked by thick vegetation, led to the fort. The Fort's footprint is like that of a three-pointed crown—a wide open space surrounded by corrugated and chain link fencing on one side and brick fencing creating alcoves on the other. Five towers stood behind the corrugated and chain link fencing. There were a few larger warehouse buildings, one on the side closes to Juares Avenue with a peaked roof with a small snack bar set up next to it, another a long rectangle nearly all the way against the back on the side near the towers. This building, corrugated, was a former car part store connected to the car pound. The mural over it left a ghostly hint of its previous title, Casse, visible. A third building was relatively perpendicular to the rectangular structure, also peaked, depicting a couple in between lovemaking and repose potentially, by Borondo, and a brick building parallel to the wall with the alcoves. Between the back of the fort and the rectangular structure were dozens of abandoned cars, some rusted, some burned. Paintings, stencils, installations, and sculpture were everywhere ranging in size from the 14,000-meter square mural painted on the parking lot to 2-meter square paintings/stencils in window frames. On smaller "free walls," styled after Point Poulmarch in Paris, a permission wall by Paris' canal in the 10th arrondissement (In Situ DP, 2014, 16), various aerosol text could be seen clambering for attention.

I visited twice, once early in the exhibition's run, and again in late May. During the first visit there were a handful of other spectators, most Caucasian or white-passing, almost all toting digital cameras (like myself). During the second visit there was a school group of racially and ethnically diverse students, likely between ten and twelve years old, being given a tour of the works. I had gone this time with my partner who was visiting from the U.S. while I finished out my fellowship in Paris. We brought a picnic and ate at the seating area made from reclaimed tires and plywood.

The Fort was a landscape that is interspersed with rubble, which Gordillo suggested is less narratively and temporally demarcated than ruins, which have more recognizable form (2014, 7). Yet, the festival's framing materials and the artworks themselves sought to offer some narrative order. Many of the artworks depicted women, children, couples, as well as reference to the high art world (a replica of a Monet, for instance). Collages of photographs of the site in the past provided more context, yet also anticipated the loss of the street (Fig. 4.5).

Fig. 4.5 Gilbert Mazout, Mygalo2000, Btoy, Monsieur Qui, David Walker works in alcoves. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

Alcoves and Windows: Snapshots of the Streets

Levalet's work responds to the site. Levalet has been doing street art for twenty-seven years. He explained that the street offers "a freer context for expression than within the gallery," and that his "work plays with optical illusions through characters who are integrated into the urban architecture surrounding them … these characters are depicted through photorealist illustrations and are integrated into the space … playing with the relationships between representation and presentation" (Personal interview, October 20, 2013, Paris). One piece at the Fort is an image of a monkey sitting on a tire with a man holding a whip climbing away, inverting the typical distinction between man [sic] (orderly, civilized) and beast (disorderly, driven by appetite). It is on the upper corner of a building, easy to miss. The tire is likely a nod to the history of the site as a Casse, and the mobile man speaks to histories of play, appropriation, and mobility in and around the site (Fig. 4.6).

Such site specificity is integral to Levalet's practice: if the work "does not respond to its place, it loses its essence … and I transform a place with this specificity … a detail, a morsel of the urban space, its texture, its

Fig. 4.6   Levalet monkey on tire and Bam, Paf. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

photographability" (Personal interview, October 20, 2013). Another set of his works on a rusted car depict a heist, four figures in clothing from different eras with toy guns, flags coming out of them that read: Bang, Pan, Bam, Paf. The figure on the back looks like a 1960s rock figure, shirtless in a long coat, chin raised in a slight sneer reminiscent of a Bob Dylan album cover, his gun which is held loosely pointed at the air emits a flag: "Bang." Hundred-dollar bills appear to spill out of the rear door. The back of the passenger side of the car has a man with a bowler hat and a thin mustache, perhaps from the 1940s, his gun flag reads: "Pan." In the middle, on the back door, one of the figures appears to hang off the sliding car door, perhaps hanging on to shoot while they round a corner during a heist. His gun says "Bam," and his pork pie hat sits lower on his forehead, appearing more like a 1950s gangster than a soldier. Finally, crouched below the passenger side window is a woman in slight heels, a cap reminiscent of Soviet soldiers, more American bills spilling out of the passenger side door, her gun emitting "Paf." Notably, the dialogue is architectural and material—between artist and environment. Less prominent are the role of the residents who live nearby. The "freedom" of expression in the street rests in this instance on the contextuality of its texture without the determination of its social narratives.

Stoul's manga-inspired works use geometric colors around schematic figures, often dancers. One of the few women artists in the festival, Stoul notes, "my favored theme in my work is to represent women…" (Personal interview, March 28, 2014). She is also influenced by manga and uses geometric forms to evoke art as a form of modern architecture (Personal interview, May 2, 2022). The playful piece on bricked over window stands in sharp contrast to the degraded environment—a ballet in a junkyard, made even more distinct with her painting on a rusted car. Stoul recalled that when she painted her pieces, she saw no people, no visitors, remembering the Fort as a "closed space" with a guard and guard dog. When she returned to the exhibit after its opening, there was a larger public. She reflected that some of the potential effects of the exhibit may be making the urban art movement more acceptable, beautifying an abandoned space, and creating tourism that might benefit businesses and inhabitants (2022) (Fig. 4.7).

Kouka, on the other hand, painted a black-and-white portrait of a man with eyes raised heavenwards, resembling a religious figure. His style is figurative with expressive lines that often drop and blur. Looking closer, there is an inscription below the figure that reads, "Thomas, Rest in Peace
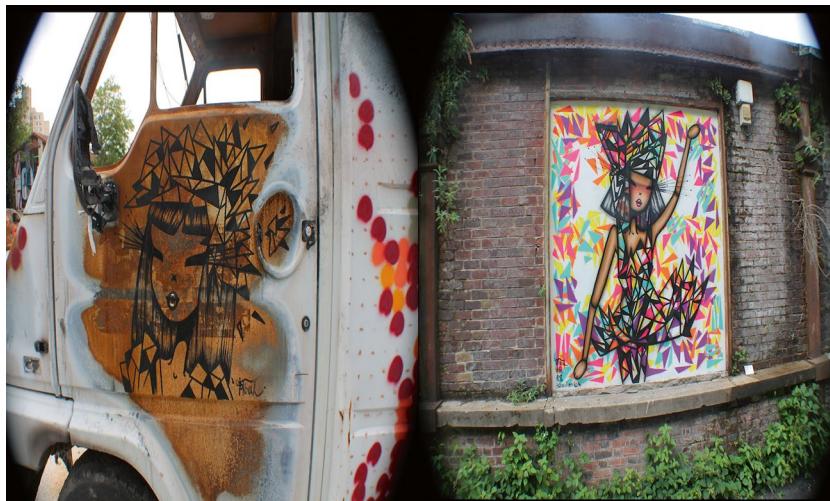
Fig. 4.7 Stoul multicolored dancer on window and portrait on car door. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

My Brother, 12.5. 2014." We learn that the figure is a friend, departed. Kouka started tagging at fourteen years of age, twenty-nine years ago, and started writing, because he "simply had a need to express myself, in a city where I knew no one, it was a good opportunity to express myself … the pink city … Toulouse" (2013). He uses "free hand painting, often very figurative images of characters though sometimes more abstract, always engaging themes of identity and [the] origin of man." The street for him "is a space to express your work, it is free, and you can display it freely and without cost," and finds that "a point of commonality [for street artists] is finding inspiration in an urban context" (2013). What relation did Thomas have to the Fort? It seemed that Kouka found the Fort inspiring as a mausoleum.

The theme of death and rebirth was accented in Mygalo 2000's work. Mygalo is a Paris-based artist who started painting in 2000. His signature icons are cartoonish skeletons, which he paints in alleyways, on grates, trucks, electricity boxes—a kind of post-mortem love poem to the metropole. He developed this style based on his love of cartoons from the 1960s, using the same imagery to tell stories, voice questions, and raise themes he wishes to explore. In speaking about painting in permission contexts he

noted that sharing work with the public "is a completely different thing than the clandestine, extreme sport of painting on something like a truck" he reflected, "although both involve painting from the heart" (Mygalo, 2014). Here the form of street art is present though the essence of illegality is absent. In the context the of the Fort the pile of bones in an alcove, some peering through jail bars, could mimic the "carcasses" of impounded cars; the accumulation of death marked during the Nazi occupation in the 1940s; the layered histories of the site; the toxicity of its soil. Though the skeletons signify mortality they are not morbid: Mygalo's figures are playful and cute and the work is titled "Chaleur Humaine," "Human warmth" (Fig. 4.8).

Finally, another of the window pieces is FKDL's work. FKDL, Frank Duval, is a collagist and painter and his "specialty is recycling and reusing old magazines from the fifties and sixties, creating a family of personalities who live in collage, and then live in the street including famous people like Brigitte Bardot, Michelle Margon". He also works with this period because the 1950s and 1960s were an important time for BD (bandes dessinees)—cartoons—and so he makes these characters "walk in the street—I bring them to life" (Personal interview, March 28, 2014, Paris). The colorful characters at the Fort titled "Swing Time" speak to a period of transition

Fig. 4.8 Kouka and FKDL. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

for the Fort—between its military/scientific past to its car impound/ counterculture/abandoned present. Stylized images of the 1950s and 1960s resonate differently in Aubervilliers which has long been a place for people of modest means where conspicuous consumption might not have been so accessible. In stark contrast to these ludic works are the reproduced photographs of the Fort's history.

The theme of autos and graffiti was represented in Kanos' panel which he painted in collaboration with the OnOff crew. Kanos is a writer from the banlieues north of the city and co-founder of Meeting of Styles, France. Meeting of Styles is one of the largest and longest-running international graffiti festivals in the world. The France iteration took place in Perpignan in the south of France for fourteen years. Kanos is part of CBS and ODV crews. CBS is Los Angeles-based, ODV is French. His style is clean curving lines, graphic, and in energetic colors—usually reds and oranges, often showing flowers spilling out. In the work he did with ONOFF for In Situ his work creates a figurative and verdant back to a beige truck painted by ONOFF (Fig. 4.9).

What should be the hard metal lines of the truck body have metamorphosized into smoke, moving flowers, and swirls of color. Recall that one of the primary industries in Aubervilliers is logistics and the painting is on

Fig. 4.9 Kanos and OnOff. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

a corrugated wall behind the Casse building. This reference to automobility and nature perhaps responds to the prompt of "transition" to think about what an eco-district would mean for automobile and logistics industries. In an interview, Kanos reflected that the project offered a "gentler way" of transitioning urban sites than simply putting up a sign saying: "new development coming soon" and instead enabling contact and conversation between residents and the space through the art (2022).

Vainqueur and Terrasson Photographs: Fort as Hip-Hop Epicenter

Of the most visible works in the festival, apart from Gerarda's ground mural, are massive reprints of black-and-white photographs by Willy Vainqeur and Pierre Terrasson of jams at the Fort (Fig. 4.10).

The promotional materials explain that in 1983,

in a context marked by the first urban riots and a march for Equality, architect Rolland Castro and urbanist Michel Cantal-Dupart started an inter-administrative mission, 'Banlieue 80.' Its goal: to de-enclave the French banlieues, and thirty years before the creation of the Grand Paris [train], to open up the borders of the capital. One of the proposals was to make the

Fig. 4.10 Willy Vainqueur and Pierre Terrasson reproductions. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

Forts around Paris cultural activity sites, Aubervilliers among them. On July 14 and August 4th, 1984, in the auto impound, the site was there for "Fêtes et Forts" where there were punk rock concerts, breakdance competitions, artistic performances (Jean Facheur notably painted in public) and graffiti. Two Albertivillariens, Willy Vainquer and Pierre Terrasson were witnesses to the event … the festival contributed significantly to the spread of a subculture little known in France at the time: hip hop. On the evening launch for the event, July 13, under the attentive eye of Willy Vainquer, the site united pioneers of the movement. Dee Nasty on the mixers, the Paris City Breakers … and graffiti writers covered the walls in murals. (In Situ DP, 2014, 14)

As discussed earlier, the banlieues are situated as peripheral spaces often opposed to and enclaved from the wealthy Parisian center. They are also sites that are viewed as "failures" of the republican promise of social unity, diversity, and equality. In the account given of Banlieue 80, we can see how the fear of the enclave goes along with growing public discourse about racial inequality, an issue that the French state has long refused to acknowledge.

In the context of In Situ, this racial and economic exigency is subverted to the focus on art as a transitional medium that played a role in social gatherings. The photos on the peaked front of a brick building showing youth of diverse ages and races gathering, dancing, and painting. The photographs are notable for their emphasis on *process:* less important than the works are the scenes of encounter. This is inverted at In Situ. The artists are absent, youth are scarce and if they are there they are in tow with parents or teachers, and instead there are a wealth of aesthetically stunning works. In a way, the festival anticipates the loss of the "street" as a site of diverse social gathering, anticipating the site's impending privatization.

Both the project's promotional materials and public media coverage of the event reinforce a narrative of the fort as a mythic, mysterious space, and situated the visitor as someone who was not from Aubervilliers, likely a Parisian or an international tourist. In the project's promotional materials, both online and at the site, the theme of "transition" was one that was offered to the public but was also a guiding framework for the artists themselves. But transition from and to what, and for whom?

The event press release opened with a history of the site's creation between 1843 and 1846 as a military site for the defense of Paris, to a "gathering point for counter cultures from punk to hip hop in the 1980s,

to a car impoundment and junkyard" to a "place of creation and artistic experimentation" (In Situ DP, 2014, 5). It exudes that the "Fort is seen to occupy a strategic position in the future of the metropole, northeast of the capital" and as a result Art en Ville decided to "open up to the public this mythical and unknown place," a "place in mutation" (In Situ DP, 2014, 5–6). Later in the promotion materials, street art and street artists are figured as "pioneers" who often work in abandoned or about-to-be-destroyed spaces due to their "tranquility" and such practices "underline the transitory quality of everything … dedicated to transformation, they [abandoned urban spaces] are like ephemeral art in permanent movement" (In Situ, DP, 2014, 9).

The language of the press release emphasizes street art as a metaphor for "everything" being transitory, and the emphasis on artists as "pioneers" performs a common rhetorical trope in creative cities discourse: situating the creative class as subjects who possess unique epistemological access to the nature of the city itself, but who are largely confined to documenting such dynamics rather than transforming them. The "everything" is telling. Of course, life is transitory, but decisions about how spaces are made and remade are political and involve people making choices. Yet, such agency falls out in the romantic narrative of "abandoned spaces" that are "like ephemeral art." Street art serves as a spatial and temporal anticipatory medium: it responds to the material supports that are available, like rusted-out cars, but it also prepares and engages a dialogue about the past being usable for a future to come. The content of the art: "couples, children, animals" is promissory—"prefiguring the Fort as a rich and diverse ecosystem" (DP, 2014, 9). The art transforms the site from a space of rubble to a *lieu de mémoire,* a memory place (Nora, 1989).

One tension in the project is between the primary and secondary audiences: that In Situ positioned itself to serve residents of Aubervilliers and attract tourists and visitors from Paris. The festival is promised to bring about "mixing" (mixité sociale) (2014, 9), one of the primary goals in urban renewal schemes in France since the 1990s. Yet, Aubervilliers as a space and place is already very diverse. There is already substantial mixing. Unsaid is the kind of mixing desired—likely that of privileged patrons from Paris. This ambivalence is evident in the press release where the planners share a concern about the festival being "plop art." The press release Art en Ville notes:

From the start of the project, the Mairie d'Aubervilliers was requested as a partner to put on this festival. We have sought to avoid at all costs parachuting a Parisian event into the banlieue, and have wished to learn about its particular place, history, and complexity to develop a true action In Situ. The mayoral administration and its services participated in the creation of the festival and its concept including organization, providing cultural mediators among the youth of the commune invited to participate in the festival, in a voluntary local connection to the festival, as well as logistical support and making the site safe for the public. (In Situ Art Festival Dossier de Presse, 2014, 19)

Here, the festival organizers offer a promise to "develop a true action" in collaboration with place. The artwork that seems to connect to this promise is the 14,000-meter mural by Jorge Rodriguez Gerarda, which depicts Madame Picquart, a resident of Maladrerie who lived in the neighborhood since the 1970s, worked in youth education for many years, and organized numerous cultural initiatives (Landes, 2015, 5). The mural was titled "Grounded Gratitude." The promotional materials narrate that the artist who created the mural, Gerarda, has immigrated twice and was "particularly touched by this person's [Mme. Picquart's] work with women who needed extensive medical attention after journeys of several months" (In Situ DP, 2014, 13). The mural is registered on Google Earth (Landes, 2015, 5), and is only really visible as a totality from a great height, not apprehensible on the ground (Fig. 4.11).

In terms of form, a massive part of the installation is dedicated to local residents, yet, without context, a passerby might find it hard to understand or recognize given the challenges of perspective for apprehending a mural of such scale. In an interview, Landes rehearses the promise of site-specific street art as something that can "provoke emotions" and "promote the appropriation" of the artwork "to grasp the essence of the place, the life of the people, to offer adapted and apt artistic interventions to create a link with the public … art can be a creator of urbanism" (Landes, In Situ DP, 2014, 10). Here, art is a privileged medium to disclose "essence" of place and people (*fond)*, to emotionally connect the two, and to generate the urban itself. From transitional and anticipatory medium to a gestational one, Art en Ville promises that street art generates the urban that the public (yet to be defined) desires through what scholars have named affective urbanism. More research might be done in the future to learn how visitors react to and engage with mega-scaled mural works, if they really do enable connection with place.

Fig. 4.11 Gerarda portrait placard and portrait. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2014

Media coverage was enthusiastic and followed the "urbex" (urban exploration) and transitional mechanism frame set out by Art en Ville. An *Le Parisien* article titled "Hip Hop Was Born Here," notes that "thirty years ago Fort d'Aubervilliers welcomed the first festival of said genre in France … it was another era … the fort looked like no man's land" (2014). It continues to explain how the breakdance battles consisted of crews from different neighborhoods and blocks, like that of the projects in Aulnay-sous-Bois, le Clos-Saint-Lazare à Stains, or les Raguenets à Saint-Gratien (Val-d'Oise) (Parisien, 2014). A video attached to the article features Landes and a visitor named Astrid. In the video, Landes lays out the goals of the exhibit while Astrid, a white or white-passing Parisian visitor, speaks to the "unknown" space that was closed and now is being discovered for Paris (Parisien, 2014). Another article, "An ephemeral museum at the door of Paris," uses the language of fine art institutions and ephemerality to underscore the transitional role of graffiti and street art as Aubervilliers opens up to Paris (Cuissard, 2014). Street art is analogized to "land art" which is "destroyed by wind or rain," insofar as it is "ephemeral, appearing on walls about to be destroyed" (Cuissard, 2014). This analogy likens urban renewal to a natural, ecological process, an argumentative move I've previously contended vacates agency and attention to the politics and

cultures of urban policymaking and policymakers (Bruce, 2019). Agency in a FranceTVInfo article is allocated to street artists as decorators: "street artists dress a former auto pound at Fort D'Aubervilliers," Elodie Druoard writes, and "recent public interest in street art had not been proved until the recent Tour13 project," and these "two hectares have been given over to the creativity of street artists of international renown," reminding the reader that many of the artists who had worked in Tour13 also will be showing work at In Situ (2014a). In this photo article the art is front and center, the context and history of the Fort and of Aubervilliers is mere background. Yet, the visibility of the art is as decoration, as spectacle. In another article by Druoard, she notes that the "ambience of Fort d'Aubervilliers contrasts with received ideas. One is far from difficult projects (cités difficiles), one hears the songs of birds, and is soothed by the tranquility of the words: at 2km from the ring road, we feel almost as if we were in the countryside, at peace, so for an afternoon, take the plunge and see festival IN SITU" (Druoard, 2014b). The trope of the "difficult project" or the challenging suburb figures the banlieue as a space of disorder and failure viewed from the position of the Parisian center. While the article seeks to challenge the stereotype, it is not by reckoning with the space of Aubervilliers but by likening it to the countryside, absent of people or difficulty. It is this reduction of Aubervilliers to *terra nullius* through street art as transitional mechanism and anticipatory form that allows the evacuation of *people* from view, and an erasure of the way that urban development plans privilege the most powerful and mobilize tropes of discovery, ignoring the precarity in and beyond the fort.

TRANSITION WITHOUT SUBJECTS: PRECARITY IN AND BEYOND THE FORT

"Precarity" is a term that describes vulnerability that is hardwired into the fact of being human—we are mortal and vulnerable. But such vulnerability is not equally experienced. By virtue of social inequality and crisis, some populations experience precarity more acutely and chronically than others. In France in the 1970s, privatization, the contraction of the welfare state, and emphasis on flexible labor extended such vulnerability to previously upwardly mobile bourgeois classes (Berlant, 2011, 192). For Berlant, precarity is also an experiential state marked by what they call an "impasse" characterized by uncertainty, anxiety, and a sense that one is "dog paddling" (199). In the context of urban redevelopment in France in the

2010s, street art offers a transitional form that mediates the impasse—not by creating solid new institutions for solidarity but by offering forms of "proprioception" or feeling out and understanding, strategies for reading urban spaces as places for scavenging (Bruce, 2019), creativity, making do. Graffiti/street art serve as anticipatory visual forms.

As I mentioned earlier, graffiti/street art is used as a transitional form for urban development by working on public emotions: it can help create a sense of buy-in or attachment to transformation. "Form," Hahner explains, can shape social and political inclusion and exclusion, it "shows a logic of relation very much about generic expectations [that are] culturally or collectively negotiated" and it is "informed by affect" and shaped by social frames that impact "conditions of recognition" including the ability or "inability to recognize peoples, groups, and ideas within established categories" (Hahner, 2021). As a result, frames shape our capacity to recognize certain subjects as precarious as well as grievable. As Judith Butler notes, enframing implicates who is seen as a subject who "counts as human" with lives who "count as lives" (Butler, 2009, 20), but also informs nonrecognition. One way that nonrecognition operates is through "effacement," which can occur through "occlusion" but also through "representation itself" (Butler, 2009, 147). While Landes sought to present images of a more child and family-friendly future for the Fort, Butler suggests that images alone do not humanize though they can "point to a somewhere else" (Butler, 2009, 150). The framing of the festival shapes the terms upon which subjects are made visible and invisible. Repeated use of street art as a transitional form for urban *development* coaches viewers to see such transitions as natural and inevitable, thus making the social exclusions reinforced by *choices* about *what and how* to develop less visible through the form of transition (Bruce, 2016). Form is a way that just acknowledgment is filtered. Street art as a transitional form generates the affective expectation of impermanence.

The festival gives face to subjects like Madame Picquard. It does establish the visitor as an urban explorer who is encouraged to imagine "abandoned" spaces as terrains for invention. Even as the migrant youth part of Fêtes et Forts in 1984 are made present through photographs, such youth agency is relegated to the past. Yet, just behind the walls of the fort are crenulated towers, former police barracks which were transformed into emergency housing. What it does not ask one to see is how the urban development programs in the works in Aubervilliers also impact residents who live there who are not the long-term social organizers like Madam

Fig. 4.12 Crenulated barracks and the Fort in April 2022. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2022

Picquard, but rather the migrant or asylum seeker living in emergency housing who is recognized neither as Albertvillien nor as a potential tourist (Fig. 4.12).

The towers behind the Fort signal how precarity is also experienced in terms of housing insecurity. One of the towers is called Cité Myriam and at one point had 200 occupants, in 2015 when it became emergency housing or a CHU (centres d'hébergement d'urgence). Many of the residents are precarious workers, migrants, asylum seekers, injured, or disabled. Lasserre argues that the destruction of the CHU towers is likely since they would likely seem "disturbing" in contrast to the luxury housing planned to be built at the Fort (2020). Planning documents about the form express a hierarchy of form: those who are recognized as creative are seen as valued, such as the studio of sculptor Rachid Khimoune slated to remain, "the artists, not the poor" (Martella, 2020). So, too, is the Zingaro equestrian theater seen as valuable for his cultural historic value (Lasserre, 2020). The fate of Cité Myriam and its residents was not mentioned on the Grand Paris Aménagement website that previewed the use of the site for "lodging, a green area" and the Zingaro theater (Lasserre, 2020). Nor were the towers made mention of in the In Situ materials. In

sifting frameworks for value in Aubervilliers art is valued but temporary workers and migrants are not. The extension of the periphery of Paris forces those "on the margins to the margins" and the residents of spaces like Cité Myriam are "not considered residents of Aubervilliers because the State has located such emergency housing in a brownfield" (Lassere, quoting Sima Khatami), a non-place or abstract place in the eyes of planners.

The planned destruction of the towers is part of a cycle of creative destruction in Paris that started, most famously, in the 1850s with Baron von Haussman's transformation of the Marais, Paris' historic center. Haussmanian reform included the destruction of housing that primarily housed minority Algerian populations, expelling Maghreb peoples to Paris' banlieue with the claim that such destruction would protect the city's image (Feldman, 2014, 74). The public housing system in the banlieues emerged as a result of urban renewal and loss of housing and was framed by urban planners as social support. However, it has never fully replaced lost working-class apartments (Clerval & Fleury, 2013, 159).

Public housing has become a visual trope for the failures of the republican project, (Gilbert, 2009, 638), and has been taken up aesthetically in other art projects including Renée Green's "Character Profile" exhibition in the Firminy projects in the 1990s, and Gordon Matta-Clark's architectural cuts in 1975 in Paris on Beaubourg (Lee, 2001; Copeland, 2013, 154). One of the previous managers of the Fort, Fort Recup, focused on co-working and creativity initiatives, attracting clientele from outside of Aubervilliers and explicitly refusing entry to long-term residents who didn't use the space "properly" (Somberg, 2019, 29–30).

The painting over of burned cars at the Fort during the Festival also uses a metonym for social disorder in areas with social housing—images of burning cars are usually prominent in media coverage of protests in the banlieues—but takes that image of disorder and aestheticizes it, rendering it a beautiful ruin. The burned car would likely be read by many French residents as a signifier for the *émuetes* that occurred in Paris in the 1980s and early 2000s—these riots against police violence, against the stigmatization of the banlieue and disdain towards their residents, involved torching cars, and such images made fodder for the media (Fassin, 2006; Jobard, 2014), becoming a trope for disorder and threat of "enclaves."

CONCLUSION

I returned to the Fort in 2022, and it was still under construction. Many of the buildings that had been the surfaces for works during the festival had been destroyed, leaving behind yet more rubble. The 7-metro line, which runs from Paris' center to Aubervilliers, had advertisements for the new mixed use housing development that would be built there, perhaps answering some questions about transition "for whom" (Fig. 4.12.).

In Situ remains part of the digital ecosystem for tourism in the St. Denis/93 region: if one goes to the Department of Tourism website as of 2022, it is listed in the "culture" section. Thus, In Situ continues to offer a form of thinking transition in the context of urban renewal, tourism, and city politics.

Rebecca Zorach distinguishes between art "about," "for," "with," and "by" community (2019, 9). The art at In Situ is perhaps for and may be even about rather than embodying "forms of art that emphasize the agency of community members—'by' and 'with'"(9). As such, though the medium and career of the artists at In Situ also formally embodies street art, the use of such art as a transitional mechanism for urban development geared towards privatization and gentrification works to erode the street as context and fulcrum for collectivity—what has historically functioned, especially in the history of hip hop, as a bulwark against precarity. Indeed, Kanos expressed ambivalence about street arts' institutionalization in "form" but also a loss of "fond" or content or spirit (personal interview, April 27, 2022). Zorach clarifies that the street is not just a space but is "a place, a group of people and practices, and a point of view … the site of protests and parades, of illicit economies and alternative political structures—that is, gangs—of gossip, murals, ice cream and vegetable vendors, and children playing under the watchful eyes of grandmothers who sat at the window or on the stoop" (2019, 26). Though the works focused on children, couples, and animals at the festival gesture towards familial uses of the space, the framing of the festival itself—its process and rationale— featured collectivity in a collection of works.

Nine years after many of the uprisings in the banlieues north of Paris In Situ figured street art as an aesthetic mechanism for transition that was anticipatory. The foundational ephemerality of the art form was seized upon as an argument for creative destruction in the service of a mixed-use eco-quarter, figuring a future beyond racial division and resignifying loaded images for dissent—the burned-out car and van—as a platform for

creative expression. In Situ used the language of creativity and implied multiculturalism to transform a *defavorized space* into a favored target for urban development. Much like in Argentina and Bogotá, street art is being used to connect a periphery to a center, and like in Pittsburgh and Barcelona, it is used as a mechanism to imagine and navigate post-industrial economic and spatial shifts. Yet, as critics and policymakers, we must be careful to attend to how people, place, and privilege work together when art is used as a transitional form, and what content is lost in the process.

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CHAPTER 5

Buenos Aires. Shared Imaginaries, Tourism, and the Creative City

Ricardo Klein

INTRODUCTION

In the 1980s, a television advertisement that very quickly presented some of the tourist attractions offered by Buenos Aires as a city became quite famous. It was broadcasted in Montevideo and was promoted by a river transport company, which was named *Alíscafos*, and sold boat tickets and linked both places in a short travel time. The advertisement became rather popular, mostly because of a very catchy song that accompanied it as a theme. It went something like this:

> *I decide and go to Florida Street*
> *then I'm already watching a good show*
> *Buenos Aires awaits you with the light on*
> *and Alíscafos takes you to the fun*

The tourist images that emerged from that publicity quickly associated Buenos Aires with theater nights and variety shows, with the idea of seeing a good show because the city was always waiting for you with the "lights on." For years, perhaps decades before the 1980s, a scene had been forming that made Buenos Aires very famous, and that was that its bookstores

stayed open all night long, particularly those located on Corrientes Avenue, the same street where the most famous theaters are located. The theater and dinner package, or musical show and night walk along Corrientes Avenue, was related to a type of urban and cultural tourism. Strolling along Florida Street, one of the busiest thoroughfares in Buenos Aires, gave off the idea of a lively and vibrant city. It was the first choice for a shopping promenade for any visitor. An example of this was the presence of *Harrods*, a British department store with the same name as Harrods in London. The mall, which was located at 877 Florida Street, closed its doors in 1998, already in full commercial decadence and lacking the attractiveness of the Buenos Aires microcenter.[1]

It was an active and young city that awaited its visitors. Over the years, this portrait of the city of the 1980s became more associated with a historical moment, the end of the dictatorship, which necessarily had to give way to a new era. By the 1990s a more modern era began, leaving behind the economic recession and technological backwardness of the past. Neoliberalism became the government's standard-bearer at that time, and leisure, consumerism, and cultural emptiness became key elements of a society that needed to get out of a constant sense of back and forth. In fact, among political circles, a phrase that later became the country's trademark, "pizza with champagne," became very famous, alluding to a synthesis of popular taste that was occupied and appropriated by the upper political ruling class and the new upper middle classes with economic capital.

In that decade, from the tourist framework, Buenos Aires slowly shifted its "city brand" construction. The night of the shows, the theater and the bookstores were leaving its place to new facilities and daytime activities. The night was no longer as interesting. The day, from the constitution of a cultural and urban scene, slowly became the driving force behind the city. Nowadays, in Buenos Aires, street art, as an artistic expression, acts as a device that intervenes as an urban appeal between the city, the public space, and its inhabitants. Regarding tourism, it is considered an urban scenography that contributes to give "color" to the shared public space, transmitting a bohemian and alternative city experience, but under an invisible veil of control and public safety.

In this way, a potential urban imagery is constructed (García Canclini, 1997; Lindón, 2007), where Buenos Aires is constituted as a "city of art" in public spaces, but not from a conservative artistic-cultural matrix, but

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[1] *Porteño* is the name given to people born in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (CABA).

established as transgressive and creative. For example, the largest neighborhood in Buenos Aires, Palermo, has different subdivisions, several of them attributed more as landmarks, a cultural and creative attraction, than as an official denomination. Two examples are Palermo Hollywood, and another area known as Palermo Soho. The former is popular for its neo-Bohemian air (Lloyd, 2010), its design venues, contemporary art galleries, and hipster bars. Palermo Hollywood was given this name in the early 2000s because an important part of the film, audiovisual, and entertainment sector of the Argentine capital is based there, such as film and television production companies. In fact, it is also known as the audiovisual district. On the other hand, Soho, the unofficial name given to this part within the Palermo neighborhood, comes hand in hand with the real estate boom that took place in the area at the end of the 1990s to install a label, not unlike New York's Soho, and with the constitution of a collective imaginary very close to the urban reconversion and with gentrifying consequences (Zukin, 1982).

This chapter analyzes Buenos Aires' strategy to change the perception of itself as a city through public administration, with the aim of promoting cultural and artistic aspects in public spaces. The main objective is to investigate the impact of the strategy of modifying Buenos Aires' image through the promotion in public spaces, driven by the public administration, and its influence on the development of creative tourism in the city. It is thought that the public administration made use of this tactic to invest in cultural and creative facilities that added value to the neighborhoods, as in the case of the La Boca, San Telmo, and Palermo neighborhoods. Within this framework, tourism is playing a key role in the dynamics of the city. The emergence of different types of creative tourism, complementary to the more traditional ones, has allowed Buenos Aires, to a certain extent, to position itself as a city of art and culture in the national, regional, and international context. This first scenario raises a general question that will guide the development of this chapter: How has the strategy of changing the image of Buenos Aires, focused on promoting culture and art in public spaces, influenced the evolution of creative tourism in the city?

THE CITY AS A SPACE OF ART AND CONFLICT

What was called the "Menem party" (in allusion to two-time President Carlos Menem) and the fierce social and economic crisis Argentina was going through led to a political and institutional breakdown that ended in December 2001 with the resignation of then President Fernando de la

Rúa. The following years gave way to new agreements. Not only from the public bureaucracy and political parties, but also as part of a new social pact that began to take shape with the assumption of power by the government of Néstor Kirchner in 2003 (Longoni, 2008). His arrival in government provoked, from the activist point of view, a division between the movements that supported the reforms introduced at that time and those that opposed them. From the more mediated point of view of public space, experts and professionals were struck by how the city became a great laboratory of socio-cultural life, creating, among other effects, what was called "piquetero tourism." According to Longoni (2008),

> The new term *piquetero tourism* describes, ironically but aptly, the flow of visitors who came, armed with cameras and good intentions, to visit neighborhood meetings, reclaimed factories, pickets and roadblocks. (pp. 575)

In this context, artivist groups began to gain visibility, not only nationally but internationally as well. The expansion of this type of tourism made way for a moderate visibility to activist artistic practices that up until then were not part of the art market, or of the more institutionalized art in Argentina.

In addition, stencils started having a significant presence in the urban visuals of Buenos Aires. The phenomenon of expansion of this technique in public space is also a result of the political and economic crisis in Argentina at the end of 2001 (Guerra Lage, 2009; Gabbay, 2013). This diffusion, which was the result of social mobilization, was made visible by groups outside the art world, or at least with people who do not recognize themselves as artists. The stencil was led by people closely linked to creative and cultural professions, such as advertising, design, and photography. Which, ultimately, also shows stencil art's relationship with members of middle- and upper social classes. The social protest motivated the need to generate forms of public expression of outrage, and public spaces were instituted as a stage for popular demands (Kane, 2009; Penn, 2018).

Somehow, with the use of stencils as one of the most recognized and widely used street art techniques in Buenos Aires, the search to impact and involve the inhabitants, to deconstruct their daily space, their familiarity with the city, was transferred to the local neighborhood territory and its public spaces. In the public space, conflict is made visible in the form of individual or collective struggles for the appropriation of the use and enjoyment of the city in order to legitimize a shared public space that is recognized by all its inhabitants (Klein, 2013). Therefore, the creation of

processes that offer real possibilities for citizens to achieve an active city will depend on the options available to them in their public spaces as accessible and welcoming places (Klein & Rius-Ulldemolins, 2021). It is from these interruptions, in the local territory, and in the use of public space, where real possibilities open for exchanges with the community and for the community regarding the search for generating places of coexistence and sociability. This public demand that was made through the walls was also conditioning the perspective of the inhabitants in understanding these processes at the time. It is in the local scale of the territory, which can be a neighborhood, but also a street, where the negotiations between those who take and live the city as a space of collective creation is expressed. For example, through street art, struggles for remembrance have been achieved, fighting the hegemonic positions that strive to disseminate imaginaries about the city as a place alien to conflict (Herrera & Olaya, 2011). The main purpose of these actions is to break up the mundane monotony of public space through their artistic interventions (García Canclini, 1990). Something interesting about the use of stencils in Buenos Aires is the transition that took place over the years, starting from social denunciation and in search of new public spaces to where it lends itself as an instrumental means to give value to the city from a cultural and artistic point of view, two decades later. Its local origin, against the backdrop of a brutal political crisis, gave way to a more ornamental, visually attractive, global, and urban branding urban scenario.

The Quest to Build a Creative Imaginary of the City

For the past two decades, the idea of a creative city has been emerging in Buenos Aires, and has become part of the social imaginary. In a way, the new representation of Buenos Aires as a place of art and culture is based on different needs that are part of the political structure of the city. This imaginary, not necessarily shared by all its inhabitants, is firstly built from political discourses that try to install the idea of a city closer to the needs of the twenty-first century, leaving behind the more recent and destabilizing past that had endured since the 1990s until institutional breakdown in 2001. This rhetoric of the creative city has allowed Buenos Aires to be included in a global framework of new urban platforms, where culture and art, and in broader terms, the development of the cultural and creative industries, became a passport to a new form of management of public spaces. Part of the citizenry, from their social practices, approved of this

new process, supporting a decisive and steady change of new urban and creative scenarios that would eventually sprout in different strategic areas of the city.

Once this urban and creative imaginary was in place, part of public governance relied on this new strategy of urban attractiveness. In turn, its inhabitants accepted these new images of the city, socially benefiting from the obtained results. These actual effects construct new forms of reality, but also have the capacity to influence new social and consumerism practices (Lindón, 2007). For example, this new creative context has been part of the local charm for a decade and a half, which can be represented in the installation of *hipsterized* neighborhood fairs: designer clothes, handcrafts, locally sourced products, and so on. This new scenario not only attracts the middle classes and those with greater economic power, but it is also a means of attraction for a less conservative tourist class willing to benefit from this type of more lavish consumerism (Fig. 5.1).

It is in these fragments of the city (a neighborhood fair, a musical stage at the entrance of a market, a dance floor in a public square, etc.) that collective imaginaries unfold shaping the sense of everyday life of the inhabitants of large cities, and constitute a way of life in the broader urban space

Fig. 5.1 Different intervened façades of private stores, Palermo neighborhood. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2017

(Lindón, 2007). It is in this micropolis (García Canclini, 1997) where they can anchor themselves in a very diverse way and explore different approaches to their public spaces. Precisely, it is in the streets of these more creative places where participation and daily life becomes a cool and neo-bohemian feature (Lloyd, 2010) based on the existing design commerce and the artistic profile of some of its inhabitants. One of the effects brought about by this combination of art and high cultural capital in neighborhoods is gentrification (Zukin, 1982; Herzer, 2008; Rosler, 2017) and touristification (González Bracco, 2019), both processes present in neighborhoods in full urban transformation such as San Telmo, La Boca, and Palermo (Bertoncello, 2018; González Bracco, 2019).

In cities such as Buenos Aires, which appeal to tourism as a development industry, a set of conditioning factors that persistently seek the arrival of tourists through an urban incentive must necessarily be considered. Among other aspects, the constant supply of goods and services in this city is a strategy that seeks to sustain the idea of uniqueness as an indispensable element to attract visitors over time (Bertoncello, 2018). At the same time, the city provides adequate infrastructure and facilities to sustain this human network that is in a permanent state of need of satisfaction to its interests and desires. Precisely, neighborhoods such as San Telmo or La Boca have gone through different transformations since the 1990s, targeted by the public sector at the beginning of the twenty-first century as part of an urban restoration plan. For example, the old tenement houses that were in those neighborhoods were reconverted into commercial premises for tourism, while the number of dwellings destined for temporary accommodation for tourists has increased (Bertoncello, 2018). In the same way, the relatively affordable rent that the San Telmo area had two decades ago was taken over as a workshop and housing space for many artists. This process brought as an effect, to the present day, rising rents and real estate speculation from the private sector. Part of this process is explained by Sharon Zukin in Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change (1982) with New York's SOHO, where an area that possesses cultural capital, which was created by the arrival of artistic populations, also begins to have economic value, prompting the arrival of the middle and upper classes. The public space as a space for art and creativity is an attraction for these social classes, which in turn benefit from what some authors call commercial gentrification (Vollmer, 2019; Sequera Fernández, 2020). To cite an example, the café or bar of yesteryear that offered a space of emotional community for the nearby neighbors is reconverted

into a cool place for tourism, aestheticized in its design by the very "old" image of the place. It also becomes a meeting space for the new neighbors of privileged classes that seek to live the neighborhood experience, but with a new set of people, different from the original population (Skolla & Korstanjeb, 2014).

Moreover, in large cities such as Buenos Aires, the constitution of an urban imaginary with neo-Bohemian zones or neighborhoods makes sense, considering its own process of artistic and creative development in relation to its public spaces. These shared images give coherence and meaning to these new social practices of everyday life, endowing the public sphere with a dense set of codes recognized by local inhabitants and tourists with similar social tastes. While macro cities would imply a certain anonymity in the shared social space, at the local scale, public urban regeneration policy has tended to construct new forms of habitability, conditioned by the installation of cultural and creative industries and the development of creative tourism. Areas such as Palermo and its different variants, especially Soho and Hollywood, San Telmo and La Boca which are ideal examples, exemplifying how the intent of safeguarding its originality is in tension with new forms of social production. In some cases, there has been a clear shift in the mechanics of social bonding, generating what some authors call the "diffuse neighborhood" (Barriendos Rodríguez, 2007).

In these new scenarios, art in public spaces constitutes a concrete and real alternative to strengthen the renovation of public space (Barriendos Rodríguez, 2007). For the most part, these projects are financed by public or private institutions that seek, through these visual changes in the shared social space, new conceptual morphologies about what the city or the neighborhood is. In short, they try to influence the building of new urban imaginaries in the area, enhancing its artistic and cultural value, promoting an alternative and creative tourism, and causing a change in the structure of its urban habitability, mostly by reforming existing homes or building new works of high sales value, in order to influence the speculative real estate market and to interest new buyers from more privileged social classes.

Every city defines itself by its citizens, but also by its visitors (Silva, 1988), and is interested in consolidating a political and cultural process although such processes are always ongoing. In this sense, in Buenos Aires the difficulties are visible in constructing an image of the city that reflects the complexity of its social collectives, and that explains how they wish to compose their local habitats. How they travel through it, how they

experience it, how they visualize it. This is a permanent phase, which is conditioned by the political, economic, social, and cultural context. For example, the institutional crisis of 2001 allowed citizens, as mentioned above, to glimpse a different city, more human and closer to its inhabitants.

In addition, public space is regulated by the public administration, which must guarantee its accessibility to all, setting the conditions for its use and the installation of activities. Over time it became clear that this, as a socially shared imaginary, was not happening in Buenos Aires. From the citizen's point of view (Silva, 1988), although it helped to narrate a history of the city that was broken, shared narratives were shifting towards more segregated visual representations. Street art made it possible, in these creative and cultural neighborhoods, to emphasize an idea of an artistic city. But rather than democratizing it for all its citizens, it was allowed to only certain social classes. In Buenos Aires, the conflictive and popular views that marked the city at the beginning of the twenty-first century became marginal or peripheral. In these early years, an idea of a city was erected via urban branding, with an energetic penetration of tourism, and with public spaces shaped by the dynamic of cultural strategy. Somehow, the idea of building public spaces as a meeting place, a place of identity and belonging, of social relations between people and community expression was lost. Their appropriation and enjoyment in some neighborhoods were limited to certain population groups. When we speak of living in the city and its neighborhoods, it also implies going through their own evolution with them, building shared meanings (Gravano, 2003, 2005).

Muralism and Graffiti from a Public Policy Perspective

The government of Buenos Aires, that is, the public sector itself, recognizes that urban art (a synthesis of graffiti and murals) is already part of the Buenos Aires scene, and that the city is a stage that is already integrated into the general urban art movement in Latin America. This way of institutionalizing urban art makes it possible to make use of it, removing its aura of vandalism and generating in its interventions an urban and touristic value (LEY 3283, 2009; LEY G - Nº 2991, 2008).

Likewise, the idea of a city in need of color is recognized by the government itself, where it maintains that "artists come from all over the world to turn gray walls into an open-air museum" (Tourism, Government of Buenos Aires, 2022). What has historically been an idea centralized in the urban art collective of why more art is needed in public space, "to give

color to the walls of the city," is appropriated by the public sector to change its meaning and make it its own. Not only for altruistic purposes but also as an attempt to constitute a new city model, more colorful and less gray, that makes it possible to promote the city to the world as an urban strategy of creativity and tourism (Richards, 2014). This paradigm is new for the public framework in general, since usually public administrations do not ally themselves so openly with street art, except in the case of specific intervention projects that represent an added value of relevance for the city and that have previously gone through a long process of negotiation and administrative bureaucracy.

Likewise, urban art in Buenos Aires has been regulated by the public administration since 2009 in the colloquially called the Muralism Law, which recognizes, among other points, that these forms of art have been accompanying the ups and downs of the past few years the country's political system. In the same way, it is made clear that a central aspect of carrying out some type of urban art in a legal way is that the interventions are approved by the property's owner (Figs. 5.2 and 5.3).

From the artists' point of view, the city is an abstract starting point that they imagine to paint, and afterwards they seek to reach it empirically. The

Fig. 5.2 Façades on private homes intervened upon with street art I, Palermo neighborhood. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2017

Fig. 5.3 Façades on private homes intervened upon with street art II, Palermo neighborhood. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2017

street is the social space for intervention, the most direct point of contact they have to present their view of the world through their works. Under the slogan that the street belongs to everyone, they hope to capture their works in the public space. Precisely, it is widely accepted from within the urban art collectives that their interventions seek, in the first place, to give more color to the public space of the cities. The street becomes livelier when interventions are carried out. The idea is to contrast the grayness that symbolically permeates the city to "battle"—through the works— feelings of uneasiness in the city. That is, from their perspective, there is an aesthetic contribution, but also a transformative purpose for the inhabitants through their works, relating street art with being happy. That is why one of the objectives they seek is to communicate something and transmit optimism. Somehow, they understand that the public space is neglected and through their works they give new forms, material and emotional, to the urban voids of the city. These processes are not exclusive to Buenos Aires street art, in other scenes such as Berlin, Barcelona, Porto, Paris, or Montevideo, similar thoughts can also be found. This idea of giving color to the city contrasts with the public message, widely spread by some media and accepted by public opinion, that street art makes the city dirty.

Urban Art Routes from a Public Perspective

From a perspective of creating urban art routes, the city could be transversed through different possible trajectories. One option is to focus and plan a route from the murals or whatever the type of street art format will be, and that the point of view is focused on the characteristics of artistic production and its relationship with public spaces. The flip side could be the constitution of urban art routes based on the history of the city on a more local scale, from the neighborhoods, for example, and its link with the street works that can be found there. Between the strategy of focusing on artistic style, and the strategy of addressing local sites, a middle approach can be found. From the Buenos Aires Tourist Office, a public view, the establishment of two different types of circuits was agreed upon, both very broad and generalist, and that serve in some way to cover the heterogeneous network of urban art in a large part of the city's territory (Turismo, 2022b; Turismo, 2022c; Turismo, 2022d). They are the traditional route and the emerging route.

The Traditional Route. Between the Established Route and the Idea of Discovery

When the Tourism Office of the Government of the city of Buenos Aires presents the mural and graffiti route as a "traditional route," it refers to four areas or neighborhoods where artistic production in public spaces is very present. The traditional route includes the neighborhoods of Barracas, La Boca, San Telmo, and Abasto. It does not only point out muralism from a perspective directly linked to street art, but also alludes to works linked to local artists and from the Fine Arts. For example, the case of the renowned artist Benito Quinquela Martín or the artist Hermenegildo Sabat, who made a mural with a tango thematic in the tunnel that crosses Avenida 9 de Julio, the most important avenue of the city.

In addition to these circuits, such tours also visit different facilities closely linked to the daily life of the local inhabitants of these neighborhoods, for example, having a coffee with croissants in one of the bars that are within the suggested tour. Many of these bars are considered classic sites because of their local history and, in several cases, they are also part of the city's heritage. In fact, the tradition of bars is so deeply rooted in Buenos Aires that, for some years now, there has been a list of historic bars recognized as notable. This concept of coffee with croissants for breakfast is very common and is part of the idiosyncratice *porteño* identity of the neighborhoods, also very associated with the charm that Buenos Aires offers, especially when the day begins in the city (Fig. 5.4).

Fig. 5.4 Interior of Café Tortoni, notable bar and heritage site in the city, Centro. Photo: Ricardo Klein, 2015

The tour begins in a small street in the neighborhood of Barracas, the Lalín passage. Although it is only two blocks long, there are about thirty-five houses with different materials (such as paint and mosaics) and different colors. This intervention strategy, which begins with a façade and is then replicated in nearby houses, is very similar to what happens in cities such as San Francisco, Melbourne, or Valencia, where alleys are intervened in their entirety. These types of spaces with a high concentration of urban art provide the local inhabitant and the foreign visitor with an attraction to get to know the place, either as a neighbor or as a tourist visiting an attraction. Currently, in the Lalín passage more spaces have been democratized and works were produced in spaces as different as façades of private businesses or streetlights, in addition to the houses. This continuation, the first of which started in the 1990s when the plastic artist Marino Santa María painted the façade of his studio, had the support of the neighbors who were enthusiastic about the artist's work. Finally, with the public support of the government of the city of Buenos Aires and the Museum of Fine Arts, and with the support of UNESCO and various private companies, the project was extended over two blocks.

On the other hand, the neighborhood of Barracas was an urban industrial area that is currently made up of different zones considered as brownfields. It is there where artists take advantage of the walls of derelict buildings to produce works. As it is a "free zone," artists do not usually have to ask permission from the owner. They take advantage of the large space available to them to make urban art, without worrying about police control. The neighborhood owes its name to the barracas (warehouses) that began to be built at the beginning of the eighth century, on the banks of the Riachuelo River. These barracks were used to store the goods that were shipped from the port, such as hides and salted meats. Later, until the end of the nineteenth century, Barracas was characterized as an area where the Porteño upper class had their country houses and mansions, which later, due to a yellow fever epidemic, moved to the neighborhoods in the northern part of the city. During the twentieth century it became an industrial and immigrant neighborhood, mainly of Italian origin. Today, Barracas is home to the headquarters of the Centro Metropolitano de Diseño (CMD), perhaps taking advantage of the large, deindustrialized building infrastructures, but also the great production of street art in the area, which somehow accompanies the idea of a creative city. The neighborhood is home to the renowned mural "El regreso de Quinquela" (Quinquela's Return). It is a tribute to the artist Benito Quinquela Martín and the neighbors. The work was done by Alfredo Segatori in 2013 and measures 2000 m². It is considered the largest mural in the world made by a single painter and is an attractive reference of Buenos Aires under the sponsor of the public sector.

The traditional route continues by visiting the neighborhood of La Boca and placing Caminito as the epicenter of the attraction. What is popularly known as Caminito is one of the great tourist attractions of Buenos Aires and one of the most emblematic walks of the city. It is characterized by its typical tenement houses made of sheet metal of different colors, also turning this unique feature into an open air gallery. It was in the 1950s, thanks to the initiative of some neighbors, that the land was recovered to turn it into a pedestrian promenade and a street museum almost 150 meters long. One of the great promoters of the area's enhancement was the painter Benito Quinquela Martín, who decided to transform this small cobblestone street into a promenade for the neighbors, turning it over time into one of the key features of La Boca.

For some years now, La Boca has been undergoing a contemporary urban transformation process, where a neighborhood movement is

getting stronger and trying to stop some of the changes that are taking place. Beyond the significance of this neighborhood as a local and tourist attraction, including the Boca Juniors soccer stadium, one of the most popular Argentine teams at local and international level, the public administration is developing an action plan for neighborhood regeneration in which culture plays a major role. One of the most interesting lines of action is to establish La Boca as a cultural and artistic place where, in addition to the famous Caminito and the murals that appear more frequently on the façades of the neighborhood, investments have been made in the conversion of buildings for the inauguration and use of new cultural facilities. An example of this is the Usina del Arte, a cultural center and performance hall that occupies the building of the old *Usina de Electricidad Don Pedro de Mendoza*, inaugurated in 2011. Caminito and the Usina del Arte are 2 km away from each other and are slowly consolidating a creative production center within a neighborhood with a strong cultural sense of belonging. On the other hand, it generates a dynamizing effect for tourists to visit the place, expanding the artistic offerings available.

Along with La Boca, the neighborhood of San Telmo is also part of this urban art circuit. This is an area that has historically been characterized by its cobblestone streets, its colonial houses, its places to eat, such as bodegones or street food places, and mostly for its fair that takes place every Sunday in Dorrego Square (Redondo & Singh, 2008). In recent years, the arrival of artists who rent a house to live and to install their workshop, as well as the tourist boom that has taken place in the area, has caused, among other processes, gentrification. The very effect generated by the existence of mural art in the neighborhood's public spaces could contribute to deepen this change (Fig. 5.5).

The downtown area of Buenos Aires is another place of urban art in the city that distinguishes the traditional route. One of the latest initiatives to emerge in the city and which has already shown positive signs of its actions is the Persiana Project. A group of graffiti artists agree with the owners of private businesses to paint their shutters, like what is currently happening in Barcelona. Although the proposal is restricted to certain streets in the area due to a prohibition by the public administration, several shutters have been intervened upon so far. This proposal comes accompanied by the idea of adding color to public spaces, in this case to the city center, and is inspired by motifs such as music or the ocean. Artists are only allowed to paint shutters on Sundays. Although this is perhaps the quietest day in the area to paint, it is also true that it comes with the weekend

Fig. 5.5 View of the houses in Caminito. Street fair in La Boca, La Boca/San Telmo Fair in Plaza Dorrego, San Telmo. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2015

neighborhood cultural rhythms of other nearby places, which are part of this tour. To cite an example, the fair in Plaza Dorrego in San Telmo; it could be thought, therefore, that there is an intention to build an artistic-cultural scene here too, and that it takes place in a welcoming neighborhood space, such as San Telmo. From the inhabitant's perspective, it is a great attraction for the use and appropriation of public spaces. Neighbors and foreign visitors alike, walk along its cobblestone streets and enjoy the sight of the colonial houses on a Sunday morning stroll, and are able to meet urban artists creating works on the shutters of different stores in the area, as well as meandering through one of the most emblematic and charming fairs in the city of Buenos Aires or enjoying a coffee with croissants while reading the newspaper in a historic and remarkable bar. You can even do all these things alternately or consecutively. For the tourist, this assembly of cultural options is undoubtedly an appealing and unforgettable experience of strolling through the city. For the local inhabitant, perhaps this is felt as the loss of a place of their own, since in general both the San Telmo fair and all the activities that take place around it (street music shows, antique markets, craft stalls, etc.) are aimed directly at tourist consumption.

The so-called traditional route ends in the Abasto area. Strategically, ending the route this way makes sense, creating associations and strategies between the murals and an area that has historically been a protagonist in the development of tango in the city. On the one hand, the Abasto owes its name to the old Abasto Market, which was a supplier of fruits and vegetables for the city of Buenos Aires. After it closed in 1984, a transformation process began until the end of the 1990s when it became the Abasto Shopping Center, one of the most important shopping centers in the city (Fig. 5.6).

On the other hand, the Abasto was the area where tango and its "low brow" aesthetics originated. It was there where many world-famous tangos were composed, such as *Mi Buenos Aires Querido*, written by Alfredo Le Pera and immortalized by Carlos Gardel. Precisely the figure of Carlos Gardel, perhaps the most important tango icon in the world, is disputed by three different countries (Argentina, Uruguay, and France) that argue about his birthplace. This struggle shows the significance that the musical field of tango and the icons to whom it owes its prestige and prominence have to this day. It is worth mentioning that tango has been declared an intangible cultural heritage of humanity in 2009 by the United Nations

Fig. 5.6 Permanent exhibition in Subway Line B, Ángel Gallardo Station, near El Abasto. Photo: Ricardo Klein, 2019

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Argentina and Uruguay jointly presented the candidacy. Therefore, thinking in terms of tours for the city's inhabitants as well as for tourism, the realization of synergies between an intangible cultural expression and an intangible cultural heritage is an important factor to be considered Tango—declared Intangible Heritage of Humanity—with mural art and graffiti could create a very attractive and interesting syncretism for the city. Somehow, the traditional and the transgressive come together to offer neighbors and tourists a melting pot of cultural possibilities.

The Emerging Route. Novelty as a Caller

This route, so-called "emerging route," also run by the government of the city of Buenos Aires, is based on the idea of giving visibility and presence to areas with mural and graffiti production in Buenos Aires, but which may not be located within what could be called the city's territorial centers. The circuit focuses on four neighborhoods, Coghlan, Villa Urquiza, Colegiales, and Palermo, where the production of urban art is intense and diverse.

Although these logics of artistic intervention in public spaces could be discussed in terms of what is understood by central or peripheral territorial places, these places are constantly being adapted and re-signified based on the intentions and interests of street artists, the public administration or even the private sector. For example, in general, when it comes to creating illegal urban art (because it is prohibited by public order) in central public spaces of the city, it becomes legal when it is created in the territorial peripheries, even though it continues to maintain its character as an illegal activity.

It is possible that in the establishment of this route the public perspective is more focused on a classic view of the city. In this regard, the historical and foundational zones, together with the financial and administrative center of Buenos Aires, would be the center and its surroundings that mark the extension of the territory, the peripheral zones. Thinking from the global idea of the city from the local scale logics, the neighborhoods also have their centers and peripheries of activity, but perhaps for the example of the emerging circuit it is diffuse.

These coordinated actions that mobilize and activate the territory from the peripheries to produce street art recognize other areas that are not part of the city's key centers. In the case of Buenos Aires, generating an

emerging mural and graffiti route could mean new opportunities to give visibility to the creative city and add elements for the consolidation of tourism in less visited areas. Apart from Palermo, the other three neighborhoods along the route could be considered new tourist sites to visit and experience.

The emerging route begins in Coghlan and part of Villa Urquiza, both middle- and upper-middle-class residential neighborhoods with low population density. These two areas are characterized by their green spaces, low houses, and quiet streets. It is here where people live calmly in contrast to the hustle and bustle of downtown and the micro-center of the city. In this quiet context, many neighbors agreed to paint the façades of their houses to generate a street art route and to decorate the neighborhood. In short, they support the idea of giving color to the walls and, with it, the possibility of making a qualitative leap in the quality of life of those who live there.

Also in the emerging circuit, emphasis is placed on visiting different facilities and features of the city that come with the tour. As already mentioned in the traditional route, this tour invites you to have a coffee and enjoy some notable bars. In this sense, under the pretext of forming an urban art route in peripheral spaces of the city, there is also an interest in getting to know its heritage, its identity, and its daily habitat. In the articulation between the existing muralism and the neighborhood, there are also signs of connection and dialogue. An example of this is the façade by the artist Luxor and dedicated to the son of the owner of the bar La Unión, on the corner of Avenida Congreso and Estomba. This mural and the bar are located next to each other.

On the other hand, the route seeks to highlight activities and events that have been significant for the local graffiti movement, and that have also impacted on the regional graffiti collective. In this sense, emphasis is placed on the realization of the first "Meeting of Styles" in 2013, an internationally recognized street art festival. In a way, the public sector thus seeks to co-opt experiences born from the graffiti movement and re-signifies them within the framework of a city plan for urban art. Likewise, the objective of highlighting works by outstanding artists or collectives at the national and international level is also explicit. An example of this is the mention in the route of the BA Paste Up Collective or the artist Alfredo Segatori (Fig. 5.7).

One of the highlights of the emerging tour is to visit the flea market and the exterior intervention of its walls. The market covers an entire block and is full of murals and graffiti throughout its extension. It is also a

Fig. 5.7 Work on the façade of the BA Paste Up Collective, Colegiales neighborhoods. Photo: Ricardo Klein, 2017

point of interest in the neighborhood of Colegiales, which, due to its strategic location, attracts neighbors and foreign visitors. Geographically, it is located where the area known as Palermo Hollywood ends, one of the city's main touristic attractions (Figs. 5.8 and 5.9).

The old market operated for eighteen consecutive years until December 2005 and in 2011 it was reopened in its original location. The interesting thing about this transition was the reconversion from what is popularly known as a flea market to a more aestheticized, stylized market with a more internationally marketable image. In a way, it is a space that has been gentrified in terms of consumption by its visitors, and where the idea of living the experience by the city inhabitant or the tourist prevails, although it was originally a space for lower social classes. In this sense, it goes from a large shed where you can find all kinds of curiosities to buy, from antiques, furniture, instruments, clothing, and so on (some of which might have been stolen) to the same objects, but with a completely renovated structure and creative design. Objects that once had little value, thought of only as spare or replacement objects, as could be the case of ceramics, empty bottles, or second-hand jewelry, become recognized as desirable within the context in which they are found. For example, vinyl
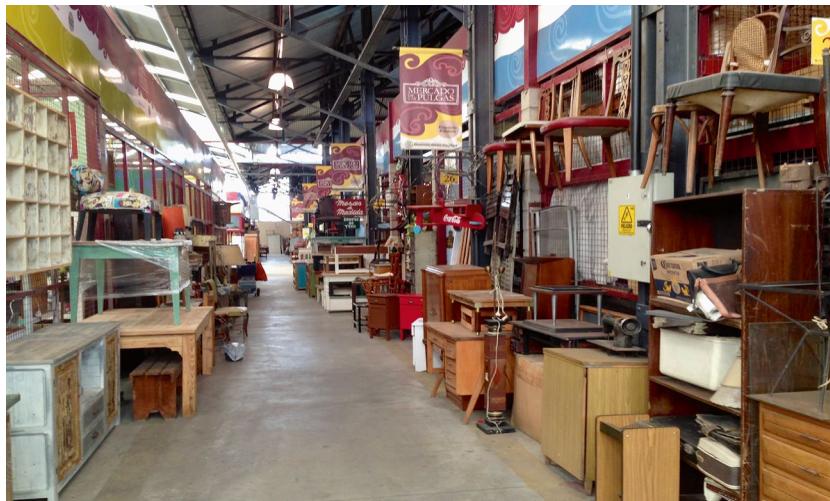
Fig. 5.8   Interior/exterior. Flea market I, Colegiales. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2015
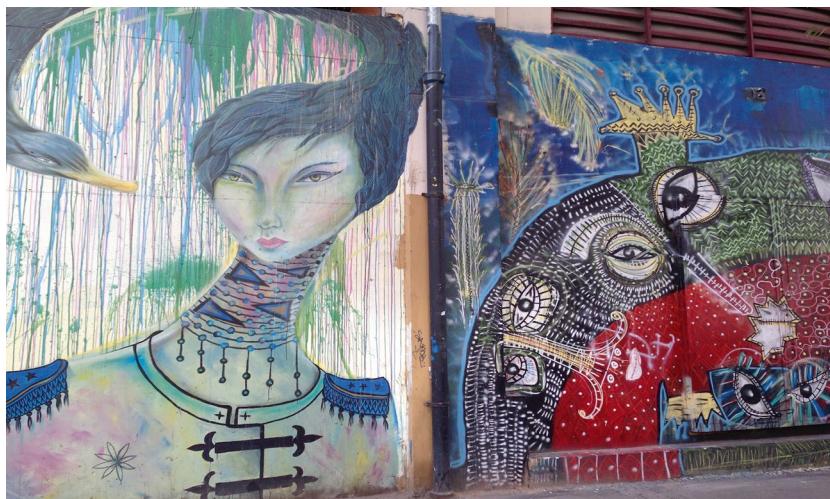
Fig. 5.9 Interior/exterior. Flea market II, Colegiales. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2015

records, which until not so many years ago were a forgotten and disused object, become a cult item, much sought after by collectors and the general public.

The circuit ends in Palermo, a Buenos Aires neighborhood that, as mentioned above, has been undergoing gentrification processes for the last twenty years, and where the creative and artistic sector has had a presence and impact. Palermo has become a large open air gallery, because of the amount of works intervened illegally and legally. The legal type of work happens, in part, due to agreements with businesses in the area that have allowed the intervention of their façades, adding value to their brand.

Conclusions

The city of Buenos Aires has undergone an important process of urban regeneration over the last four decades. The quest to rehabilitate a city that since the 1980s has been severely behind, which led to the emergence of the public administration's interest in promoting cultural and artistic aspects that could be tangible from public spaces.

The significant political and institutional crisis that Argentina experienced at the beginning of the century resulted in the emergence of artivist expressions and urban art exhibitions (at the beginning, with stencils playing a leading role) all over the city (Kane, 2009). Over the years, many of these manifestations that began as forms of protest were absorbed by the art market or as an advertising device to install a city branding strategy for Buenos Aires.

The construction of a social imaginary of the city that conceives of creativity in public spaces as a positive turn for citizenship allowed for programming in order to promote this thinking. The public administration exploited this tactic to invest in cultural and creative facilities that would add value to different neighborhoods of the city, as in the case of the Usina del Arte in the neighborhood of La Boca. Likewise, this policy made it possible to change the urban scenario of Buenos Aires and synthesize a symbolic representation of the city as a place of art and culture (Turismo, 2022a).

Within this whole framework, tourism as a cultural industry is playing a very important role in the dynamics of this new creative era. In part, the emergence of different types of creative tourism, complementary to the more traditional ones, has allowed Buenos Aires to position itself in the national, regional, and international context. An example of this has been

tourism linked to tango and its ramifications: dance and singing lessons, music concerts, professional dance stages, music industry linked to this specific sector, and so on. Thus, this type of creative tourism is materialized in experiences that allow to live the experience of those who live in the city, and to know them from this identity expression recognized as a cultural heritage of humanity by UNESCO.

Perhaps as an unintended consequence, this political agenda led to the commercialization of some neighborhoods for the exclusive consumption of an international public. Such could be the case of Abasto, precisely where an important part of the tourist experience that has as its objective to explore tango is focused.

Along with these public initiatives of creative tourism, Buenos Aires has incorporated mural and graffiti routes that complement other activities related to leisure, heritage, and neighborhood imaginaries. Among others, getting to know works in public spaces by artists of the Fine Arts, having a coffee in a notable bar or taking a picture of a famous graffiti, are part of different tours of the city that have as a common guide to know the art, culture, and popular customs of Buenos Aires. Even the public idea that has been tried to install about the color that contributes to the positive face of the city is not only found in public spaces, but also in the city infrastructure itself.

In the case of the subway, works have been made from a muralist and urban artist. An example of this is the subway line A, where there is a ceramic mural dedicated to the famous cartoon character Mafalda, by Quino, or the new line H, which has multiple works, making it a real cultural tourism destination.

But, ultimately, as consumers and producers of public space, citizens must also be decision-makers in terms of the management of the urban space they share. Even more so when their daily lives may be affected by creative tourism policies that are detrimental to their interests. One of the aspects that must be built collectively refers to how the neighborhood is composed, considering the set of features that characterize it. This form of social management implies the direct action of its inhabitants to build a desired habitat, or at least, an environment as close as possible to a desired habitat. From this point of view, the public sector has the duty to involve the local population in its actions, with respect to the development of the creative image of the city it intends to achieve and sustain.

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Barcelona. The Constitution of Alternative Tourism and the Diversification of Street Art

Ricardo Klein

INTRODUCTION

On July 25, 1992, the world's eyes were fixed on one city: Barcelona. With the lighting of the cauldron by Paralympic archer Antonio Rebollo, the Olympic Games began, transforming the paradigm of major sporting events worldwide. The moment in which a flaming arrow was sent into the sky was iconic and emotional, creating a unique visual impact.

These Games stood out for several reasons compared to previous ones. Barcelona underwent a major urban renewal to host them with the construction of new sports facilities, improvement of infrastructure, and revitalization of urban areas. The architectural aesthetics of the infrastructures were innovative, with outstanding works such as the Montjuïc Olympic Stadium, designed by architect Santiago Calatrava, and the Palau Sant Jordi by Arata Isozaki. Also, these Games marked the first time that post-communist countries participated after the fall of the Soviet Union, significantly expanding the participation and diversity of nations in the

Olympic Games.[1] These were also the Games in which the Dream Team participated: the U.S. national basketball team that played for the first time with professionals of the National Basketball Association (NBA) and to this day is considered the best basketball team in history.

But the 1992 Barcelona Olympics also marked a milestone that redefined the city's image. The event was not only a sporting success, but it was also a turning point in terms of international projection and the creation of a solid city brand, projecting a modern, dynamic, and welcoming image of Barcelona to the world. This image was consolidated thanks to the media coverage of the Games, which showcased the city's charms: culture, gastronomy, architecture, and festive spirit. The urban transformation and the focus on the visitor experience left a lasting impression, making Barcelona, to this day, a world-class tourist destination. According to statistical data on tourist movements at borders (Instituto Nacional de Estadística de España. Estadística de Movimientos Turísticos en Fronteras, FRONTUR, 2024) from Spain's National Institute of Statistics, in 2023 Spain experienced an all-time record of more than 85 million international tourists, representing an 18.7% increase over the previous year and almost 2% above the levels recorded before the pandemic (2019), Catalonia, whose capital city is Barcelona, was one of the most visited autonomous communities, receiving 18 million tourists, an increase of 21.2% compared to 2022. It is estimated that the population of Catalonia is almost 8 million people. As a result, the number of tourists who visited it were almost 2.5 times the total population. To demonstrate the local impact of such a population disparity and to demonstrate the massive scale of tourism in Barcelona, it is estimated that, in 2022, three million tourists participated in the festivities of the Gràcia neighborhood (Macedo, 2023). Approximately 124,000 people live in the neighborhood of Gràcia.

Barcelona has stood out, and continues to do so, as a center for major sporting events, backed by a solid organizational reputation and a robust network that encompasses the social, cultural, and sporting spheres, boosting economic sectors beyond tourism. This is the case, for example, of the organization of major sporting events (Formula 1, America's Cup Sailing, World Padel Tour, Trofeo Conde de Godó [tennis], Zurich Maratón Barcelona, etc.), the cultural sector (Universal Forum of Cultures, Primavera Sound, Mondiacult—World Conference on Cultural Policies

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[1] Furthermore, it should be considered that the impact was even greater, given that the 1980 Games were held in Moscow and the 1984 Games in Los Angeles. This meant that several countries did not participate in both events depending on the geopolitical situation at the time.

and Sustainable Development, etc.), or Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and start-ups (Mobile World Congress).

Along with the organization of major events, it began to integrate art and culture as fundamental pillars of its urban strategy. The city set out to be a cultural epicenter, fostering artistic creation, promoting international festivals and renowned exhibitions, and supporting the preservation of its rich historical and architectural heritage. This commitment to art and culture was not only limited to specific events but was integrated into the daily life of the city, marking its identity, and offering strongly regularized public spaces where art and cultural expression thrive, generating a unique environment for residents and visitors to this day. The integration of art and culture into the daily life of Barcelona could have been the result of a combination of different approaches. First, by the development of an enabling environment conducive to cultural exhibition and expression, through the creation of public spaces, or by the construction of cultural facilities such as libraries and civic centers. Second, the city authorities exercised a strong institutional media campaign to actively promote cultural events and art exhibitions, as well as to visualize Barcelona as a city of culture. Finally, Barcelona, by establishing a regular schedule of cultural events, such as festivals, concerts, exhibitions, and street performances, which are held throughout the city throughout the year, such events become an essential part of the social and cultural life in the different neighborhoods and their inhabitants, both residents and visitors.

The impact of this development is remarkable. According to Barcelona Tourism, the city has experienced a significant increase in the number of conferences, annual meetings, and corporate events, from 50 in 1983 to almost 2000 today, with the participation of almost 700,000 delegates. This growth has an estimated economic impact of around 1.8 billion euros annually, equivalent to 1.5% of the Catalan gross domestic product (GDP) (Amat, 2023). Its prominence has been validated by various international rankings, which underline its rising trajectory. According to Resonance's, a private company that seeks to consolidate, among other aspects, strategies, plans, and campaigns that allow cities to build themselves as urban brands to attract international tourism, in its report "World's Best Cities 2024," Barcelona ranks as the eighth most attractive city in the world (Resonance Consultancy, 2024).

Since the start of the twenty-first century, the temporary use of urban spaces for artistic and creative purposes has organically been incorporated into the dynamics of production in urban planning. These spaces, known as "underground" or "alternative," have progressively been integrated

into the capitalist urbanism of the twenty-first century, finding presence in cities such as Barcelona, as well as in others such as Berlin, Budapest, or Paris (Vivant, 2022). The inclusion of these spaces in the cultural policies has marked its transition towards urban policy tools that foster creativity. This is seen as a move from a metropolitan approach in cultural policies towards a broader cultural governance that involves various agents, including economic sectors, in the definition and implementation of local cultural policies (Vivant, 2022). This could be the exact process that Barcelona has been undergoing for some years now. The instrumentalization and professionalization of the management of public spaces for the incorporation of art has led to its integration into common urban planning practices, but with serious contradictions regarding its objectives and results.

Urban revitalization policies and the creative city paradigm have given new legitimacy to culture as a key driver of urban vitality (Montalto et al., 2023). Nevertheless, the driving idea of a "creative city" as a reason and motivation for city development by its urban decision-makers has supported large-scale cultural initiatives without fully assessing their significance or negative impact. The "creative city" approach was part of a significant shift in urban policies in the 1990s, leading to renewal programs and urban policies focused on culture in cities in North America and Europe. This cultural turn has not been uniform, manifesting itself in a variety of foci, from concrete initiatives that develop cultural projects in urban space to a more general consideration of cultural scenes as assets that can be consumed by certain social classes (Montalto et al., 2023).

Historically, cities have been the center of important artistic movements and institutions have played a key role in influencing the reputation and attractiveness of cities over time (Montalto et al., 2023). Specifically, culture has become crucial to the transformation of urban neighborhoods into areas of economic and touristic activity (Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020). These processes are focused on attracting creative industries as well as tourists, and subsequently put pressure on neighborhoods and their inhabitants. Cultural tourism is an activity that produces wealth but also poses significant challenges for urban policy, such as overexploitation of resources, street congestion and challenges for infrastructure maintenance (Gemar et al., 2022). These changes, aimed at creating cultural and leisure spaces, often generate resistance from residents, as they feel that their daily lives are negatively affected by these transformations (Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020). The growth of cities, both in terms of residents and visitors, should be carefully planned. The integration of historical and cultural elements into the urban space is essential, as is responding to the needs of the

cultural tourism industry by providing adequate spaces and transportation (Gemar et al., 2022).

Cultural policy plays a key role in economic and urban regeneration, and can employ strategies such as organizing major events, constructing iconic cultural infrastructures and promoting cities as cultural destinations. However, this policy highlights the contradiction between these efforts and the negative impact on the daily lives of residents, with the possibility of generating cultural infrastructure that does not offer enough social benefits for the local community (Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020). Cultural resources tend to concentrate around large art institutions and commercial avenues in the city centers, neglecting the daily cultural life of urban neighborhoods (Rosenstein, 2011). In this sense, there is a lack of citizen participation in decision-making processes and growing influence of the market in the structure of urban spaces. Such concerns have driven local cultural actions opposed to Barcelona's cultural policy model that focuses on systemic generation of cultural value while trying to avoid the negative effects of a standardized global culture reflected in mega events and emblematic institutions (Patricio Mulero & Rius-Ulldemolins, 2017).

The concept of "cultural governmentality" shows that culture is no longer simply a planification tool, but also a method of transforming abandoned urban spaces and governing over them. When this happens, the integration of artistic criticism in urban processes affects its nature, when artists collaborate with urban planners the radical potential of their work is often diluted when conforming to the demands of cultural governance (Vivant, 2022). In contrast, other authors point out that artists and creatives can play an important role in the formation of an alternative urban subculture and in the generation of alternative urban plans that promote inclusion and local identity, as opposed to gentrification and social exclusion (Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020).

Barcelona has adopted a "cultural production" paradigm, emphasizing the ability of local cultural agents to highlight the cultural production and identity of the city (Patricio Mulero & Rius-Ulldemolins, 2017). This relies on local resources, such as urban design, to promote local uniqueness rather than adopting a homogeneous global culture. Part of this transformation is a consequence of the replacement of local businesses converted into aestheticized or vintage bars. These establishments not only represent a change in the daily life scene of neighborhoods, but also reflect a deeper transformation in their social and cultural fabric, even generating what some authors call "commercial gentrification" (Vollmer, 2019; Sequera Fernández, 2020) (Fig. 6.1).

Fig. 6.1 Commercial gentrification in Barcelona. Gràcia neighborhood. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2023

Street art plays a dual role in the public policy of urban design in the city. On the one hand, as a specific expression it is persecuted, since it is often understood to be a manifestation that vandalizes and sullies the image that the city strives to promote worldwide. On the other hand, public projects that highlight legal street art are counted on as a way of sponsoring an idea of a creative, alternative, and underground city, still with limits and responsibilities.

This chapter explores how Barcelona has established itself as one of Europe's leading capitals for attracting global tourism through an extended process that began in the 1980s. It analyzes the role of street art as a driving force and attraction for visitors to the city. Part of the powerful role of street art is due to its urban policy of city branding, characterized by its multiculturalism and cultural and artistic development. In this regard, street art has a prominent role as a means of intervention that enhances public space. In this new role in the urban scene, public art has opened the door to unique tourism strategies, led by public and private entities.

In the face of the rising of tourism or *touristification* in Barcelona, the emergence of alternative forms of tourism becomes one aspect of an ongoing dynamic of public contestation in urban environments. This trend contrasts with the general *extractivist* approach in tourism policies. It has generated intense debate in the public sphere, with strong criticism and questioning from civil society and academia. This current city model faces criticism for its contribution to touristification (Burgold et al., 2013), causing saturation in specific areas such as the oldest neighborhoods and the beaches during the summer, as well as limiting the promotion of places with architectural and heritage value, such as modernist and Gaudí works. This situation makes Barcelona a city with complex challenges in attempting to define its value and the types of tourism it wishes to attract. The structure and development of what has been called the "Barcelona model" is diffuse in terms of its aims and motivations (Capel, 2005; Delgado, 2007). The boundaries between being a city seen as a consumer product, in which tourism plays a central role, and reaching urban policy agreements aimed at inclusive and multicultural citizenship are blurred (Fig. 6.2).

The rise of alternative tourism in cultural areas has been driven by the active participation of artistic and emerging collectives in urban and social contexts. Street art in Barcelona has become one of the main lines of action for the alternative cultural agenda, highlighting the presence of

Fig. 6.2 Official poster of the Festa de la Mercè 2022, Malika Favre (illustration)/ P.A.R. (design). Street poster against the "Barcelona brand," unknown authorship. Photo: Ricardo Klein, 2022

murals and urban design furniture in public space. This type of alternative and creative tourism is based on the implementation of urban transformations that, in turn, could foster the creation of artistic neighborhoods (Rius-Ulldemolins, 2008, 2014).

The Evolution of Street Art in Barcelona

Street art in Barcelona has been in a constant evolution, rooted in the dawn of the art movement after the 1992 Olympic Games. In the 1990s, the city was permeated with derelict spaces, atmospheres that provided canvases for artistic creativity. At the time, graffiti and street art emerged primarily as forms of expression and entertainment for local youth.

> "There were many abandoned areas, the regulations were not yet in place, and it was a place that was left to free will, there was no control." (Artist/Btoy)
>
> "There was a lot of space to paint, Barcelona was destroyed." (Artist/Kapi)

However, over time, this activity was transformed into a profession and integrated into the art market. Despite the evolution, illegal street art continued to persist in the city.

As the city has changed, so has the space and dynamics of street art production. At the end of the twentieth century, Barcelona was known as "the Barcelona of graffiti" and trains were one of the artists' main targets.

> Barcelona was the capital of urban art in the world, and people came here simply to take pictures of graffiti, to paint, that is, they didn't come to see the Sagrada Familia, they came to paint. The artists who are now at the top, like Banksy, I don't know, many of the artists, who now sell their paintings for 20,000, 30,000 euros, started when they came here to paint, and nobody knew them. And they made a name for themselves here in Barcelona. (Artist/H101)

With the turn of the century, the dynamics of street art in the city underwent transformation. The 2006 Civic Ordinance and the increasing repression against street art altered the scene, reducing production compared to previous decades (Ordenanza de medidas para fomentar y garantizar la convivencia ciudadana en el espacio público de Barcelona, 2005). Despite these challenges, street art remained a vital part of Barcelona's urban culture, although artists had to find new ways to create and share their art.

This change is also linked to hip-hop culture, which played a crucial role in the development of urban culture in Europe and in the graffiti scene in Barcelona. Not only did Spanish rap and breakdance shape the graffiti movement, but it is important to remember that it was shared largely by young people all across the continent from the 1980s onwards. This interconnection between hip hop and urban art gave rise to a symbiotic street culture that grew. Countries such as Germany, France, England, and Sweden were key in the diffusion of hip hop and the appropriation of its culture. Moreover, American cinema was also an important channel of influence on the Barcelona scene and for the emergence of future graffiti artists. For many young people looking for an original style that fused different artistic influences, from electronic music to Michael Jackson or Quincy Jones, break-dancing and music were of great interest.

Specifically, Barcelona street artists found a connection to hip hop in London. There they were able to access bibliographic material on New York graffiti. The first crews quickly emerged and gave some stability to the graffiti scene. In the early 1990s, the appearance of *Game Over*, the first graffiti magazine in Spain was a turning point: the country was on the

international street art map through a local magazine. The real possibilities of street art as an urban expression in Barcelona were magnified by the exchange of material communicating what was going on in the city.

In the early years of the graffiti movement, each city crew had its own unique approach. While some focused on the quantity of work produced and territorial presence, others prioritized artistic quality. Back then, in the 1990s, security and surveillance were very different from what we experience today. From the beginning, it was known that graffiti was an illegal practice. Despite the difficulties, the movement continued to grow and evolve, becoming an increasingly recognized and respected form of artistic expression.

The emergence of specialty stores in Barcelona, such as Montana Colors, marked a turning point. These companies transformed the street art scene, providing quality products and opening urban art to a wider public, "Montana is more than a brand, it is an institution that has built on all this historical basis, of all this historical evolution of urban art" (Arcadi Poch - Kognitif). This change was also the driving force behind the transition from the "old school" of graffiti to the "new school" in Barcelona.

The contributions of this company were diverse and significant. In the first place, it expanded the possibilities of evolution for novice artists by giving them access to high quality products, which raised the level of their work. This openness to professionalization also encouraged street artists to pursue greater excellence in their creations, enabling them to achieve quality work with quality products. Furthermore, Montana attracted a wide range of artists who did not necessarily come from graffiti or traditional street art backgrounds, such as those who graduated from fine art institutions or settled in creative industries such as design or photography. This diversity of membership contributed to the richness and magnitude of the street art scene. Likewise, the number of members not directly linked to hip-hop culture increased, which demonstrated an opening and democratization of the experience of making street art. This democratization was also reflected in the access to physical spaces for meeting, socializing, and exchanging ideas among the collective's members, generating highly productive work and knowledge synergies. Finally, this movement brought about a significant cultural change in the perception of "being a graffiti artist," removing the link between the criminal activity associated with the theft of spray paint from stores and painting in the street, as well as making the cost of materials relatively accessible.

The implementation of the Civic Ordinance in the mid-2000s had a significant impact on the scene. Many artists withdrew or sought new areas to express themselves freely, less restricted areas of the city such as Poblenou.

> From January 1, 2006, they could take you, you could be fined 3000 euros or 750 for a sticker. And at the beginning people realized that "wow, this is serious". And it disappeared, it's not that, the murals disappeared, this thing disappeared. People kept on painting, but they kept on signing quick stencils and when you see that "shit, you make a stencil, you bet 750 euros at least and it lasts 12 hours," you say "no." That is, it was a heavy change. (Xavi Ballaz—Difusor)

Parallel to this process, spaces in the form of centers—or factories—of artistic creation, such as La Escocesa, Hangar or NauArt, were set up in certain areas of the city, especially in Poblenou.[2]

Today, police control has limited the illegal production of street art, but the search for sanction-free spaces still persists. Private initiatives have offered legal alternatives for artists, promoting urban art in a controlled environment that respects regulations, to the benefit of both the creators and the city as a whole, promoting its visibility and value. Over the past fifteen years, private companies such as Kognitif, Rebobinart, Difusor/BMurals, and Enrotlla't have contributed significantly to the development of street art in a legal manner in the city. These private initiatives propose actions in Barcelona's public space and offer tools and alternatives to activate street art without fearing being fined or sanctioned. As for the open or free wall projects, they have been very beneficial for street artists who are just starting out on the scene, as well as for those who already have experience but prefer to work in legal and more professional channels.

Urban Creativity: The Role of Private Projects

As mentioned, the implementation of the Civic Ordinance in Barcelona in 2006 marked a significant change in the local street art scene, which became constrained by increased police control in public space. The

[2] These centers are nucleated, together with many others, in Poblenou Urban District, a territorial project that seeks to consolidate a conglomerate of individuals, groups and institutions with creative and innovative initiatives. See: www.poblenouurbandistrict.com/poblenou-urban-district/

ordinance established a series of rules and restrictions on the conduct of activities in public space, including graffiti and street art without a permit. However, over time private initiatives emerged, and became necessary protagonists for the development of street art in the city. These projects focused their activities on two lines of management: free walls and urban creativity.

> *Difusor* was born close to the spirit of guerrilla warfare, when the civility regulations came out. To fight against them. And to propose projects a little bit in opposition to what was being established at that time in the city. (Xavi Ballaz—Difusor)

First, the creation of free walls refers to the establishment of specific physical spaces within the city for the legal creation of street art. This idea comes from the private sphere and the Barcelona City Council oversees the definition of such places and granting the permits to carry out this proposal. The free walls have proven to be beneficial for both new and experienced street artists, as it allows them to create art legally without fear of being sanctioned.

The other line of management, urban creativity projects, is specifically linked to Barcelona's public space intervention through the participation of street artists, professionals for the most part. This type of initiative has added positive value to the development of street art in a legal manner and has highlighted urban culture in Barcelona.

The implementation of the "zero tolerance" policy by public authorities has had a significant impact on the artists' perception of street art. This strategy of complete control over illegal street art led to a noticeable decrease in the practice in the city Moreover, it has had a significant impact on its legal and professional development in Barcelona. Among other aspects, this policy begot the need among street artists to seek safe and legal spaces to develop their art, avoiding sanctions and fines. Private projects of free wall management and urban creativity became a solution for those who wanted to show their work in a public way without fear of sanction and possibly without foreseeing, being the cause behind the democratization of the creative scene of urban art in Barcelona:

> In the end it's 15 people painting the same day in the middle of Barcelona, shit, this hasn't happened for years. Well, it's a step. There are people who don't paint, who can now go out on the street, who wouldn't go out

illegally and who were in studios, and now they are starting to paint. (Marc García—Rebobinart)

Private projects play a crucial role in the identification and selection of sites to propose to the Barcelona City Council as possible locations for the creation of legal walls. These initiatives usually rely upon prior knowledge of the territory and of the places where street art progresses, which give them a privileged position to detect potential spaces that can be used for this purpose. Once these places have been identified, private projects often establish contacts with local authorities to propose the creation of legal walls and present their ideas. This process enables a dialogue between the various actors involved and leads to an agreement on which spaces within the city can be used to legally perform street art.

The creation of legal walls is a joint task between the private sector and the public sector since the Barcelona City Council oversees the approval of the locations and grants the necessary permits to carry out these initiatives. In this way, it seeks to offer opportunities to street artists, promoting a culture of urban art that is respectful of public space and contributes to the beautification of the city.

> The way is "I look for it." I search, I propose, and they tell me if it is municipal, if it is municipal, they give it to me, it is not a mess and it is granted. I go around the city, I go by motorcycle, I look around, I take pictures and then I send them a list of all the walls there are and they tell me "municipal, no, no, municipal, no, no, choose one," of the twenty that I have passed, there is one that is municipal and they look for another one, they don't want that one. You know, in the end I presented 170 walls. 170 and they gave me one. (Marc García—Rebobinart)

Free walls and large-scale urban art projects not only have an impact on the local street art scene, but also attract alternative cultural tourism. Although free walls are not necessarily established for the purpose of attracting tourism, their presence in public space can produce an aesthetic component that is attractive to travelers seeking new and innovative cultural experiences. These projects can be alluring for tourism, as they offer an opportunity to explore the city in a unique and creative way. Both free walls and private street art projects contribute to the urban value of the city and its promotion as a touristic destination (Fig. 6.3).

Fig. 6.3 Mural palimpsests on free walls in Barcelona. Tres Xemeneies (Av. Paral-lel). Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2022, 2023

Street art in Barcelona continues to be a lively and evolving practice, although it still faces challenges. Although there are disagreements about the best way forward, urban art projects continue to explore ways to develop their initiatives in the city. These artistic practices are part of a global creative trend that continues to gain value in the art market and is appreciated and recognized by some of Barcelona's citizenry. Although dialogues with the public administration may be limited, street art continues to be an important form of expression in public space. Its future in Barcelona is uncertain, but there is ample opportunity for it to continue to evolve and grow in the coming years.

Street Art as a Tourist Incentive: A New Way of Discovering the City

Tourism focused on the artistic experience in public spaces, especially street art, is emerging as an alternative form of tourism whose objective is the commercialization of art and culture (Lloyd, 2010). This focuses on the search for authentic and unique experiences that allow travelers to immerse themselves in the local culture and discover something new and unknown (Condevaux et al., 2016). This trend emerges as a response to

today's consumer society, where market needs and desires are constantly changing and evolving. Tourists no longer seek only the more traditional tourist sites (such as heritage sites), but in turn, aim to discover something new and original that allows them to feel more connected to the place they are visiting (Santillano Tinoco et al., 2013; López Barajas & Retamoza Ávila, 2013).

Among multiple possibilities, cultural tourism seeks to attract people interested in living a multidimensional cultural experience (Judd, 2003) such as taking a tour of art galleries or walking through the city and its architecture. On the other hand, modern tourism is no longer focused solely on visiting museums or sites of heritage interest, but also places its intention in the urban scene or, more precisely, in some version of the urban scene that can be adapted for tourism (Sassen & Roost, 1999). These new experiences highlight the ability of tourism to reinvent itself through actions that transgress and redefine the boundaries between the ordinary and the extraordinary, exposing alternative destinations (Condevaux et al., 2016). Barcelona, as a cultural and tourism city, does not escape these urban management rationales (Fig. 6.4).

Fig. 6.4 Palimpsest murals Arnau Gallery, Raval. Above: work by DavidDl (2022). Below: work by Dan Kitchener (2023). Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2022, 2023

In this regard, street art has become an incentive for this type of alternative tourism of the local culture. Through the exploration of the city and its neighborhoods, tourists can discover works of street art; murals and graffiti that are not found in the usual tourist sites. Tourism focused on street art and urban creativity has become an exciting and alternative way to experience a place's culture and art. This trend has emerged as a response to the needs of today's touristic market, which seeks unique and genuine experiences that satisfy its consumer desires, a multitude of "new tourisms" (Santana Talavera, 2003). The creation of street art routes in Barcelona is common in the city, its purpose being to provide this type of experience to visitors and tourists. Although most of these routes are promoted by private initiatives, they have the support of the city's public authorities. They promote an experience in which tourists can discover a new way of experiencing the city, through the street art that is found in public spaces. This form of tourism creates a close connection between creative tourism and local culture, promoting the visitor's active participation in the city's daily life. The "vandal city" gives way to the expressive power of the "creative city" to be re-signified in a new management framework through street art, in this case.

This type of alternative tourism, with a view to the consumption of street art in public spaces, is aimed at achieving something different in the city, a non-transferable experience that's "realer," within a logic of everyday life that is new to tourists unfamiliar with graffiti or street art. This urban culture, which is born from the peripheral underground and vandalism, makes it possible to adapt its radical sense to a more moderated experience through cultural, friendly, and commercial tourism. The satisfaction of tourists visiting murals or different works of illegal graffiti, often located in places of social conflict, red light districts, urban voids, segregated neighborhoods, and so on broadens the type of "authentic" experience for those who seek to be part of a marginal practice, but within a controlled and safe framework.

In Barcelona by the mid-2000s, organized and legal street art began to be considered a valuable artistic expression in public space, both in peripheral areas and in the historical centers of the city (Klein, 2016). The Poblenou neighborhood is an example of a peripheral area that has been reconverted into a center of touristic interest, due to the creation of a cultural district that brings together artistic collectives in factories reused as creative workshops (PobleNou Urban District, Barcelona, 2024). This place has become an attraction for travelers who wish to immerse

themselves in the local culture and are looking for unique experiences in the city.

Creative tourism is a way to experience the culture and heritage of a specific place while participating in an interactive experience. UNESCO defines it as an integral part of the participatory experience, closely linked to the arts, heritage, and features that make a place unique (UNESCO, 2006), and with a positive impact by revitalizing local economies (Janeczko et al., 2002). In Barcelona, this type of cultural tourism associated with street art has become a complementary attraction to the more traditional form of tourism. It seeks to attract new audiences interested in inhabiting the urban experience and experiencing the city in a different way. In this regard, street art tourism is an opportunity to experience a lively and dynamic culture, and to discover something new and exciting that might otherwise go unnoticed. Initiatives are organized in direct collaboration with local and international artists in many cases, thus allowing visitors to discover the work of the creators themselves. In this way, cultural exchange, and the appreciation of street art as a legitimate and significant form of artistic expression in the urban context is promoted.

The Case of the Raval: A Cultural and Touristic Neighborhood

From the 1980s onwards, Barcelona, already having been chosen as an Olympic city, took advantage of this impulse (and has continued to do so in subsequent decades) to generate urban development processes, especially seeking to bring citizens together through the creation and/or revitalization of public spaces. The repurposing of existing urban infrastructure, as was the urban change in Poblenou (22@, Forum, Olympic Village, Creative Factories, among others) and in the Raval itself (Filmoteca, Rambla del Raval, Angels Square, MACBA, CCCB, among others), are two examples of this. Much of this revitalization was sustained by the growing role of tourism in the city, diversifying the source of income and taking advantage of art and creativity in the public space as a means of attracting visitors (Chapple et al, 2010).

The history of street art in Barcelona reached a milestone in 2004; at that time, the Raval became the focus of urban art in the city, attracting both local artists as well as artists from different parts of the world, such as France, Denmark, Germany, and other countries. The street art scene in

Barcelona was in full effervescence and the presence of international artists contributed to enrich it even further, turning it into a space for cultural and creative exchange. The Raval became a place that reflected the diversity of influences and styles that defined the urban art of the time.

> They came with the idea of "Barcelona, city of urban art, or street art, or graffiti." It was a boom. The works were both fresher and simpler, as people painted more freely. (Artist/Btoy)
>
> The Raval used to be a museum, in its golden age it was something to behold. From artists painting by day, the police would wave hello. The public received it very well. Everything was very magical, but the zero tolerance [policy] did not moderate. (Arcadi Poch—Kognitif)

In the vibrant and multicultural Raval neighborhood of Barcelona, street art becomes a meeting point where creativity unfolds through various mediums and techniques. As Rius-Ulldemolins (2008: 196) points out, "one of the most noticeable effects for the attentive observer of Raval is the abundance of street art in its streets: graffiti, tags, stencils, stickers, painted posters, among others." For visitors walking through the neighborhood, these works are clearly visible and form an integral part of the visual experience of the city. Additionally, the Raval is a space of cultural exchange where diverse cultural, academic, and artistic institutions and spaces coexist. The Barcelona Museum of Contemporary Art (MACBA) along with works by Eduardo Chillida (mural *G-333*, 1998) and Keith Haring (mural *Together we can stop AIDS*, 1989/2014), the Center of Contemporary Culture of Barcelona (CCCB) and academic institutions such as the Faculty of Geography and History (UB) and the Faculty of Communication and International Relations (Blanquerna—Ramon Llull University), are located in the area, which fosters an environment of creativity and innovation. The neighborhood is also frequented by a diverse population that includes groups of skaters, students, immigrants, and tourists from all over the world. In this context, street art not only manifests itself as a form of artistic expression, but also contributes significantly to its social and cultural configuration.

From the Barcelona City Council, the neighborhood is presented, since 2013, as the "Raval Cultural," with the purpose of promoting and highlighting the wide cultural and patrimonial richness present within the neighborhood. Its main objective is to associate the image of the neighborhood with its true essence, to promote collaboration and coordination

in the cultural field, as well as to strengthen the connection between its neighbors and culture (Raval Cultural, 2024). Since 2016, after a process of careful thought regarding this vision, some of the following objectives were reoriented. Raval Cultural's new approach focuses on the right to culture and interculturality. It proposes to strengthen the cultural fabric through training in cultural facilities, to aid in calls for subsidies, and providing advising for activities in public spaces. In addition, it proposes to redirect the urban planning action and change the focus of external communication towards a broader vision of the Raval. As for interculturality, it focuses on five aspects related to coexistence: equal rights, recognition of diversity, positive interaction, sense of belonging, and diverse participation. The objective is to highlight the diverse cultural expressions of the territory and promote cultural co-production (Raval Cultural, 2024) (Fig. 6.5).

But although the concept of "Raval Cultural" is presented as a strategy to revitalize a neighborhood with a heterogeneous identity, it can also function as a device designed to please the curious tourist. Efforts to create an attractive and cultural image, such as the resignification of Robadors street, the presence of the Filmoteca and the promotion of the "urban adventure" in the Raval, often take precedence over the daily reality of the neighborhood, with all its contradictions, complexities, and constantly evolving challenges. While in some respects this policy of developing the Raval basing it on a strong cultural component has worked, it has also been subject to criticism. For example, due to the over-intensive use of the social space of the neighborhood with the massive arrival of tourism, and the lack of communication and collaboration from the public administration with the residents.

Despite these dynamics, private urban art projects have added value to the neighborhood and have produced an important touristic attraction for the city. One example is the mural "Tribute to Joan Miró" by Sixe Paredes, which was located on the corner of Riereta and Sant Pau streets, which was sponsored by the company Kognitif. Although the mural had an ephemeral life in the lot where it was located, it became one of the main points of interest for visitors to the neighborhood from its creation in 2014 until 2018.

Another notable attraction is the performance of street works on the shutters of stores or other physical places that do not involve intervention on facades, unless they are legal projects, such as doors or garages. This form of urban intervention, which in some cases is authorized by business

Fig. 6.5 Everyday images of the Cultural Raval. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2020 and 2022

owners, but is generally carried out illegally, could be understood from the specific characteristics that define the Raval neighborhood, but also other neighborhoods, such as the Gràcia or Gòtic neighborhoods. From the perspective of illegal street art, where the investment in money, the time of permanence of the work, and the benefits in terms of visibility must be evaluated, many artists choose to intervene these spaces with the confidence that it is unlikely that their work will be removed, unless the owners of the premises file a complaint to the authorities. Thus, it is likely that a painting on a shutter will remain intact for years. This type of street intervention tends to generate territorial valorization and is an attraction for a tourist profile eager to discover places, many of them alternatives to more traditional tourism (Klein, 2018) (Fig. 6.6).

In general, the lack of complaints by business owners to the police leads to various interpretations and, on many occasions, triggers positive consequences. First, it benefits street artists, as the absence of complaints makes it unlikely that their work will be removed once it has been painted on a shutter, ensuring its temporary permanence and visibility. Furthermore, this practice contributes to private commerce, especially if the work is of high quality, as the artistic element adds aesthetic value to the closed establishment. It is preferable to have a well-crafted painting on a shutter

Fig. 6.6 Shutters and other places with artistic interventions. Gothic Quarter. Photo: Ricardo Klein, 2020

over having it covered with graffiti or unwanted markings, especially in a neighborhood where graffiti and street art are common. Finally, the global appreciation of the aesthetics of graffiti and street art also plays an important role, as it attracts fans from all over the world. In fact, tourism in Barcelona includes activities related to this type of artistic expression, potentially benefiting the local economy, and fostering cultural diversity in the city (Fig. 6.7).

CONCLUSIONS

Since the 1980s, Barcelona has pursued a strategy to become one of the most attractive cities for world tourism. This is partially due to its urban policy of building a city brand characterized by its multiculturalism and artistic development. In this context, street art plays a fundamental role in the intervention and value of public space.

However, the massification of tourism in the city has led to a touristification that makes it necessary to develop alternatives to the more traditional touristic circuits. In this sense, creative tourism emerges as an innovative and enriching proposal that seeks, among other aspects, to install the idea of cultural and artistic neighborhoods, such as the Raval. This type of tourism focuses on the exploration and discovery of the city through culture and creativity, involving participation in different activities related to street art, as well as guided visits to contemporary art galleries or living the experience of local life in different neighborhoods of the city.

As part of this cultural neighborhood mechanism, street art is consolidating as a point of attraction for tourists and the local population. Part of this is due to the reconversion that street art in Barcelona had to undergo because of the implementation of the Civic Obedience Ordinance by the City Council, which came into force in 2006. Among other results, this generated the emergence of private initiatives that sought to enhance the value of urban art, but in a legal manner. These projects of free walls and urban creativity not only contributed elements for the future professional careers of graffiti and urban art artists, but also helped to make street art visible in the city's public spaces and to its visitors.

Likewise, the possibility of expanding tourist offerings with reference to urban art has made possible the arrival of people interested in having a different experience, thanks to the production of various initiatives connected to street art. These include the creation of street art routes, open air galleries, and the presence of muralism in art festivals. These new forms of street art management in the city are currently used in Barcelona as a

Fig. 6.7 Shutters and other physical spaces with street art interventions. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2020 and 2022

methodology to attract an increasingly diversified and alternative tourism. This type of tourism visualizes a unique experiential form of urban life in the consumption of street art in public space. This urban culture offers the possibility of satisfying tourists who come to the city to see legally managed murals as well as illegal productions.

It is important to continue fostering partnerships between street art and non-traditional or alternative tourism in Barcelona. This implies considering the impact that these actions have on the city and promoting sustainable and participatory neighborhood processes that attract both locals and foreign tourists. Barcelona has stood out for its urban policy focused on the city brand, where multiculturalism and artistic development are key elements to attract tourism worldwide. Street art has been a valuable means to intervene and add value to the city's public space and should continue to be used as such in the future.

Street art is a form of expression that is becoming increasingly important in cities and, therefore, it too has great potential for revitalizing neighborhoods and attracting tourists. The relationship between urban art and tourism is complex, as it is not always easy to find a balance between the management of public space and the preservation of neighborhood identity, as well as the need to generate interest for visitors. In this sense, it is important to highlight that the development of territorial strategies involving street art and public space can be an alternative to create sustainable neighborhood processes that also hold touristic interest. This implies a coordinated management between different players, such as the local government, artists, and the community. For example, a street art program that involves the artists and offers them a space to create works that beautify the neighborhood and generate tourist interest could be promoted. In this way, creativity is encouraged and contributes to the preservation of the neighborhood's identity, which in turn favors the arrival of tourists interested in urban art.

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Private projects: Xavi Ballaz (Difusor/BMurals) Marc García (Rebobinart)·Arcadi Poch (Kognitif).

Pittsburgh. Carrie Furnaces Urban Art Tour: Connecting Graffiti Culture and Industrial Patrimony Through Aesthetics of Authenticity in Pennsylvania

Caitlin Bruce

INTRODUCTION

Cathedral-like funnels and smokestacks rise against the sky at the Carrie Furnaces. The hundreds of tons of metal and brick are decorated with names: Kids, Thor. The inscriptions dance across girders and the curves of metal chambers (Figs. 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3) and are garnished with vibrant green growth. Located in the borough of Rankin, a short drive from Pittsburgh, the pre-war industrial site abuts the Monongahela River (Fig. 7.4) the Furnaces offer a surprising landscape of apparent ruin and might that contrast sharply with the smooth lines of roadway and the sheen of the big box stores at the nearby Waterfront Mall.

The Carrie Furnaces are a site of industrial patrimony. By industrial patrimony, I refer to the national historic landmark designation that protects non-producing industrial infrastructure in the name of maintaining and celebrating the region's industrial history and identity. The Furnaces also host graffiti patrimony: works of style writers from the 1990s to the

169

Fig. 7.1   KIDS Piece. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2019

present. The site's status as an authentic ruin is part of the attraction it holds to tourists and commercial users who situate the Furnaces as an unusual and romantic backdrop for music festivals, advertisements, and photo shoots. For those who come from multiple generations of steel workers who suffered extreme job loss, it is not whimsical—it is a complex site of pride but also of loss and mourning: for lost jobs, trauma from injuries sustained on the job, certain senses of masculinity, and so on. However, "ruin" is not a completely accurate descriptor. The Furnaces are a site of managed or arrested entropy, maintained through significant grant funding and labor.

The Furnaces offer a unique site to consider the role of graffiti/street art tourism in post-industrial places. Transforming from a major center for metal casting to a closed site for scrap metal collection in the 1990s, the dormant site became an unofficial center for urban explorers, guerilla artists, and graffiti writers. In addition to style writers, a collective called the Mobile Sculpture Workshop created a two-story owl and deer head sculpture out of scrap harvested from the site. Since the early 2010s it has been a national heritage site that combines industrial history with post-industrial culture to create an evolving relationship to the past and present (Rivers of Steel, 2018). For instance: one of the unsanctioned sculptures, the deer head, is now a sort of icon for the site (Fig. 7.5). At the date of writing,

Fig. 7.2 Carrie Furnaces. Photo by Ron Baraff, September 9, 2010. Courtesy of Rivers of Steel and Ron Baraff

the Furnaces are sustained through a public-private funding scheme designed to promote Pittsburgh's film production industry—Hollywood on the Monongahela River (Scuillo, 2023).

Modern graffiti culture also emerged during this post-industrial moment—in the 1960s in Philadelphia and in the 1970s in New York City

Fig. 7.3 Steelworker, Shane Pilster. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2019
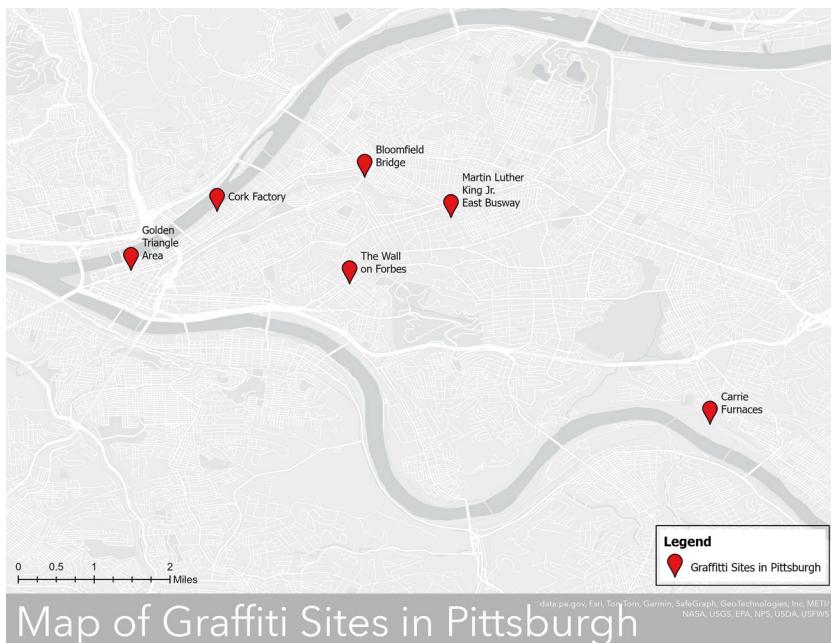
Fig. 7.4 Map of graffiti sites in Pittsburgh. Created by Boris Michev

Fig. 7.5 Carrie Furnaces. Deer head. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2021

(Gastman & Neelon, 2011) and 1980s in Pittsburgh. In a youth workshop hosted at Brashear High School, located in the Pittsburgh neighborhood of Beechview, about ten minutes from the Furnaces, Chicago writer Stef Skills explained that post-industrial economic decline shaped the landscape for modern graffiti's emergence. In New York, urban denizens witnessed the decimation of places like the Bronx. In response, youth took up spray cans to use the city as a canvas making the simple but powerful claim: "I am here." "They make something out of nothing," Stef Skills from Chicago explained to youth (Fieldnotes, (2017) April).

This chapter takes up the Graffiti Art Tours at the Furnaces as an example of post-industrial and "alternative" forms of tourism. Scholars have traced the ways in which the Furnaces serve as a site for memory, forgetting, and identification (Veitch, 1997). Less has been written about the role of the arts in the Furnaces dynamic and evolving form and graffiti art, in particular. The chapter proceeds with a discussion of the site's history and the history of graffiti in Pittsburgh, then an analysis of the Graffiti Art Tour itself, drawing on participant observation and an interview with the co-creator of the tour, Shane Pilster. The context of the space deeply informs the tour both in the history relayed by the guide and the spray paint practices that participants are invited to engage in. As a result, tour participants are invited to discover graffiti as a place-based process, not

just a selfie spot. Finally, I'll conclude with a reflection on how this model of tourism seeks to generate an experience of authenticity cultivated through the intimate relationships between graffiti works and site, but also that such experiences are ephemeral given the politics of ownership of the site.

TOURISM AND PITTSBURGH'S CITY IMAGE: LABOR SHIFTS FROM SMOKE AND STEEL TO RUIN AND RENAISSANCE

Pittsburgh was one of the leading sites of industry from 1830 to shortly after World War II. In 1910, 45 percent of 534,000 residents were employed in industry (Penna, 1976, 49). As a result, the city's image was largely defined in terms of industrial labor. However, shifting framings and definitions of the city by elites had everything to do with how Pittsburgh was represented to outsiders. Though not all visitors were tourists, many were journalists and reformers. The Pittsburgh Survey of 1907–1914 and the Olmstead Report 1911 were two moments where sociological investigations used Pittsburgh as case study for industrial promise and industrial problems.

Anthony Penna explains that in the nineteenth century Pittsburgh was defined first as a "smoky city." To downplay the health and environmental effects of the smoke between World War I and World War II elites reframed it as a "workshop" marked by "industrial strength and civic consciousness." For instance, "iron magnate" William L. Scaife headed up a campaign to argue that "dirt, grime, and smoke were important as symbols of industrial production and growth," and he described smoke as "graceful" and compared smokestacks to "organ pipes" (Ibid, 51). Described as the "workshop of the world" in many newspapers and magazines underwritten by oil, coal, iron, and steel money, Pittsburgh symbolized progress in the early twentieth century (Ibid, 52).

The Pittsburgh Survey showed another image of the city: one where people suffered. Houses lacked water and paved roads, and the environment was steadily contaminated. Soon after, planner and greenspace advocate Frederick Law Olmstead Jr. published a report recommended widening the streets, refurbishing Pittsburgh's waterfront, and constructing a civic center (Ibid, 54). In response, Pittsburgh elites formed a "citizen's committee" in 1921 to implement some of Olmstead's recommendations through a project called the Pittsburgh Plan. This committee was active until 1941 and many of the same elites or their heirs (like

those of Richard King Mellon, Frederick Bigger) were part of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (ACCD) that supported Pittsburgh's Renaissance in 1943 (Ibid, 55).

The Great Depression hurt efforts to promote Pittsburgh as a "workshop" and again it was seen as "smoky city," a perception that the production required by World War II only partly alleviated. In 1947 many industries were "contemplating a move to other locations," heightened by the growth of industry in the South and West requiring Pittsburgh companies to assume more transportation costs, as well as more labor strikes at home (Ibid, 48–49).

Following economic decline in the 1940s, elites reframed Pittsburgh as a Renaissance City. Pittsburgh's renewal was the product of an "elite regional alliance" that transformed the city after World War II. In the late 1940s, the ACCD focused disproportionately on Pittsburgh's downtown, the "Golden Triangle." The goal was to attract new companies and a more affluent population by generating more amenities (parks, cultural centers, etc.). The government passed smoke abatement policies against burning of soft coal, so that pollution would be less visible, built stunning skyscrapers, cleaned the Allegheny and Monongohela Rivers that flank the Triangle, and created a bus line to connect the airport to the downtown (Vitale, 2015, 34).

The "Pittsburgh Renaissance" has consistently been an uneven process of investing in some sectors, spaces, and people at the expense of others (Ibid). Patrick Vitale argues that this language of renaissance is a cyclical rhetorical phenomenon with serious material effects. Pittsburgh is often narrated as being a space of both decline and renewal wherein the "disinvestment in Pittsburgh's industrial capacity helped create the conditions for its rebirth as a center of finance, corporate administration, medicine, higher education, and research" (2015, 34). Therefore, Vitale emphasizes, "decline is renewal" meaning that strategic disinvestment creates the conditions for profitable reinvestment (Vitale, 2015, 34). Many of the elites who spurred reinvestment also oversaw the offshoring of industry or moving it to the American South where there were weaker labor laws and fewer unions (Ibid, 35). Wealthy families like the Mellons and the Hillmans moved their businesses away from manufacturing in Pittsburgh during the 1960s and 1970s hastening industrial collapse. Many reinvested in finance, real estate, medicine, education/research, commercial sites, recreation and automobile infrastructure (highways and bridges) within and beyond Pittsburgh. In short, Vitale explains, "they simultaneously created the urban crisis and its solution" (Ibid, pp. 35–36). The "Golden Triangle"

became a command center for such firms that had many assets beyond the city. While the downtown was built up, the Hill District, a collection of historically Black neighborhoods, was gutted to construct a failed Civic Arena.

The industrial crash that was generated by industrial titans themselves came about in the 1970s. Between 1980 and 1986 employment fell 42.6 percent putting 115,500 workers out of jobs (Detrick, 1999, 4). In 2003 Pittsburgh reported "negative assets," and the city fired over 400 employees and "closed all the public swimming pools and recreation centers," and the city became a "fiscal ward of the state" (Teaford, 2015, 4). In 2013 there were massive school closures. Only in 2019 did the city stop losing population.

Notably, Pittsburgh's post-industrial renewal has been informed by a mix of the technology, education, and medical industries (Winant, 2021). Richard Florida wrote his famous text *The Rise of the Creative Class* while teaching at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh's Oakland neighborhood though he lamented Pittsburgh's failure, at the time, to recruit and retain the creative class (2002). It is within this larger context of decline and selective renewal that the American graffiti movement came to Pittsburgh and the Carrie Furnaces came to be an epicenter for graffiti.

CARRIE FURNACES: HOW AN INDUSTRIAL SITE BECOMES A GRAFFITI HISTORY CENTER

Like many industrial sites, the 1980s spelled the end of the Carrie Furnaces as an active manufacturing site. When the Carrie Furnaces were abandoned in the late 1980s and early 1990s, they were an informal gathering place for guerilla artists, urban explorers, and graffiti artists. Because they are not within walking distance or on a direct bus line from Pittsburgh, the works created by the artists from the 1990s to the early 2000s were largely left untouched. Aficionados of graffiti and street art would be floored by this fact: in more traditional graffiti ecologies permanence is not an expectation and city-run graffiti squads routinely erase graffiti works. As a result, the Furnaces have also become, organically, a regional graffiti museum showcasing evolutions in the style over the last three decades. However, the value of such heritage is not recognized by all.

Pittsburgh's graffiti scene emerged in the 1980s in the wake of a newly deindustrialized landscape. Early crews included G-Force, Bad Asset, TVA (The Versatile Artists) and later NES (Never Ever Satisfied), GDB

(Getting' Down to Business), KTS (Kiss the Sky), PFG (Psychadelic Funk Groove), and SDA (Super Dope Art Crew) (Mace, 2020; Seven, 2020). NSF (Not Strictly Freights/New School's Freshest/Non Stop Flavor/Next in Space) was founded in 1994 by Necske and Spade. NSF is one of the most prominent Pittsburgh-originated crews to have representation around the United States.

Early writers included Buda, Max, Boo, Gobe, Seven, Havoc, Serg, Brick, Sesk, Force One, and Cream (Mace, 2020; Buddy, 2020; Danny Yinzer, 2020). Buda started writing in 1983, and a piece of his painted in Millvale is featured in the eponymous book *Spraycan Art* (Newton, 2005). The New York scene was influential for Buda.

Popular media-shaped style writing in Pittsburgh, as it did across the world: *Style Wars* had massive influence, as well as images of graffiti in skate magazines like *Thrasher,* and writers came from a blend of subcultures including skating, hardcore punk rock, rock and roll, psychedelic rock, and hip hop (Seven, 2020). Henry Chalfant, photographer and co-author of *Subway Art* (with Martha Cooper) and *Spraycan Art* (with James Prigoff) is from Sewickley, a suburb west of the city. He met young Pittsburgh writers when he returned home from New York and profiled some of their work and brought some out to New York (Newton, 2005).

As youth traveled regionally, and later nationally, influences from other writers in other cities shaped Pittsburgh style as well. From 1989 to 1990, Necske and his friends went to other cities and met writers in Philadelphia while some applied to art school. Necske recalled that he would "keep going back and forth from Pittsburgh to Philly," and became involved in the hip-hop movement, and built connections with writers and musicians in Columbus, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC (Neckske, 2020). Using AOL (America Online, a dominant email, instant messenger, and internet chatroom service that was prominent from the 1990s to the early 2000s), writers like Necske connected to other youth from around the United States, "sending packages" and building photo-albums of graffiti works. Necske and other crew mates traveled to cities like Toronto, Montreal, and later even Los Angeles (Ibid).

Pittsburgh's industrial collapse shaped the lives and itineraries of young writers. Neckske narrated:

in the 1970s we were a boom town, and when the '80s hit and the industry shut down, there was a huge economic downturn. So, like late '70s to early '80s, mid- '80s like to '90s—all the Reagan era—everything was falling

apart. Tough to keep jobs just—I could see Homestead from my backyard and Homestead was like Mordor when I grew up, it was all fire. And just like, you know, it was on fire basically all night long with burning metal, and then by the time I left it was gone. Completely decimated, you know? So then all those smaller neighborhoods fell apart and it just was an economic struggle for a lot of people. (2020)

For many youth, writing provided an alternative to violence, a form of belonging, and an escape from difficult home situations (Seven, 2020; Mace, 2020).

Pittsburgh's infrastructure (roadways, bridges, walls, and freight trains) and abandoned warehouses served as primary surfaces for writing. Necske started writing in 1986 in Pittsburgh's East End. Necske was skating in Polish Hill and near the Bloomfield Bridge, which was a major spot for writing and observed pieces and tags there. They explained that local high schools, brought other writers like Force One, Basic/Sonic, Prism, and Mace together. The youth went to punk shows and then would write together (Neckske, 2020). In the 1990s the train yards in Millvale and Etna (boroughs just north of the city) were important canvases. In the 1990s, Danny Yinzer met other writers through Peabody High School in the East End, he noted: "the coolest thing about that school was a choir room that said 'Peabody Choir' " where they would hang out (Danny Yinzer, 2020) and the writer Prism had a piece there and "every day we would just open the doors … and stare at it. It was amazing" (Buddy, 2020). Neckske went on to "found" four train yards in the city: on the West Side, under the Duquesne Incline; on the North Side in Manchester; Glenwood yard in Hazelwood on the city's east side, and in Etna, north of the city (Ibid). Mace, who spent most of his childhood in Lawrenceville, spoke about spaces like a sparsely occupied shopping center in the Stanton Heights neighborhood hosting works by Jazz and Fresh (2020). Happenstall Steel Mill in Lawrenceville was another post-industrial canvas for young writers (Danny Yinzer, 2020). A wall on Forbes Avenue in Oakland, where two of the city's largest universities are located, University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Mellon University, was where punks would hang out, but also many young writers, and would meet to go to parties with live music and then paint (Mace, 2020).

The Martin Luther King Jr. Busway, a roadway dedicated to the city's express bus service, was the primary canvas for local writers, a sort of "Hall of Fame." Seven recalled: "The East Busway was one of those spots. Like,

if you got up on there that was, that was something" (2020). Running from the downtown through many of the city's East End neighborhoods of Polish Hill, East Liberty, Shadyside, Larimer, Homewood, Wilkinsburg, and Point Breeze, the busway connected other key spots for writing culture. Force One, an East Liberty writer, created a shop (now located on 5450 Penn Avenue) called Time Bomb that was a point of reunion for writers. He also founded the Time Bomb Crew and was influenced by the Philadelphia and New York scene.

Deindustrialized landscapes offered canvases for young writers. Many writers recalled the Slutsky Cork Factory on 23rd Street by the Allegheny River in the city's Strip District as an important site for writing. With multiple floors, including lower levels where junkies hung out, writers would settle "beef" on the seventh floor and then "jam" on the roof (Mace, 2020). A writer who lived on Mt. Washington, originally from Cleveland, would host meetings at his house on Boggs Avenue and writers would tag the steps going up the hill (Seven, 2020). Pittsburgh is known for large external staircases connecting upper and lower parts of neighborhoods.

Warehouses in Bloomfield, the Strip District, and the North Side were frequent spots for writers to paint and hang out, the Carrie Furnaces included. Neckske notes of the furnaces:

> We were there all the time because there were trains right next to it so we could paint trains and go paint the walls and go back and forth like untested you know? So it was a great place to just hang out and paint, climb, do whatever you wanted to, drink. Yeah, beautiful views of like the river and the city so we went there a lot too. And I was living in Swissvale at the time so it was close. You could walk there or ride a bike. (2020)

During the time-period in which writers like Necske were hanging out at the Furnaces, it was under the ownership of the Park Corporation. In 1988, the Park Corporation took over the site and gutted it for scrap metal with very minimal surveillance. The same year, a group of citizens began to meet in the wake of industrial collapse about how to respond to the changed landscape of the city, leading to the creation of a non-profit in 1992 called the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation (Rivers of Steel). In 1996, the Rivers of Steel National Heritage Site was created by Congress and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. In 2005, the site was sold to Allegheny County and in 2006 the furnaces were designated a National Historic Landmark.

In 2006, Rivers of Steel (ROS) took over as caretakers and managers for the site, seeking to transform it from an urban ruin to one node in a larger network of industrial patrimony. Adopting a dynamic approach to cultural patrimony, the goal of ROS has not been to "freeze" the furnaces but make it a safe and significant part of an evolving process of Pittsburgh's identity. As a result, they not only offer tours about the process of producing steel, but also serve the site for music festivals, weddings, photo shoots, and a sculpture biennial. It has continued to be the temporary home for the Mobile Sculpture Workshop as of 2020.

In 2013 the Urban Art Tour began and became integrated as part of the Rivers of Steel Arts (ROSA) program. The tour was the brainchild of Shane Pilster and was facilitated by Ron Baraff's leadership. ROSA began in 2016/2017 and at date of writing continues to be directed by Chris McGinnis. Pilster began to offer urban art tours and workshops (Kirkland, 2013). Pilster, a graffiti artist from the San Francisco Bay Area who relocated to Pittsburgh sixteen years ago, tells a nuanced story about the personalities and myths behind the markings on various parts of the Furnace walls. He also offers workshop participants the opportunity to make their own works of art, familiarizing them with graffiti technique and practice and, in this way, challenging common preconceptions about graffiti as simple vandalism void of skill. In 2020, the Urban Art Tour was renamed the Graffiti Art tour. In 2022, ROSA received National Endowment for the Arts funding for a new program titled: "Industrial Grit and Graffiti," where renowned graffiti artist and sculptors Carlos Mare and Mike Walsh (Prism) created massive bronze castings of their names with a team of metal workers from the Furnaces.

The Graffiti Art Tour uses graffiti as a way to tell a story of industrial decline and renewal, site specificity, and authenticity (Fig. 7.6). Pilster and Baraff have commented that the tours are sometimes still seen as controversial: some of the former steelworkers wish for the site to be solely dedicated to the history of the blast furnace as an industrial site, essentially stopping the clock in the late 1970s. But ROS has publicly articulated that their approach to tourism sees the past as interconnected with the present, and the arts as a vehicle for historical and cultural interpretation, a means of generating increased foot traffic, promoting social connections and galvanizing economic activity. The Graffiti Art Tours offered a mutually beneficial partnership for writers and ROS. Part of the reason that the permission scheme was attractive to ROS was because of its potential to deter unsanctioned graffiti. Ron Baraff, director of Museums and Archives

Fig. 7.6 Exterior near powerhouse. Shane Pilster's painting of Hephaestus, Greek god of metal working. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2019

at Rivers of Steel, explained that developing the urban art program was a way of finding "common ground," and if can create "understanding and partnerships" there is more space for generativity, and "it took a little while but we've had almost no illegal incursions in the past few years, and maybe 15 since 2012" (2019).

The Graffiti Art Tour connects with many of the themes we discussed in this book. If tourism has increasingly shifted from the spectacular to the everyday, and product-oriented to experience-oriented (Richards, 2011), the Graffiti Art Tour exemplifies the conjunction of placemaking and creative cities ideology that occurs through "creative tourism" in the birthplace of the idea of the creative class: Pittsburgh. The tour offers visitors an intangible experience that relies on ideas of distinction and authenticity (Zukin, 1989) while also exemplifying the relationship between artistic producers and place, tacitly rebutting the "philosophical freight" of creative cities (Pratt, 2011) that posits a heroic and individual romantic author. Instead, the Graffiti Art Tours educate about a form of creative production that emerges out of the wreckage of the collapse of industrial economies but does not seek to erase the evidence of the labor that sustained such economies (Richards, 2011, 1232–1233). In short, the site

and the tours around it invite visitors to imagine the collective relation-ships, immense work, and rich context that informed industrial life. The Furnaces and the Graffiti Art Tour are a "heterogeneous" and "less scripted space" (Ibid, 1233–1234) that invite visitors to rethink the story of the Pittsburgh region.

The Urban Art Tour: Hands on Participation in Graffiti Production

In this section I bring the reader on one of the tours to draw attention to how the guides focus on the specificity and authenticity of place to help visitors learn about the past and present of the Western Pennsylvania region. I have attended Urban Art Tours in August 2019, September 2021, and September 2023. The 2019 tour ran from 5 pm to 8 pm. It was hot out, and a small group was gathered in the powerhouse building (Fig. 7.7). The powerhouse is a former electrical site for the Furnaces. When the Furnaces were active the site produced its own electricity. Now, the large warehouse-shaped space is more of an events venue and a storage space for materials that cannot live outdoors. Ryan, the site manager at the time, was set up at a table with maps of the site, release forms, brochures, and water. Pilster was retrieving materials in the back storage area. There were eleven people, including myself: six women all white appearing, one mixed race, ranging from their early twenties to early forties, one white-appearing child, and three white-appearing men in their thirties.[1] I greeted Pilster, who I've known since 2016, and is one of my collaborators in the Hemispheric Conversations Urban Art Project, an art programming and education collective. He was white and forty-one, at the time of writing. He has been painting graffiti since he was fifteen. Ryan is in his late thir-ties, white, and boasts a strong Pittsburgh accent. He is a public historian by training. Ryan welcomed everyone and discussed the background of the site, from its construction as an iron refinery in the late 1890s to its acquisition by Andrew Carnegie in 1898 as part of the Homestead Works, to the Furnaces shutdown in 1982. He told the story of the Parks Company that gutted the site, and its role as a hotspot for illegal graffiti and guerilla art, transitioning the tour to Pilster.

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[1] I use the term white-appearing because I did not query the tour participants about their race. This author is white-appearing but mixed-race.
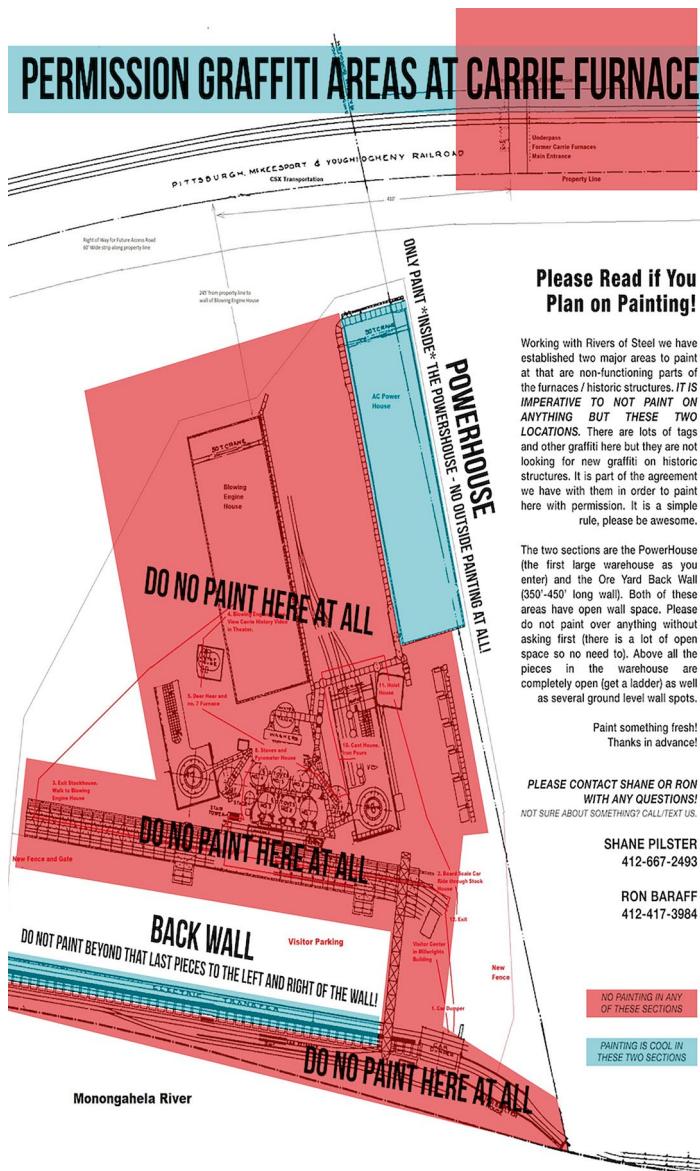
Fig. 7.7 Site plan, 2014. Courtesy of Rivers of Steel, Shane Pilster, and Ron Baraff

The tour began with Ryan pointing to the distinctiveness of the Furnaces as an industrial patrimony. Greg Richards argues that distinction creates "a symbolic edge in an increasingly crowded marketplace" and "place adds value to the cultural economy in general" (Richards, 2011, 1230). Drawing on materials found littered across on the ground of the site, Ryan showed the raw materials for iron: raw iron, found in the ground, coke (coal cake, with high carbon content that serves as fuel), and limestone, which forms a kind of "fat" in the hot liquid metal that pulls out impurities and can be skimmed off becoming "slag." The three minerals are represented by the hydro-cyclones on the Steelers logo, the copyright for which was bought from American Steel. Ryan explained that the urban art and industrial art program demonstrated the uniqueness of the Furnaces, as not just "a site for historic interpretation" like the blast furnace in Birmingham, Alabama, which does not have an urban art program. Here, the guides emphasize how the Furnaces create a form of distinction for Pittsburgh.

Pilster then discussed his relationship and background to the site pointing to how he used his artwork to represent the history of workers. He said that the furnaces "looked abandoned" when he moved to Pittsburgh in 2004, and friends from Swissvale had brought him there to paint. He has been working with Rivers of Steel since 2013, creating an urban art program that came out of meeting Ron on a historic tour in 2013 and asking about ROS' plans for preservation of the historic graffiti, and a long process of "building trust" and "winning over industrial enthusiasts." One way in which he did that was to paint a mural of a steelworker—the first logo for the organization—over a background of colorful letters that spelled out "Rivers of Steel" (Fig. 7.3) He later painted a piece of the Greek god of metalworking: Hephaestus (Fig. 7.6).

Pilster's tour was modular and open-ended, with various opportunities for visitors to ask questions, determine the amount of time spent in one or another location, and enter spaces (or not). Pilster framed the tour as a "choose your own adventure" kind of event where he presents a very limited history of graffiti, its relationship to the site, his personal experience, and then they will end by "painting a bunch of stuff."

Shane's pedagogy was rooted in the site, using existing graffiti works, much of which he has curated, to help contextualize and define key terms and elements of the culture. Pointing to tags, pieces, and bombs, he defined each term with reference to the inscriptions in the powerhouse. He then explained that the war on Subway graffiti in New York led to a

shift to painting on the streets, which was documented and made famous by *Style Wars* (1983), Henry Chalfant and Martha Cooper's *Subway Art* and *Spraycan Art* (1982). Chalfant, Shane added, is from Sewickley, Pennsylvania. He reflected that graffiti is a movement "started by *kids,* 11, 12 to eighteen years old," many of whom stopped writing by the time they reached their twenties. He also used the diversity of styles visible at the Furnaces to illuminate regional styles: for instance, New York, Pilster offered is the "mecca of style" and styles all over the world find their basis in New York lettering, a kind of "bubble" "heavy" style, as he pointed at another piece and contrasted it with the Los Angeles style that draws from gang *placas*—old English-style lettering. Pilster learned that Pittsburgh style is "80s/90s style, meaning, chunky letters" or "monster rock" (2020).

Pilster's point about graffiti being a diverse youth-driven movement is significant because it draws attention to the practitioners and their concerns in context and complicates a narrative of the Furnaces being primarily a place for adult, white, male workers. It leaves space to consider the stories of writers like Necske who saw the furnace in their lifetimes as both a space of industrial production and a gathering place for writers and other guerilla artists. Often the tours are given to school groups, and the way many people are familiar with graffiti or street art is through figures like Banksy or Shepard Fairy. These artists "broke into the international gallery scene," Pilster contextualized, but so did old school writers like Dondi who were already doing so in the 1990s. He painted a picture of a rich, global, multimedia culture that he participated as a young person by making and receiving VHS tapes of work by other writers and buying *Juxtapoz Magazine* at Tower Records. He warned the visitors, too, that unsanctioned writing is a "criminal" act and "you will go to jail" if you do illegal graffiti, encouraging not to practice what they learn in the workshop on the street. Relating his own personal history of being caught and prosecuted for doing graffiti in 2004, Pilster explained how the tour came out of his desire to "give back" and to celebrate the accidental history to which the Furnaces play host.

After this background, Shane walked us through the powerhouse, pointing at different works and explaining where writers were from to highlight the global nature of the movement and how it is a form of belonging. The remainder of the walking tour was largely structured through conversation: we would pass a piece, a visitor would ask a question, Pilster would respond leading to more questions. For example, one of his pieces, "Graffiti, will you be my valentine," in the interior of the

powerhouse, led to a visitor asking "What is NSF?" The acronym for the crew floats in the center after the cheeky epigraph. "That's a crew," he explained, "NSF means Non Stop Flavor, but crews are like a family. The police used to define them like gangs but they aren't that—they are like a family and most people have families and work who are in crews." Another asked how crews form, or how you join them. He said that in some crews one knows every member, but others, like NSF, are massive, over one hundred people. Regardless of size, a crew membership means "you can travel wherever and always have somewhere to sleep or someone to point you in the right direction."

We exited the powerhouse and walked around and behind the main blast furnaces to the wall facing the iron Gardens (Fig. 7.8), and Pilster emphasized how heterogeneous the population of writers are, that its "all races, all classes" connected by their love of style. This wall was repainted in May 2019 for visiting artists Bel2 from Chicago and Kart from León

Fig. 7.8 Ore yard. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2019

Guanajuato. At the May 2019 paint session, it was also painted by local artist Soviet, Pilster, Gems, and a visiting artist from Minneapolis. The visitors took photos, and we wound our way back to the train car where Kaffeine from Australia had painted a deer. The main wall abutting the train tracks was repainted the summer of 2020 in honor of an NSF member who passed away, MFONE, and led to visitors asking how writers choose their names, and how they meet people. At a later tour in 2023, where he stopped at a wall co-curated with Boom Concepts in 2021 and 2022, a Black-led arts collective, Pilster and co-tour leader Max Gonzales emphasized that though the majority of writers in Pittsburgh were white, one Kemist, who is Black, was one of the first writers to ever adventure into the Furnaces in the 1990s. In so doing, they painted a more diverse picture of Pittsburgh's past and present.

The walking tour ended by entering into the blast furnaces themselves, the most spectacular heart of the site. Ryan described the "constant hum" of the "man [*sic*] made volcano" of the furnace along with the heat (at times up to 400 degrees) and sulfuric stench of the work site. After some questions we descended and walked back to the powerhouse where the participatory part of the graffiti tour would begin.

The participatory part invited visitors to engage in "self-realization and self-expression whereby tourists become co-performers and co-creators as they develop their creative skills" that have been "transmitted by environments, people, processes, and products" (Richards, 2011, 1237). Pilster began the practice portion of the workshop by explaining how different cap sizes worked, analogizing the caps to different brush thicknesses determining the width of lines. He emphasized how proximity to the wall also impacted the sharpness of a mark and offered some brief demonstrations. Then, he invited the visitors to "go crazy" and pick from practice wall spaces or canvases to take home. We had about fifty minutes of time to paint. One girl had her photo taken in front of her work by her mother. Others experimented with different color pairings, fades, and line shapes, problem solving on the walls. Many elected to start (or only) paint on the walls instead of canvases, opting for an ephemeral experience rather than a portable object. I experimented with character drawing in a Rest in Piece work for my mother (Fig. 7.9) using my own history to create an intimate aesthetic in a site of industrial patrimony that I knew my mother would have loved.

Both the narrative and practice-oriented elements of the tour draw visitor's attention to the contextual richness of the Furnaces and of graffiti
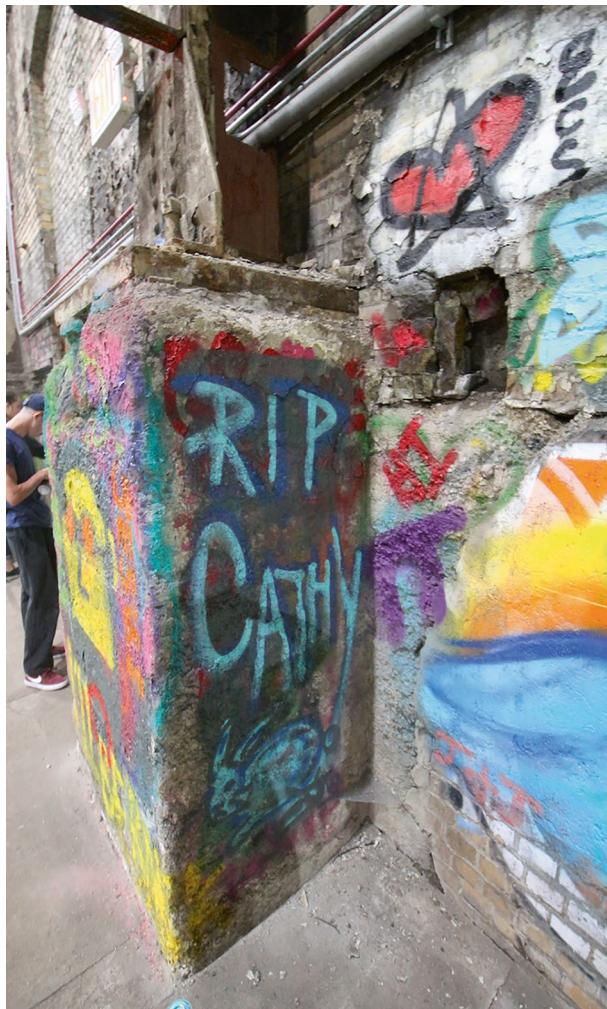
Fig. 7.9 RIP piece by author for her mother. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2019

culture. The tour works to translate and help visitors understand the plea-
sure, labor, and friendship involved in the practice of graffiti and decoding
the culture and, at times, the works themselves, so that they might be
more open to the practice. Near the end of the tour one of the visitors
remarked, "I think that because graffiti is so hard to read, people don't

Fig. 7.10 Mike 161, Henry 171 and Max Gonzales Discuss the origins of style writing in the powerhouse. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2023

like it. If they could read it, they might enjoy it." Though Pilster did not discuss the *value* of hard-to-read styles, he did help visitors understand that it is communicating to someone and that the act of communication has meaning in his lives and in others'.

In this sense, tourism served a pedagogic and performative function. Phaedra Pezzullo has argued that tourism offers visitors an embodied, emotional, and experiential means to understand what otherwise would remain abstract (2009). Analyzing the tours demonstrate how legal graffiti allows for the Furnaces to frame the *post-industrial* within more ample terms (landscape, labor, art, metal, youth relationships). It also offered a point of *distinction*, allowing the Furnaces to set itself apart from more traditional industrial history sites (Sassen, 1994).

In 2023 when Pilster and his painting partner, Max Gonzales, co-led a tour while also hosting founders of the style writing movement Mike 171 and Henry 161 from New York, who started writing as pre-teens. They were able to connect visitors to testimonies about the importance of labor (industrial, post-industrial, and communicative) for early writers (Fig. 7.10). Henry and Mike shared their awe about the space and the ongoing gift of being able to say, "Here I am."

Conclusion: Graffiti, Industry, and Authenticity

Pittsburgh has always been negotiating shifting understandings of its urban image. From smoky city to workshop, to steel city, to ruin, to Renaissance city, elites are often the people who get to determine such dominant meanings. But at the Furnaces, a more complex constellation of city images emerges. Themes of labor, grit, friendship, collaboration, global stylistic exchange, and youth voice emerge.

Both the tour and the process of producing the works involves intense engagement with the site that requires constant reflection on what Pittsburgh means in the context of massive industrial, cultural, and demographic shifts. Sharon Zukin characterizes the search for authenticity as a "tension between origins and new beginnings" (2009, xi), a process that involves questions about access, power, and what Henri Lefebvre has called "the right to the city" (1996). Authenticity, she explains, can enable and constrain efforts for inclusion and equity. She continues:

> Because the emergence of the term reflects the importance of our roles as cultural consumers who consume the city's art, food, and images and also its real estate, authenticity becomes a tool, along with economic and political power, to control not just the look but the use of real urban places: neighborhoods, parks, community gardens, shopping streets. Authenticity, then, is a cultural form of power over space that puts pressure on the city's old working class and lower middle class, who can no longer afford to live or work there. But authenticity could become a potent tool to combat the recent negative effects of upscale growth if we redefine it as a cultural right to make a permanent home in the city for all people to live and work. (2009, xii–xiii)

Zukin emphasizes that as a "cultural right" authenticity can be construed in accessible and democratic ways, and graffiti offers one potential mechanism for a democratic model of authenticity, as long as the movements' diverse and global contexts are kept in focus.

As the Furnaces become more developed as a cultural site, destined to be part of a new Hollywood on the "Mon", authenticity and whether it is a tool to wield power continues to be a question. The Graffiti Art Tour offers a simulated experience of being a writer discovering a "beautiful wasteland" (Kinney, 2016), a frontier experience that can affirm the visitor's sense of power in ways that might be problematic, repeating

conquest narratives, relying on narratives about blue-collar White masculinity (Römer, 2023) that are historically exclusionary and toxic, and threatening to elide the role of the space as a place for *labor* that cuts across class, race, gender, and ability unevenly.

In post-industrial spaces like Pittsburgh, workers and those who support them are often reduced to surplus population and discarded (Winant, 2021). Additionally, Pilster, who created the tour, and writers who are invited to paint there, do not control the site, ROS does. Much like the history of graffiti in the city where abandoned industrial walls offered canvases—spaces now mostly redeveloped, built up, and devoid of graffiti—how the Furnaces will continue to feature graffiti in ongoing stories of cultural and industrial patrimony is an open question.

The site itself and the way it was framed by Pilster and Gonzales in relation to the art counterbalances some of the potential *conquistador* tendencies of using art as a tool for discovery. We might contrast the detail of Pilster's tour and its rich engagement with local and global graffiti and industrial histories with another form of street art tourism in Pittsburgh: as a short-lived stop on an unauthorized "Banksy Experience" exhibit in 2023. For three days, various replicas of Banksy's work were put on display in a former warehouse-turned-condominium space in Pittsburgh's Strip District with no context, no relationship to the city, and high admission fees (Waltz, 2023). In contrast, at the Furnaces the site itself, and patrimonial requirements like the formal designation of "contributing" and "non-contributing structures" which delineate where permission graffiti may be applied traces a ghostly history of labor. Essential structures were where the work of metal production happened. Sites like the Furnaces remain essential to the memory and emotional connections that workers, writers, and their families have to histories of labor and post-industrial survival.

The Furnaces are a synecdoche for post-industrial Pittsburgh: a palimpsestic part that stands in for a chaotic whole. The Graffiti Art Tour is also a synecdoche for the different creative pathways available to Pittsburgh's denizens through different ways of embracing the authenticity of the site as a place for human meaning. Some of the works engage with the history of the site, others use it as a platform to mourn or celebrate lost heroes in graffiti culture, and yet others are playful experiments with form. The plurality and dynamism of the site that makes it a fecund place for tour participants to reflect on new futures and reinterpret the past.

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Bogotá. Visual Noise and Activist Pedagogy Through Street Art

Caitlin Bruce

INTRODUCTION

"Bogotá is the city with the highest per capita of graffiti writers in the world," remarked Rodez, a bogateño public artist.[1] We were chatting after a panel discussion in Mexico City at the CIMU (Ciudad Mujeres) festival in 2019. A number of the artists and documentarians, and programmers at the festival were from Colombia representing cities like Cali, Medellin, and Bogotá. Rodez recounted that since 2011 the Colombian government has been supporting graffiti and street art, writers and artists are present at the tables of community organizations and urban planning efforts, and they are accessing grants and fellowships to produce their work. In short, this is a city where graffiti and street art is a prominent form for public voice (Fig. 8.1).

Bogota is a city that has been discussed in academic and policy circles for its ingenious urban redevelopment over the past twenty years leading to its nascent status as a booming site for cultural tourism (McGuirk, 2014) and its growing role as a trailblazer in progressive graffiti/street art policy (Griffin, 2023). Even so, economic growth has not been a panacea

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[1] Olivier Dabène estimates 5000–8000 writers (2019, 48).

195

Fig. 8.1 Map of graffiti sites in Bogotá. Created by Boris Michev

for economic and racial exclusion, nor for the wounds of a decades long civil war. Scholars and activists continue to share their concerns about the need for more inclusive urban development (Castro, 2013; Cifuentes Quin & Tixier, 2012) through social movement tactics like protest, organizing, and public art. The murder of a young writer by a member of the police in 2011, and the government's subsequent legislation of Decree 75 which creates legal protections for artistic graffiti, has made Bogotá an important site for scholarly and policy considerations of the role of graffiti and placemaking, political activism, and civic voice (Van Meerbeke & Sletto, 2019; Griffin, 2023).

Graffiti as a form of voice has long been in a tense relationship to forms of coloniality, voice, and power in Latin America. Silva narrates that the first instance of graffiti in Latin America could be argued to be that of conquistador Hernán Cortes. In 1541, following a flurry of anti-imperial inscriptions on a wall surrounding his palace, Cortes whitewashed the wall, writing: "Blank wall, the paper of idiots." Silva characterizes this

moment as crystallizing the ongoing debate over who are the legitimate speakers/voices in urban space (Silva Téllez, 1987, 28). In media coverage, banners and graffiti have been shown as a form of captioning for the demands of the protesters. In Alba Griffin's group interviews with residents of the city in 2016, she notes that graffiti were described as "'cries,' directing people with very different lives to things they should know about" (2023, 68–69) and offering opportunities for vernacular public mourning (Ibid, 69).

In this chapter I discuss how graffiti and street art elongate the moment of protest, creating residues of what elsewhere I have named "visual noise" (Bruce, 2019) which I characterize here as a kind of visual cacerolazo (Caballero Samper, 2019). Taking everyday objects that make manifest the noise of dissatisfaction, *cacerolazar* is to make undeniable the voices of people not included. Cacerolazo means the act of banging a pot or a pan, often used in Latin America during protests by social movements to amplify their presence and message. During the national strikes in Bogota in 2019, but also in countries like Chile and Peru, the act of cacerolazar was used across the Americas to protest unequal social conditions. By using the descriptor of "visual cacerolazo" I mean to emphasize the political dimension of graffiti/street art as a way of extending the temporal experience of protests beyond the moment of collections of bodies in the streets. Graffiti/street art linger and in doing so offer echoes and ongoing lessons in public space.

Graffiti and street art offer channels for public attunement (Bruce, 2024) that serve as alternatives to media that often seen as compromised (Griffin, 2023, 72). In scholarship around Bogotá, graffiti researchers have emphasized how such works visualize "the continuum of violence and inequality" of the city and offer space for imagining the city otherwise (Griffin, 2023, 55). My emphasis on "visual noise" attends to the dynamic way that graffiti and street art in tourism regimes can make audible but also mute voices who are routinely excluded teaching visitors how to listen.

The intersection of graffiti and tourism in Bogotá raises important considerations for the possibilities and limitations for graffiti as a tool of visual noise—that is, as a tool for moving and energizing voice. By considering two examples of graffiti tourism—the Bogotá Graffiti Tour (renamed Capital Tours in 2023) in the city center and the Grafficable tour in the peripheral Ciudad Bolivar neighborhood—I argue that graffiti tourism illuminates the possibilities and challenges in using art as a form of protest and placemaking—a kind of visual cacerolazo. The chapter starts with

context around urban development in Bogotá and the role of cultural tourism in its rebranding with a history of graffiti in the city and then moves to the two cases. These case studies point to distinct challenges in using graffiti as a means of dignifying and creating audibility for the voices of populations systematically excluded from the benefits of urban development and builds on this book section's attention to protest and community meaning making.

Histories of the City, Graffiti, and Public Space

To understand the role of graffiti in Bogotá, it is important to contextualize it within larger economic, social, and political currents in Colombia. Most foreigners know about Colombia due to protracted internal conflicts and powerful drug cartels. The first major internal conflict, La Violencia, stretched from the 1950s to the mid-1960s. It was quickly followed by conflict between the leftist guerilla group the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) and the state government, which began in 1964. As Griffin has argued, such periods of spectacular violence are also subtended by ongoing forms of structural violence, and both profoundly shaped national life and international perception (2023). The reasons for the civil war are multiple, but land reform and inequality have been some of the key issues. Fighting erupted in the mountains as well as city centers including escalation in Bogotá's central Plaza Bolivar, destroying the judiciary building. The United States further contributed to the conflict with Plan Colombia in 2000, an anti-drug campaign and anti-guerilla funding that supported government disappearances, murders, and the contamination of acres of land. Over 220,000 have been killed and 7.6 million displaced (Yuhas, 2016; Coulom et al., n.d., 2). The FARC and President Juan Manuel Santos signed a peace accord in Cuba in 2016.

Like many Latin American cities, Colombia shifted from a mid-century economic protectionist model to a turn-of-the-century neoliberal and globalized export-oriented policy, which had significant effects on urban planning and policy (Thibert & Osorio, 2014, 1320). To make the export model successful, Colombian cities had to be seen as attractive for foreign investment. In 1991 a constitutional reform took place (Cifuentes Quin & Tixier, 2012, 3) which created "more direct power for mayors and more creative urban policies which included participatory programs on the neighborhood scale" (van Holstein, 2018, 45).

Graffiti began in Colombia in the 1970s, carried out by students in the Universidad Nacional inspired by the 1968 student protests in Paris (Van Meerbeke & Sletto, 2019, 369). In the 1980s it was more prevalent in Bogotá's streets, influenced by the growing hip-hop movement in North America (Ibid, 369–70).

Colombian scholar Armando Silva conducted a landmark study, which considered graffiti in Bogotà (and other sites in Latin America) from 1975 to 1982. In it, he pointed to the different modalities and functions of graffiti, including a protest function in 1982 following the murder of a professor (Silva Téllez, 1987, 27). The National University of Colombia has been a key site for fomenting graffiti/street art as cultural policy. The campus hosts murals of Che Guevara and Camilo Torres, which, Benevides-Vanegas argued, is evidence of urban art's role as a form of resistance in Bogotá (Benavides-Vanegas, 2005). There was a lull in the movement due to the violence in 1990s that "complicated access to public space" with a resurgence in the early 2000s (Griffin, 2023, 16). "Politico-memorial murals" are a key feature of graffiti and street artist's "collaborations" with social movements (Ibid, 17).

At a national scale, government officials sought to reform the image of the country through national tourism programs. "Colombia Is Passion," was one such program (Castro, 2013, 108). The program framed the country as "a safe, welcoming destination" and in 2010 the *New York Times* listed the country as one of thirty-one places to go, identifying Bogotá as a "role model of urban reinvention" due to "its extensive bicycle paths, museums, outdoor cafes, international restaurants, and modern public transportation system" (Ibid). Creativity, attractiveness, and liveliness are three key ways that Bogotá has been rebranded.

Bogotá was an industrial city until the 1960s, when the "decline of the Keynesian model" led to "neoliberal restructuration" in the 1990s (Garay et al., 2015, 57). This restructuring included privatization and decentralization. Like the rest of the country, during the conflict Bogotá was heavily militarized. It was a receiving city for a massive number of internally displaced peoples, with the population ballooning in the 1990s. At present there are 6.8 million inhabitants in Bogotá and 7.7 million in the metropolitan zone (Thibert & Osorio, 2014, 1326). This unplanned growth created the usual problems: housing informality, lack of access to services, and extreme traffic congestion.

Bogotá was central to the national strategy of rebranding, which was important to the larger economic goal of international investment-oriented growth. As a result, municipal agents at every level worked to transform Bogotá from a "wounded city" to a "good city" (Cifuentes Quin and Tixier 4). In addition to economic, physical, and demographic factors that make cities competitive the "'image … identity or … representations of the urban space play a determinant role … in the economic development of the city or region" (Cifuentes Quin & Tixier, 2012, 4). In the case of war-torn cities, researchers have found that "urban marketing has become a useful tool for local authorities to improve the international image and competitiveness of the city" (Cifuentes Quin & Tixier, 2012, 4).

Bogotá is iconic for innovative urban planning in the period heralding a sort of renaissance from 1993 to 2004. Impacted by the Barcelona model and the Istanbul Statement on urban development (Cifuentes Quin & Tixier, 2012, 3), it is often forwarded as an exemplar of recovery, "from a city besieged" in the 1990s to one that is lauded in newspapers, travel magazines, documentaries, and conversations by urban planners as a "model city and beacon of hope" (Galvis, 2017, 84). The city was awarded the Golden Lion at the 2006 Venice Biennale "based on its recovery of public space … network of cultural facilities, and its advanced public transportation system" (Ibid, 1). This, Cifuentes Quin and Tixier remark, is a narrative that "oversimplifies" (Ibid, 5).

The Antanas Mockus (1995–1998, 2001–2004), Luis Garzón (2004–2007) and Enrique Peñalosa (1998–2001, 2016–2019) administrations were fundamental in transforming Bogotá's urban image from a war-torn post-industrial space to a vibrant, modern, and culturally rich site. The Mockus/Peñalosa administrations shared a focus on creating a sense of "public responsibility" and "civic mindedness" through pedagogical rhetorics. They used creativity as a mechanism for generating an awareness of shared civic obligations and the value of public space and mobility (Galvis, 2017, 89). Justin McGuirck sustains that Mockus, a former rector and philosophy professor, was able to take "an unruly city and using his unique pedagogical style" was able "to instill a sense of civic culture" through playful performance and "pragmatism" (2014, 208–212). He founded the "Urban Culture Observatory" (Observatorio de Cultura Urbana) to create a "Culture of Citizenship" (Ibid, 212). One of his more renowned policies was to replace crossing guards with mimes (Ibid, 214). Mockus promoted "civic culture" and "encouraged citizens

to interact with their city and other citizens in ludic ways to break through a culture of violence" (van Holstein, 2018, 46). Enrique Peñalosa (1998–2001) promoted the rapid transit Transmilenio system and public spaces in the city. Peñalosa framed transit as part of "mobility rights" (McGuirck, 2014, 223; Castañeda, 2019 61–66). Luis Garzón (2004–2007) supported "participatory decision-making and upgrades to the city's peripheral and marginalized areas" (van Holstein, 2018, 46). Peñalosa returned to office in 2016 in the wake of stalled economic growth and renewed violence (Ibid, 46).

Juan P. Galvis explains: "the Mockus-Peñalosa-Mockus decade (1995–2004), during which most of the groundwork for current public space policy was laid down," was when "Bogotá officials started to position public space as a crucial element of city planning, drawing a direct connection between public space and the promotion of a more equal city" (89). Such groundwork included the creation of various administrative offices that have been crucial in graffiti/street art policy. DADEP (Departamento Administrativo de la Defensoría del Espacio Público, the Public Space office), PMEP (Plan Maestro de Espacio Público, the Public Space Master Plan), and ZEAs (zonas de embellecimiento y apropiación, Beautification Zones) (Galvis, 2017, 89).

Galvis argues that these administrations used a rhetoric of "liveliness" to make claims to public space. On face, "liveliness" seems different from zero tolerance and revanchist urbanist policies across the globe. Zero tolerance was popularized by US mayor Rudy Giuliani and the Williams and Kelling 1982 *Atlantic* article on "broken windows" theory which posited that visible disorder can snowball into violent crime, justifying what is called "order-based policing" where police penalize visible forms of disorder, many of which include the ways that poor people survive in public spaces. In seeming contrast, Mayors Mockus and Peñalosa emphasized inclusivity and diversity. But in fact, such rhetorics of liveliness are consonant with the logic of zero tolerance, casting some subjects as "appropriate" users of public space and others like the homeless, street vendors, sex workers as threatening the free flow and usage of the space (Galvis, 2017, 84). Galvis asserts that rhetorics of "liveliness and livability" are used by urban planners to punish the poor by taking away informal livelihoods (2017, 85). Disorderly subjects were framed as "'invaders', harkening back to deep-seated notions of the 'uncivilized' and 'uneducated' racialized lower classes at the root of Latin American liberalism" (Galvis, 2017,

88). Many "undesirables" are not only surveilled but executed and "arbitrarily" incarcerated (Cortes-Nieto & Ansari, 2017, 29).

The massive transformation of several areas in the center city is emblematic of the tension between avowed rhetorics of inclusivity that are part and parcel of creative cities ideology that are nevertheless structured by an exclusionary neoliberal order, an application of broken windows theory (Griffin, 2023, 131). A signature transformation under Peñalosa's administration was Avenida Jiménez, a boulevard that was "chaotic" and later remade into a center for "cultural, educational, financial, and administrative institutions," tree lined and with a "watercourse" referencing the San Francisco River that bubbles below. The site is "permanently under police surveillance" (Cifuentes Quin & Tixier, 2012, 6–7). As I'll discuss, this avenue is where Bogota Graffiti Tours begins.

Creative cities ideology played a role in massive displacements within Bogotá. Graffiti and street art continue to raise questions about the use of creativity to conflate use value (how places are made meaningful through residents' daily practices) and exchange value (what they might sell or rent for) for urban space by articulating a right to the city (Griffin, 2023, 49). The creation of Tercer Milenio park in 1999 in the city center required the displacement of 3030 families and 1620 commercial spaces from the site formerly known as El Cartucho (Cifuentes Quin & Tixier, 2012, 7). During Peñalosa's second administration, in 2016, he organized the demolition of an area known as El Bronx which involved the military forcibly evicting 3000 people (Sharkey, 2016). This was "part of Peñalosa's vision to stimulate the Orange Economy, an economic strategy to spur creative arts jobs that commodify culture and attract foreign investment" (Coulom, et al, No date, p. 9; Daniels, 2016). El Bronx was slated to serve as "the center for creative industries." (Ibid). Though El Bronx was an epicenter for crime, drug abuse, and sex work, Peñalosa's administration had cut funding for the very social services that were needed to treat addicts: 50 percent of the city budget had gone towards the Transmilenio transportation project. By destroying the space, they merely pushed precarious populations out. Months after the raid, banners were hung heralding the coming "Bronx Distrito Creativo, a placemaking initiative directed by the City of Bogotá and managed by a local arts foundation" (Coulom et al. n.d., 9). Though policies like the remodeling of Jiménez Avenue, the destruction of El Cartucho, and the remodeling of El Bronx have yielded international awards and "improved credit ratings" (Cortes-Nieto & Ansari, 2017, 45), they also decrease meaningful inclusion in public life

for the poor. The "liveliness" discourse that informed city policy that overwhelmingly penalized the poor also shaped responses to graffiti.

Police violence against young people using public space in ways that they did not approve of impacted graffiti writers and the graffiti movement. Like many cities, the state response to graffiti was informed by the ideology of zero tolerance. Zero tolerance is a tough on crime approach to writing popularized during the War on Graffiti in New York in the 1990s and spread globally by former mayor Rudolph Giuliani, but also inflected by the liberal ideology of the Mockus-Peñalosa-Garzón administrations. In 2003 Garzón established a "Free Walls" (Muros Libres) program (Dabène, 2019, 46). Olivièr Dabène argues that street art "became more politicized" during the right-wing administration of President Armando Uribe (2002–2010) (Ibid, 46). A 2007 lawsuit from middle-class residents alleging that permission graffiti prevented them from enjoying public space (Article 82 of the Constitutions) was decided in their favor, requiring the mayor to establish a legal framework to control graffiti (Ibid, 47). In 2010 the Bogotá city council tried to draft a graffiti ban ordinance, using language from Wilson and Kelling's (1982) "broken window theory," claiming that "graffiti was largely responsible for the deterioration of Bogotá's Bus Rapid System (BRT) infrastructure," though the vote was delayed by a corruption crisis (Van Meerbeke & Sletto, 2019, 370).

In 2011 police killed 16-year-old writer Diego Felipe Becerra aka "Tripido," fabricating evidence about his death by falsely framing him as a robber. The case became symbolic, signaling the need for more human graffiti laws and ongoing state violence against young people (Ibid, 371). In 2012, interim Mayor Clara López signed Acuerdo 482, an "ordinance intended to 'establish the norms for the practice of graffiti in the Capital District' (Acuerdo 482 del 2012)." The ordinance required that the mayor's office clearly delineate spaces for permission and prohibition for graffiti and street art. The subsequent mayor, Gustavo Petro convened a working group (Mesa Distrital del Graffiti, District graffiti board) to create a new policy connecting members of city agencies like "Culture, Government, Sports and Recreation; Environment; Planning; Urban Development (IDU for its acronym in Spanish); Public Space Office (or DADEP); and the District Arts Institute (IDARTES)" as well as writers (Ibid, 371).

In 2013 Decree 75 was passed, framed as a way to promote "artistic and responsible practice" of graffiti (Gama-Castro & León-Reyes, 2016). This has been characterized by scholars as a model of "negotiated

consent" (Dabène, 2019). One of the benefits of Decree 75 and its 2015 amendment as Degree 529 is that it recognizes "all forms of graffiti as cultural expression" (Griffin, 2023, 4) and classifies unsanctioned graffiti as a petty crime (Van Meerbeke & Sletto, 2019, 372). This is in contradistinction to many cities like Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, León Guanajuato, London, and Paris where it is often a felony-level offense.

The process of crafting Decree 75 and its later implementation was not fully embraced by the style writing community. Griffin notes that its implementation involves "a simultaneous institutionalization of street art and a criminalization of graffiti artists" with "responsible" graffiti being the kind that is supported (Griffin, 2023, 18). Only fifty writers attended early meetings of the Mesa Distrital, with participation dropping off. Van Meerbeke and Sletto explained that some artists "felt that their participation in the MDG was mere tokenism, or, even worse, a means for authorities to collect personal information in order to facilitate their surveillance of the graffiti and street art community" (Van Meerbeke & Sletto, 2019, 371). The resulting framework for Decree 75 was more limited than many hoped. While the Office of Culture and IDARTES advocated a more expansive framework, the Planning office and DADEP pursued a more restrictive model that limited much of the city's infrastructure, like the road system and bridges (Ibid). Despite such restrictions when pop icon Justin Bieber visited Bogotá in 2013, he painted an underpass on 26th street, escorted and protected by police (the same forces that killed Tripido with impunity) (Ibid, 372).

This hypocrisy created even more outrage about political and social disparities in Bogotá, and graffiti and street art were used as a vehicle of protest. An activist influential in the hip-hop community, Jeyffer "Don Popo" Rentería coordinated a 24-hour graffiti takeover of the 26th street underpass that Bieber had painted. Two hundred writers created pieces and throw-ups, "the antithesis of the 'responsible and artistic graffiti' that the Petro administration was trying to promote" (Ibid, 372). In response, the Petro administration and IDARTES sponsored leftist murals to go over this graffiti on 26th street, "fostering an image of a creative, global city" while at the same time creating "new direct and indirect controls, including censorship and the covering of their tags and pieces with murals" (Ibid). Here organized and harmonious works were used to quiet down noisier graffiti.

The requirements for state-sponsored permission work brought about by Decree 75 indirectly exclude many writers and street artists. Because

the application process often requires evidence of prior work, and for many, such prior work is illegal or ephemeral, and the process also draws on bureaucratic skills to succeed in competitions, those who have little experience in the art world or with bureaucracy are left out (Van Meerbeke & Sletto, 2019, 375–376). Such divisions create what Griffin names an "aesthetic hierarchy, which classifies different forms of graffiti and street art according to what is deemed legitimate or not" (2023, 136). This hierarchy, artist Stinkfish has argued, distances the viewer from the realities of the street, noting: "[Graffiti] is closer to all the stuff that happens in the street, like these street vendors" (Griffin, 2023, 143). Moreover, the sheer volume of work creates a "saturated city" (Morrison, 2015) which makes it "impossible for police officers to differentiate between illegal street art or graffiti and state-sponsored murals" (Van Meerbeke & Sletto, 2019, 377) creating a lot of discretionary latitude for erasing work they do not like.

In January 2016 Peñalosa became mayor and immediately named graffiti a "blight on the city," trying to reactivate a zero-tolerance model (Van Meerbeke & Sletto, 2019, 382). Nevertheless, as Dabène argues, "Street art has established itself as a solid component of any strategy of city branding in many large cities of the world. Bogota is no exception" (69). Peñalosa was obligated to maintain elements of permission infrastructure given the key role graffiti has played in shaping Bogotá's urban image since 2013 (Dabène, 2019, 68–70).

Since the peace accord in 2016, social inequality and civic unrest persist. Colombia has a GINI coefficient of 0.536, one of the highest wealth gaps in the world (Guzman & Bocarejo, 2017, 4496). This is evident in spatial segregation across the city. For instance, in the Zona Rosa, a space for entertainment, gastronomy, and tourism, Black populations are formally and informally excluded. Fatimah Castro narrates that Afro-Colombians are often banned from night clubs and moved along by police (Castro, 2013, 106–107, 110). As we will discuss later, there are a larger number of images of Afro-Colombians and indigenous Colombians in street art in Bogotá but their visual presence is not met with participatory power.

There is also a housing deficit, which creates high numbers of unplanned housing (Guzman & Bocarejo, 2017, 4496). Poor populations, many either internally displaced peoples, Afro-Colombians, indigenous, or refugees from Venezuela, find themselves living in peripheral areas of the city in informal settlements where they have long commute times, low access

to employment, and limited access to services (electricity, water, etc.) (Coulom et al. n.d.). Though the Transmilenio has helped slightly, poorer bogateñxs face nearly double the transit time of their wealthier counterparts (Guzman & Bocarejo, 2017, 4503). For instance, places like Ciudad Bolivar, which will be discussed later, still sees lack of employment opportunities and high commute times to where jobs are located. This question of equity, citizen power, and order and disorder sets the stage for larger protests that included graffiti and street art as a mechanism of visual cacerolazo.

On November 21, 2019, the first national strike took place in Colombia (Guy et al., 2019). The strike was called by a coalition of social leaders, union members, students, and activists and related to a number of complaints about then President Iván Duque's administration. Duque was accused by activists of failing to create genuine peace and exacerbating social inequality (Faiola & Krygier, 2019; Grattan, 2019). The list of demands made by protesters of Duque's administration has been referred to as the paquetazo (the package). The issues included incomplete peace process negotiations; attacks on indigenous people to clear space for mining; the assassination of social leaders (over 700 murdered since 2016); pension, education, and tax reforms (Duque's National Development Plan); and violence from paramilitary groups, including the state-trained riot police called ESMAD. Duque is in the same party as former president Uribe, who ushered in a wave of neoliberal policies.

Though the protests were peaceful, in Bogotá on November 22, ESMAD started deploying tear gas against protesters in Plaza Bolivar and on Calle 19. One projectile hit a young student—eighteen-year-old Dilan Cruz—in the back of the head. He later died of his injury on Monday November 25 (Uribe, 2019). Dilan's death catalyzed subsequent waves of protest along with graffiti and street art with cacerolazo a prominent tactic. In a November 2019 WhatsApp conversation with artists from Colombia 2019 at the CIMU, Andre, a botagteño photographer, reported: "we are in the streets" followed by pan and egg emoji and the explanation: "we are cacerolazando."[2]

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[2] The CIMU participants have a group chat, which was maintained from roughly Augusto 2019 to February 2020. In October 2020, artist and activist Tikay sent us a message sharing information about violence against protesters in Chile and the demands that people were trying to make. Along with photos of protest groups, she sent a link to a video by Chilean hip hop artist, activist, and feminist Ana Tijoux. The video was called #cacerolazo (Tijoux, 2019). In it, snippets of news reports covering protests, statements by politicians about the

Andre's reference to the national strike as a process of cacerolazando speaks to the role of noise in politics. The use of noise to make demands reminds one of philosopher Jacques Rancière's argument about politics as the distribution of the sensible, how those that in power seek to relegate undesirable demands into the category of unintelligible noise rather than "proper" speech. Rancière explains that the redistribution of the sensible is when the "part that has no part" insists that they always were part of the collective who ought to have voice (1999). This question of "proper" and "improper" speech is deeply connected to the role of street art and graffiti as a form of voice. Graffiti has historically been a means of protest, youth voice, and evidence of infrastructural neglect. I turn to two cases of permission graffiti/street art tourism that evidence the role of graffiti/street art as visual cacerolazo next.

Case Analysis: Bogota Graffiti Tour/Grafficable— Noisy Centers and Harmonious Peripheries

Bogota Graffiti Tour

In 2011, the Bogotá Graffiti Tour (BGT) was founded by two street artists, Crisp and Opec—an Australian and a Canadian—who framed it was a way to share the street art/graffiti scene in Bogotá with a wider international audience. The tour is given twice a day, in English, and for free. The staff at BGT are a mix of artists, cultural programmers, anthropologists, and political scientists. In addition to the tour BGT offers workshops and have developed a gallery called Casa Graffiti in the center of Bogotá's Candelaria District (Bogotá Graffiti Tour, 2020). BGT avoids Avenida 26 because it is seen as largely "commissioned murals, which do not fall under their definition of graffiti and street art" (Griffin, 2023, 74) and the content is seen as sometimes "watered down" (Ibid, 78). Griffin argues that the site for the tour, La Candelaria, is part of the way that the "cultural capital of graffiti and street art actively contributes to the trade value of La Candelaria as a unique and creative neighborhood, specifically in the form of tourism" (Ibid, 144).

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need for "order," and images of people in the streets, and the underlying beat of a pan, like a cowbell but more syncopated, offered a sonic infrastructure that brings the sounds of Latin American protest into the text and images about violence against the people by the Chilean state. Over the montage of images and text was the hashtag: #cacerolazo.

I attended a tour led by Jay, a cultural manager who was born in Colombia and grew up in New York and South Florida, returning to Bogotá as a young adult. The tour emphasized the inextricable relationship between politics and aesthetics. It was an introduction to Bogotá's graffiti scene, but also used graffiti and street art as a pedagogical tool for conveying lessons about Colombia's longer history and contemporary political struggles.

The tour offered a form of spatial re-mapping that challenges the idea that the tourist is a masterful "discoverer" of the urban. Tiara Na'puti defines countermapping as a practice of challenging "colonial epistemologies and state dominance" often through "data visualization and map making" as well as "participatory practices that contest and construct places" (2019, 7–8). She clarifies that "remapping" comes from Native Studies and Pacific Studies. Remapping can involve "situ embodied practices and experiences among texts and maps" (2019, 8). BGT offers the visitor tools to critically remap the space of La Candelaría and Bogotá's central business district to make visible histories and cartographies of violence and resistance that might not otherwise be as apprehensible beneath the sheen of new buildings and infrastructure or the charm of older quarters. Graffiti enables such remapping through enacting a kind of persistent (though ephemeral) form of visual noise.

Jay began the tour by telling us "you have to adjust your eyes," a kind of visual cue about what is usually framed as an aural practice: listening. Here, it is a call for attunement. I've defined attunement as "a synesthetic metaphor for the communicative and rhetorical processes that accounts for affective dynamics of receptivity, interference, and engagement that takes place between subjects, publics, and worlds" (Bruce, 2024). In Jay's call for us to adjusting our eyes, he was asking the tour participants to tune into and be receptive and engage in the sensorial labor of listening, seeing, and paying attention. He also contextualized the need for such adjustment by explaining some of the history of conflict in the city and the recent use of tourism as a form of rebranding, as discussed above by Castro, by telling us that we would be perceived in different ways by locals. Some, he noted, would be welcoming, others, simply curious, and yet others angry, seeing tourism as yet another iteration of neoimperialist practice. Indeed, not five minutes into the tour we were cursed out by an Afro-Colombian woman yelling, "sons of bitches, what the fuck are you doing here?" this exchange occurred on Jimenez Avenue, which Cifuentes Quin and Tixier argued was "pacified" and transformed into a park space that also would

serve as a stop for the Transmilenio bus line, its fountains a reminder of the San Francisco River below leading to Monserrat above. Tourism scholars have argued that the practice of tourism carries over practices of voyeuristic looking and consumption that are neoimperial (Bruner, 1989; Burman, 2011), and the woman on Jimenez Avenue was signaling this history to a crowd of mostly light-skinned Americans, Dutch, and French, though there were Afro-Brazilian people on the tour as well.

Jay also prefaced the tour by noting that it would be "very political" because "graffiti is political. There is a national strike going on right now" and so he wove the thirteen points the protesters had been advocating for. The politics of the tour also included the careful attention given to graffiti, muralism, and street art, trying to challenge "aesthetic hierarchies" (Griffin, 2023). Jay pointed out the vast stylistic range—stencils, letter-based graffiti and calligraffiti, stickers, and more image-based aerosol work—but he also emphasized content and context. Many of the works were responding to the issues around the national strike including questions of the peace agreement and ongoing government impunity, continued violence against protesters and social leaders, indigenous rights to land and self-determination, femicide, LGBTQIA+ rights, and the rights of workers. He mentioned MAK crew as one activist graffiti crew that had created an anti-Monsanto mural on 26th Street. Themes given voice by the art featured on the tour included the natural, cultural, and racial and ethnic diversity of Colombia; the ongoing impunity of forces involved in the civil war and ongoing repression as well as the residues of war in the environment and in undischarged weapons; violence (and the murder) against women and activists and students; among other issues. In addition to more formally "artistic" works were the dense agglomerations of graffiti, posters, and stickers.

The flow of the tour (which was reversed from its usual itinerary, he noted, where it usually went first to the Candelaria and then downtown) still focused on parts of the central city that had been "reclaimed" during the Mockus-Peñalosa-Mockus years, offering a more textured narrative than simple recovery. I won't discuss every stop on the tour but will dwell on a few moments that offered a remapping of Bogotá's recovery and liveliness narrative, pointing to the role of graffiti/street art as a persistent visual cacerolazo that teaches the viewer to look again.

When we began on Avenida Jimenez, Jay drew our attention to an aerosol burner that read "Toquen Cumbia," with animals around it. It was painted in colorful, calligraphic style with geometric shapes around it,

Fig. 8.2 "Toquen Cumbia" piece and Yurik and Ojeda piece. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2020

creating a kind of Carnivale aesthetic. Cumbia is a form of music that comes from the barrio, working-class quarters, is incredibly diverse in terms of its variations, and so the text and image pointed to the country's cultural and natural diversity (Fig. 8.2).

To the left of this work was another mural by Diana Ojeda and Yurik, a collaboration between wildstyle and stencil work. It depicted an indigenous youth in traditional clothes, with either a strap or an ammunition belt across their front. As discussed earlier, indigenous populations are often excluded through economic and social displacement or outright violence, so the artists were making visible populations often rendered invisible. The work was more poignant given the context of the national strike: after the 2016 ceasefire, the government had promised to return land to indigenous people who were displaced. This never occurred. One of the demands in the general strike was land redistribution (Paarlberg-Kvam & Anctil Avoine, 2019).

As we walked east, and then south to cross Avenida Jimenez to the downtown, we stopped in front of a large modernist white building that had a number of dispatches across its surfaces done in many texts. Jay explained that the building, the Centro Colombo Americano on 19th Street, had hosted a commissioned work by two artists but due to the

polemical content of the work the US Embassy (one of the financial supporters for the project) had paid to have their work whitewashed. In response, artists redoubled their critique.

What then was present in a cacophony of voices in black ink were a number of allegations: "murderous state"; "without memory no future" listing state entitles responsible for violence; "resist is to re-exist [resistir/ reexistir]," "the rats erased it" with a drawing of a rat; a drawing of a man performing cunnilingus on a woman; two men kissing; "Uribe gave the order"; "listen to women," "the more you erase us—the more we paint!"; "That the truth doesn't cost our lives"; "this line is live," "throw the military forces in the shit"; "the north of Cauca resists!," an anarchy symbol, an alligator—in sum, a vibrant, messy, and multivocal space. Here the messages about political and sexual freedom and reminders of state violence forcefully occupied the manicured space of Avenida Jimenez, and were accompanied by a number of wheatpastings and tags that covered other surfaces with similar messages: a chorus, an enactment of the visual cacerolazo (Fig. 8.3).

Jay signaled how street art is used as a tool of education and consciousness raising about historic memory. A wheatpasting on a stone wall read

Fig. 8.3 Cento Colombo Americano panorama of inscriptions. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2020

"Who Gave the Order" with portraits of generals who were in charge when thousands were murdered and disappeared and continue to escape justice. The flier was created by a collective called "Campaign for the Truth." Griffin explains that project was a 2018 collaboration between art collective Puro Veneno and the Movimiento Nacional de Víctimas de Crímenes de Estado (MOVICE, National Movement of Victims of State Crimes) and speaks to the "falso positivos" scandal. False positives were when civilians were murdered by the state under the pretense of being terrorists. The mural was "censored by the police" and "the military demanded that the groups delete, within forty-eight hours, any images they had of the mural" either in physical form or social media posts, a court order that was later overturned (Griffin, 2023, 28). Jay pointed out how someone attempted to rip off the QR code and cross out the hashtag yet failed to get rid of the images of the perpetrators. Here, viewed in December 2019, the art is a kind of persistent, keening voice, like Antigone, mourning those who are lost and crying out for justice. Tags surrounding this work that read "Memory," and "We are an organized people," and "Freedom or death" reaffirmed the message. Jay added that part of the murders perpetrated by the generals was with the support of the United States through Plan Colombia, where military leaders were awarded for kills incentivizing the murder of innocent people, "false positives." Here "graffiti and street art … provide access to urban imaginaries of violence" (Griffin, 2023, 45) (Fig. 8.4).

Only a block or two away was collaborative work that thematized the work of post-conflict reconciliation and peacebuilding, along with more data on ongoing violence. On Hotel InterBogota, a four-story colorful mural depicted indigenous youth and elders, animals, and a landscape showing informal settlements as well as a panel that recorded the events of Operation Orion, a massacre by the military in Comuna 13 in Medellín. The mural surrounds a parking lot in the hotel, and more details are visible once one stands inside. "Raices" was written on the curve of the parking attendant's office. In the center of the mural were two women. One was older with a leopard on her head, a younger woman with her hair made out of a live parrot and a snake around her neck, blue fire in her hand. Iconography of serpents connected the figures, referring back to indigenous stories about the origin of the world. The Comuna 13 scene was painted in red tones, soldiers draw their guns in a residential community. Jay pointed out how the women were painted with the Wiphala flag—a tribute to the indigenous people of the South American Andes, and that

Fig. 8.4   "Who gave the order" wheatpaste. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2020

the scene of housing was called an "invasion area"—what squatters' settlements are termed by the Colombian government. There are also images of Colombia's paramos—a distinct biosphere in the elevated terrain of the Andes (Fig. 8.5).
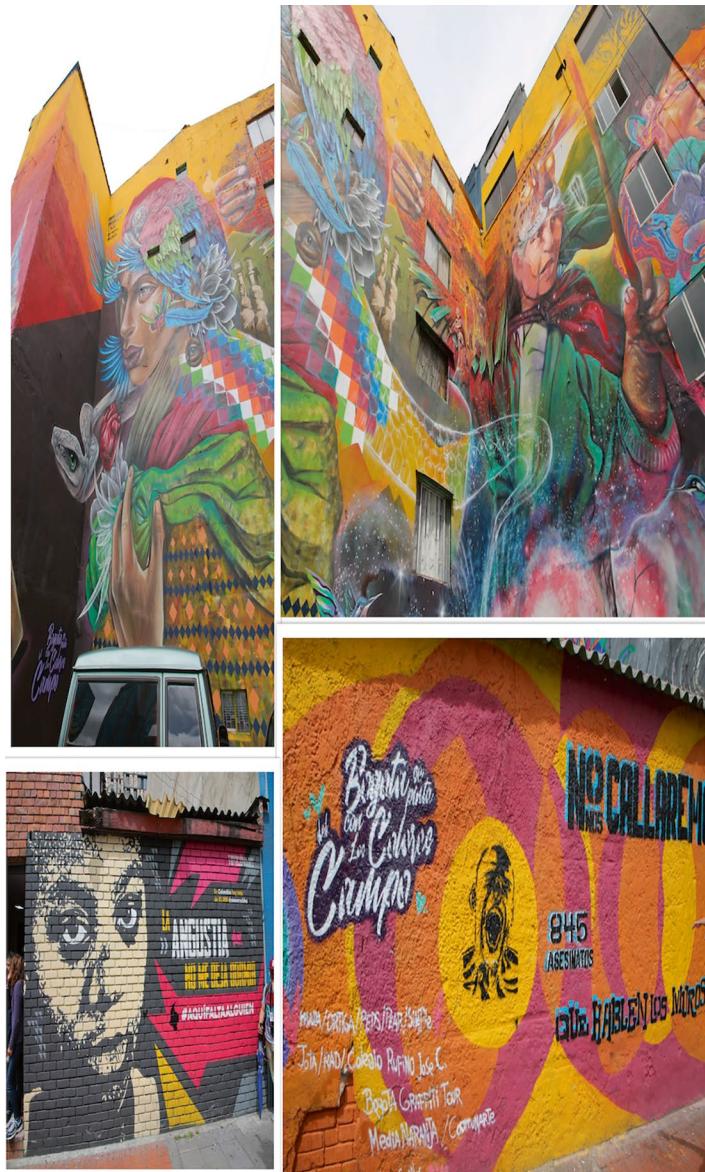
Fig. 8.5 Pinto colores del campo murals and "Someone is missing" mural by Toxicomano. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2020

The project was titled: "Bogotá Pinto Los Colores del Campo," "Bogotá paints the colors of the countryside," a site-specific project that brought together ex-FARC soldiers and community members and artists who shared space during a 12-day residency in the countryside of Suacha. Lead artists included Lorena, Mr. Garek, Yira Yaya, and Shagi. The primary organizer was a writer named Pelu, and it was funded by the United Nations and twenty other organizations. Jay emphasized that the overall cost was low, "Maybe $5,000 USD … which showed that little money was needed to make something great."

Here is an example of the role of graffiti/street art as a vehicle for public memory, imagining how to move forward collaboratively without forgetting the past. This emphasis on memory was reiterated on the front of the building in a small mural created by youth that read: "We will not be silent!" and "845 Killed." This somber allegation is slightly jarring in contrast to sponsorship stencils that included Bogota Grafifti Tour, Media Naranja, Monumarte, Iny Grillos, Colegio Rufino Jos C, Pear, Simple, Reds, and others. Claims about ongoing violence were repeated—just a few meters away was a mural by Toxicomano that reads "In Colombia there are more than 83,000 disappeared" and "The anguish does not let me sleep," and "#heresomeoneismissing" with an image of an Afro-Latino person, referencing the way race impacts life chances and state violence, echoing the charge leveled at us early in the tour—"what the f--- are [we] doing here?"

The tense relationship between artists creating permission graffiti and unsanctioned work was evident on a collaborative mural on a long wall at the intersection of Calle 20 and Karrera 4. It featured the work of famous street artists DJ Lu, Toxicomano, Guache, and Lesivo. These artists are well known nationally and internationally. DJ Lu is one of Colombia's most renowned street artists, and he started painting in 2006, Toxicomano, too, is among street art stars in the country (Dabène, 2019, 52, 56). DJ Lu is an architect, while Toxicomano used to illustrate punk record covers and would transform commercial billboards to scramble their meanings (Ibid 56). The wall showed an Afro-Colombian youth with an orange background, a portrait of a woman gazing at a boy wearing a bandana over his face with a slingshot, a portrait of an Afro-Colombian woman in a headscarf who is a social activist leader with stencils of hand grenades in the background, and stencils of workers: a woman in a house dress, a miner, a man with a pack mule perhaps working in the coffee industry. These images of activism, labor, and celebrating racial and ethnic diversity

are formally progressive. It criticizes the continued existence of landmines, extractivism, and inequality (Ibid, 53). Though their work features leftist content, likely it might also be read by local writers as a kind of support of the state. Such critique was evident in the tags over the work. On the orange panel tags read "The state is a murderer (estado asesino)," "It wasn't peace it was silence," "ESMAD killed Dilan he didn't die you killed him." Here, a complex critique is being levelled at even naming the cease-fire peaceful when state violence continues, with specific examples from the murder of a young protester. On the face of the woman facing the David (versus goliath) figure was written "Resistance." Jay explained that after this tagging happened the artists responsible for the mural said, "Let them [the tags] stay." Recall that since Decree 75 state sponsored murals typically favor more harmonious narratives about recovery, narratives which many activists allege paint a pretty picture over ongoing violence. That the lead artists for the mural actively supported tags evincing dissent remain on and with the mural is an important moment of letting the noise of protest resonate, complicating smooth narratives about national trans-formation and an attempt to honor the sacrifices of protesters (Fig. 8.6).

Fig. 8.6   DJ LU, Toxicomano, Guache mural with annotations. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2020

A final moment of remapping was when we visited the site where the youth protester, Dilan Cruz, was killed by riot police. At 20th Street we stopped across from the façade for an office building. Jay pointed to a green portrait of Dilan and explained the circumstances of his death. Grief over the young person's loss was palpable in the graffiti and street art surrounding the block. Around the intersection of 19th Street, a number of other RIP pieces were inscribed: on the metal roll down gates in front of a business reading "25/11/19 Dylan"; throw-ups expressing "Dylan forever we won't forget you" (Dylan eternal no olvidaremos) with a stencil of his face on Calle 19; and then connecting to the larger issues for which he and his comrades protested. A pole painted pink by an artist raising awareness about sexual harassment and violence read "ellas le busco?" "they asked for it?" Wheatpastings on an electrical box showed a raised fist and the slogan: "art in the streets is resistance" (el arte en las calles es resistencia). A poster above demanded: "Dismantle ESMAD they are violent killers." The visual noise of ongoing grief connected spatially concerns about a specific protester and ongoing patterns of femicide (Fig. 8.7).

The tour circled back to the origin point and then we went into the La Candelaría historic district, where the city was founded and where there are a wealth of murals and street art by famous artists from across the world—Rodez, Laredada, Sebastian Malegria, and more. Jay concluded by telling us the story of Decree 75 and Justin Beiber and the fight for human rights for writers, and brought us to a gallery created by BGT, Casa Graffiti. At Casa Graffiti the tour group sells street artists and writers' work to provide direct support to practitioners. He joked that Peñalosa's recent attempts to whitewash graffiti have met with hubris. Peñalosa's administration often shares the location of freshly repainted walls on social media, providing a location for fresh canvases for hungry writers. Jay joked that writers would "even plan their interventions in the comments field on Facebook or Twitter."

In an interview after the tour, Jay articulated how he connects art and politics in his tours:

It's kinda direct here in the city. I mean, the city is very expressive, the artwork is very political. Although we have a lot of really artistic stuff while we've gone through national strikes, the situation in the country has always kind of affected … our tour changed over the years depending on what was happening. Obviously only three years ago, we were talking about the peace process. Now we're talking about the new conflict, social leaders. So it's

Fig. 8.7 Dilan mural and "el arte en la calle es resistencia" wheatpaste. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2020

always something that we've kind of had with the guides and we've told them. "Please be very honest with your tours." A lot of the guides, our team is full of really diverse people, people that are university graduates … political scientists, you know. So they also have a really cool view of the city through the artwork and through politics here … that's also one of the things we want to make sure that we get the message across of what the artists want. (Personal Interview, 2020)

Here, tourism functions as a form of cultivating awareness what Jay framed at the outset as "adjusting your eyes" and as what Phaedra Pezzullo has argued, tourism can allow for participants to become sensitized and educated about collective issues (Pezzullo, 2009). Thus, the surfaces of Bogotá offered a multivocal and polyphonic swell of visual noise, cacerolazando even after protesters left places like Plaza Bolivar and Calle 19.

Grafficable

If BGT showcases highly political work in the central city of Bogotá, a much newer collective, The Walkers, which founded a tour called Grafficable in the economically marginal neighborhood of Ciudad Bolivar, offers a different approach to tourism as a means of connecting the neighborhood to the city and the world.

Ciudad Bolívar, as discussed above, is a former squatters settlement or "invasion city." It was long stigmatized, spatially segregated from the city center, and residents were subject to extremely long commute times due to its distance and the difficult terrain of its three hills. It has a population of at least 650,000 (Dabène, 2019, 49). In 2018 the Transmicable was installed, a cable car system that changed commute times from "two hours to fifteen minutes" from the top of the hill to the bottom. This was communicated by my guide for an AirBnB experiences tour called, "Discover another side of Bogotá." I later learned that residents of Ciudad Bolivar and others in similar peripheral neighborhoods still face long travel times, "twice the travel times of high income" center city dwellers due to the distribution of work opportunities, creating high travel costs as well (Guzman & Bocarejo, 2017, 4503).

The Grafficable tour began in the wealthier northern neighborhood of El Retiro at Café Monstruo, and we took the Transmilenio bus to the cable car junction, and then the Transmicable car up to Ciudad Bolivar. Once there we met Michael, a street artist and member of Walkers

collective who took us down the main boulevard in the neighborhood where he and his crew had created murals; led a short aerosol workshop in a local artisanal building; and then concluded with photos by the scenic overlook at the base of the Transmicable station. The Walker Collective and the Grafficable tour emerged out of a local mesa and a Facebook group "Ciudad Bolívar Graffiti-mural" dedicated to discussing building an "open sky museum" (Dabène, 2019, 49).

Throughout the tour Michael emphasized how the murals emphasized elements of Colombian culture like music, or ecology with an emphasis on animals, or local residents who had lived there a long time, or indigenous figures. This, he explained, was part of the goal of the project as one of "beautification." Michael started writing in 2006 using a pseudonym that played on the Spanish word for "dirty," *Sucio*. This, he explained, was because, for him, society, the city, politics, it was dirty. He did his first mural in 2012 and moved to Ciudad Bolivar in 2013. He created a proposal with his collective to beautify the neighborhood. He characterized it as an "entrepreneurship" project that creates a message that the barrio is a space of "beauty, has cultural roots, and we can celebrate places and spaces through the mural." He defined "arte urbano" as "the expression of feelings, something out of the ordinary, something risky and crazy, a world full of colors" (Interview December 28, 2019) (Fig. 8.8).

The tour is in its beginning stages. Michael added that he hoped that it would someday create an "artistic corridor that follows the transmicable." He emphasized the almost mystical quality of the work—the signature style of The Walkers is that the characters have multiple eyes—a nod to indigenous iconography where multiple sets of eyes reference connection to spiritual realms—and its rhythmic quality, pulsating and jagged lines. Michael also drew our attention to the infrastructure of the neighborhood. Dirt roads contrasted with the brand new clean lines of the Paraiso Mirador station of the Transmicable.

Unlike the BGT, which takes place in the city center and emphasizes the direct demands of protesters, Ciudad Bolívar's Grafficable Tour can be understood not as a site for visual cacerolazo in terms of noisy clanging demands but a more subtle beat, quieter, coming into audibility. Perhaps a gentle pattern or drumming noise. As in the BGT experience, human and natural diversity is a key theme in the art. Yet, the political content is more indirect. This is not surprising given the location. A stigmatized neighborhood that has had difficulty drawing visitors, Ciudad Bolivar has a rich history of organization but has not been an epicenter in the protests.
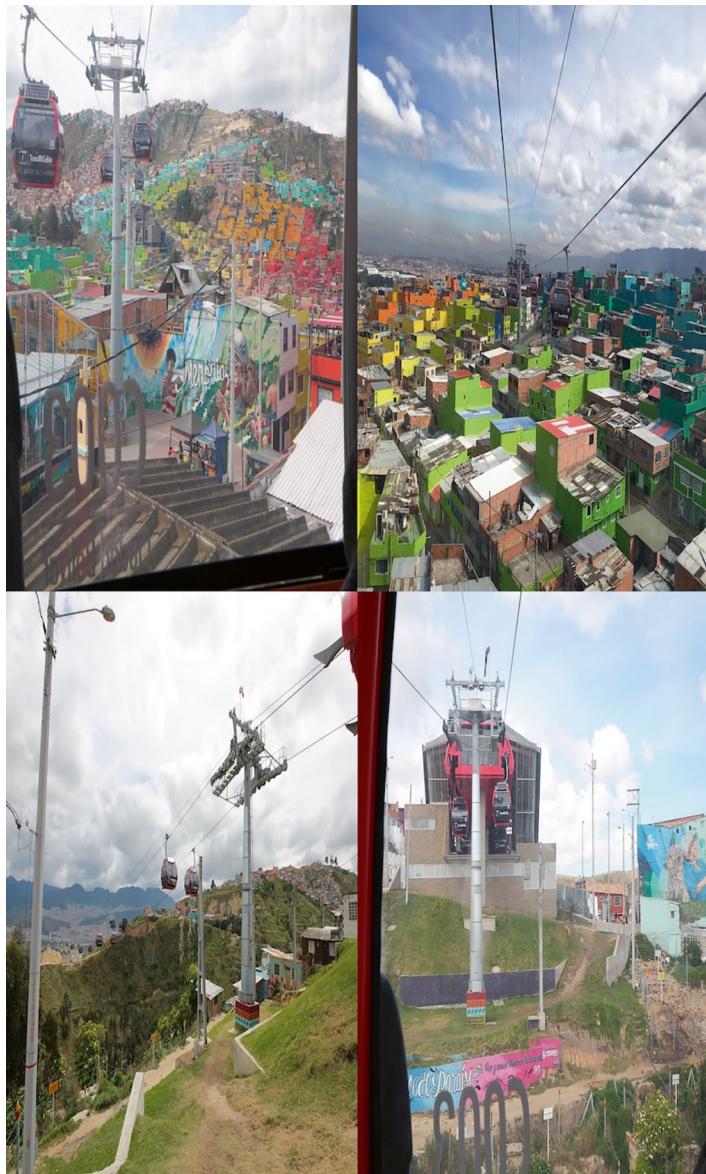
Fig. 8.8   Views from Transmicable Car. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2019

Rather, in politics that are locally driven, it has been a site for "many grass-roots initiatives of collaborative governance. In this particular context, the locality soon developed a specific identity of socially conscious graffiti. A mesa (civic meeting) was organized to discuss different projects such as a hip-hop festival" (Dabène, 2019, 49). Given this history, it makes sense that writers are targeting the surfaces of luxury buildings in the wealthier city center for their more polemical allegations (Fig. 8.9).

Griffin explains that Ciudad Bolívar has historically "figured in urban imaginaries as a 'territory of fear' … and is avoided by those who do not need to be there. Residents have been stigmatized as poor, uncivilized, immoral, dangerous, and, ultimately, 'disposable' (desechable)" (2021, 91). As a result, in beautification projects in Ciudad Bolívar, there are "silences around particular forms of violence" (Ibid, 98). During Museo Libre, an annual street art and mural event curated by Survamos and founded in 2013, residents ask visiting artists not to depict themes of violence. Instead, "not depicting violence is part of the transgressive action implicit in the projects run by SURVAMOS and BogotArt" something different than "adornment" because in spaces shaped by deep inequality and violence, beauty can "be subversive" (Griffin, 2023, 103). The visual

Fig. 8.9   Walkers mural and community art space. Photos: Caitlin Bruce, 2019

noise of beauty is perhaps about using enticing images to cue attention, invite attunement, but to do so by attracting visitors to dwell rather than avoid the space. In contrast, much of the visual cacerolazo in the BGT itinerary assumes that the tourist in celebrated central spaces feels a sense of comfort or entitlement to be there and seeks to destabilize that position.

Context is key, and in a neighborhood that is stigmatized by central spaces like Altiplano or the central business district, "instead of feeding into an imaginary that associates the neighborhood exclusively with crime, violence, and poverty, graffiti and street art are used by artists and organizations to resist the negative connotations of living in less wealthy conditions, to challenge the idea that these are no-go areas and to subvert people's expectations of these areas and the people in them" (Ibid, 110). In short, projects like Grafficable create what I've called "spaces for encounter," places and moments for interactions and engagement across social differences (Bruce, 2019). At the time, if tours occur without providing context for the neighborhood, there is a risk "romanticizing neighborhoods that still suffer from various forms of crime and social exclusion" (Griffin, 2023, 116). There is a risk that encounters short circuits more engaged forms of responsible witnessing (Cram, 2022).

As discussed in our introduction, using creativity as a means of development comes with risks when it comes to urban equity. In our discussion with the tour guide and Michael, we learned that while the Transmicable has made Ciudad Bolívar a more desirable place to live it has led to urban infrastructure plans that threaten to displace residents. A proposed bicycle path will cut through informal housing, and while those residents might receive some sort of stipend, it is unclear if it will be enough to compensate for new housing near public transit or their social networks. While it is still a neighborhood where informal economies and relationships are strong, what will happen when discourses of "liveliness" yoked to order are brought to bear on residents who are already marginal (internal and foreign refugees, the poor, the indigenous) (Galvis, 2017)? While Grafficable celebrates neighborhood assets, it does so in a milieu of arte urbano that Michael characterized as "very competitive, where one must always be active because if you sleep they will eat you alive—you have to always be present." This discourse of competition and activity fits into the ethos of the neoliberal cosmopolitan city (Castro, 2013). But how will it relate to neighbors like Don Pedro who may or may not be able to keep up?

CONCLUSION

In interviews with students at Universidad Libre, Griffin found that some residents of Bogotá understand graffiti and street art to create a "map" to "reflect the place of violence in the social fabric of Bogotá" (2023, 67). In this chapter, I have discussed how graffiti and street art serve as "visual noise": traces of activism, dissent, or residues of exclusion that point to unequal social geographies under the façade of narratives about inclusive renaissance in the city of Bogotá. Following Marxist urbanists and indigenous studies scholars, I have argued that the more established Bogotá Graffiti Tour offers a kind of political remapping of the city center, and the newer Grafficable Tour offers an asset-driven beautification program to combat stigmatizing narratives that surround the neighborhood.

Scholarship celebrating Bogotá's renaissance have emphasized the role of pedagogy and activating public space in creating stronger civic culture (McGuirk, 2014). Likewise, Decree 75, controversial as it is, also has a strong emphasis on education. A 2013 report clarifying Article 10 of the decree states: "socialization, education and support (socialización, pedagogia, fomento)" are the three key goals (Dabène, 2019, 63). The graffiti tours are also pedagogical forms, ways of sensitizing visitors to the multiple voices being enunciated in Bogotá's terrain.

Graffiti and street art's role as "visual noise" is connected to the importance of amplifying voices. Fred Evans and Eric King Watts argue that voice is dialogic and hybrid. Evans characterizes voice as "made up of many strands, many other voices, that continue to contest for audibility within and against the viewpoints they have helped to form" and it is the "interplay" of voices "produces new hybrids and ultimately the metamorphosis of society" (2009, 14–15). Audibility is about "addressivity and response" being heard as voice (Watts, 2012, 153). The tours are one way to teach participants how to hear the voices of writers and street artists as well as the populations with whom they are in coalition.

Who is heard is a core issue. Is it the artists, as van Meerbeke and Sletto point out, who have learned to navigate the bureaucracy of "responsible graffiti" practice? Or does it include dissident writers who illuminate the exclusions that underly the city's claims of inclusive governance? Or neighbors who do not equally receive the benefits of Bogotá's so-called rediscovery?

As urban scholars have observed, the social production of space is an ongoing project, and is deeply impacted by strategies of representation

Fig. 8.10 Rodez and Sebastian Malegria pieces in Candelaria. Photo: Caitlin Bruce, 2019

and imagination (Lefebvre, 1991). Tourism is one resource for reimagining the city in ways that might repeat colonial imaginaries of "discovery" or subvert them. The challenge for cultural programmers, scholars, and artists is to continue to find ways to cacerolazar—to make noise against arrangements that seek to mute the voices of those who are routinely left out of urban development and national distribution schemes (Bruce, 2024). Bogotá provides a wealth of examples of how different subjects are using visual forms to make audible multiple voices, though some might resonate at louder frequencies (Fig. 8.10).

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Montevideo. A Cultural City, Receptive to Urban Art and Tourism

Ricardo Klein

Introduction

The city of Montevideo stands out for its cultural scene. The well-known Uruguayan song "Biromes y servilletas" says that "in Montevideo there are poets who, without drums or trumpets, come out of hidden attics," thus reflecting part of the idiosyncrasy of Montevideo society. This idea of so many anonymous poets, who emerge from hidden or inconspicuous places, is a romanticized metaphor of a cultural and literary Montevideo that is very present in the collective imagery of the city (especially in the more bohemian collectives). It exemplifies the role of culture in its people, where the act of *making culture*, it is not restricted solely to institutional actions nor is it a privilege, but culture is valued and fully integrated into daily life.

Partially, this perception of Montevideo is a historical construction idealized by its population, but it also responds to the development of cultural activities, whether institutionalized or more informal, organized by the citizens themselves. Montevideo is said to have the longest carnival in the world, lasting forty days; its popular culture is a feature that is appreciated daily through various cultural expressions and manifestations. For example, the *Llamadas* and the weekly parades of candombe ensembles

229

are examples of this.[1] In 2009, candombe and tango were declared intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO, the latter being jointly with Argentina.

Moreover, from its more global positioning as a cultural city, Montevideo has obtained different distinctions. For example, it was chosen as Ibero-American Capital of Culture in both 1996 and 2013; title that the Union of Ibero-American Capital Cities grants to a city in the region, giving it the opportunity for one year to exhibit its development and cultural life. This distinction enables international projection from a cultural perspective and strengthens its capabilities in the management of its cultural structures. Likewise, in 2015, it was elected City of Literature by UNESCO. Montevideo is the city of writers such as Felisberto Hernández, Juan Carlos Onetti (Cervantes Prize in 1980), Mario Benedetti, Eduardo Galeano, Idea Vilariño, Ida Vitale, and Cristina Peri Rossi. These last two were also awarded the Cervantes Prize, in 2018 and 2021, respectively (Fig. 9.1).

Fig. 9.1   Public tribute to artists from Uruguay. Eduardo Galeano (writer) and Eduardo Mateo (musician). Artists. Cobre/Gallino. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2021

[1] Cultural expression that takes up the meetings of people in situation of slavery who arrived from Africa to that territory in the eighteenth century, where they made music by marching with drums.

Montevideo's approach, as is the case with other cities that have changed their priority on the cultural policy model, like Barcelona (Patricio Mulero & Rius-Ulldemolins, 2017), is an attempt to avoid the instrumentalization of cultural policy in urban regeneration and economic development, focusing on cultural sustainability and community participation. Not only does it bring together creative talent, but also allows interactions between different cultural expressions, thus enriching cultural production (Craig, 2013). This view is manifested through the strategy to promote literature and reading, as well as in the creation of international networks with other cities on the UNESCO platform. (Patricio Mulero & Rius-Ulldemolins, 2017). The difference is that Montevideo, distancing itself from other cities that echo its more intensive city branding policy, has not sought to position itself in the international stage regarding its cultural policies. Its commitment has been moderate and gradual towards the consolidation of different focal points that are part of its more general scheme of cultural policy (Klein, 2020). For example, the gender perspective became a transversal axis of its cultural policies and is present throughout its development. Empowering culture in local communities was the basis of its strategy of territorial decentralization in the neighborhoods, and the strengthening of cultural institutions improved the situation of the different culture-related facilities (Klein, 2020).

In this sense, there is a gap between cultural institutions and the broader political context that impacts cultural activities in neighborhoods. The importance of cultural life for the city is an asset, but it also poses challenges such as how to implement cultural policy in a sustainable way, acknowledging the role of public space, and making place for active participation of citizens, among other issues. In Montevideo, although municipal cultural institutions usually have a defined role in the conservation and promotion of the cultural life of neighborhoods, being one of the great promoters along with neighborhood groups, there is still much to develop to install a cultural governance institutionality between the public sector and organized civil society. In this sense, cultural public institutions are not fully integrated in the decision-making processes that affect the cultural activity of the neighborhoods, which leads to many resources and efforts being directed mainly to cultural institutions on a larger scale instead of supporting the most local cultural activities. Unlike what happens in other cities considered to be cultural destinations, such as San Francisco and the successful case of the Entertainment Commission (Rosenstein, 2011), which balances cultural interests with the needs of

residents and companies, in Montevideo these dynamics are still far from being consolidated. There is a need for clearer supervision in the public cultural sector that in order to organize and evaluate cultural policies in the city to optimize the use of its resources is still unresolved (Klein, 2020).

But beyond its processes within the framework of public cultural policies, Montevideo is a recipient of cultural expressions and manifestations and is always open and willing to discuss new forms of cultural participation in public spaces (Klein, 2015b). Among them, we should consider the appearance of street art as a new scenography and cultural way of understanding the city, which has gained ground in Montevideo.

In this chapter, four dimensions will be addressed to analyze the street art scene in Montevideo, which are all considered crucial to understanding the development of these creative practices in the city. The first objective of the analysis is to investigate and understand the framework of Montevideo as a prominent space for graffiti and street art, examining its evolution from simple graffiti to more complex art forms. In addition, it seeks to analyze the points of tension between the city, tourism, and urban art, including debates on the preservation and role of street art in sustainable tourism. Finally, it aims to demonstrate how street art revitalizes the city, attracting tourists and residents, creating a sense of belonging and pride, as well as promoting economic development and social inclusion through community initiatives.

But how is Montevideo configured as a place for graffiti and street art? Partially, the city's rich cultural and political history has contributed to the emergence of these street practices. The walls and urban spaces have been transformed into canvases to express opinions, identities, and social narratives. Local and international artists have contributed to this scene, creating a diverse and vibrant urban landscape that reflects the identity of the city and its inhabitants.

Over the years, Montevideo has experienced an interesting process in the field of street art. What began as simple graffiti has evolved into more complex and diverse art forms, incorporating innovative techniques, varied styles, and more elaborate messages. The city has been receptive to this evolution, maintaining urban spaces favorable to the development of street art by artists, contributing to the establishment of urban landscapes that feed on each other again and again.

Moreover, visitors are showing growing interest in exploring street art as part of their experience in the city. This phenomenon has led to a deeper dialogue about the relationship between urban art, Montevideo's cultural

identity, and tourism, cultivating debates about the preservation of street art and its role in sustainable tourism development.

The transformation of dilapidated urban spaces into open air murals has attracted not only tourists but the locals as well, developing a sense of belonging and pride in the renovated environments. Additionally, initiatives that combine urban art with community projects have fostered local economic development and promoted social inclusion through art. These examples illustrate how street art not only embellishes the city but could also have somewhat of a positive impact on its social, cultural, and economical dynamics.

A Chronicle of Street Art and Its Transformations

The Montevideo scene has gone through several stages regarding graffiti and street art. A first marker of street art, particularly political graffiti, and more literary graffiti, which was made up of phrases typical of graffiti artists or quotes by recognized writers, was prior to the ending of the last civil-military dictatorship, at the beginning of 1980. Later in the decade an important underground movement arose; it was sustained by a generation of young people who expressed themselves through art. Public censorship and razzias,[2] police attacks, were frequent and were responded to on the street (in a counter-hegemonic manner) through cultural interventions, many of them vandalistic such as graffiti, and were generally anonymous. In this regard, this activity was far from what hip-hop culture meant within other cities during that time period. This graffiti was unrelated to any of the four elements that structure hip-hop culture. In fact, more than with rap, it had more musical ties to the national rock movement that emerged from bands made up of young people, in these early instances. In the beginning, there were only a few street artists (Klein, 2019). Its signature features were little creativity and an intense production of political graffiti, as mentioned by some interviewees. As the years went by, this uniformity gave way to other forms and techniques within the expression.

Around 1985, Uruguayans returning from Europe brought with them information about new forms of street painting and artists who were impacting the city of Paris, for example, with aesthetics that up until then had been ignored in Montevideo. Pioneering artists, later recognized

[2] This was popularly known as the surprise interventions of the police in the city of Montevideo. Generally, with a strong focus on young people.

worldwide, such as Blek le Rat, began to be known in the country through these influences, thanks to the interaction between young Uruguayans, mostly children of political exiles, who met with others of their kind; same generation in the post-dictatorial context: "if I went to a party, I would take the spray can and I would come back at 6 in the morning, painting" (Artist\Pepi Gonçalvez).

From the year 2000 onwards, many people were already on the streets painting (especially stencils and stickers) and writing graffiti (tags, bombs, and wildstyle). The local scene was very visible in the city's public spaces, not so much in the quality of its works but in the quantity of urban interventions. This effervescence lasted only three or four years. Suddenly, street activity comes to a standstill. The natural wear and tear of an activity that began as a hobby was one of the main reasons, but some of the leading street artists are also beginning to have other concerns, perhaps more professional, such as studying Design or Fine Arts. This point was a very important turning point in the Montevideo street art scene, as slowly street artists began to attract the attention of private companies for the development of small paid jobs. The path to professionalization had begun (Klein, 2019).

At the beginning of the 2010s, although economic independence was still very uncommon (with some exceptions), a nucleus of street art artists began to emerge who projected and followed a professional path. Urban artists with studies in Fine Arts, mainly at the National School of Fine Arts Institute, frequently combine their theoretical studies with their street practice. This allowed them to integrate conceptual tools into their art, share knowledge with colleagues in institutional spaces and obtain new inspirations for their works. Despite this, they maintained their street essence, as evidenced by some pioneering graffiti artists who continue studying at these institutions. There was a more aesthetic and conceptual concern about the artistic work (Klein, 2019).

Also, in the first years after 2010, private gallery spaces emerged, some with more alternative formats, others more conventional, which provided a new means to give visibility to graffiti and street art for the art market. The *Kiosko* space in the Ciudad Vieja neighborhood may have been a foundation stone, in that sense. Also, during those years, different initiatives promoted the hiring of street artists from the private sector, accentuating what had already been happening in previous years. The Graffiteo project (2014–2015) was the most notable at that time, with muralists' interventions on fences in construction sites, giving urban artists a space of visibility and a source of income for the work done.

The current Montevideo scene could be divided between graffiti artists and muralists, within the street art movement:

I am an artist, and I am a graffiti artist. (…). There is a difference because the urban artist does not necessarily come from the hip hop branch. I come from the hip hop branch. I listen to hip hop; my culture is hip hop. And I identify with that. And that is why I represent the graphic of hip hop, not the graphic of something crazy that I read in a book, a movie I saw or what an urban artist is most inspired by. Or it could be that those things also inspire me, but I try to have the aesthetics, what the features of graffiti are, what the pieces of graffiti are, what the style is, how graffiti moves. I am interested in graffiti and what its aesthetics are, I am interested in the aesthetics of graffiti. (Artist\Conde)

A space is being consolidated, and developing, where many artists are recognizing the value of graffiti and street art in Montevideo. Among other factors, this is due to the strengthening of expression in the city and the tangible opportunities to create works in public spaces. For at least a decade, four factors that could explain the current situation have remained:

- The lack of police persecution of street artists.
- The increase in artists who have studied or are pursuing formal studies in the Arts.
- The professionalization of street artist collectives.
- The participation of regional and international artists who have come to paint in the urban art scene of Montevideo.

With respect to this last point, the presence in the country of "global artists,"[3] from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Spain, France, Italy, and others, strengthens the experiences of new generations of local street artists, favoring exchanges and views about expression. Likewise, the international output of national artists prompts new connections and creative synergies in the development of their artistic and professional paths, generating social richness that allows them to strengthen their trajectories.

In general, beyond specific public activities, it is the street artists themselves who have opened spaces to consolidate expression, beyond its legal

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[3] For example, Alice Pasquini, David de la Mano, Blu, Btoy, Franco Fasoli (JAZ), Fulviet, Henruz, Lelo, Mariela Ajras, Pol Corona, Sebastián Malegría, Luxor, Pastel, Oz Montania, Paula Plim, Zésar, among others.

Fig. 9.2 Wang Urban Art Festival (2015), Pintó La Teja Festival (2016). Artists. Pintadas/Gori REC Collective. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2016/2015

or illegal consideration. To cite an example, most existing murals in Montevideo have an illegal character.[4] In a few years, based on the (self) management of the artists themselves and cultural managers linked to street art, relevant meetings have been held in the city, some on a temporary basis and less institutionalized, such as "Muta Montevideo" (2013), "Ibero-American Meeting of Urban Art" (2013), the Wang Festival of Urban Art (2015), the "Pintó La Teja" (2016), or the "Hierromat Graffiti Convention" (2017), to name a few. Others are more formal in nature, such as the Borde exhibition (2014–2015) at the Cultural Center of Spain in Montevideo, or specific activities supported by the French Alliance of Montevideo.[5] The presence of international cooperation has been present, in very specific actions, at some point in the development of the street scene (Fig. 9.2).

[4] In Montevideo, the actions are more direct, especially with the "social complicity" of the neighborhood or the private sector. With exceptions, such as an Urban Art festival in the city, most murals made do not have formal authorization from the public administration.

[5] The activity was in coordination with Kiosco, a pioneering space in presenting works by street artists in Uruguay.

Recently, there have been multiple collective urban art actions that have impacted the urban physiognomy of the city, beyond the work of individual artists who can also be seen prominently in Montevideo. Some initiatives to mention are in 2018, with the support of Municipality B, the artists of Casa Wang generated a large Open Sky Gallery in the Montevideo area of Tres Cruces, or the Wang Urban Art Festival in the Palermo and Barrio Sur neighborhoods in 2022. Meanwhile, in 2019, a major artistic intervention was carried out on the Viaduct of the Paso Molino neighborhood with the portrait of thirty residents of the area, likewise, in the same year, eight Uruguayan personalities were photographed outside the Carrasco International Airport to celebrate its tenth anniversary.

Likewise, from the public administration, some actions linked to street art are slowly appearing, such as the work carried out by world-renowned urban artists such as Alice Pasquini (Klein, 2015a), intervening part of the facilities of the Contemporary Art Space (EAC) of the National Directorate of Culture, and with the support of the Istituto Italiano di Cultura Montevideo. The governorship of Montevideo and some Municipalities have proposed initiatives regarding graffiti and street art, although it is considered that they have unequal results for the city and public space. For example, the intervention of more than 300 waste containers (2017) in many aspects has been positive for the maintenance of this type of urban infrastructure: greater neighborhood care, decreased vandalism, optimistic projection, resignification of the object within the framework of the city, and so on. On the other hand, the attempt to generate an Open Sky Gallery (2017) on Avenida 18 de Julio, the city's main avenue, has been a much more lackluster action with respect to the objectives sought in the contribution to public space (Fig. 9.3).

Configuring an Alternative Geography in Montevideo

Due to the characteristics of the city, Montevideo does not pose great difficulties for creating urban art in its public spaces. For example, there is no systematic police control to prevent graffiti intervention, with some exceptions such as tagging, which is understood as an act of vandalism. However, in the case of muralism, since it is a more artistic conceptual work from the everyday perspective of people, it would be strange for it to be prosecuted as an illegal work, even though it legally is.

Fig. 9.3 Waste containers in different neighborhoods of Montevideo. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2017

In this sense, a very interesting spatial distribution appears, in order to understand what these street interventions have contributed (intentionally or not) to other processes that the city is experiencing, such as, the tourist impulse. These practices that constitute the essence of public spaces will be perceived and experienced by their inhabitants in a particular way. In part, because the identity of public spaces is not uniform and the use made of them will depend on the context in question, as well as the people who constitute it (Sennet, 2018). Generally, public space is regulated by the public administration and must guarantee accessibility for everyone, setting the conditions of use and installation of activities. This is built from a strong social and cultural component, as a place of meeting and identity appropriation, of social relations between people and of neighborhood expression, because "without public space there is no city. Not the city we want and how we want it. Not the city that we are and want to be" (Schelotto et al., 2014: 5). For example, in this specific relationship between public spaces and people, urban art interventions in a neighborhood establish a bridge between neighbors and the environment, cultivating a unique dynamic in daily life. These interventions, although they do not always specifically seek this effect, contribute to other, more local processes that impact the city.

These urban art interventions become points of convergence between the identity of a neighborhood and its residents. Often, these artistic expressions not only visually embellish a place, but also tell stories and experiences shared by the community. Generally, when it comes to projects where the neighborhood is a central dimension for their realization, murals and graffiti become visual testimonies that reflect the history, concerns, and values of the neighbors, becoming a type of collective expression that reinforces the sense of belonging and the connection between inhabitants and their environment. In this sense, urban art is not only an aesthetic element, it also becomes an important tool to strengthen the social connections, encourages dialogue and promotes local identity within the broader context of the city. A clear example of this type of relationship between urban art and neighbors was clear in the project "*Retratos de la Ciudad Vieja*" (2015), a historic and heritage neighborhood of the city, led by the artist Fitz and the photographer Lu Lee. Its main objective was to give exposure to Ciudad Vieja, exploring its streets and recognizing its inhabitants. As part of this project, an image taken by the photographer was the inspiration behind a mural by the street artist. These initiatives not only highlight and give importance to the people who reside in a specific area, but also reinterpret the environment that they build every day (Fig. 9.4).

Fig. 9.4 Portrait of a girl, a resident of Ciudad Vieja. Artist: Fitz. Photo: Ricardo Klein, 2015

The active participation of neighbors in this context is presented as a crucial factor to consolidate the connection between urban art and the community. In this regard, various forms of involvement and strategies have been nurtured to strengthen this link. First, collaborative initiatives are promoted that offer a valuable opportunity. Inviting residents to participate directly in the creation of urban art works proves to be an effective means of strengthening the sense of community. This approach has been implemented in various ways, such as community art workshops, where neighbors have not only contributed ideas, but also contributed creative efforts to the creation of murals and other interventions.

Likewise, the promotion of local stories among residents emerges as an enriching strategy. Encouraging the community to share their personal stories and experiences related to the neighborhood adds depth to the intertwining between urban art and local identity, and also offers inspiration for future artistic interventions. Another significant approach has been the implementation of information collection projects that actively involve neighbors. These projects could focus on the collection of visual material or testimonies that are subsequently integrated into artistic interventions. For example, photography, community drawings, or even collecting representative objects could enrich artworks and give voice to the authenticity of the community.

Sometimes, as has been mentioned, works of urban art whose main interest has come from the artists appear in the city, not as an attraction for tourism, whether domestic or foreign. Its main objective is to intervene in the city, make it its own. The artist Calush attests: "Montevideo, I was born here, and I live here. And it is my city, and to signify that you or your group are in Montevideo" (Artist\Calush). From his vision the city is dynamic and changing, and they fragment it as many times as they need it. In the rationale of artistic production, the construction of territorial spheres according to the binomial centers or peripheries disappears (Klein, 2016). These spaces are coupled and redefined based on the intentions and interests that the street artists propose as the objective for their intervention. But also for the neighbors. Both residents and street artists navigate a new logic of meaning for the city based on urban art interventions, as an artistic and urban landscape where the walls have been intervened, erased, and layers of text or images have been intervened again, leaving traces of what was and what is now. In this way, city walls act as modern palimpsests. Each mural, graffiti, or artistic intervention in the streets is superimposed over previous layers, creating a visual collage of different

moments, styles, and messages. What was once an empty wall, now becomes a visual narrative of the community's living history. As new artists intervene in these spaces, they add layers to this urban palimpsest, interacting with what already exists and creating a new story that overlaps and interacts with the previous one (Fig. 9.5).

This idea of palimpsest in street art also reflects the ephemeral nature of urban art. Just as the layers of a palimpsest can wear away over time, street works are exposed to the elements, vandalism, and urban changes, which can lead to their modification, deterioration, or disappearance. However, this transience adds an element of dynamism and constant change to the city, where the walls become evolving canvases, representing not only the art of the moment but also the continuous transformation of the urban landscape and the communities within it.

From this perspective, the neighbors are immersed in a unique relationship with these urban expressions. Often, these artistic interventions not only adorn the streets, but are visual narratives that reflect their own stories, aspirations, and personal connections with the environment. These urban expressions serve as gathering and recognition points within the
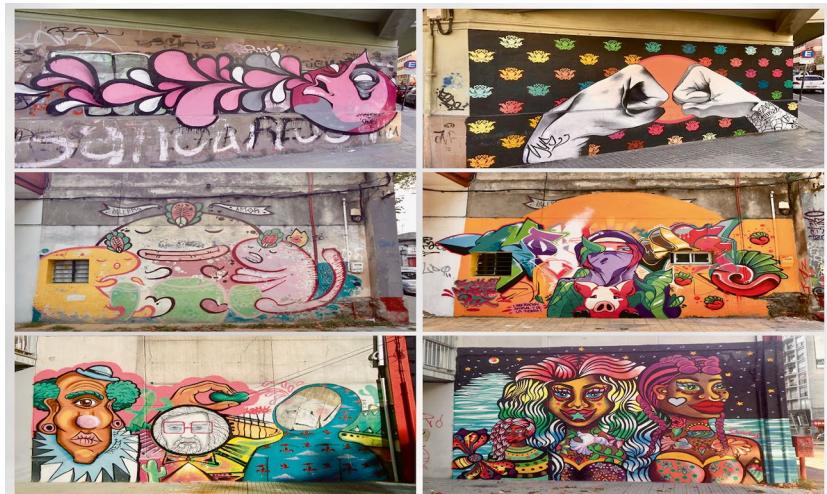
Fig. 9.5 Three palimpsest walls in the street art of Montevideo (1. Before / 2. After). Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2013/2015; 2015/2017; 2013/2017

community. Neighbors see them as testimonies that represent them and allow them to feel an active part of the construction and evolution of their neighborhood.

These routes translate an alternative geography that each street artist outlines with his work around the city. The routes, at least initially, form traces around the daily places of the artists themselves: their house, their workplace, their neighborhood, among others: "if I had a map and put all the drawings together, it would make a good path of all the places where I have been" (Artist\Stencileame Crew). Although there is a generalized idea that urban art is produced in every neighborhood, the truth is that these interventions are found in defined territories of the city. Over time, many of these routes become formal and informal, in street art routes. Or even, they are constituted as neighborhood projects that reach all citizens. An example of this is the *Booksonwalls* project in the Palermo neighborhood of Montevideo.

It is in these public spaces where real possibilities of exchanges with the community open towards the promotion of places of coexistence and sociability. This is where street artists become close with neighbors, in other words, the people closest to that local territory. As one of the artists mentions: "We try to be friendly so that people see that we are actually ordinary people. We are not vermin that go out to destroy" (Artist\Calush).

In Montevideo, street artists generate collaborative spaces with neighborhood residents, sometimes in a natural and short-term way, other times it is planned throughout the creative process; because, ultimately, each neighborhood is a local setting where social relationships are created (Gravano, 2005). As far as spontaneous action is concerned, they are usually casual appearances where the artist allows neighbors to participate in his work. Generally, these are brief moments that do not involve great risks of changing the initial design of the work. As for the other collaborations, the neighbor is directly involved in the creative process, reinforcing local participation in the public space. Within the framework of this type of initiatives, both in sporadic instances and in more widespread practices, urban art consolidates positive networks with neighborhood residents.

A prominent example of this type of project in Montevideo is "Painting the sidewalks of your city," an initiative devised and managed by urban artist Nicolás Hudson. This project seeks to transform the urban environment in a participatory way, involving the community in the artistic creation of sidewalk murals. By providing neighbors the opportunity to contribute to the aesthetics of their immediate surroundings, a sense of

ownership and pride in the shared space is fostered. Additionally, these types of initiatives promote social interaction between residents, strengthening local ties through urban art as a means of collective expression and neighborhood beautification.

Urban Art as a New Cultural Attraction: A Tourist Perspective

Currently, the production of street art as an artistic alternative for cultural innovation in urban contexts, whether local or global, generates dynamics of urban creativity (Cohendet et al., 2011) and often leads to policies associated with innovation and the contribution of creative industries such as tourism (López Barajas & Retamoza Ávila, 2013). This combination appears—and its visibility is greater every day—in products that synthesize agreements between the practices (individual and collective) of graffiti and street art in a framework of cultural governance. These local scenes (Blum, 2001) are partly the product of valued artistic practices, and the result of different processes that each city structures at a social, cultural, and economic level. It is in this context where urban creativity (Anheier & Raj Isar, 2010) is central as part of the urban regeneration panorama, seen as a new added value (economic, social, cultural, touristic) to city dynamics (Rosenstein, 2011).

Cultural tourism, also linked to creative tourism (UNESCO, 2006), has begun to take a very important role in Montevideo. Although this type of tourism has not had a high impact on the city, it is a complementary attraction to more conventional or established tourism (Condevaux et al., 2016). Montevideo is far from being considered a touristy city (Burgold et al., 2013). It does not adopt a mass tourism model, nor does it have intensive policies that could put its sustainability as a city at risk, especially in terms of internal mobility, urban ecosystem, accommodation supply, among other variables. In this sense, a certain balance is still maintained between the number of tourist visitors and the capacity of Montevideo's urban infrastructure.

Local urban art as a tourist attraction has contributed to strengthening the city's position as a culturally attractive place. As a result, it has had a positive impact on the revitalization of the local economy (Janeczko et al., 2002). In principle, this impact is not exclusively due to tourists visits seeking to discover local urban art, as happens with other cities in the world.[6] Rather, this art acts as an interesting complement and support to

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[6] This could be the case of cities like Berlin, Paris, Melbourne, or Valparaíso.

the already existing infrastructure that Montevideo takes advantage of for tourism: its beaches, architecture, historical heritage, events such as the Llamadas or the Carnival, the Ciudad Vieja neighborhood and other attractions.

Cultural tourism associated with street artistic practices is not yet sufficiently active in Montevideo to speculate about its development in the medium and long term. Proposals that involve urban art and alternative tourism policies for the city are emerging, allowing us to visualize a new tourism market. In this sense, it would allow us to visualize a new tourism market that emphasizes the exploitation of these artistic and urban practices, which until now are mostly unexplored. Perhaps, since it is a small market, the possibility (and opportunity) of generating new lines of action for tourism present significant complexity. The emergence of new needs that seek to satisfy the tourism market (Santana Talavera, 2003) becomes more complicated in cities like Montevideo, which is not prepared to host mass tourism or has sufficient infrastructure for the diversification of its offer (Fig. 9.6).

Likewise, the possibility of implementing strategies to attract the attention of tourism through urban art in the city is presented as a great opportunity. Diversifying cultural tourism and moving away from more

Fig. 9.6 Street art guided routes. Wang Urban Art Festival (2015). Artists: Zësar/David de la Mano. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2015

traditional approaches, such as gastronomy or heritage, could open a wide range of opportunities to increase the number of visitors to Montevideo. As it happens in other cities where urban art adds value, the development of policies that would allow tourists to experience new urban facets in Montevideo could decentralize consumerism (Judd, 2003). Consequently, the urban scene in relation to tourism expands and the places of interest within the city diversify (Sassen & Roost, 1999).

Currently, experiences related to the consumption of street art, such as guided tours or Street Art tours, focus mainly on the local population. Despite this focus, foreign visitors recognize the production of urban art as a positive aspect for the city, and are pleased to see murals in different areas of Montevideo, even if the murals were not the main reason for one's visit to the city.

Montevideo Urban Practices. A First Approach. The Lower Town of Ciudad Vieja. The Casa Wang Experience

One of the most important enclaves of Montevideo, where tourism has one of its development centers, is the Ciudad Vieja, the city's historic neighborhood. It is in that territory where one of the spaces with the greatest receptive tourism for the city is seen, a process that has been sustained over time. It is there that a large part of the historical-heritage collection of the country's capital is present, its oldest urban center, as well as different urban facilities and infrastructures that translate the great attraction it has, both for foreign visitors and for the local population. An example of this could be the Teatro Solís, the most important theater in the country, a cultural facility inaugurated in 1856 and partially inspired by the architecture of La Scala in Milan.

This tourist growth, in part, has been a consequence of the interest in the urban revitalization of the Downtown area and the Ciudad Vieja of Montevideo. Furthermore, the city's port is annexed to this area and has enabled the growth of "cruise tourism," becoming the first stop to visit the city for tourists who arrive through the port. In this multidimensional context, simultaneously in the Ciudad Vieja, a cultural and creative nucleus known as El Bajo is being established. This territorial space brings together a set of halls and cultural spaces linked to the artistic field, especially the contemporary visual arts sector. One of the pioneer places that was

Fig. 9.7 The Lower Town of the Ciudad Vieja, Montevideo. Photos: Ricardo Klein, 2015

established in that area is Casa Wang, a space that transformed the daily life of the neighborhood and its local living, and that collectively brings together the most important urban artists in the country. Casa Wang is a workshop, an artistic residency space and an exhibition hall that brings together a group of independent local and foreign artists. There illustrators, muralists, painters, and designers interact and work simultaneously. It has also been one of the organizers of most significant urban art events in the country, including: "Muta Montevideo" (2013), "Ibero-American Meeting of Urban Art" (2013), "Wang Urban Art Festival" (2015, 2018, 2022, 2024), "Open Sky Gallery—Casa Wang/Tres Cruces" (2018).

Furthermore, Casa Wang's main concern lies in interacting with the neighborhood to build a collaborative and reciprocal space. It is essential for them to strengthen their ties with neighbors, working collaboratively and betting on urban art production strategies more rooted in the local community. Its objective when intervening in the El Bajo area is to aesthetically enhance the neighborhood, improve the façades for common and collective benefit, adding beautification, color, revitalization, and other improvements (Fig. 9.7).

The relationships that Casa Wang establish with neighbors are part of their artistic practices in public spaces; they seek to create complicity and closeness, since they understand that they are the people most connected to the local territory. For them, the figure of the neighbor is extremely relevant, since it breaks with the scheme of the anonymous inhabitant of the city, of people who transit through large urban centers in an ephemeral manner.

Indirectly, Casa Wang interventions have enhanced the area from various perspectives. One of these aspects has been the attraction that El Bajo has generated for the arrival of other artistic groups, as well as the strengthening of infrastructure and cultural facilities in the area that were developed in parallel. An example of this was the creation of the Migration Museum (MUMI) in 2011. What in principle would have been a creative commitment in the territory for several artistic spaces,[7] the lower area of the Ciudad Vieja became an artistic neighborhood either arts neighborhood, being one of the great cultural and creative centers, perhaps the most important in the country.

BooksOnWall: Immersive Narratives in the Palermo Neighborhood

What began as a set of mural works by the artist Fulviet in the Palermo neighborhood, became an open air gallery in Montevideo over time, thus creating an urban art route or tour for the city. As mentioned previously, the permissiveness for illegally performing street art allowed the artist to produce works with some freedom in the area where he resides.

Fulviet, an Italian architect and urban artist, is a leading figure in Montevideo's street art scene. Furthermore, he is a member of the renowned Casa Wang in Ciudad Vieja. As part of a creative process that linked him closely to his neighborhood, he has been creating various mural works in nearby houses and buildings. As his artistic production evolved and his artistic concerns intertwined with his place of residence, the immersive *BooksOnWall* project emerged.

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[7] In addition to Casa Wang, Pensión Cultural Milan, Ronda de Mujeres, FAC Laboratorio de Cine, Proyecto Casamario, Ensayo Abierto, Casona Mauá, among many other artistic, cultural, and design spaces, are present.

The *BooksOnWall* project is challenging to attempt to accurately describe its significance, as it goes beyond simply being an innovative and pioneering initiative that uses immersive narratives to tell stories. This proposal is based on the narration of a story that comes to life in five blocks of the Palermo neighborhood through an app for cell phones and tablets. Throughout seventeen murals, which represent the illustrations of the story, the story unfolds. However, the value of these works goes beyond their narrative purpose, as they contribute significantly to the artistic, cultural, tourist, and even economic growth of both the neighborhood and even the city. Initiatives like this provide elements that strengthen and revitalize the cultural dimension of the neighborhood space, transcending the immediate social sphere to become meeting hubs within the city. They are key elements to building more humane and supportive cities, improving spaces for coexistence, and promoting sociability, while reinforcing community participation in artistic intervention within public spaces. By supporting this type of interventions, the neighborhood is consolidated and revitalized as a place of social roots, shaping new urban identities for the city. This attracts additional visitors, including the Montevideo population who do not reside in the neighborhood and tourists interested in seeing the works, experiencing the project, and discovering the history and heritage of the area (Fig. 9.8).

Fig. 9.8 Work that is part of BooksOnWall, Palermo neighborhood. Artist: Fulviet. Photo: Ricardo Klein, 2019

This project represents a collective creation between artists, neighbors, where the children of the neighborhood play a leading role. Urban art, architecture, and literature merge to highlight cultural heritage, using technology to bring what is tangible closer and show what is intangible. Technological advances, especially the Internet, have revolutionized the dissemination of culture. Now, the creation and consumption of cultural products do not depend on the physical locality as much, instead having become globalized and diversified thanks to technology (Craig, 2013). In this sense, technology has also expanded access to cultural goods and services, which has meant a change regarding cultural consumption and its relationship with the local territory. In this case, based on the immersive experience, the local public space accompanies new technologies, and vice versa. It is a hybrid production that combines territoriality with digital cultural consumption.

Projects like *BooksOnWall* create a new creative map for the city, where the neighborhood becomes the protagonist and all its inhabitants, whether neighbors or visitors, contribute to the construction of new urban meanings. The close relationship with the residents is crucial for the success of these projects, since they live and experience the different spaces of the neighborhood every day, being the heart of the community and the local territory. In this sense, it not only allows you to reconnect with the neighborhood, but also strengthens the social connections and revitalizes public spaces for the enjoyment of the city and its inhabitants.

Conclusions

In the first section, the chapter provided a summary of the historical process that marked the emergence, evolution, and establishment of the graffiti and street art scene in Montevideo. Initially, with an incipient beginning in the 1980s, mainly related to poetic and political graffiti, its connection became more evident, especially from the 1990s onwards, with hip-hop culture. Throughout the early 2000s, this movement expanded and diversified, integrating new aesthetic expressions of street art, especially linked to street art, and grew as a more organized and structured collective. Several factors, such as the decrease in the persecution of these practices by the police, the increase in the presence of artists with formal studies in Fine Arts, and the arrival of regional and international artists in recent years, consolidated a more professional and rooted local scene.

The city of Montevideo is emerging as an increasingly consolidated space in the production of street art, driven by its own characteristics as a cultural city and the expansion of this practice in its territory. This continuous momentum, which has been maintained for almost two decades, represents a significant contribution to urban revitalization and has become a tourist attraction for both local inhabitants and foreign visitors.

Over the years and the work of various international artists, along with the professionalization of local urban artists, Montevideo has managed to transform into a more vibrant and colorful place. In a way, they challenged the perception of a largely "gray" city, where challenges such as noise, visual and atmospheric pollution, urban disorder, and architectural heterogeneity pose difficulties. These artists not only contribute aesthetically, but also seek to change the perception that residents have of their city. With their interventions, they provide new meanings that transform the public spaces of Montevideo physically as well as emotionally.

These artistic tours make up a new map of the urban geography of street art, allowing the discovery of different experiences in the city. Sometimes, they involve collaborations with the local community, giving rise to collective participation projects. These organized spaces also strengthen the connection within neighborhoods, improving coexistence and social interaction between neighbors. Moreover, many of these interventions in public spaces add cultural, artistic, social, economic, and touristic value to them. This attracts other visitors, whether they are residents of Montevideo who do not live in those neighborhoods or tourists interested in learning about these works.

It is in this context that Montevideo is becoming an attractive city for tourism thanks to the urban art present in its urban landscape. Through various projects and actions, largely driven by the artists themselves, the city is exploring new tourist attractions, beyond those already consolidated, such as the Ciudad Vieja, the beaches or the carnival. Montevideo is beginning to make new spaces of interest, tangible and intangible, visible to its visitors.

Cultural tourism, particularly for a city like Montevideo, closely linked to culture in its various manifestations, such as art, history, and heritage, is slowly consolidating as an integral part of its image as a city. Although its impact is not yet significant, urban art is emerging as a complementary attraction, introducing a less conventional dimension to the existing tourism landscape. This situation represents an excellent opportunity to devise

development strategies not only to attract additional foreign tourism to the existing one, but also involve local inhabitants, motivating them to enjoy and experience their own city even more.

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Proyecto Graffiteo.: graffiteo.tumblr.com
Proyecto Streetart.uy: Streetart.uy

INTERVIEWS

Artists: Acción Poética Uruguay· AS1 (KNCR Crew)· Big Lala (Agustina Rodríguez - Eugenia González)· Calush· Ceci Ro· Conde (Crew del Sur)· David de la Mano· Fiolence· Colectivo Licuado (Fitz· Theic)· Golfo de mar·

Gori REC· Kultura· Lälin· Malandro· María Noel· Martin Albornoz (Bruster Special)· Min8· Montevideo Stencil· Nicolás Hudson· Alfalfa (Nicolás Sánchez)· Old City Stencil· Soalon (Pasto Verde)· Pepi Gonçalvez· Perman· Pher· Raf (KNCR Crew)· Santiago Velazco· Mokek (Crew del Sur)· Skunk· Stencileame Crew· Zësar.

Qualified informants: Carolina Curbelo· Elena Porteiro· Enrique Aguerre· Fabricio Guaragna· Gabriel Peveroni· Leandro Bejar· Leonard Mattioli· Leonardo Gómez· Manuel Rivoir· Marianella Fernández Villa.

Tensions, Challenges, and Future Perspectives on the City as Discovery

Ricardo Klein and Caitlin Bruce

INTRODUCTION

This final chapter will propose some conclusions reached from the different cases analyzed in this research. This study of the intersectional dynamics between street art and tourism demonstrates the depth and complexity of this topic. Through an exhaustive analysis of eight representative cities, spanning Latin America, Europe and the United States, an attempt has been made to unravel the variety of meanings inherent to street art expressions in their close urban contexts.

Throughout the course of this work, the potential of street art as a vehicle for the interpretation, codification and valorization of urban space has been considered, particularly in its interaction with contemporary touristic practices. It has also put into question the conventional dichotomies that often circumscribe street art, such as the distinctions between art and vandalism, what is legal and what is not, the formal institutions and the street, and in relation to the place it holds in public administration, the private sector, and local communities.

It has become evident how street art is intertwined with the social and political fabric of the cities it inhabits, from gentrification to urban renewal, and as a form of protest that aids in the construction of communitarian

meanings. Each artistic manifestation, piece of graffiti, and visual intervention stands as a unique testimony; a graphic narrative that accounts for the living history of a community and its struggles for space and identity.

The opportunities and challenges inherent in this relationship have been identified in examining urban touristic strategies that are related to street art. From the emergence of new urban attractions to the reconfiguration of collective imaginaries, street art emerges as a powerful means to address issues of social inequality and to foster inclusivity and diversity in our contemporary cities.

This analytical journey has allowed for a deeper understanding of the intersection between art, tourism, and urban life. By recognizing the importance of addressing these issues in a systematic and transnational manner, we hope to have laid the groundwork for future research and practices that explore, critique, and celebrate the transformative potential of street art in the urban context. In an increasingly globalized and diverse world, street art emerges as a lasting reminder of the vitality and creativity that lies at the heart of our urban communities.

Dialogues, Crossroads, and Transitions

Gentrification, the Right to the City and Street Art

Street art can be problematized in the context of gentrification from various perspectives. In many cases, street art becomes a symbol of urban revitalization and tourist attractiveness of an area undergoing gentrification. However, this appropriation of art can be used by developers and local authorities to attract investment and increase housing prices, which in turn drives out low-income residents and changes the cultural nature of the community. As street art becomes part of the urban aesthetic in gentrified areas, there is a risk that the rich local history and culture will be erased or trivialized in favor of an aesthetic standardization that attracts new residents and tourists. Additionally, street art often reflects the experiences and identity of the locals though it can be appropriated by artists and visitors from outside the community in the process of gentrification, raising the issue of cultural appropriation and questioning who has the right to represent a neighborhood's culture and how local cultural legacies are cared for amid urban transformation. Murals and art installations often adorn buildings and walls owned by businesses or private owners, raising

questions about who has access to and control over art in urban space and how commercial interests are prioritized over community interests. Embellishment replaces meaningful communication.

For example, in Porto and Cleveland gentrification has specific historical and social roots. In the case of Porto, gentrification can be connected to urban revitalization driven by tourism and foreign investment in the city, especially after its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1996. This has led to increased interest in property in historic and previously neglected areas of the city. In Cleveland, gentrification is tied to factors such as deindustrialization, racial and economic segregation, as well as government and private sector-driven urban revitalization efforts.

Groups affected by gentrification in these cases often respond with various forms of resistance, such as protests, community organizing, and political demands. These groups often stand by their right to the city, demanding policies that ensure affordable housing, promote social and economic inclusion, and preserve the cultural identity of the affected neighborhoods. In this regard, *artivism* (a portmanteau of art and activism) emerges as a powerful tool in the fight against gentrification processes. Groups affected by gentrification use artivism seeking not only to resist unwanted changes in their communities, but also to reaffirm their presence and claim their right to the city. Through forms of artistic expression such as street art, graffiti, public installations, and performances, this intervention practice becomes a visual and tangible voice that challenges dominant narratives and highlights local realities.

In response to gentrification, these actions take various forms. On the one hand, they can be used as a form of direct protest, where artworks become means of political and social expression that denounce the injustices and inequalities associated with gentrification. These artistic manifestations can include murals depicting community histories and struggles, installations that shed light on the loss of affordable housing, or performances that draw attention to the exclusion of certain social groups in the urban development process.

On the other hand, street art can serve as a tool for community building and as a way of organizing as a collective. Collaborative art projects can bring together residents, artists, and activists to create works that strengthen community ties and foster empowerment. These initiatives not only spark a sense of belonging and solidarity within the affected community but can also amplify the demands for social and economic justice.

The City as Palimpsest: Renewal and Urban Imaginaries

Street art can offer an alternative narrative about the city, moving away from the traditional representations promoted by conventional tourism. Rather than focusing on conventional monuments and tourist attractions, street art tours in cities such as Barcelona and Buenos Aires can highlight the creativity and cultural diversity of neighborhoods. This can attract a different type of tourist, one which is interested in exploring the authenticity of urban life, promoting more sustainable and conscious tourism. For example, the Palermo neighborhood is known for being an important audiovisual hub in Buenos Aires, including numerous film studios, production companies, and cultural spaces. Street art is a distinctive feature of this neighborhood and serves as a means of attraction for both the tourists and the locals. Sightseeing tours of Palermo often include visits to murals and street art galleries, which contributes to the flow of tourists and the economic development of the neighborhood.

Cities should be seen as palimpsests; layers of history and culture overlaid over time. Particularly, street art can serve as a reflection of this complexity, with murals incorporating elements of local history and the evolving urban identity. These places are transformed and take on new meanings depending on the intentions and objectives that street artists set out to achieve. Tourism can contribute to this idea by allowing visitors to explore and discover the many layers of a city, from its historical heritage to its cultural scene. This provides tourists with an enriching and authentic experience while exploring the city, as well as for residents. Locals and street artists alike are immersed in a new dynamic of meaning for the city through street art, shaping an artistic and urban landscape where walls are intervened, erased, and intervened again with layers of text or images, leaving traces of what once was and what is now. What was nothing but a bare wall is transformed into a visual narrative of the living history of the community.

Street art serves as a form of transition in many cities, including Montevideo and Bogotá, where it has emerged as a tool for transforming deteriorated urban spaces into places of expression and community gathering. Tourism can be the driving force behind this transition by creating interest in street art and the neighborhoods where it can be found, which in turn contributes to the process of urban revitalization and the strengthening of local identities.

The discourses and practices that drive urban renewal are often marked by narratives of progress, modernization, and improving the quality of life. They can be influenced by government agents, businesses, and cultural actors that promote a specific vision of the city and its future. In this regard, the existing imaginaries from the public sector and its population of the city play a crucial role, as they influence the way urban spaces are perceived and constructed, as well as the aspirations and expectations of citizens regarding their environment. In Aubervilliers/Paris, urban renewal initiatives can include projects such as the restoration of historic neighborhoods, the revitalization of abandoned industrial areas, and the creation of green and recreational spaces. However, in Buenos Aires, these initiatives can range from improving urban infrastructure and public transportation to revitalizing run-down areas and promoting cultural and artistic development in neighborhoods.

In this context, street art is a fundamental part of cultural and artistic development initiatives in neighborhoods. It often emerges as a form of expression that reflects local realities, cultural identity, and community experiences. In this way it contributes to the revitalization of urban areas by adding aesthetic value and promoting creativity in public spaces. For example, in Aubervilliers, street art and graffiti is a central part of the walls of historic sites, adding a contemporary touch to pre war industrial architecture. In Buenos Aires, street art can be a tool to transform existing urban space into open air galleries that attract visitors and promote local culture.

Nevertheless, urban renewal initiatives also spark tensions and contradictions with the needs and demands of the local population, especially regarding accessible housing, gentrification, and citizen participation in decision-making processes. Urban renewal policies can lead to the displacement of low-income residents, and loss of cultural identity within neighborhoods and the exclusion of certain social groups from the benefits of urban development. Street art can be subject to co-optation by external actors seeking to capitalize on the cultural attractiveness of a neighborhood undergoing renewal. This can lead to the misappropriation of street art to promote a superficial image of the city, disregarding the social and economic realities of the local community: not a layered palimpsest but a scene of erasure or a form empty of content.

These urban initiatives potentially have important implications for tourism and urban art development. On the one hand, they can contribute to the revitalization of urban areas and the creation of cultural and artistic

spaces that attract tourists and foster the local economy. However, it is also important to consider how these initiatives affect the authenticity and diversity of the urban experience, as well as the role of local artists and communities in the production and appropriation of urban space. It is essential to seek balance between touristic development and the conservation of local identity and values, as well as promoting policies that guarantee the inclusion and participation of all stakeholders involved in the urban renewal process.

Therefore, it is essential to ensure the active participation of local artists and residents in the planning and implementation of street art projects. This not only helps to preserve the authenticity and diversity of artistic expression in urban space, but also promotes a sense of belonging and empowerment among community residents. Moreover, policies that protect and promote equitable access to street art should be implemented, ensuring that all social groups benefit from ongoing cultural and urban development. In this way, street art can play a significant role in the building of inclusive and vibrant cities, where creativity and cultural diversity are both valued and celebrated.

Post-industrial Forms of the City and Alternative Forms of Tourism

Urban art acts as a catalyst for change and resistance in the context of post-industrial transformation and mass tourism in cities such as Pittsburgh and Barcelona. Amid economic restructuring and the challenges associated with the growth of tourism, urban art emerges as a form of expression that seeks to both reflect and resist the negative impacts on the local population and cultural identity of neighborhoods.

In Pittsburgh, post-industrial transformation was mainly due to the decline of the steel industry at the end of the twentieth century, which led to an economic restructuring towards sectors such as technology, health, and education. In Barcelona, the post-industrial transition has been marked by urban revitalization and the transformation of tourism as an economic engine, especially after the 1992 Olympic Games.

Likewise, street artworks act as symbols of community resilience in the face of economic change, while highlighting the city's rich history and blue-collar culture. These artistic expressions can also be used to draw attention to social inequalities resulting from post-industrial transformation, such as gentrification, rising housing prices, and the unequal health effects of environmental contamination on marginalized communities.

Meanwhile, in Barcelona, urban art can play a similar role in addressing the challenges associated with urban revitalization and mass tourism. Street artworks can be a form of resistance against cultural homogenization and loss of authenticity in historic areas saturated by tourism. Additionally, urban art can be used as a tool to promote sustainable tourism and citizen participation in urban planning by highlighting the importance of preserving the environment and local identity.

In the face of mass tourism, various forms of resistance and alternatives have surfaced. These include the development of sustainable touristic practices that promote the preservation of the environment, culture, and the local economy. Moreover, initiatives have been promoted to strengthen neighborhoods and communities, such as supporting small local businesses, promoting citizen participation in urban planning, and diversifying touristic offers to decentralize the flow of visitors. Street art can play an important role in urban revitalization by transforming abandoned or dilapidated spaces into attractive and visually appealing places. In post-industrial cities such as Pittsburgh, street art can contribute to the revival of idle industrial areas, attracting both locals and tourists interested in urban culture. This can revitalize the local economy and promote a sense of pride and belonging among the city's inhabitants. At issue, however, is who gets to enjoy the benefits of rediscovered post-industrial cities and spaces.

Protest and Community Meaning Making

Controlling public space is a crucial issue in cities such as Bogotá, Buenos Aires, and Cleveland, where histories of violence and contexts of conflict can influence management and experimentation in these spaces. Promoting more sustainable tourism involves balancing the protection of the residents' rights with the creation of responsible touristic experiences that are respectful of the community's environment and culture. This can be achieved through participatory urban planning policies, regulating the use of public space, and fostering touristic initiatives that benefit local communities.

Street art can be a form of activism and resistance against social and political injustices in the city. In cities like Bogotá, murals and graffiti serve as a means of protesting and raising awareness about issues such as human rights, gender-based violence, and socioeconomic inequality. This can inspire collective action and mobilize the community around important causes, challenging hegemonic dynamics, and promoting social justice.

Protest and the making of community meanings are influenced by diverse social and political contexts. In Montevideo, they may be related to issues such as economic inequality and gender-based violence. In Bogotá, protests may be linked to issues such as corruption, armed violence, and access to basic services such as education and health. These forms of protest not only seek to draw attention to specific problems, but also contribute to the construction of collective identities and community meanings, strengthening social ties and solidarity among participants.

Street arts and culture play an important role in building resistance and creating alternatives to hegemonic dynamics in public spaces in these contexts. Street art, such as graffiti and urban interventions, serve as a form of political and social expression, giving voice to marginalized communities and opposing dominant narratives. Furthermore, cultural and artistic manifestations in public spaces can create a sense of belonging and empowerment among citizens, promoting solidarity and collective action.

In Montevideo and Bogotá, there are various citizen-centered initiatives to promote and protect the local communities and the neighborhoods' ecosystems. These initiatives often include citizen participation programs in urban planning, creating community and cultural spaces, and promoting self-management and cooperation among neighbors. Additionally, networks of mutual support and solidarity can be established to address problems such as gentrification, urban violence, and social exclusion. These initiatives reflect citizens' commitment to building a more inclusive, just, and sustainable city. In these cities, street art emerges as a powerful tool to shed light on the resistance of local communities and their ways of expression, to challenge dominant narratives.

Street art can serve as a form of social and cultural inclusion, providing a platform for local artists to express their ideas and experiences. Combined with citizen initiatives to promote and protect local communities and neighborhood habitat, street art reflects citizens' commitment to building more inclusive, just, and sustainable cities. It is a form of expression for local communities, transforming the urban landscape and attracting the attention of tourists interested in urban culture. Tourists and residents alike can participate in guided tours of these areas, encouraging interaction between different social groups and promoting a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities in these communities.

Final Reflections and Recommendations

The role of "globality" and the attraction of international artists in the field of street art has contributed significantly to tourists' interest in urban culture. However, this practice can lead to a certain invariability in the art scene, where the same artists and art styles become ubiquitous in different cities. This poses challenges in terms of maintaining the authenticity and cultural diversity of tourist destinations. Therefore, it is essential to value and promote the work of local artists, who can offer a unique perspective on the city and contribute to building a more authentic experience for visitors.

To address this issue, opportunities should be created for neighbors, especially young people and students to meet visitors and learn from them. This could be done by organizing workshops, presentations, or events where artists share their knowledge and techniques with the local community. Likewise, cultural exchange programs can be established that allow local artists to collaborate with international artists on joint projects, which will not only enrich their artistic practice, but also encourage diversity and innovation in the city's street art. Moreover, it is important that visitors receive information about the venues in host cities, and that opportunities for professional growth are made for local artists.

To complement these initiatives, both artists and residents should be trained and empowered to be leaders in promoting their own communities. This can be achieved by providing resources and tools to artists, for them to develop urban marketing and management skills, as well as training programs in cultural entrepreneurship. At the same time, support and mentoring networks can be established that connect emerging artists with established professionals in the street art industry, allowing them to learn from their experience and be guided on how to advance their artistic careers.

It is important to involve street artists in the urban planning and design process to ensure that their perspectives and needs are considered. This may involve forming advisory committees or holding participatory meetings where artists can contribute ideas and suggestions. Additionally, supporting community street art programs can be an effective way to promote inclusion and empowerment within communities. Promoting initiatives that use street art as a tool to address social problems and improve the quality of life in communities can have a positive impact.

Finally, it is essential that the city's cultural and urban policies recognize and value the key role that street art plays in promoting cultural identity and diversity. This implies allocating financial and spatial resources to support the creation and exhibition of local street art, as well as integrating the artists' perspective into decision-making processes related to urban development and tourism. Ultimately, by strengthening and promoting the work of local artists, the city can ensure that street art remains an authentic expression of its cultural identity.

On the other hand, tourism can exacerbate existing social inequalities in a city, where certain social and private groups have more opportunities to benefit from tourism than others. This is reflected in who has access to tourism-related resources and opportunities, such as jobs in the tourism industry or the ability to capitalize on local culture to attract visitors. In this regard, street art serves as a form of expression for local communities, allowing them to reclaim public space and become noticeable in the city. However, it is important for tourism development to be inclusive and equitable, ensuring that all residents can benefit fairly from the opportunities offered by tourism.

To address inequities related to tourism and street art, as well as to foster inclusion and participation of local communities, it is crucial to foster collaboration between artists and the community. Facilitating spaces for dialogue and collaboration between street artists and the locals is critical. This could include workshops, cultural events, and collaborative art projects that involve the community in the creation and maintenance of artworks in public space. Furthermore, resources and logistical support should be provided for artists in order for them to work closely with the community and reflect local experiences and identity in their mural artwork in each city.

It is also paramount to promote responsible and conscious tourism. Educating tourists about the importance of respecting and valuing street art as a legitimate expression of local culture is essential. Guided tours that not only highlight the artworks, but also provide historical and cultural context, as well as information about the artists and communities behind the works could be offered. This would foster a deeper and more respectful appreciation of street art and its impact on the local community.

Finally, supporting the preservation of cultural heritage is essential. Recognizing and protecting the value of street art as part of a city's cultural heritage rather than a decorative afterthought is crucial. This may involve designating specific areas as sites of cultural interest and

implementing measures to protect street art from destruction. Establishing specific areas in the city where street artists can create freely without fearing persecution would also be beneficial. These spaces could be managed by local authorities in collaboration with the community and serve as places for artists to express their creativity in a legal manner.

Likewise, conservation and restoration programs can be established to maintain and preserve street art over time, ensuring that it continues to be a source of pride and identity for local communities. Promoting education and awareness through the implementation of educational programs aimed at both the general population and local authorities will help combat the stigmatization and negative perception of graffiti and other types of urban art.

The way in which urban spaces, including street art, are managed and regulated is influenced by the historical context and urban planning policies of each city. In many cities, the implementation of "zero tolerance" policies towards graffiti has led to a stigmatization of street art as vandalism, as is the case in Barcelona, resulting in a criminalization of street artists and a restriction of their freedom of expression. However, in other cities, more inclusive approaches that recognize the cultural and artistic value of street art and seek to integrate it into urban planning and touristic development, like the example of Bogotá. In this regard, policy changes that emphasize community service rather than sanctions, and that promote greater community inclusion and participation in the management of public space should be made.

Sightseeing tours that include street art can be an effective way to showcase the work of local artists and promote a city's urban culture. However, it is critical that these tours are designed and led in collaboration with the artists themselves, to ensure that their visions are respected, and an authentic narrative about their work and their community is told. This may involve including artists in the design and delivery of the tours, as well as fair compensation were they to participate. In doing so, tours can become a platform to empower artists and promote a deeper and more meaningful understanding of street art in the city. As such, artists should be included and compensated for consultation, design and/or delivery of the tour. This would help center tours on places and people, not the abstract aesthetics of uncritical moments of diversion.

Creating thematic tours that highlight specific aspects of street art could be considered, themes such as the history of the movement, the techniques used, or recurring topics in the works. These thematic tours

could appeal to different types of audiences and offer a deeper perspective on street art and its cultural context. It is important to ensure that tours include a variety of artists and street art styles to provide a more complete and diverse experience for visitors. This can be achieved by establishing partnerships with different artists and art groups in the community.

Furthermore, interaction between artists and tourists can be encouraged during tours by providing opportunities for visitors to actually meet the artists, hear their stories, and learn about their creative processes, through hands-on participation if possible. This not only enriches the touristic experience, but also establishes more meaningful connections between visitors and the local community.

It is essential to promote sustainability, access, and social responsibility in street art tours. This may involve implementing environmentally-focused practices, such as using public transportation or bicycles instead of private vehicles, as experiences is shown in Montevideo, unless the latter are needed for accessibility for people with mobility needs. It also could involve community responsibility initiatives to benefit residents and neighborhoods. By implementing these recommendations, street art tours can become a powerful tool for promoting local art, enriching the touristic experience, and strengthening ties between the community and visitors.

Finally, we propose a synthesis of a set of suggestions and lines of action that can be carried out together with the public sector to promote and support street art in an integral way within the framework of today's cities:

Areas of work	Description
Organization of workshops and events	Create opportunities for neighbors, especially young people and students, to meet and learn from visiting artists by organizing workshops, talks, or events
Cultural exchange programs	Establish programs that enable local artists to collaborate with international artists on joint projects to encourage diversity and innovation in the city's street art
Information and professional development	Provide information on venues to visit and professional development opportunities for local artists
Training and empowerment	Provide resources and tools for artists to develop management and urban marketing skills, as well as training programs in cultural entrepreneurship
Support networks	Establish support networks that connect emerging artists with established street art professionals

(continued)

Areas of work	Description
Promoting inclusive policies	Recognize and value the role of street art in the promotion of cultural identity and diversity, allocating financial and spatial resources to support it
Collaboration between artists and community	Facilitate spaces for dialogue and collaboration between street artists and local residents through workshops, cultural events, and collaborative art projects
Promoting responsible tourism	Educate tourists about the importance of respecting and valuing street art as a legitimate expression of local culture through guided tours and educational activities
Preservation of cultural heritage	Recognize and protect the value of street art as part of the city's cultural heritage by implementing conservation and restoration measures
Participation of artists in urban planning	Involve street artists in the urban planning and design process to ensure that their perspectives are considered
Collaborative tour design	Designing tours in collaboration with local artists to ensure an authentic narrative about their work and their community
Thematic and diversified tours	Create thematic tours that highlight specific aspects of street art to offer a more complete and diverse experience to visitors
Promotion of artist-tourist interaction	Provide opportunities for visitors to interact with artists during tours to establish meaningful connections

We hope that we have provided a beginning for thinking about graffiti/street art as resources, conversations, reflections, and potential proposals for approaching the city as a site of investigation, education, collaboration, and engagement rather than simply "discovery" with these eight case studies. Likely, more questions may have arisen. Street art and graffiti tourism is not a cure-all for issues of social inequality in cities, but it is one element for public engagement with spaces and culture. We invite you to think about how other forms of cultural engagement allow us to investigate generative possibilities for cities, residents, and visitors.

Index[1]

[1] Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.