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Master Thesis

**Street Art in Glasgow:  
A Struggle for Appropriating Urban Spaces**

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This thesis contains **28 739** words.

(Natalia Grigoreva, Berlin, 02.10.2019, )

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# I. Introduction

## Identifying the Problem

The contemporary street art culture arose a little more than 50 years in New York.<sup>1</sup> It has developed jointly with hip-hop dance and music and gained the status of a global movement. Nowadays street art is engrained by mass consumer culture in many countries around the world.<sup>2</sup> The development of digital technologies influenced the widespread of street art culture, converting its practices into commercial products.<sup>3</sup> The availability of Internet resources<sup>4</sup> promotes this movement and expresses into the washout of the borders between art community and mainstream phenomena. Street art is used in various advertising and marketing campaigns.<sup>5</sup> The interest in this area for this thesis arose due to the ambiguous position of street art in the urban space of big, multicultural cities. The controversial aspect of the double standards policy that regulative bodies adhere to the street art movement will be shown in this thesis using the example of Glasgow Mural Fund. On the one hand, illegal street art or “graffiti” is seen as antisocial behaviour<sup>6</sup> and prosecuted by law, on the other hand, it is accepted and adapted for the promotional and commercial needs. The issue of the struggle for urban space and the rights of remaking the city centre will be analysed in this thesis as a crucial aspect of appropriation of public space and execution of urban policy.

The growing popularity of street art is expressed not only in the increased number of works but also in the growing attention from academic society who studies this movement from different perspectives. The existing academic resources don’t provide a universal accepted theoretical definition of street art or graffiti.<sup>7</sup> It is difficult to outline

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<sup>1</sup> Nancy MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture: Youth, Masculinity and Identity in London and New York* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Carlo McCormick, *Magic City: die Kunst der Straße: the art of the street* (Berlin : From Here To Fame Publishing, 2017), 21.

<sup>3</sup> Cedar Lewisohn, *Street Art: The Graffiti Revolution* (New York: Abrams, 2008), 35.

<sup>4</sup> “Wooster Collective,” accessed July 27, 2019, <http://woostercollective.com>; “Vandalog,” accessed July 27, 2019, <http://vandalog.com>; “Streetsy,” accessed July 27, 2019, <http://streetsy.com>.

<sup>5</sup> Anne M. Cronin, “Urban Space and Entrepreneurial Property Relations: Resistance and the Vernacular of Outdoor Advertising and Graffiti,” in *Consuming the Entrepreneurial City: Image, Memory, Spectacle*, ed. Anne M. Cronin and Kevin Hetherington (New York: Routledge, 2008), 65.

<sup>6</sup> “Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004,” accessed July 27, 2019, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2004/8/contents>.

<sup>7</sup> Ricardo Klein, “Creativity and Territory: The construction of centers and peripheries from graffiti and street art,” in *Street Art & Urban Creativity Scientific Journal 2* (2016), 7.

the difference between these forms of art as both of them are initially expressed in open public spaces, and not in the art galleries. The classification of different forms of street art varies and depends on the subjective evaluation of artistic value. It can be based on painting technique, innovation of the idea, visual content or message to the society.<sup>8</sup> The concept of street art used for this research is based on the idea presented in the street art anthology book: “Street art and Urban Art are the most commonly used labels for the contemporary movement originated from writing, also often called Graffiti. Yet the term “Street Art” tends to actually incorporate more forms, techniques and forms of expression than the original words used to.”<sup>9</sup> A brief history of street art, techniques and possible ways of presenting street art will be explained in a separate part of this thesis to highlight the issue of defining these public art forms in Glasgow.

The concept of appropriation used in this research is based on Lefebvre’s definition of “appropriated space” which is “modified in order to serve the needs and possibilities of a group that it has been appropriated by that group”.<sup>10</sup>

Often such a space is a structure- monument or building- but this is not always the case: a site, a square or a street may also be legitimately described as an appropriated space. Examples of appropriated spaces abound, but it is not always easy to decide in what respect, how, by whom and for whom they have been appropriated.<sup>11</sup>

The term “space” is understood as an open platform where social changes occur. The perception of space is clarified by Michel de Certeau: “[S]pace is a practiced place. Thus, the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers.”<sup>12</sup>

The street art movement has formed a whole subculture<sup>13</sup> with its own ethical code. The artists follow the rules not to draw images on the historical monuments or religious

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<sup>8</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 18.

<sup>9</sup> Magda Danysz and Mary-Noëlle Dana, *From Style Writing to Art: A Street Art Anthology* (Drago, 2011), 18.

<sup>10</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 165.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 165.

<sup>12</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (London: University of California Press Ltd, 1984), 117.

<sup>13</sup> McCormick, *Magic City*, 9.

buildings.<sup>14</sup> Based on the definition of subculture from Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1970s – it is a “resistant movement to the dominant culture”.<sup>15</sup> The prefix "sub" emphasises a distinction from leading society and mainstream culture. Members of the subculture group highlight their independence and determine their place “outside the larger social political and economical contexts.”<sup>16</sup> They accept existing norms as the starting point but react against them. As in every subculture group the street artists share special values and follow the standards that sometimes hard to understand for non-subculture members.<sup>17</sup> They define themselves against the dominant culture through lifestyle and art interventions into urban public space. Street art is a contradictory culture which “can be at the same time a snapshot, a witness of human experiences, and archive of these experiences.”<sup>18</sup> The street artists usually prefer to be called “writers”, they act deliberately and not mindlessly, pursuing certain goals and purposes. They use a verbal vocabulary that is specific to their subculture and a visual vocabulary that is not always understood by the general public.<sup>19</sup> Different forms of street art create a complex system of urban communication. But as these differences and ideas are appreciated mostly by subcultural participants only and misconceived by the outsiders, the feeling of discomfort or insecurity often appears among the public. Thus, street art can not be called an enclosed subculture. Despite the fact that the art works may differ significantly from one form to another, the results are aimed at a wide audience, as they affect the general public space. An overview of the history behind the street art movement in urban spaces is provided in this research to show specific features of this culture. A case study of Glasgow street art has been chosen as it is one of the most populated cities in the United Kingdom and popular among tourists. In 2019 Glasgow was included in top 10 of ‘Best Cities in the World’ by Time Out Magazine.<sup>20</sup> As David McDonald, the deputy leader of Glasgow City Council, stated in the article to BBC:

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<sup>14</sup> Jeff Ferrell and Robert D. Weide, “Spot theory,” in *City: Analysis of Urban Trends. Culture. Theory. Policy. Action*, 14.1-2 (2010), 51.

<sup>15</sup> Stuart Hall, “Once more around Resistance through Rituals,” in *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, eds. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), ix.

<sup>16</sup> Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, (London: Routledge, 1979), 76.

<sup>17</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 19.

<sup>18</sup> Troy R Lovata and Elizabeth Olton, *Understanding Graffiti: Multidisciplinary Studies from Prehistory to the Present* (Routledge, 2016), 14.

<sup>19</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 4.

<sup>20</sup> James Manning, “The 48 best cities in the world in 2019,” *Time Out*, March 11, 2019, <https://www.timeout.com/things-to-do/best-cities-in-the-world>.

"Attracting more international visitors through creative marketing and inspirational content is at the heart of Glasgow's tourism plan."<sup>21</sup> Based on the mentioned factors, Glasgow city centre is an appealing location to study the urban conflict of the different types of powers in the modern city.

## Research Question

Artistic interventions into public space raise the conflict of interests on the ownership of the city among different groups living in it. The aim of this thesis is to research the examples of managing the street art movement in Glasgow and to investigate how the appropriation of urban spaces is expressed through street art in Glasgow city centre. The intention of the research is to study the issue of altering the concept of street art by creating a system of commissioned art (murals) and institutionalisation of a culture that originally emerged as an opposing artistic form of intervention. The process of institutionalisation is understood as creation of order and elimination of uncertainty through "humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction."<sup>22</sup> Based on Lefebvre's theory of production of space, which will be presented further in this thesis, the formation and modification of urban spaces are dynamic processes. They involve various participants whose goals are to establish their power on claiming the space. Various types of resources are used in this process of negotiation and struggle: capital, labour, law, social relations, culture, city planning etc. It should be noted that the control over these resources is not concentrated in the hands of one group in Glasgow. The multiple viewpoints of the society are going to be presented and analysed in this research to get a better understanding of this issue.

In order to get an answer to the main question this thesis will provide several enquiries: What is the current state of street art movement in Glasgow? What initiatives are taking place in the city centre regarding street art? What other approaches can be implemented in order to find a balanced engagement of different groups in production of urban space? This research examines the issue of power distribution and appropriation of the city space through the prism of complex relationship between local government and

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<sup>21</sup> BBC News, "Glasgow hails major increase in global visitor numbers," July 31, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-45018809>.

<sup>22</sup> Douglass C. North, "Institutions," in *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5.1 (1991), 97.

street artists. Street art as an urban countercultural movement shows the complexity of the question of space appropriation in the limited environment. The theoretical ideas and concepts are used in this thesis to study who is involved in the process of creating urban environment and to what degree the artistic interventions need control from the legislative bodies. As it was highlighted by Britain's worldwide famous street artist Banksy, the street art possesses the power to question the forms of visual displays which are authorised and valued in the modern urban space.<sup>23</sup>

## State of Art

The question of appropriation of urban spaces is fundamental for this research and will be approached from the perspective of street art. There are several studies that describe and critically analyse the problem of reduction of public space in the cities and disbalance of public rights in the urban areas.<sup>24</sup> The literature and works on street art have developed with the expansion and growing popularity of this movement. First comprehensive works have a focus on documentation of street art practices rather than analysis of this culture. Cooper and Chalfant<sup>25</sup>, Chalfant and Prigoff<sup>26</sup> provide detailed photo studies that have a significance for the history of the movement and depict the establishment of the street art culture. Films *Wild Style*<sup>27</sup> and *Style Wars*<sup>28</sup> present a history of street art subculture and show lifestyle of the artists. With the development of the street art culture, publications from disciplines as cultural studies, art history and philosophy started to appear. They provide analysis of a specific aspect of the street art subculture. The discussion on how to control street art in public space is shown in the works of Ferrell<sup>29</sup>, Kramer,<sup>30</sup> and Young.<sup>31</sup> Kramer's study is focused on the practice of legal graffiti from artists' point of view and is based on interviews from New York street art scene. With the extensive

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<sup>23</sup> Banksy, *Wall and Piece* (London: Century, 2006).

<sup>24</sup> Lynn A. Staeheli and Don Mitchell, "Locating the Public in Research and Practice," in *Progress in Human Geography*, 31.6 (December, 2007), 792–811., Mitchell Duneier and Ovie Carter, *Sidewalk*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).

<sup>25</sup> Martha Cooper and Henry Chalfant, *Subway Art* (Henry Holt, 1984).

<sup>26</sup> Henry Chalfant and James Prigoff, *Spraycan Art* (Thames & Hudson Ltd, 1987).

<sup>27</sup> "Wild Style," DVD, directed by Charlie Ahearn (New York, 1983).

<sup>28</sup> "Style Wars," DVD, directed by Tony Silver (the USA, 1983).

<sup>29</sup> Jeff Ferrell, *Crimes of Style: Urban Graffiti and the Politics of Criminality* (New York: Garland, 1996).

<sup>30</sup> Ronald Kramer, "Painting with Permission: Legal Graffiti in New York City," in *Ethnography* 11.2 (2010), 235-53.

<sup>31</sup> Alison Young, "Criminal images: the affective judgment of graffiti and street art," in *Crime, Media, Culture* 8.3 (2012), 297–314.

surveys, Halsey and Young<sup>32</sup> explore the challenge of defining the borders between vandalism and art, what forms of street art deserve different classification. Some studies<sup>33</sup> focus on the issue of identity of the participants, their motivations and values. The conflict between local government and illegal street art is shown in the works of Ferrell<sup>34</sup> and Young,<sup>35</sup> and their ideas serve as an initial point of the research for this thesis. Halsey and Pederick<sup>36</sup> also present different approaches of collaboration with the government and creation of special approved areas for art practices inside the city.

It should be noted that there is a lack of the academic literature analysing the street art culture in Scotland. The work of Cooper and Sargent<sup>37</sup> describes mural tradition in the United Kingdom and shows examples of murals in Glasgow. Although the book was published in 1979 and depicts only limited time period, it provides a visual impression of first commissioned street art projects in Glasgow. The emergence of the concept of murals is described in the work of Besser<sup>38</sup> as a form of national movement in Mexico. The historical view of mural paintings, provided by Besser, has radical political orientation what is not the focus of this thesis. Some examples of independent murals are taken from his work to show the diversity of forms in street art on legal and illegal levels. The problem of commercialisation of street art and appearance of commissioned works is presented by MacDonald<sup>39</sup> and Ferrell.<sup>40</sup> They analyse how the subculture becomes a mainstream movement and its visual forms are altered in order to get a commercial profit. The difference among creative forms of street art is based in this thesis on the classification provided by Lewisohn<sup>41</sup> and Danysz<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Mark Halsey and Alison Young, "The Meanings of Graffiti and Municipal Administration," in *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 35.2 (August 2002), 165–86.

<sup>33</sup> Rafael Schachter, "The ugly truth: Street Art, Graffiti and the Creative City" in *Art & the Public Sphere* 3- 2 (2014), 161–176., Alison Young, *Judging the Image: Art, Value, Law* (London: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>34</sup> Jeff Ferrell, "Urban Graffiti: Crime, Control, and Resistance," in *Youth & Society* 27.1 (September 1995), 73–92.

<sup>35</sup> Alison Young, "Negotiated consent or zero tolerance? Responding to graffiti and street art in Melbourne," in *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 14.1 (2010), 99–114.

<sup>36</sup> Mark Halsey and Ben Pederick, "The game of fame: Mural, graffiti, erasure," in *City: Analysis Of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 14.1-2 (2010), 82-98.

<sup>37</sup> Graham Cooper and Doug Sargent, *Painting the Town* (Oxford, 1979).

<sup>38</sup> Jens Besser, *Muralismo Morte: The Rebirth of Muralism in Contemporary Urban Art* (Berlin, 2010).

<sup>39</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 2001.

<sup>40</sup> Ferrell, *Crimes of Style*, 1996.

<sup>41</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art: The Graffiti Revolution*, 2008.

<sup>42</sup> Danysz and Dana, *From Style Writing to Art*, 2011.

## Theoretical Framework

This thesis will apply the methodological framework of negotiating the urban space based on the works of Lefebvre<sup>43</sup>, Mitchell<sup>44</sup> and de Certeau<sup>45</sup>. These theories have been chosen to understand the problem of urban appropriation and the right to the city through the practice of street art. De Certeau provides the concept of urban space and shows how it is explored and transformed by different "strategies" and "tactics".<sup>46</sup> Cities are spaces in which social order is produced and shaped. Power institutions who act as "producers" compete with the individuals or "consumers" on how the urban environment will look like. De Certeau illustrates different ideas of using the spaces that are implemented by the residents. Their movement is determined by the urban planning and organisational rules but also people reshape the city by everyday life activities. The impact of this process can be seen in street art expressions and reaction of the other groups living in the city.<sup>47</sup>

The works of Lefebvre indicate that street art culture is worth public appreciation just like any other free intervention in the city. The interests of street art and its presence should be taken into account along with the interests of capital and commerce.<sup>48</sup> Lefebvre introduces the concept of the „social place” and shows the struggle of powers in it, how the dominant institutions seek to control the activities of the others.<sup>49</sup> Organisation of the urban environment has an impact on the daily lives of residents or visitors, tourists. Lefebvre's concept of three elements – “spacial practices”, “representation of space” and “spaces of representation” is applied to understand how urban environment is created and managed.<sup>50</sup> Who has the right to control the space, how it is regulated and what goals are pursued - all these factors are important for this thesis to examine the position of street art in Glasgow and in which forms it exists in the city centre nowadays. The ideas of Mitchell echo Lefebvre’s perspective on the appropriation of the space. Mitchell develops

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<sup>43</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 1991., Henry Lefebvre, *Writings On Cities*, trans. Eleonore Kofman, and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

<sup>44</sup> Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (New York: Guilford, 2003).

<sup>45</sup> De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 1984.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. xix.

<sup>47</sup> De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 93.

<sup>48</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 33.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 32.

<sup>50</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38-39.

the concept of the public space as a “space of social practice”<sup>51</sup> where individuals and groups can interact with each other and express their different needs. The city also becomes an arena for conflicts as places have different functions and values for diverse public. Based on Mitchell's perspective, which also includes Lefebvre's theory on “the right to the city”<sup>52</sup>, the public space is always under the struggle of appropriation. The order is never static, and the production of space depends on the requirements and intentions of social groups. Mitchell explains<sup>53</sup> the necessity of public space for the democratic society and application of his ideas is especially relevant to the situation in Glasgow.

The theory of broken windows, which is presented and described by Wilson and Kelling<sup>54</sup>, is used in this thesis to show one of the reasons of negative attitude to the uncontrolled street art. Relying on the conclusions from this theory, the regulatory bodies justify their measures to manage street art in the city. The idea that illegal street art indicates an existing uncontrolled space disturbs the authorities and encourages them to act radically to restore the power. Their approach is to legitimise their actions on the appropriation of the space. How this theory affects the relationship among street artist and local government will be examined in this thesis. Also, its connection to the zero-tolerance approach to illegal street art in Glasgow will be made. It must be noted that the theory itself is criticised by Bowling,<sup>55</sup> Harcourt and Ludwig,<sup>56</sup> showing the lack of successful evidences and complexity of this issue. But the current attitude of the police departments, social campaigns and policies against illegal street art is still influenced by the ideas of the theory. They use this theory as a reason or excuse to keep strict controlling measures. And they support the idea that the level of criminal activities and quality of life have direct correlation to the public art interventions<sup>57</sup>.

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<sup>51</sup> Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 140.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 17.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. 130.

<sup>54</sup> James Wilson and George Kelling, “Broken Windows,” in *Atlantic Monthly* 249.3 (1982), 29 – 38.

<sup>55</sup> Benjamin Bowling, “The Rise and Fall of New York Murder: Zero Tolerance or Crack's Decline,” in *British Journal of Criminology* 39.4 (1999), 531-554.

<sup>56</sup> Bernard E. Harcourt and Jens Ludwig, “Broken Windows: New Evidence from New York City and a Five-City Social Experiment” in *University of Chicago Law Review* 73 (2006).

<sup>57</sup> Andy Coghlan, “Graffiti and litter lead to more street crime,” *New Scientist*, November 21, 2008, <https://www.newscientist.com/article/dn16096-graffiti-and-litter-lead-to-more-street-crime/>

This thesis has a theoretical basis of several ideas from authors who are discussing the issue of appropriation of space, emphasising different elements of this concept. It is important to show a versatile theoretical basis of urban transformations to show how they are developed in the street art environment in Glasgow. The philosophical works complement each other: Lefebvre thoroughly analyses the elements of the space, where de Certeau focuses on methods to create an order in the space. Mitchell's works are based on several case studies and contain situational analysis. In order to present a balanced position on the topic the attitude of the controlling power is shown through the theory of broken windows.

## Methodology, Proceedings and Sources

The combination of methodologies is used in this thesis in order to answer the research question due to the existence of the prejudices about street art practices. The illegal nature of the street art subculture affects the lack of literature that describes the life and experience of its members. Also, most of the interviews of artists in existing sources are given on an anonymous basis. Members of the street art subculture are reluctant to make contact and prefer not to talk about their activities because of a possible legal prosecution. Glasgow Mural Fund was selected as the case study of the analysis as it provides a comprehensive information on the position of the legal authorities. Due to the conducted interview with the representative of Glasgow City Council and multiple official Internet resources<sup>58</sup> it was possible to examine the question of space appropriation in the current urban conditions of Glasgow city centre.

In order to get a better overview of the research problem and to answer the research question several steps are applied in this thesis. First, theoretical framework on the appropriation of urban spaces is used as a methodological approach in this thesis to investigate the ways of development of street art in Glasgow. The critique of existing processes of space production and distribution will help understand the relationship between certain existing interest groups. The concept of exploratory and explanatory

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<sup>58</sup> "City Centre Mural Trail," accessed July 28, 2019, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=19649&p=0>, "City Centre Mural Fund Guidelines," accessed July 28, 2019 <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=19809&p=0>, "City Centre Mural Fund Application Form," accessed July 28, 2019 <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=19808&p=0>.

research is used to investigate the street art interventions into urban environment of Glasgow. Exploratory and explanatory research<sup>59</sup> identifies and illustrates relevant conditions and process of urban interventions in the provided context and suits for implementing the chosen theory into the real-world examples. This approach is also consistent with the ideas of Fainstein<sup>60</sup> who stipulates the importance of urban development with consideration of social diversity and equity. The restrictions and opportunities for possible solutions of the researched problem in Glasgow will be examined through the lens of the theoretical basis.

To proceed, the definition of street art and its existing forms are going to be presented. A thorough explanation of different art forms is needed to show the complexity of the topic. As it was noted before, there is no universally agreed theoretical definition of the street art. The development of this concept will be presented in the context of Glasgow street art movement and existing legal norms in Scotland. The subject matter on the private property rights is omitted in this research, and the focus is made on the struggle of street artists in the relationship with the government. A brief view of Scottish laws on graffiti and examination of Glasgow City Council policies will be provided in the thesis.

Hereafter, the discussion about position of the street art in the urban space of Glasgow city is studied through the review of literature, analysis of conducted interviews and available media sources. Both perspectives from the street artists and Glasgow City Council are provided in this thesis in order to show the complexity of needs and priorities existing in the urban space. The case study of Glasgow Mural Fund is presented in the thesis as an example of street art management. The case study research is based on several stages of development including literature review, informal interviews, email correspondence and site observation. The connection to the theoretical concept of space appropriation is studied through several murals in Glasgow and how the street art content has evolved over time. The focus is made on the differences between legal and illegal art works. Distinctive features of the murals, and their position in the street art culture will be

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<sup>59</sup> Gregory Andranovich, and Gerry Riposa, *Doing Urban Research* (Newbury Park, 1993), 6.

<sup>60</sup> Susan Fainstein, *The Just City* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2010).

examined to improve understanding of the current visual examples of street art in the urban environment of the city centre.

The research area used in this thesis is limited to the administrative boundaries of Glasgow City Council that has established the concept of street murals in the city. The art works are observed at the area defined by The City Centre Mural Trail project.<sup>61</sup> Some murals are selected for the visual analysis of their display as the examples of space appropriation. The artworks of Mural Trail have been produced on buildings and vacant spaces to create a combined walking track within the city centre area. (see Figure 1) The main primary data for analysis are collected from several sources and include:

- Official documents, brochures and web sites of Glasgow Mural Fund and Glasgow City Council.
- Photos of street art murals in Glasgow (personal and from the catalogue of first mural projects in Glasgow).
- Conducted interviews and email correspondence with the representative of Glasgow City Council and street artists.
- Thematic articles and news published online.
- Legal documents.

The aim of my analysis is to define the position of street art in the urban environment of Glasgow city centre. The question of space appropriation will be considered through dynamic relationship between authorities and artists in the city. The issue of development of street art movement in the limited and controlled public space will be highlighted and analysed as well.

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<sup>61</sup> “The City Centre Mural Trail,” accessed July 28, 2019, <https://www.citycentremuraltrail.co.uk/>.

## 2. Theoretical Concepts

### 2.1. The Appropriation of Urban Spaces and the Right to Change the City

An increasing popularity of the urban practices that have an influence on public spaces is detected nowadays in many multicultural cities in different countries.<sup>62</sup> Open urban space, especially the city centre, is an important interaction point for the majority of citizens and tourists. Marketplaces, financial and municipal departments are concentrated there and provide a constant flow of visitors. Squares and city parks work as platforms for people to meet, communicate, and express public statements or opinions. “As civic architecture, they become collective expressions of a city as well as depositories of personal memories.”<sup>63</sup> It is also a common place for activists to get attention to the current problems in society. Different interest groups are trying to find ways to appropriate the city and transform their own environment according to their values and preferences. One of them - through artistic expressions in the urban space. The issue regarding production of space is thoroughly analysed by an urban sociologist Henri Lefebvre in his books and essays.<sup>64</sup> He describes the origins of the appropriated places and how social relationships influence the development of the urban environment. Space changes according to the growth of material things, knowledge and economy in the society.<sup>65</sup> It is a natural progress of things as various resources and information become more accessible. Lefebvre emphasises that the actions of Western governments are driven by wealth and economic benefits.<sup>66</sup> He thoroughly examines this phenomenon and explains that such behaviour is predetermined by some historically established rules. The process of production of space has always existed, but the change in the orientation happens according to the complication of social interactions. As an example, he analyses the situation in England in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and underlines how economic growth dominated the development of its public relations:

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<sup>62</sup> Kurt Iveson, “Cities within the City: Do-It-Yourself Urbanism and the Right to the City,” in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37:3 (2013), 941.

<sup>63</sup> Jeffrey Hou, *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and The Remaking Of Contemporary Cities* (Routledge: 2010), 2.

<sup>64</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, trans. Gerald Moore, eds. Neil Brenner, and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 186.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* 57

English democracy is constituted on a kind of political compromise between active social forces, and this compromise was only possible because economic growth preceded the constitution of the State and the State apparatus. England has the dual characteristic of representing both a political compromise and the most evolved, most sophisticated form of bourgeois democracy, with these two characteristics going together.<sup>67</sup>

The planning of modern space in the city is also under the influence of “spatial planning.”<sup>68</sup> Lefebvre highlights that it is impossible to create a unified concept or fixed rules of urban environment in the democratic society. Urban space is heterogeneous and “urban reality cannot be conceived simply as the sum of the places of the consumption of goods (commodities) and the places of production (enterprises).”<sup>69</sup> It includes formal and informal systems, legal and illegal bodies, power from the state or subcultures that function independently. The boundaries and limits are not always clearly defined and are subject to constant change due to various circumstances:

[I]t is not possible to construct a theoretical and practical system such that the details of everyday life will become meaningful in and by this system. Furthermore, there is no system because there are so many sub-systems situated, as we have seen, not within a single system but at different levels of reality.<sup>70</sup>

Thus, this is a complicated and changeable reality with different levels of organisation and structure. He emphasises the need of constant movements, “permanent struggle”<sup>71</sup> in society that creates a democratic organisation of the state. Development is happening from the initiatives of different social classes which prevent the state to become a “monolithic bloc.”<sup>72</sup> Lefebvre uses the concept of “abstract space” in the modern capitalistic society that reflects the relationship among national and global businesses, financial institutions and the policies from the government.<sup>73</sup> The main characteristic of this space is its focus on the commercial benefits, where the environment is „utilized to produce surplus value.”<sup>74</sup> Especially in England, the society has an evident direct orientation on commercial and financial profit.<sup>75</sup> Such an approach can be noted through the attitude towards street art in the urban space from the administrative bodies. The

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<sup>67</sup> Lefebvre, *State, Space, World*, 57.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 186.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. 188.

<sup>70</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (Harper & Row: 1971), 98.

<sup>71</sup> Lefebvre, *State, Space, World*, 61.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 60.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. 187.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. 187.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. 59.

controversial measures toward public art expressions illustrate their constant re-evaluation of the profitability, how urban environment can profit from the art interventions. Some examples from Glasgow will be presented later in this research to show how the city council tries to commercialise the street art movement and thus improve the city image. “In the chaos of relations among individuals, groups, class factions, and classes, the State tends to impose a rationality, its own, that has space as its privileged instrument.”<sup>76</sup>

Therefore, when analysing space in the modern city, it is important to consider multiple perspectives which include elements of economic power, socio-political relationships and level of education in the society. To understand the structure of the space Lefebvre introduces the concept of “spatial triad” of elements: “spatial practice”, “representation of space” and “representational spaces.”<sup>77</sup> Lefebvre argues that any mode of social development in history includes certain spatial practices - types of distribution of wealth, capital, and human resources. It also contains the ways of organising private and social life on the territory or in the urban environment. The “spatial practices” of medieval or feudal societies differ significantly from the “spatial practices” of classical or late capitalism.<sup>78</sup> In the “current mode of production” (which Lefebvre defines as a capitalist space) material forms and the “world of business”<sup>79</sup> have their main influence on the practices that happen in the social space: how public institutions, cultural activities or political life are organised. Social coherence is established according to the current needs and requirements of the society or its dominant groups.<sup>80</sup> Lefebvre introduces the category of “representation of space” that includes different types of knowledge, signs, codes that emerge on the basis of “spatial practices”. In the modern city this order is created by the professionals - architects, designers, scientists, and their ways of constructing the urban space determine the everyday life of the citizens. People are required to follow already predefined frames and act in the limited settings of the urban space. This idea leads to the third fragment of the triad introduced by Lefebvre - the category of the “representational space”, which is a mix of the first two. This category is

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<sup>76</sup> Lefebvre, *State, Space, World*, 226.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. 33.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. 217.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. 187.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. 56.

defined as the physical space that people directly accept as an existing structure, although it is created and based on the social, economic, and political relationships in the city. Therefore, the issue of priorities in the urban space arises in the society and among interest groups. Different needs and requirements influence the production of space, distribution of powers and resistance, as well as the possibility of the appearance of “counterspaces.”<sup>81</sup> Such alternative spaces create conditions for resistance to the established dominant order. Citizens are forced to experiment and find different ways to claim their right to participate in the decision-making of city development. Thus, the production of space appears as a process in which the perception of space is a comprehensive subject. It forms a repetitive combination of the “perceived,” “conceived,” and “lived spaces.”<sup>82</sup> They are connected to each other and form a joint structure which is impossible to separate. History shows that a new “spatial code” of the city is based on the old way of production of space but already transformed.

It is clear, therefore, that a spatial code is not simply a means of reading or interpreting space: rather it is a means of living in that space, of understanding it, and of producing it. As such it brings together verbal signs (words and sentences, along with the meaning invested in them by a signifying process) and non-verbal signs (music, sounds, evocations, architectural constructions).<sup>83</sup>

Such concept of constant transformation gives the reason to conclude that the city is open to different ways of appropriation, since its order is never final:

Considered as a whole, this society finds itself *incomplete*. Between the sub-systems and the structures consolidated by various means (compulsion, terror, and ideological persuasion), there are holes and chasms. These voids are not there due to chance. They are the places of the possible. They contain the floating and dispersed elements of the possible, but not the power which could assemble them.<sup>84</sup>

Lefebvre notes that the space is not static as society constantly produces new values and owners who are trying to claim their power to regulate the space. New ways of altering the space dictate the strategies for a different configuration of „assigned location.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Lefebvre, *State, Space, World*, 117.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. 118.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 47.

<sup>84</sup> Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, 156.

<sup>85</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 33.

Different institutes and groups struggle to shape the urban space in their favour, to have control over the resources in order to change existing forms and structures.

Space is conceived of as being transformed into 'lived experience' by a social 'subject', and is governed by determinants which may be practical (work, play) or bio-social (young people, children, women, active people) in character. This representation subtends the notion of a space in which the 'interested parties', individuals or groups, supposedly dwell and have their being.<sup>86</sup>

The concept of space appropriation was also explored and developed by de Certeau, who approaches it with a slightly different perspective. Michel de Certeau discusses a possible set of tactics and methods that individuals and groups use in order to appropriate the place and define their levels of power. He describes the procedures (“ways of operating”) that people use in the existing environment of the ideology and structure (“discipline”)<sup>87</sup>. “These ‘ways of operating’ constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users re-appropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production.”<sup>88</sup>

De Certeau also describes possible forms of activities that are aimed at resisting the order created by the dominant power. He argues that “the city is left prey to contradictory movements that counterbalance and combine themselves outside the reach of panoptic power.”<sup>89</sup> Very often, the connection between physical and social space remains unnoticed: people consider the physical space as a given one, as a matter of state. Although, the city is a socially constructed system that is based on the reflection of social relations and developments<sup>90</sup>. When discussing the issue of struggling for power de Certeau uses the terms “tactics” and “strategies”. The strategies are hierarchically organised and defined structures of the space and “the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, and enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an ‘environment’.”<sup>91</sup> The strategies are focused on limiting a certain space and having control over it, so they are always based on rather planned than improvised actions. In the cities, the government and the business elite control the borders of social spaces by creating physical limitations, for example, by

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<sup>86</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 190.

<sup>87</sup> De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xiv.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. xiv.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. 95.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. 29.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. xix.

designing the urban buildings and infrastructure. The tactics are based on the everyday activities of the people that are not pre-planned or structured. They are characterised by mobility, improvisation and creative adaptation to the situation or changing urban environment. The tactics have no fixed place and their position depends on the existing circumstances.

[...] [A] tactic depends on time – it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized ‘on the wing.’ Whatever it wins, it does not keep. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into ‘opportunities’.<sup>92</sup>

De Certeau also defines the tactics as tools of the “weak”<sup>93</sup> groups in the struggle for claiming the space. As such groups are limited in the resources by the strategies of a dominant power, they start to use illegal ways for fighting over the urban space.

The actual order of things is precisely what "popular" tactics turn to their own ends, without any illusion that it will change any time soon. Though elsewhere it is exploited by a dominant power or simply denied by an ideological discourse, here order is tricked by an art.<sup>94</sup>

Street artists as a subculture and non-mainstream group use their artistic expressions as a resistance to the imposed urban space. They alter the architectural structure from their own perspective, thereby showing that they also have the right to the city.

Don Mitchell developed the concept of “right to the city” introduced by Lefebvre and investigated the transformation of social, political and economic relations within the urban space. The ideas from his works are especially relevant to this research as they are based on contemporary case examples from a democratic society, which is close to the cultural realities of the United Kingdom. He examines the issue of constant social struggle for the space in the limited and organised environment. Mitchell questions the level of rights to claim the public space for different groups living in the city. He emphasises that their positions can’t be established entirely and forever.

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<sup>92</sup> De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xix.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. xix.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. 26.

The right to the city is never guaranteed and certainly never freely given. Indeed, it is never, a priori, clear to whom the right to the city belongs: that too is decided in the crucible of social struggle, struggle that ranges from the home to the city streets [...].<sup>95</sup>

Dense areas in the city are always “on the heart of the struggle” as the majority of population on the planet lives in urban environment.<sup>96</sup> Power centres and regulatory bodies are operating in the urban space transforming it by implementing new policies and development plans. Glasgow is an illustrative example of the increasing urbanisation: in the middle of 20 century it was one of the highly populated cities in the world<sup>97</sup> and until now it stays as the biggest city in Scotland.<sup>98</sup> Being an important metropolitan area it undergoes constant interventions of government activities that are aimed to “make seemingly ‘unproductive’ people and places ‘productive’.”<sup>99</sup>

Similar to Lefebvre and de Certeau, Mitchell confirms that public space shouldn't be seen as something solid and static. It is a continuously changing and evolving system. It is “the product of competing ideas about what constitutes that space- order and control or free, and perhaps dangerous, interaction- and who constitutes ‘the public’.”<sup>100</sup> Mitchell shows that the existing conditions and regulations of certain groups restrict access to public space and its use by others. This situation is reflected in the imbalance of the interests and create conflict situations when groups try to represent themselves. He compares modern society with the ancient Greek *agora* and Roman forums, meeting places that by definition should be open to everyone but were not that freely accessible in reality. Back in those times there have already been certain groups of people (for example, slaves) who were excluded from the ancient concept of the public.<sup>101</sup> Urban space was and still is a limited environment defined by different regulations and requirements to access. “More and more the spaces of the modern city are being produced *for* us rather than *by* us.”<sup>102</sup> He highlights that concept of the right to the city refers not only to the entitlement of the citizens to live in the city. It also means to have an

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<sup>95</sup> Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 42.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.* 38.

<sup>97</sup> “Glasgow Population 2019,” accessed August 20, 2019, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/glasgow-population/>.

<sup>98</sup> “Scotland’s Cities,” accessed August 20, 2019, <https://www.scotland.org/about-scotland/scotlands-cities>.

<sup>99</sup> Kirsteen Paton, Gerry Mooney, and Kim McKee, “Class, Citizenship and Regeneration: Glasgow and the Commonwealth Games 2014,” in *Antipode* 44.4 (2012), 1471.

<sup>100</sup> Don Mitchell, “The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy,” in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85.1 (1995), 115.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* 116.

<sup>102</sup> Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 18.

influence on their own environment, to participate in the decision-making process regarding the future of the city. Mitchell agrees that the organisation and regulation of space is driven by the needs and priorities of growing global capital, “corporate and state planners.”<sup>103</sup> They experience fear of other groups, whose activities contradict with the dominant power in the society: “Fearful of disorder and violence in public space, some developers, planners, and city officials advocate taming space by circumscribing activities within it.”<sup>104</sup> City policies are primarily aimed at the regulation and management of certain groups of the population, which are considered to be problematic as they bring disorder into the system.<sup>105</sup> Besides Mitchell other authors<sup>106</sup> indicate the crisis in the urban public space, which is caused by the growth of privatisation and commercialisation of space. Secure environment is established rather than interactive one and commercial groups have priority to claim the public space. “Planners of pseudo-public spaces like malls and corporate plazas have found that controlled diversity is more profitable than unconstrained social differences.”<sup>107</sup> The imbalance of represented groups exists in the city and there is a limited number of places where citizens can express themselves. New perceptions and structures of urban life, as well as improved concepts of public rights can arise only if open and free spaces will be provided in the city.

If the right to the city is a cry and demand, then it is only a cry that is heard and a demand that has force to the degree that there is a space from and within which this cry and demand is visible.<sup>108</sup>

Groups can represent themselves in the space by the fact of being there as a part of the society, even without receiving the approval from the administration or owners of the place. Such appearance in the space can be presented in active forms (for example, through meetings and demonstrations), or can be claimed by unwanted presence (like homeless people in the parks).<sup>109</sup> The street art movement could be placed somewhere in

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<sup>103</sup> Mitchell, “The End of Public Space,” 124.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. 124.

<sup>105</sup> Paton, Mooney, and McKee, “Class, Citizenship and Regeneration,” 1472.

<sup>106</sup> Randall Amster, *Street People and the Contested Realms of Public Space* (New York: LFB Scholarly Pub., 2004)., John Allen, “Ambient Power: Berlin’s Potsdamer Platz and the Seductive Logic of Public Spaces,” in *Urban Studies* 43.2 (2006), 441–455.

<sup>107</sup> Mitchell, “The End of Public Space,” 119.

<sup>108</sup> Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 129.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. 133.

between these extremes. Its members claim the space through acting against the established order but without open criticism or demanding any specific changes.

Mitchell seconds Lefebvre's idea that capitalistic values have dominating power in the modern Western society. It is also important to note that the problem is not the system itself but the issue of prevalence from the most powerful institutions. Any interest group has certain ideas how it wants to produce and organise the urban space. But it will never be a universal solution – its members speak and act as representatives of a specific social environment, claiming to implement their cultural and social ideas of the city. A single framework can't be perfect and “uninstitutionalized social struggle assumes that there never are winners who can organize power and violence to their overwhelming advantage.”<sup>110</sup> The ability to accept the needs of multiple groups in the city and adapt changing conditions defines the society of liberal democracy. Mitchell highlights that people strive to get a comfortable life, to have a personal space and a safe environment around them where everyone gets his or her own freedom of expression. It is a goal to live in such a world:

[A] world in which there are spaces, in which unstructured, but not threatening, encounters "remain" possible, where there always is room to have one's voice heard and one's demonstration (or other performance) seen before retreating to a more private realm in which encounters are structured according to our own dictates.<sup>111</sup>

The analysed theoretical concepts of space appropriation and rights to the city are aimed at presenting a new approach to outline the limits of power in urban space. They particularly indicate that the social needs and voice of the citizens are important for building a balanced and democratic society.

All of these terms - rights, laws, political community, residence - are indeterminate and therefore open to ongoing struggle. This is why discussion of power are vital to any discussion of rights, morality, and so forth.<sup>112</sup>

According to the Glasgow City Council Strategic Plan 2017 to 2022 the goal of the administrative bodies is to pay attention to equality and fairness in policy making. They strive to “empower our citizens, giving them a stake, and a say in what happens in their

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<sup>110</sup> Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 40.

<sup>111</sup> Don Mitchell, “Introduction: Public Space And The City,” in *Urban Geography* 17:2 (1996), 128.

<sup>112</sup> Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 40.

local communities and communities of interest.”<sup>113</sup> The ideas, emphasised by Lefebvre, de Certeau and Mitchell, show the significance of interaction among the interest groups and communities regarding the transformation of the urban environment. The needs of citizens should be prioritised and taken into account when applying decisions affecting the engagement of various groups and bodies in the city. People need to have a sense of security in the city, but this condition should not be achieved through strict control and restrictions. It is important to leave urban spaces open for the public expressions or artistic interventions. The analysed concepts protect the rights of autonomous street artists on appropriation of public space in the city and their freedom to claim it. Also, the active use of various urban places in the city stimulates a balanced development of the environment. The issue of the rights to the city arises when analysing the legitimised activities in the public spaces. What are the conditions of using the public space and how it should be regulated? Total freedom of actions is not a universal solution, since the city is a structured system of mutual relationships and “both progressive and reactionary economic policies can be enshrined in law, for example, as can many moral principles (also both progressive and reactionary).”<sup>114</sup> The attitude to the different street art interventions in the city centre of Glasgow shows the prevalence of the governing power and interests of the commercial institutes. The next chapter will examine the theoretical framework that regulatory bodies use to defend their position and interests.

## 2.2. The Broken Windows Theory

Uncontrolled public expressions like street art lead to the various attempts from the government to manage such interventions in the city. An approach of zero tolerance to the illegal street art activities is a popular strategy in many countries.<sup>115</sup> This radical concept doesn't accept any unauthorised artistic activities in the urban area and implies strict rules and fines on the execution of any illegal writing.<sup>116</sup> The government implements the policies regarding total elimination of the unsanctioned artistic expressions in public spaces

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<sup>113</sup> “Glasgow City Council Strategic Plan 2017 to 2022,” accessed August 20, 2019, 3, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=40052&p=0>.

<sup>114</sup> Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 40.

<sup>115</sup> Dave Huntington, “Sustainable Graffiti Management Solutions for Public Areas,” in *Street Art & Urban Creativity Scientific Journal* 4 (2018), 47.

<sup>116</sup> Gabry Vanderveen, and Gwen van Eijk, “Criminal but Beautiful: A Study on Graffiti and the Role of Value Judgments and Context in Perceiving Disorder,” in *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 22:1 (March 2016), 109.

as it believes that their presence triggers the degradation of urban space in the city. In 1982 Wilson and Kelling presented a theory of broken windows, which establishes that anti-social behaviour and minor vandalism can lead to the increase of more serious crimes in the area and results in the urban degeneration.<sup>117</sup> These activities are defined by George Kelling as “disorderly” or “threatening” behaviour.<sup>118</sup> They are presented as especially dangerous activities for the society because they “disturb” urban life of the citizens. A range of such unfavourable actions is extensive and includes:

[A]ggressive panhandling, street prostitution, drunkenness and public drinking, menacing behaviour, harassment, obstruction of streets and public spaces, vandalism and graffiti public urination and defecation, unlicensed vending and peddling, unsolicited window washing of cars (‘squeegeeing’) and other acts.<sup>119</sup>

The list contains not only aggressive and destructive actions in the public places, but also rather inactive activities that are more likely to be disapproved by the society than substantially destroying it. The spectrum of criminal and violent actions is broad and raises the question of the possibility to put a sign of equality among all the mentioned above deeds. As for the illegal street art, it is said that the citizens don’t feel safe in the city districts where any signs of graffiti appear.<sup>120</sup> Street art got an image of a disease that spreads into the urban environment and destroys the order. It is also seen as an indication that something is wrong in the neighbourhood or in the society. There are different perspectives to approach the situations of street art intervention in the public spaces. This statement can be correct to a certain degree regarding the increase of paintings made on the walls where the previous writings are left unclean. It is still radical to say that this situation leads to the stimulation of criminal intentions from the street artists. It could be interpreted as a sign that rarely cleaned walls have a long lifespan, so the artwork gets more chances to stay visible for the public for a longer time period. Logically, more writers will use the opportunity to place their paintings on that particular surface.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> James Wilson and George Kelling, “Broken Windows,” in *Atlantic Monthly* 249:3 (1982), 29 – 38.

<sup>118</sup> George Kelling and Catherine Coles, *Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in Our Communities* (New York:Free Press, 1996), 14.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* 20

<sup>120</sup> Wilson, and Kelling, “Broken Windows,” 29.

<sup>121</sup> Jeff Ferrell and Robert D. Weide, “Spot theory,” in *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, 14:1-2 (2010), 53.

Wilson and Kelling also divide the society and people living in the city, emphasising that “we tend to overlook or forget another source of fear - the fear of being bothered by disorderly people.”<sup>122</sup> The concept to label some groups of people as “disorderly” is criticised by Mitchell regarding the equal treatment of all citizens. He notes that this theory creates “problems with singling out classes of people and criminalizing them for their class status.”<sup>123</sup> It is important to highlight that the government in Scotland makes a distinction among social groups and certain practices, marking them “as ‘other’ to the story of successful urban prosperity and modernisation.”<sup>124</sup> There are certain people who don’t diligently follow the order that is established by the authorities and is convenient for the government. They are presented as an obstacle to the future development of the city or the country. Such groups are considered as irresponsible and dysfunctional elements of “a pathological, amoral urbanism in contrast to the ‘normal’, moral urbanism of regulated consumption and production.”<sup>125</sup> Members of street art movement are being accused of more aggressive forms of social behaviour or made responsible for general social problems in the city. They are portrayed in the police reports and mass media as a threatening group – “the most common trope used to push graffiti into the realm of the ‘socially intolerable’ involves drawing erroneous links between writing culture and violent forms of criminality.”<sup>126</sup> However, the presence or absence of a certain category of people in society does not correlate directly to the level of progress or development. Positive economic changes, reducing unemployment rate and social support will affect the welfare of society to a greater extent. Some researchers argue that in order to reduce the criminal actions it is necessary to work with people and not solely restrict them or impose rules.<sup>127</sup> Short term solutions do not have a long-lasting effect and in order to eliminate criminal activities it is more efficient to engage people in common projects. Working collectively people “develop a sense of cohesiveness, and it is this that provides a defence against criminal activity.”<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Wilson, and Kelling, “Broken Windows,” 29.

<sup>123</sup> Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 202.

<sup>124</sup> Alex Law, Gerry Mooney, and Gesa Helms, “Urban ‘Disorders’, ‘Problem Places’ and Criminal Justice in Scotland,” in *Criminal Justice in Scotland* (2010), 23.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.* 23.

<sup>126</sup> Jeffrey Ian Ross, *Routledge Handbook of Graffiti and Street Art (Routledge International Handbooks)* (Taylor & Francis Ltd, 2016), 405.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.* 406.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* 406.

The broken windows theory was studied by the sociologist Malcolm Gladwell from the point of view that the surroundings have a huge impact on the decisions that people make. “The power of context,”<sup>129</sup> what they see around, determines their behaviour. “The impetus to engage in a certain kind of behaviour is not coming from a certain kind of person but from a feature of the environment.”<sup>130</sup> The question is what to focus on when dealing with the causes of the urban decline. Should it be the elimination of social injustice, economic problems, unemployment and racism or is the solution to start with “little things” such as “scrubbing off graffiti and arresting fare-beaters?”<sup>131</sup> If the area experiences an economic or social decrease, the chance to see the evidences of anti-social behaviour or criminal activities increases significantly in general. The concept of this theory can indicate not only the appearance of minor crimes in the city, but also the absence of attention from the authorities to other social problems in this area. The connection between crime or antisocial behaviour and the city can be seen in the implemented city policies, not in the environment, financial or economic instability. The high level of corruption and unfair redistribution of state support could be the underlying reasons of the degradation of some areas in the city.<sup>132</sup>

A research made by Harcourt and Ludwig<sup>133</sup> presents the lack of successful evidence. Complexity of this issue and existing data don’t strongly support the conclusions of the broken windows theory. The research also shows<sup>134</sup> how the theory is used by various city administrations to impose more strict regulations on minor lawbreaking and implement “zero tolerance” policies. Relying on the conclusions from this theory, the regulatory bodies justify their measures to manage the street art in the city. The idea that illegal street art presents an existing uncontrolled space disturbs the authorities. These unsanctioned interventions encourage them to act radically to restore the power. The government in the United Kingdom follows the strategy to combat illegal street art by introducing bans and new rules. In 2004 a ban on under 16 years olds buying aerosol paint cans came into force.<sup>135</sup> Glasgow City Council has created the Environmental Task

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<sup>129</sup> Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (Little, Brown and Company, 2000)140.

<sup>130</sup> Gladwell, *The Tipping Point*, 142.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid. 150-51.

<sup>132</sup> Law, Mooney, and Helms, “Urban ‘Disorders’,” 45.

<sup>133</sup> Harcourt, and Ludwig, “Broken Windows.”

<sup>134</sup> Ibid. 3.

<sup>135</sup> Scottish Executive, “Guidance on Ban on Sale of Spray Paint to Under 16s,” 2004, <https://www2.gov.scot/resource/doc/26350/0025279.pdf>

Force (ETF) - a special department that aims to “tackle environmental issues” and enhance the neighbourhoods by improving roads and removing unauthorised street art, fly posting, fly tipping, littering and dog fouling.<sup>136</sup> The Graffiti Removal Service operates in the city and is responsible for removing graffiti and flyposting from the public and private surfaces. They are included into the Environmental Task Force and act according to the reports and requests that can be left through the website form. There is also an organized patrol around Glasgow that removes spotted graffiti. According to the website information more than 78,000 metres of graffiti and 1050 metres of flyposting have been removed by this service in 2017/2018.<sup>137</sup> The process of removing unofficial street art is a method of “re-appropriation” of the urban space, claiming it back from the writers and “returning the space to a condition of propriety.”<sup>138</sup> Another approach that is used by the local government is the legitimisation of the actions which are aimed at the appropriation of the space. The case of establishing Mural Fund in Glasgow, that will be examined in this thesis later, shows the issue of legal construction of artistic expressions. Seamus Connolly, a principal officer of Glasgow City Council stated in a personal interview that they “have installed murals to prevent more vandalism” in some areas of the city. “And it stopped the vandalism there because people tend not to graffiti over pieces of art.”<sup>139</sup> Keep Scotland Beautiful (KSB), a national charity agency that deals with local and national environmental issues, states on its website:

Flyposting and graffiti are two highly visible indicators of environmental quality. [...] Both flyposting and graffiti are indicative of future decline and areas where these are present are more likely to experience other incivilities, such as littering.<sup>140</sup>

The KSB conducts surveys and provides reports, commissioned by Glasgow City Council, on the regular basis about local environmental quality. Unauthorised street art or graffiti is identified as one of the reasons for the decline in street cleanliness and is always

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<sup>136</sup> “The Environmental Task Force,” accessed September 20, 2019, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/envtaskforce>.

<sup>137</sup> “Graffiti Removal Service,” accessed September 20, 2019, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/article/23777/Graffiti-Removal-Service>.

<sup>138</sup> Halsey, and Young, “The Meanings of Graffiti and Municipal Administration,” 175.

<sup>139</sup> Seamus Connolly, Interview by author, Tape recording, Glasgow, March 27, 2019.

<sup>140</sup> Keep Scotland Beautiful, “Flyposting and graffiti,” accessed September 20, 2019, <https://www.keepsotlandbeautiful.org/local-environmental-quality/clean-up-scotland/the-problems/flyposting-and-graffiti/>.

mentioned in conjunction with littering, dog fouling or fly-tipping.<sup>141</sup> However, the use of radical measures, based on the conclusions from the broken windows theory, indicates the unwillingness of local government to seek a compromise with other groups in the city whose actions they do not favour or do not approve of. The criminalisation of the illegal street art activities and the image of the writers reflects how the practice of street art conflicts with the values and priorities of the state and businesses. It is quite difficult to change attitudes and prejudices about the street art culture, although, the growth of its popularity triggers a change of the perception. There are several examples of a developed “sustainable graffiti management”<sup>142</sup> across the world when the local authorities start to consider unauthorised artistic expressions not as a threat to the urban environment but as a new format of art. The establishment of the City Centre Mural Fund in Glasgow in 2008 is also an example of the rising awareness that implementation of new tactics will lead to a better outcome. The local authorities realised the positive effects and values street art can bring to an urban environment.

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<sup>141</sup> Keep Scotland Beautiful, “Local Environmental Quality In Decline,” accessed September 20, 2019, <https://www.keepsotlandbeautiful.org/media/1560107/leq-in-decline-report-oct-2017-final-131017.pdf>

<sup>142</sup> Huntington, “Sustainable Graffiti Management Solutions for Public Areas,” 47.

### 3. What is Street Art?

#### 3.1. History and Definitions

The definition of street art is a debatable topic and it is not a simple task into categorise all the existing forms and styles, as well as measure the cultural or aesthetic value of the works.<sup>143</sup> The field of street art is intertwined with a number of other activities and can be analysed from different perspectives. When considering the aesthetic value, street art can be related to the sphere of contemporary art and design. It is defined as a crime or anti-social behaviour from a legal angle or a marketing tool if the work is used for commercial goals and/or marketing needs.<sup>144</sup> Various social institutions have different perceptions on this subject and give their own explanations or interpretations that are favourable for them. Given the complexity of the topic it is necessary to clarify some street art concepts used in this research in order to have an overview of the history behind the visual expressions in public urban spaces. The existing academic resources don't provide a universally accepted theoretical definition of street art or graffiti.<sup>145</sup> Origins of the term graffiti come from the Greek verb "graphein" (to write or draw) and Italian verb "sgraffito" that is used as a general term for any inscriptions or scratchings onto surfaces.<sup>146</sup> Nowadays these drawings are mostly made on the walls in public spaces in the form of unauthorised art interventions. Historically, different kinds of graffiti existed in ancient Egypt, medieval Europe and this art could also be connected to the cave paintings from prehistoric times. However, the most closely related form of graffiti that is currently presented in urban environment and will be analysed in this thesis, appeared in the late 1960s, early 1970s in the USA. During this time period several significant forms of these artistic interventions emerged, that are defined and described later in this thesis.

There are various approaches that define graffiti as a sub-genre of street art<sup>147</sup> or sometimes these terms are used as synonyms. It shows how closely the two practices are connected and can be intertwined into the creative expressions of the writer: "[M]any

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<sup>143</sup> Matthew Lunn and Jonathan Holmes, *Street Art Uncut* (Craftsman House, 2006), 7.

<sup>144</sup> Andrea Mubi Brighenti, "At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain," in *Space and Culture* 13.3 (2010), 316.

<sup>145</sup> Lunn and Holmes, *Street Art Uncut*, 8., Mubi Brighenti, "At the Wall," 316.

<sup>146</sup> Danysz and Dana, *From Style Writing to Art*, 16.

<sup>147</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 15.

street artists will have come to their work through an interest in graffiti writing and may even do a bit of graffiti on the side.”<sup>148</sup> Such attitude could be based on the fact that any type of graffiti requires artistic talent and specific skills that the writer can gain through persistent practice. First, he or she develops their style and trains their writing on paper and later continues exercising on the streets. As Ego, one of the street writers, comment: “You start alone, it’s like practice and that, and you do that for ages and ages because you don’t want to do any old crap when you go out, you have to think about it.”<sup>149</sup> Some categories can be classified depending on the style of work and technique needed to produce it. With the development of production and technology, the set of tools which writers use to create street art has expanded. New types of markers, paints and sprays contributed to the development of new forms and to the progress of writer’s techniques. Over time, the artists get the opportunity to create images of better quality or use more colours, apply new effects which trigger the appearance of a new style that is perceived as more artistic one.<sup>150</sup> Moreover, the life span of the work can be crucial to the conditions that make a distinction between graffiti and street art. In the beginning of the street art movement, the long-lasting visibility was an indicator of the presence in the city and the appropriation of space. As a sign of respect, elaborate and high-profile works were not painted over by other members of the graffiti movement and were defined as pieces of art.<sup>151</sup>

In some academic literature the graffiti and street art are distinguished by the motivation of the artists.<sup>152</sup> Where graffiti artists don’t seek public acknowledgment of their work but want to gain fame among other writers. Their visual message is based on coded tags and writing style is understandable for those who are involved in the graffiti subculture. The well-known writer Futura 2000 points out that for some artists their work

[...] only really speaks to graffiti artists. It is by and for us. It doesn’t really talk to the public because some of the names are so complicated to read, the styles are so intense that your average everyday man can’t decipher it anyway.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 15.

<sup>149</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 72.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.* 73.

<sup>151</sup> Klein, “Creativity and Territory,” 8.

<sup>152</sup> Mark Halsey, and Alison Young, “‘Our Desires Are Ungovernable’: Writing Graffiti in Urban Space,” in *Theoretical Criminology* 10:3 (2006), 280.

<sup>153</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 159.

On contrary, the intention of the street artists is to attract wide audience and media attention, so their work can be understood and appreciated by general public. „While graffiti operates within a closed community, street art is an open invitation for anyone to interact, consider, and discuss.”<sup>154</sup> As it is defined by artistic collaboration FAILE:

Street art is more about interacting with the audience on the street and the people, the masses. Graffiti isn't so much about connecting with the masses: it's about connecting with different crews, it's an internal language, it's a secret language. Most graffiti you can't even read, so it's really contained within the culture that understands and does it. Street art is much more open. It's an open society.<sup>155</sup>

From the perspective of authorities and legal bodies in the United Kingdom graffiti is seen as a form of unsanctioned and damaging of the property. By Scottish law graffiti is identified as an act of vandalism and the person will be punished according to the Criminal Law (Consolidation) (Scotland) Act 1995<sup>156</sup>. The authorities can impose a fine up to £10,000 or sentence to 3 months imprisonment for a first offence, and up to 6 months for any further ones. As previously mentioned, the government in the United Kingdom follows an approach of zero-tolerance and there is no distinction among different forms of graffiti or explanation as to what exactly is categorized as street art. The definition of graffiti contains “painting, writing, soiling, marking or otherwise defacing by whatever means.”<sup>157</sup> The Antisocial Behaviour (Scotland) Act 2004 also defines prosecution for carrying out graffiti. Local authorities have a right to issue a fixed penalty notice to anyone who was caught executing graffiti. Also, the local councils have the power to issue a removal notice to “any responsible person” requiring them to remove and clean the surface or building within 28 days.<sup>158</sup> There are no documents on the evolution of aesthetic value of the works, and all the unauthorised art interventions have to be eliminated. Interesting to note, that although there are no legal documents on the definition of street art, Glasgow City Council has a clear opinion on how to classify street

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<sup>154</sup> Michael DeNotto, “Street Art and Graffiti: Resources for Online Study,” in *C&RL News* (April 2014), 208, <https://crln.acrl.org/index.php/crlnews/article/viewFile/9109/10005>, accessed September 10, 2019.

<sup>155</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 15.

<sup>156</sup> “Criminal Law (Consolidation) (Scotland) Act 1995,” accessed September 10, 2019, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1995/39/contents>.

<sup>157</sup> “Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004,” Part 6: Graffiti, accessed September 10, 2019, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2004/8/part/6/crossheading/graffiti>.

<sup>158</sup> “Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004,” Part 6: Section 58, accessed September 10, 2019, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2004/8/section/58>.

art and graffiti. As it was written in a personal email from John Foster, Project Officer at City Centre Development & Regeneration Services:

I [want] to clarify the legal distinction between street art (which requires landlord permissions and is therefore a legal activity) and graffiti (which does not seek landlord permissions and is therefore an illegal activity).<sup>159</sup>

This explanation shows the attitude of the local authorities towards the issue of defining street art and the existing perception of unsanctioned artistic interventions. The purpose of this work is to show different perspectives, and therefore a rigid distinction is not between artistic expressions in urban spaces is not defined. The term street art will be used in relation to both legal and illegal works. Since different literature, experts, commentators and government adhere to different interpretations and classification, the term graffiti will be left in the citations of academic papers, public articles, or personal interviews to preserve the authenticity of information. The use of the term street art for all forms of urban artistic expressions seems reasonable as all the artists and writers contribute to the culture and urban image. They create something new, using their imagination, and their works provoke emotions of the viewers. The level of damage and aesthetic value are difficult to define. Every work is a complex activity based on various elements of personal style, technique, and purpose. Even if it is a collection of signs made on the wall, or one word, it is difficult to draw a border and establish the framework of art versus non-art.

### 3.2. The Evolution of Street Art Forms

With the development of the street art movement, some specific terms have been distinguished and the language of the subculture has been established. Street artists who are constantly engaged in creating new works and practicing their style call themselves and other members “writers.”<sup>160</sup> It should be noted that this term is a sign of status and an indicator that a person has already achieved recognition among their peers. It means that writers not only leave marks on the walls but associate themselves with the subculture and accept its specific rules and values.<sup>161</sup> There is a set of norms and codes that ideally

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<sup>159</sup> John Foster, Personal email, Sent: March 25, 2019.

<sup>160</sup> James E. Walmesley, “In the Beginning there was the Word,” in *Beautiful Losers: Contemporary Art and Street Culture* (May 2004), 193-195., Lewisohn, Street Art, 15.

<sup>161</sup> Walmesley, “In the Beginning,” 197-198.

should be followed and respected by all participants. Although the culture has an image of a rebellious one<sup>162</sup>, it is based on a hierarchy and has a structure with rules such as not to overwrite the work of other writers. The Art Crimes, one of the biggest digital platforms about graffiti and street art culture in the Internet, warns that stealing the style of another writer is “is perhaps one of the worst offenses a writer can be charged with.”<sup>163</sup>

In order to validate the complexity and progress of street art culture it is important to investigate the existing forms of works in the public space. A categorisation used in this thesis is based on the definition provided in the book *Street art Uncut* as it contains the most detailed presentation of art styles and forms.<sup>164</sup> The most common text form of an unauthorised street art is *a tag* and it represents a signature of the writer or a group of writers. (see Figure 2) It is a stylised symbol or a name that can be written on almost any surface. Tagging is usually done quickly with a single touch using a pen, marker or a spray can. Writers leave their tags almost anywhere in public spaces, since this form promotes their name and indicates that they’ve claim that place. A tag has no specific meaning for people who don’t belong to the street art community or who don’t know much about its culture. Therefore, there is a negative attitude to this form of artistic expression from the general public and a number of studies indicate that people dislike this writing the most.<sup>165</sup> “The problem for the external viewer is that this aesthetic code exists in such an internalized language that the main group of people who can fully appreciate it are other graffiti writers.”<sup>166</sup> One of the first writers who became popular due to spreading personal tags across the city were Taki 183 and CORNBREAD.<sup>167</sup> In the 1970s Taki added his street number at the end of his nickname and started tagging this word all over New York City.<sup>168</sup> CORNBREAD distributed his tag across Philadelphia and tried to mark as many surfaces as possible. As it is shown in an American graffiti and street art documentary *Bomb It*<sup>169</sup> CORNBREAD used a provocative strategy to be noted

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<sup>162</sup> Linda Mulcahy, and Tatiana Flessas, “Limiting Law: Art in the Street and Street in the Art,” in *Law, Culture and the Humanities* 14 (2016), 2.

<sup>163</sup> Danysz and Dana, *From Style Writing to Art*, 21.

<sup>164</sup> Lunn and Holmes, *Street Art Uncut*, 7-10.

<sup>165</sup> Hunter Shobe, and David Banis, “Zero Graffiti for a Beautiful City: The Cultural Politics of Urban Space in San Francisco,” in *Urban Geography* 35.4 (2014), 586.

<sup>166</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 19.

<sup>167</sup> The New York Times, “Taki 183’ Spawns Pen Pals” July 21, 1971, <http://graphics8.nytimes.com/packages/pdf/arts/taki183.pdf>.

<sup>168</sup> “*Bomb It*,” DVD, directed by Jon Reiss (USA, 2008).

<sup>169</sup> “*Bomb It*,” DVD, directed by Jon Reiss (USA, 2008).

by media and become famous. He was tagging the walls on governmental buildings, paddy wagons and even police cars. In general, the movement started as a disobedient activity to the predefined and established rules. As an old school writer from New York notes:

Social unrest and war were at the forefront of our culture. There were gangs and there were causes, there was indecision and there was pressure. There was a feeling of helplessness and there were messages to be delivered.<sup>170</sup>

Taki 183 and CORNBREAD influenced other writers and created a competition among the street artists to tag across the city. Some artists adopted the idea to use street numbers at the end of their nicknames, for example Joe 136, Coco 144, SJK 171, Barbara 62, Eel 159, T-REX 171 and Frank 207. Some had chosen Roman numerals to add the first, second, third, and so on to their nicknames.<sup>171</sup> This trend motivated the artists to write on as many surfaces as possible and also attracted some media about urban street culture. A number of magazines like the IGTimes, Can Control, and 12ozProphet started to write articles about street art movement and published interviews with the writers. A decade later a book about graffiti movement called “Subway Art” was published by Martha Cooper and Henry Chalfant. This detailed photography study contributed to the expansion of street art as a cultural phenomenon. It has a significant value for the history of the movement and depicts the establishment of the graffiti culture. It is a topic in the discussion as to whether tagging has an aesthetic value and should be considered art. For the general public the performance of a tag is seen as a simple and primitive act. Although the tag must be continually worked on and it is an essential step for almost every street art writer. That is how an artist starts developing his or her own style, master skills as well as gain popularity. Tags consist of a combination of letters and must be relatively short in order to decrease the time on performing it to avoid any authorities. It is a basis of the street art culture which arouse on the idea of writing and promoting the name:

The name is at the center of all graffiti art. The writer usually drops his given name and adopts a new one—a new subcultural identity. He can make it up, inherit an established

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<sup>170</sup> “Futura speaks,” accessed September 10, 2019, <https://www.graffiti.org/futura/futura.html>.

<sup>171</sup> “Futura speaks.”

name from an old writer, become part of a series such as Take One, Take Five, and so on.<sup>172</sup>

In the late 1970s the graffiti movement evolved into paintings and letterings with more colourful designs. Writers started to organise crews in order to tag as many spots in the city as possible and win the constant competition amongst other street art groups to claim more urban space in the city. A *crew* is a formed group of street artists who create works together or promote the name of the group through tagging on individual basis.<sup>173</sup> These collaborations enhance the scale and quality of the artistic public interventions. Availability of new materials, especially spray paint, influenced the development of more complicated and interesting art pieces.<sup>174</sup> Street art culture has a long history of gangs and gang members claiming the territory of the city by leaving their markings on the territory of the rival groups. However, nowadays the street art community separates its culture and activities from gang culture, and writers don't want to be associated with criminal groups. The street artists see a process of painting and writing on the walls "as an alternative to drug and gang culture."<sup>175</sup> The majority of street artists don't consider their activities as criminal deeds and "artists see the territory as having a wide range of possibilities for the creative impulse, they live the city as the natural center of operations for the creation of artwork."<sup>176</sup> In the Internet a collaborative platform Art Crimes states that their aim is to "spread the truth that this kind of graffiti, called 'writing' is being done by artists who call themselves 'writers', not by gangs."<sup>177</sup>

*Throw-ups* represent an advanced and complex style of tagging, which has a form of a writer's or crew's name with a painted centre.<sup>178</sup> (see Figure 3) It takes more time to create a throw-up and the writer usually uses bigger letters, often rounded or in a three-dimensional style, draws lines more distinctly or adds shadows. Writing a throw-up with a certain degree of style gives the artist a chance to get notability and respect from the other people involved in the culture. As one of the street artists explains, the writer begins with simple forms, improves his skills and then starts to use new techniques and spray

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<sup>172</sup> Cooper and Chalfant, *Subway Art*, 45.

<sup>173</sup> Terry Williams und William Kornblum, *Growing Up Poor* (Lexington Books, 1985), 73-82.

<sup>174</sup> Danysz and Dana, *From Style Writing to Art*, 25-26.

<sup>175</sup> "Futura speaks."

<sup>176</sup> Klein, "Creativity and Territory," 12.

<sup>177</sup> "About Art Crimes: What We're Doing and Why," accessed September 10, 2019, <https://www.graffiti.org/index/story.html>.

<sup>178</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, xii.

painting.<sup>179</sup> The designs get more complicated if the writer wants to get respect from the street art community or impress other writers. The main characteristics of the tags and throw-ups are quantity, performance and speed, because time is a critical element of this activity. It also requires a lot of energy and usually after some years the writer switches to other street art forms that do not require a constant writing across the city.<sup>180</sup> This is a time-consuming task to update and write new works on a regular basis. Although, there are some artists who focus their efforts on developing their own recognisable style only in throw-ups. They stay loyal to one form and master their technique or the change design over time. Creating and painting throw-ups is a basis for the pieces. Term *pieces* is used for detailed and large compositions, which require a lot of paint and time to complete.<sup>181</sup> (see Figure 4) The transition to creating pieces is not quick and easy, the writers need to work their way up through practicing and mastering their writing skills. If the writer wants to development artistic skills, he or she can accept the challenge of creating more complex and time-consuming designs. A profound creativity and talent are needed to plan and create a whole painting. When creating a piece, it is difficult to always maintain a high level of quantity as well as quality of the work at the same time. Therefore, the artists tend to focus on performing one form of street art or look for support in the street art community by collaborating with other writers.<sup>182</sup> Being in a graffiti team and creating together help execute such complex projects. The members of the crew divide the work into several steps and prepare a thorough plan of performing the works. The scale of work, elaborate details and multiple layers make a significant contribution to the fame and prestige of an artist or a crew. Elements of the piece such as shading, stylisation of letters, outlines, three-dimensional effects, sparkles and colour schemes become crucial components for the evaluation of the work from other crews.<sup>183</sup> “A larger piece will earn a writer more respect because its size indicates that he or she spent more time in danger and physically extended him/herself to cover this space.”<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 77

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.* 79.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.* 82.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.* 82.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.* 82.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.* 84.

Originality and creativity in design became important features as the street art movement evolved.<sup>185</sup> *Stuckistry* is a technique that is applied to creating templates or stencils which are then used multiple times. (see Figure 5) This approach allows the artist to create the image on the surface very quickly and without much effort.<sup>186</sup> It saves time which is an advantage when painting in well-protected or regularly monitored urban spaces. Stencils can be drawn by hand or with the help of digital software. They can be placed alone or be a part of a more complex work like plaque. Dimensional forms of street art, such as *sculptures and plaques* are also used by street artists, but these are not common practices. The plaques are often prepared beforehand and could be made from old board, cardboard or floppy disk. At the spot the artist can edit the plaque by spraying it over, using different techniques like stencils or tagging. One of the features of sculptures and plaques is that they are easy to be removed by the authorities. That is why they are usually located in more inaccessible or hidden places, ultimately altered to fit into the surroundings. (see Figure 6) Also, this direction of street art is hard to separate from other contemporary art movements like installations, and sculptural forms of public artistic expression are not a focus of this thesis. *Stickers or posters* are commonly used by the artists to spread their art across the cities. (see Figure 7) Small stickers are easy to distribute and produce, as they can be designed with computer software and multiple copies can be printed. Posters are made as a sheet of paper or a cut-out image and attached to a wall or other surface. Posters and stickers are considered a „safer form of street art” because the writers get a less severe punishment for distributing them than spraying on a wall.<sup>187</sup> Such social tolerance to this form of graffiti exists due to the fact that stickers and posters are frequently used by commercial companies in advertising and marketing:

Promoters and advertisers often employ stencil artists to undertake the covert campaigns— which is ironic as they are often the most disparaging towards corporate stencils encroaching onto their creative territory.<sup>188</sup>

The issue of commercialisation of street art appeared already in 1970s when the works of the art group The U.G.A. (United Graffiti Artists) started to be displayed at the indoor

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<sup>185</sup> Lisa Gottlieb, *Graffiti Art Styles: A Classification System and Theoretical Analysis*, (McFarland: 2008), 36.

<sup>186</sup> Lunn and Holmes, *Street Art Uncut*, 9.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid* 10.

<sup>188</sup> Tristan Manco, *Stencil Graffiti* (Thames & Hudson, 2002), 15.

exhibitions in New York. The place was provided by the Committee for the Visual Arts, which was funded by the New York State Council.<sup>189</sup> In order to gain more recognition some street artists started to collaborate with art galleries or create commissioned works for businesses. Such a shift can be explained by multiple reasons. As mentioned before, recognition and respect are important attributes of the writer in street art subculture. And commercial art world provides opportunity for the writers to attract a new audience and expand their fame and presence. “As writers earn fame and respect, their self-concepts begin to change.”<sup>190</sup> Experienced street artists eventually achieve a certain status when they face the question of future career and a more stable life. They decide to switch to legal practices in order to avoid criminal records and to minimise the risk of having problems with the authorities. As famous British street artist Eine said in the interview:

You're walking down the street, you do it every day, and suddenly there's something that wasn't there yesterday: something bright and cheerful and different. It might stay there for a year; maybe it will disappear. But you know, I have a family, I have a mortgage, I have to make a living. So I do the screenprints too.<sup>191</sup>

The move to the more legal forms of street art has manifested in the appearance of the contemporary *murals*. (see Figure 13) In this thesis the concept of murals refers to the large commissioned street art pieces that are created on authorised territory and with the acceptance of the government. The concept of murals as large wall graphics on the buildings arose in Mexico in the early 1930s. Mexican “muralismo” was at its peak in 1930-1950s and it was a method of promoting cultural and national ideas of the country through visual artistic expressions.<sup>192</sup> In the beginning the government offered a high level of freedom to the artists and after some time pieces with political context started to appear. It was an era of radical changes and public art acted as a platform for the citizens to express their opinion, provide a general critique of governmental policy. In North America murals were usually used as a tool of protest against social issues. In 1968 the Wall of Respect was painted in a ghetto area of Chicago to attract attention to African community and raise questions related to oppression, poverty and injustice. The murals

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<sup>189</sup> “United Graffiti Artists Artists 1975,” accessed September 10, 2019, [http://s3.amazonaws.com/asmedia/57d1215edd94b1d11d664c3a45117a4c/dwje6tfO\\_t.pdf](http://s3.amazonaws.com/asmedia/57d1215edd94b1d11d664c3a45117a4c/dwje6tfO_t.pdf).

<sup>190</sup> Subcultureslist.com, “*Graffiti Writers*,” accessed September 10, 2019, <http://subcultureslist.com/graffiti-writers/>.

<sup>191</sup> Jon Henley, “*Ben Eine: The Street Artist Who's Made It to The White House*,” July 21, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2010/jul/21/ben-eine-artist-cameron-obama>.

<sup>192</sup> Besser, *Muralismo Morte*, 13.

that appeared in Britain in 1970s were usually concentrated in industrial cities with the aim to bring art into deprived and abandoned areas of the cities. The Scottish Arts Council was the first organization that supported the painting of large murals along a future motorway. The main goal was to use murals as a decorative tool and brighten the areas around the road.<sup>193</sup> As it can be seen from the examples, at that time murals were usually commissioned by the government or organisations but there were also independent ones. Mural artist had more freedom and opportunities to send a provocative or critical messages to the wide audience on the street through art. Mural painters in New York, Paris and London used the space and architecture to integrate their art into the urban environment.<sup>194</sup> “Artists tried to find niches to situated their art among the people since the classic gallery business only reached an elite social class.”<sup>195</sup> This rebellious principle was adopted by street art community in 1990s when a “new generation of muralists” appeared in New York.<sup>196</sup> Unauthorised mural works started to appear in order to acquire fame and impress the street art community. Writers used abandoned places, old factories and ruined buildings to have an opportunity to create during the daylight and together with the other members of the crew.<sup>197</sup> Execution of the large pieces demanded a lot of time, some murals were painted over a one month period,<sup>198</sup> and collaboration of resources. However, it’s worth it to make such an effort to be distinguished and appreciated by a large audience. This laborious and complicated form of street art gets the attention not only from the general public but also from the government and businesses. They saw it as an attractive platform to accomplish different objectives: promotional, commercial, educational, reputational, etc. The issue of legitimisation of the street art will be analysed more closely in the next chapter. A transformation of the street art movement from an unauthorised practice to commissioned activity will be examined using the examples from the case study of murals in Glasgow.

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<sup>193</sup> Graham Cooper and Doug Sargent, *Painting the Town* (Phaidon Press, 1979), 12.

<sup>194</sup> Besser, *Muralismo Morte*, 13.

<sup>195</sup> Besser, *Muralismo Morte*, 14.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.* 14.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.* 14.

<sup>198</sup> Claudia Walde, *Mural XXL: What Graffiti and Street Art Did Next* (Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2015), 9.

## 4. Analysis

### 4.1. Legal vs Illegal Street Art

Initially, the street art arose as a rebellious movement, a form of resistance to the dominant system and the need of young artists for self-expression.<sup>199</sup> The state reacted radically to the unsanctioned public expressions, defining any form of street art as a social problem that should be solved by imposing criminal law sanctions.<sup>200</sup> The reasons for enforcing zero-tolerance policies have been presented in this thesis through the lens of the broken window theory. However, the issue of legality has to be examined more precisely as it is an important factor that characterises this subculture, distinguishes it from other public expressions and visual inventions in the urban environment.<sup>201</sup> Illegal nature of street art determines its development and sociologist Ronald Kramer, who has a personal background of writing on the streets, argues that the image of this movement is outdated. The culture of street art has become more complex than it is perceived by the society, media or academic researches where the illegal aspect of the movement is “taken for granted.”<sup>202</sup> It is worth noticing that the attitude to this movement is changing over time. A growing popularity of street art contributes to a new perception of the regulative bodies that starts to understand the benefits of its development. Street art is seen as a way to improve the urban areas through visual enhancement that attracts tourists and citizens, stimulates appearance and development of new business.<sup>203</sup>

The reaction to the illegal artistic interventions and ways to regulate it vary in different countries across the world.<sup>204</sup> However, the general problem is the lack of specific distinction among existing forms and styles of street art at the legislative level. As it was mentioned in this thesis in Chapter 4.1. all unauthorised public drawings, scribbles or writings are defined as “graffiti” in the United Kingdom and prosecuted by law.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Jeff Ferrell, “Urban Graffiti: Crime, Control, and Resistance,” in *Youth & Society* 27:1 (September 1995), 34.

<sup>200</sup> Mulcahy, and Flessas, “Limiting Law: Limiting Law: Art in the Street and Street in the Art,” 1.

<sup>201</sup> Mubi Brighenti, “At the Wall,” 318.

<sup>202</sup> Kramer, “Painting with Permission,” 236.

<sup>203</sup> Mulcahy, and Flessas, “Limiting Law: Limiting Law: Art in the Street and Street in the Art,” 1.

<sup>204</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 127.

<sup>205</sup> “Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004,” Part 6: Graffiti, accessed September 10, 2019, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2004/8/part/6/crossheading/graffiti>.

Regarding their aesthetic value they are all considered as an act of vandalism and damaging of property.<sup>206</sup> If we look into the concept of vandalism from social and cultural studies point of view, its interpretation is based on the groundless destruction of any object, which was subject to a “barbarous, ignorant, or inartistic treatment.”<sup>207</sup> One of the central characteristics of vandalism is its “mindless” nature where the act of destruction itself is the main priority.<sup>208</sup> Unauthorised street art interventions are often labelled by government or media as “mindless, senseless vandalism.”<sup>209</sup> It would be unfair to assert that street art interventions are harmless, as these actions affect the property of other groups in the city. They create damage and cause problems for the owners of the buildings or places. The government uses taxpayer money to remove the writings and establishes specialist units who are focused on the removal of unsanctioned street art.<sup>210</sup> Not all the citizens agree with the street art movement and are loyal to some forms and styles of writings. However, these are far from meaningless activity and carry a cultural background of values and rules. The writers insert effort and create their works with sense and purpose, however, they are not always understood by the general public and requires additional explanation to the audience.<sup>211</sup> As Frank Carty, a well-known mural artist in Scotland, said in personal interview about the unauthorised street art in Glasgow: “It can be antisocial and destructive but I think most people don’t get to see what these guys can do.”<sup>212</sup>

Legislation is aimed at managing graffiti rather than street art, and, as it was already shown in this thesis, there is no single distinction between these two terms, or the classification is under discussion among street artists and researchers. In case of Glasgow the concepts of graffiti and street art are defined by local authorities based on legislative prohibition of graffiti and personal perception of street art. The motives of creation or the content of the images are not taken into account. There is a clash between the aesthetic

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<sup>206</sup> “Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004,” accessed July 27, 2019, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2004/8/contents>.

<sup>207</sup> Dario Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism Since the French Revolution*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 18.

<sup>208</sup> Matt Long and Roger Hopkins Burke, *Vandalism and Anti-Social Behaviour (Critical Criminological Perspectives)* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 4.

<sup>209</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 3.

<sup>210</sup> “The Environmental Task Force,” accessed September 20, 2019, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/envtaskforce>.

<sup>211</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 3.

<sup>212</sup> Carty, Interview by author.

perspective on illegal street art of the authorities and writers themselves. Jeff Ferrell argues that the concept of “neat” and “ugly” art has been shaped by the members of the authorities and anti-graffiti campaigns. Public attitude to the writers is defined by “moral entrepreneurs” such as local politicians, police and media. They are trying “to construct [...] graffiti writing as crime, and to engineer the sort of moral panic which will sustain their undertaking.”<sup>213</sup> As a result, the authors find themselves associated with the definitions attributed to them by stronger and more influential groups in society, which are namely the government, legal system and the media.

Aesthetic value of some public interventions is determined by their unauthorised nature.<sup>214</sup> Illegality is an important element of the street art culture. Operating without supervision, the writer has more freedom in the ways of expression or choosing a method how to do it. He or she can create a piece of work to transfer a message to the public or do it solely as an urge of creativity. Halsey and Young conducted an in-depth study based on detailed interviews with the street art writers and found out that the perception of the urban environment is different for the writers. They see the empty building walls and vacant spaces as “a series of surfaces waiting to be written on, of which more later.”<sup>215</sup> The street artists see “rightness” to complete the urban landscape. The interviews with the street artists also reveal that their activities are motivated by the “pleasure and desire in the act of writing.”<sup>216</sup> Working illegally, they feel no pressure from dominant groups where and how an idea must be executed. And the charm of these public expressions is based on their “rawness” what is sometimes lost in the other forms of media.<sup>217</sup> Street art works require more knowledge of the movement to be fully understood, so the main task of the writer is to impress the viewer. Illegal art provides unexpected opportunities for the viewers to question their ways of perception the works and be inspired.<sup>218</sup> There is no established rule that street art should be liked by public or should meet certain criteria, as it happens with commissioned works. Unsanctioned art stimulates a reaction, grabs

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<sup>213</sup> Ferrell, *Crimes of Style*, 159.

<sup>214</sup> Isis Brook, “Aesthetic Aspects of Unauthorised Environmental Interventions,” in *Ethics, Place & Environment* 10.3 (2007), 316.

<sup>215</sup> Halsey, and Young, “‘Our Desires Are Ungovernable’,” 283.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.* 276.

<sup>217</sup> Lunn and Holmes, *Street Art Uncut*, 10.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.* 9.

attention of the citizens and enables them to look on the usual places from a different perspective.

Unauthorised activities receive a specific attitude from the society: “There is a tangible conceptual aura that is stronger in illegal graffiti: the sense of danger the artist felt is transferred to the viewer.”<sup>219</sup> Production of the pieces of art is intertwined with working in danger and under time pressure. Illegal nature of the street art determines the importance of speed when producing the work. The chance to create an impressive artwork in a short period of time is high only if the writers work collectively. These conditions create a common emotional atmosphere that gives an impulse of creativity. “The actors are alive in the moment and something about the moment means that the great performance is possible.”<sup>220</sup> As a result some illegal interventions should be considered as “anarchistic forms of expression” that lead to the development of the culture, as they provided “remarkable artistic contribution” to the view of the city.<sup>221</sup>

An impact of legal works on improving the image of the city will be examined more detailed later in the thesis, using an example of Glasgow Mural Fund. However, the fact that street art is perceived as illegal activity can be beneficial both for the writers and for the business companies. Even if the work was commissioned and done with permission, some enterprises intentionally want to keep the image of illegality.<sup>222</sup> It creates the atmosphere of authenticity of the work, that it is done in a provocative manner to the existing social norms. The street art culture in general is associated with something underground, young and rebellious.<sup>223</sup> Thus, using the street art works in branding or promotional campaigns enriches their labels and products with symbolic capital brought by the graffiti culture. The Glasgow Mural Fund will be used in this thesis to show the controversial aspect of the policy that regulative bodies use according to their needs. The approach of double standards restricts all unauthorised art interventions and adapts or

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<sup>219</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 127.

<sup>220</sup> Brook, “Aesthetic Aspects of Unauthorised Environmental Interventions,” 316.

<sup>221</sup> Hans Winkler, “An Introduction“ in *Legal/ Illegal: Wenn Kunst Gesetze Bricht/ Art beyond Law*, ed. NGBK (Stuttgard: Schmetterling Verlag, 2004), 37.

<sup>222</sup> Malcolm Jacobson, “Marketing with Graffiti: Crime as Symbolic Capital,” in *Street Art and Urban Creativity* 3 (2017), 106.

<sup>223</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 63.

accepts them for the promotional and commercial purpose. As culture critic and contemporary art curator Carlo McCormick notes:

In a consumer-based economy, the idea of giving anything away for nothing and making fun of the machinations of seductions that compel us to overidentify with commodities may well be the truly offensive crime being committed here.<sup>224</sup>

There are several cases when a controversial attitude of the administrative bodies was shown to the works of famous artists. “Some actions, for instance, are originally demonized and then, when the artist has become established, later perceived in a positive manner.”<sup>225</sup> British street artist Banksy is an example of such phenomena as he creates provocative works with criticism of social and political problems but his art is accepted by global art community.<sup>226</sup> His works are placed in galleries and sold at major international auctions like Sotheby’s.<sup>227</sup> Some street artists could be accused, arrested and jailed for some illegal activities and be funded and collected by art institutes at the same time. There are situations when works of the artist have been removed in one country and officially protected or restored in another one.<sup>228</sup>

The perception of street art interventions is important when speaking about the issue of legal and illegal appropriation of space in the city. When walking on the streets people are constantly confronted by images from billboards, signs, adverts. As writer and activist of street art culture Nicholas Ganz notes: “We are flooded by a vast amount of logos and symbols with similar intentions: to guide us or try to sell us something.”<sup>229</sup> Commercial institutes in the cities are linked to obtain all the free space in order to get people’s attention and impose their messages in public spaces. Such intentions echo the values of street art writers who want to get the fame. However, street art interventions are perceived negatively because the writers are limited by their financial ability to promote their messages on a legal basis. They do not have money to buy or rent billboards or places for their art pieces. There is a difference between commercial adverts and street art regarding their ways of space domination. Instead of predefined intervention into the urban space,

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<sup>224</sup> Carlo McCormick, *Trespass: A History of Uncommissioned Urban Art* (Taschen GmbH, 2010), 131.

<sup>225</sup> Winkler, “An Introduction“ in *Legal/ Illegal*, 42.

<sup>226</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 117.

<sup>227</sup> “Banksy Biography,” accessed September 20, 2019, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/artists/banksy>.

<sup>228</sup> Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art*, 328.

<sup>229</sup> Nicholas Ganz, *Street Messages* (Sweden: Dokument Press, 2015), 9.

street artists often have to improvise and integrate their work into already existing environment of the city.<sup>230</sup> The attitude towards commercial interventions and street art practices is different as long as the money issue is involved. The author of the book *The Guerrilla Art Kit* questions:

Why it is perfectly acceptable that we are forced to look advertising on a constant basis (on billboards, bus shelters, public restrooms, etc.), and yet something that is a form of personal expression (not created with the intention of selling us something) is deemed 'illegal.'<sup>231</sup>

There is also a global trend when different companies or advertising agencies adopt the style of street art and start to use it in their promotional materials. Thus, they broadcast the image of underground scenes associated with youth and rebellion onto their products, converting them "from dull and boring into urban and interesting."<sup>232</sup> Some businesses adopt the style and use it in the production of illustrations and graphics, however, the final product is only an imitation and usually is performed by people outside of street art culture:

When advertisers use the style of street art, it has a different meaning: it becomes a tool working in the service of another object, instead of a tool working for itself in the way pure artworks function.<sup>233</sup>

The main issue of this copied advertising is that authors are excluded from the business process and do not get economic benefits from it. Their recognisable style is taken as an example and copied to fulfil marketing needs, to be distinguished among other products and to get competitive advantages on the market. As one of the street art writers says about this problem in one of the studies:

I think it's a real good thing when we can get in and work with people outside of the culture. The problem is that it's the easiest art form to be taken and reproduced without the artist getting anything [...] Outside entities come into our world, our culture, they look at the way we do certain things, then they go paying some other people top dollar and they cut us out.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 112.

<sup>231</sup> Keri Smith, *The Guerrilla Art Kit* (Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 22.

<sup>232</sup> Jacobson, "Marketing with Graffiti," 108.

<sup>233</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 113.

<sup>234</sup> Kramer, "Painting with Permission," 248.

Also, the names written on the walls in the city can be considered as an advertising activity. Some street writers try to use their chances to promote their name or the name of the crew across the city and be visible on as many surfaces as possible: “Taggers compare themselves to advertisers, arguing that they purchase space with their boldness and style rather than with money.”<sup>235</sup>

Unauthorised street art is not considered as a subject of legal protection, therefore, there is a lack of regulation of legal issues in this sphere. Arguably street artists could be protected in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Law of 1988, however that is not the case and there is no copyright law that protects them.<sup>236</sup> This grey area of legislation is a very complicated issue: the copyright element is presented in the artist’s work but there is no prohibition on making a drawing of it, take a photograph or using the walls with street art as a background in TV or films.<sup>237</sup> Also the lack of legal differentiation and classification of different styles of street art is an obstruction to establish the authorship. This position excludes the writers from business and getting profit, which is formed when the street art is used in commercial projects, for example when shooting music or advertising videos. It should be noted that commissioned street art or works created by street artists in private spaces are protected by the legislation. If they are produced in a legitimised environment and the personality of the artist is determined, then his or works will be protected by the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 like any other “work of artistic craftsmanship.”<sup>238</sup> It shows that the legal approval of the activity and the legitimacy of the place of production are more respected and affect the artistic value of the work.<sup>239</sup>

Works of street art fit into the definitions of both material and immaterial cultural heritage, since street art is part of the urban space and its environment. Although not all forms of art are admired by the general public, some of them become a symbol of a city,

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<sup>235</sup> Richard Lachmann, “Graffiti as Career and Ideology,” in *American Journal of Sociology* 94.2 (1988), 237.

<sup>236</sup> “Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988” accessed September 20, 2019, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1988/48/data.pdf>.

<sup>237</sup> Mulcahy, and Flessas, “Limiting Law: Limiting Law: Art in the Street and Street in the Art,” 4.

<sup>238</sup> “Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988,” 5, accessed September 20, 2019, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1988/48/data.pdf>.

<sup>239</sup> Mulcahy, and Flessas, “Limiting Law: Limiting Law: Art in the Street and Street in the Art,” 4.

attracting new visitors.<sup>240</sup> These circumstances show that street art can be protected under domestic national laws or under the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.<sup>241</sup> Inclusion into World Heritage List prevents the art work from rapid destruction and disappearance, however, it imposes certain conditions on the placement of the work and restrictions to fully preserve the image. The problem with the framework of the existing legislation that it is aimed at fixation and preservation of artwork in an unchangeable environment. “Inherent ephemerality” of street art is an essential part of the culture and writers accept that their works exist in the public space on a temporary basis.<sup>242</sup> This position stimulates them to evolve and continue writing on the streets. Writers see it as a competition to show the improvement of their skills and sometimes they paint over their own old writings to get respect of the community or strangers.<sup>243</sup> In order for the heritage legislation to be relevant to street art, it has to be accepted that the movement has the right to alteration and elimination. This new perspective started to appear in academic literature, but the future of this issue is still under discussion: “In other words, authenticity and preservation, the two values that anchor heritage instruments, are viewed as being conceptually and practicably opposed to each other in street art.”<sup>244</sup>

The attitude towards the legality of street art interventions may vary from the subjective perspectives of the public or local authorities. An assumption that using a spray can is an illegal activity affects the relationship between artists and police. Cedar Lewisohn uses an example of dealing with the authorities that one of the writers experienced in London, showing that the police have less tolerance for a person painting the wall with a spray can than if the same person puts up posters or stickers.<sup>245</sup> Perhaps this is not just due to the fact that the image of the spray has a negative connotation but it could also be the result of the time and money it takes to remove graffiti art versus a poster or sticker. It could be that the effort and resources needed to remove the latter

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<sup>240</sup> “Visit Bristol,” accessed September 20, 2019, <https://visitbristol.co.uk/things-to-do/street-art>.

<sup>241</sup> “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” accessed September 20, 2019, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext>.

<sup>242</sup> Halsey, and Young, “The Meanings of Graffiti and Municipal Administration,” 179.

<sup>243</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 65.

<sup>244</sup> Mulcahy, and Flessas, “Limiting Law: Limiting Law: Art in the Street and Street in the Art,” 7.

<sup>245</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 127.

minimises the severity of the crime. The mural artists from Glasgow confirms a predefined negative attitude to the spraying in the interview:

I think it's like the thing, spray paint is just another medium. I'm a legitimate artist, I've had my business for a long time and sometimes when people see you are working with spray cans you get all the stares or the police will come and you get comments from people on the street.<sup>246</sup>

It highlights that usually the members of the street art are seen only as opposition to the law and the other aspect of development within street art culture is not presented enough. Over time writers can start “seeking out legal avenues in which to pursue their craft” and want to keep their style.<sup>247</sup> However, it is not easy to overcome the image of vandals that street artists still have in the society. Their activity is labelled as “deviant” comparing to other contemporary artistic creations. And their future development or career prospects “are determined in large part by the ways in which they are labelled by people outside their social milieus.”<sup>248</sup> It is important to note that the transition to legal painting and cooperation with the government on the creation of commissioned murals is not always a desired path of the professional development. The work that is funded by the government is considered as “voices of the state,” which is acting as “art critics” when selecting the works for the exhibitions.<sup>249</sup> Not every writer sees his or her goal in being hired to paint walls for the businesses and adjusts the style to specific requirements. Some writers believe that on the contrary it moves the artist away from the real street art movement.<sup>250</sup> Not all the writers want to be labelled as artists or create works that are acceptable for the society and people outside the community. Some writers prefer operating outside the law and in contrary to the mainstream movement. They intend to stay rebellious and are “happy to be known primarily as vandals.”<sup>251</sup> There is another group of writers who has no negative attitude to create street art legally and work on commissioned projects at the same time. They differentiate those activities and negotiate their lifestyle “to remain in both these social worlds without selling out.”<sup>252</sup> Such attitude

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<sup>246</sup> Carty, Interview.

<sup>247</sup> Kramer, “Painting with Permission,” 242.

<sup>248</sup> Lachmann, “Graffiti as Career and Ideology,” 230.

<sup>249</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 127.

<sup>250</sup> Mubi Brighenti, “At the Wall,” 318.

<sup>251</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 19.

<sup>252</sup> Jacobson, “Marketing with Graffiti,” 107.

is possible, and the street artist can even benefit from being known for doing illegal art interventions:

To paint illegally is a way to show your loyalty to the subculture. But it is not in conflict with selling your art. Instead the illegal activity is precisely what makes it possible to sell graffiti. The illegal reference is what produces symbolic capital.<sup>253</sup>

Illegal nature of the movement will never disappear as it provides specific feature of the culture, gives element of “edginess” that provokes the viewers by its audacity.<sup>254</sup> There is an opinion that “the illegal works have political and ethical connotations that are lost in sectioned works,” and the message provided to the viewer is different in its presentation.<sup>255</sup> Also, the street art movement in Glasgow doesn’t look to have been particularly affected by restrictions and campaigns against unauthorised art interventions. Such policies might also provoke the spread of illegal art works in the public as a sign of disobedience. The more dominant culture attempts to exterminate illegal street art, the more reasons it provides to the members of the subculture for their counter-cultural expressions. Unauthorised art interventions are seen like a protective mechanism: “By shocking, confusing and alienating outsiders, it hides the subculture from the commercial world or ‘the powers that be’<sup>256</sup> Members of the street art movement have a right to remain in the framework of illegality.

Illicit writers will always exist in one form or another. They may, in response to certain policies, change their medium (from ink to metal), their preferred surface (from cement to glass) and the images created (from neologisms to pictures), but writers will not cease to exist. And in this sense it is undesirable that the signs of illicit writing be eliminated.<sup>257</sup>

#### 4.2. Street Art in the Urban Space of Glasgow

Street art in Glasgow is developing in accordance with a global expansion of the movement, attracting more and more attention from the public over the years. The structure of the movement is based on the street art practises that started in New York and then spread worldwide. The acceptance and interest in street art in the United Kingdom

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<sup>253</sup> Jacobson, “Marketing with Graffiti,” 107.

<sup>254</sup> Brook, “Aesthetic Aspects of Unauthorised Environmental Interventions,” 316.

<sup>255</sup> Lewisohn, *Street Art*, 127.

<sup>256</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 171.

<sup>257</sup> Halsey, and Young, “‘Our Desires Are Ungovernable’,” 297.

are demonstrated through exhibitions at prominent art galleries and museums. In 2017 street writers from around the world were invited to the first street art festival in Scotland.<sup>258</sup> More and more projects and exhibitions are being created on a legal basis or with the help of the government, so that the artists have an opportunity to show their skills to the full extent of their talent and become famous. Contemporary street artists in Glasgow started their practices with the development of the hip hop culture in the 1980s.<sup>259</sup> The first writers like Gaz, Mak1, Ejek, Az One and members of Easy Riderz crew painted mostly in abandoned areas of the city or on track sides around Southside district. Diverging from the American style the writers started to focus not on painting the trains but on the train tracks. Some writers like Dice promoted new techniques and styles, contributing to the popularisation of throw-ups and small pieces in the city centre. Similarly, to other countries the street art community in Glasgow includes various social classes, there are just as many writers from well off backgrounds as from working-class families. As one of the prominent street artists in Glasgow notes: “Scotland has a small scene it means everybody knows each other which is good for organizing jams etc.”<sup>260</sup>

Street art movement in Glasgow shows a close relationship among writers and existence of supporting subculture. Public art functions „as a sort of community weather report.”<sup>261</sup> Already in 2008 when a Glaswegian artist Daze was found guilty for vandalism and sentenced to jail for more than two years, a campaign was launched to set him free. A number of posters and signs appeared throughout the city asking the public whether his strict punishment was fair. (see Figure 8) Initially the response from Glasgow City Council was negative, and James Coleman, deputy leader of the council, stressed that the government strictly follows a zero tolerance policy to fly-posting and illegal writings.<sup>262</sup> The campaign raised awareness of DAZE’s penalty and in the end his

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<sup>258</sup> Jonathan Rimmer, “Scotland’s first ever graffiti festival opens in Glasgow,” *The Scotsman*, May 8, 2017, <https://www.scotsman.com/regions/glasgow-strathclyde/scotland-s-first-ever-graffiti-festival-opens-in-glasgow-1-4440318>.

<sup>259</sup> The List, “*Graffiti in Scotland - Creative writing*,” May 14, 2009, <https://www.list.co.uk/article/17741-graffiti-in-scotland-creative-writing/>.

<sup>260</sup> Scottishgraffiti.com, “*As One interview*,” April 30, 2011, <http://scottishgraffiti.blogspot.com/2011/04/as-one-interview.html>.

<sup>261</sup> Lucy Lippard, *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society*, (New Press, 1997), 288.

<sup>262</sup> Evening Times News, “*Fury at Poster Campaign Bid to Free Graffiti Artist*,” May 2, 2008, <https://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/news/12801644.fury-at-poster-campaign-bid-to-free-graffiti-artist/>.

sentence was reduced to a fine and 200 hours of community service.<sup>263</sup> The writers used the street art as a way of communication with each other and with the general public, aiming to create social awareness regarding this issue. Their collective effort demonstrated that street art members in Glasgow acted as a supportive community and confirms that “[s]treet art breaks the conspiracy of silence” in the city.<sup>264</sup> Another exhibition of community support from the street artists could be seen through creating a memorial mural. Memorial mural is a separate form of public street art to express common solidarity and respect. It is made in memory of a popular person, artist, musician, and usually the mural is commissioned by families or friends.<sup>265</sup> In July 2019 a Glasgow based artist Smug One created a portrait of the famous local street art writer and studio director of SWG3 Gaz Mac as a sign of gratitude and appreciation.<sup>266</sup>

As it was mentioned by a principal officer of Glasgow City Council and spokesperson of the City Centre Mural Fund, in a personal interview, there are several private organisations that contribute to the support and promotion of street art movement in the city.<sup>267</sup> Art Pistols is an art gallery that encourages local independent artists to get involved in various street art projects and advocates the development of street art culture in Glasgow. Its aim is to collaborate with the artists, businesses and citizens, “painting the streets of Scotland for brands, communities and fun.”<sup>268</sup> They curate contemporary art projects of different forms and styles and also work together with housing associations and the government to create street art murals. SWG3 is another art venue located in a former warehouse and building territory which contains galleries and space for creative experiments. It opened around 15 years ago and has developed into a platform for different types of events: exhibitions, music concerts, fashion shows, and many others. Gaz Mac, the studio director of SWG3, was an active member of the street art community and nowadays supports modern street art initiatives. The company tries to promote the street art culture and show its diversity to the general public. Yardworks Festival – is one

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<sup>263</sup> The Scotsman, “*Appeal judges fine graffiti vandal who was jailed*,” August 27, 2008,

<https://www.scotsman.com/news-2-15012/appeal-judges-fine-graffiti-vandal-who-was-jailed-1-1087440>.

<sup>264</sup> Lyman Chaffee, *Political protest and street art: popular tools for democratization in Hispanic countries*, (Greenwood Press, 1993), 4.

<sup>265</sup> Nicholas Ganz, *Street Messages* (Sweden: Dokument Press, 2015), 19.

<sup>266</sup> Smug (@smugone), “*Portrait of the main man @gazmacswg3*,” Instagram photo, July 14, 2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Bz5FBEVntth/?igshid=1rqhif0v1n3vc>.

<sup>267</sup> Connolly, Interview.

<sup>268</sup> “Art Pistol,” accessed August 20, 2019, <https://www.artpistol.co.uk/art-pistol-projects>.

of the biggest events where over 120 graffiti writers from Europe and cities around the world gather to paint the walls at the SWG3 warehouse area. The festival takes place in the beginning of June when the weather conditions are ideal and usually the most comfortable for writers to create their pieces outdoors. Also, it gives an opportunity to attract more visitors and involve them in the process of creating the pieces or into communication with the artists. Writing process lasts two-days and over 5000 visitors come to the festival.<sup>269</sup> The writers demonstrate a variety of styles and share their knowledge and techniques with other members of the street art community. It is also an inspirational event that triggers the artists to develop their ideas or designs in collaboration with the others on spot, during the festival. Besides the graffiti there are also workshops and music performances as well to engage the visitors with the process of creation. Gaz Mac, Yardworks Festival Organiser confirms that the festival, which was established only two years ago, has already developed into a worldwide event and generates interest from “the world’s most creative street artists” and general public.<sup>270</sup> Organisers are ambitious in their plans to grow and expand the festival programme. Mutley, Founder and Director of SWG3, declares that

SWG3’s Yard and Eastvale Place leading down to the venue, is increasingly being recognised as Glasgow’s Graffiti Quarter – and we hope that this year’s Yardworks will help to further cement that reputation, while also building relationships between artists and the community through the creation of high-quality public art.<sup>271</sup>

RECOAT is an agency and gallery space in Glasgow that opened in 2007 and since then supports and promotes Scottish contemporary urban art. It has a goal of providing a platform for the local artists to participate in different design projects and exhibitions.<sup>272</sup> The founders, Ali Wylie and Amy Whiten, had been engaged in the street art community and over time decided to create a place to bring talented artists together. RECOAT curates some mural projects in the local communities. In March 2014, a set of murals were painted in the north of Glasgow in collaboration with Heart, a charity organization

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<sup>269</sup> “SWG3 presents YARDWORKS FESTIVAL 2019,” accessed August 20, 2019, <https://swg3.tv/events/2019/may/swg3-presents-yardworks-festival-2019>.

<sup>270</sup> Paul Trainer, “*Graffiti and street artists assemble for Yardworks festival at SWG3*,” Glasgowist, March 28, 2019, <https://www.glasgowist.com/graffiti-and-street-artists-assemble-for-yardworks-festival-at-swg3/>.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid.

<sup>272</sup> RECOAT, accessed August 20, 2019, <http://recoatdesign.com>.

that has a strategy to foster healthy living.<sup>273</sup> The aim of the project is to draw attention to medical conditions people suffer from in Glasgow through art. In order to create a mutual work with the citizens, RECOAT organised a workshop to get the ideas from the local community before producing the designs for the murals. Collected drawings were used by the artists who planned and painted the murals.

All the companies mentioned above are independent and private venues that had been established by like-minded people from the street art community. It can be seen as a first step of the institutionalisation of the street art movement as more galleries, museums and specially designated exhibition spaces appear in the city. Although the independent status of these companies provides flexibility in the creation of art objects and provides a platform for young artists to get a practice area and enhance their skills.

#### 4.3. Mural Art in Glasgow City Centre

The creation of murals is a notable part of the urban art movement in various cities, which is developed in accordance with the political or cultural strategy of the city.<sup>274</sup> Mural movement is driven by “the need to document everyday life, by political activism, [...] by inspiration and pure artistic expression.”<sup>275</sup> It is also noted that the local government shows interest in implementing mural art city programs or public art festivals. This is due to the changing forms of commissioned art objects that are placed in public spaces:

City squares, ones elected as the space to place public artworks, are now dismissed in favour of walls or spaces left over after planning. In terms of commissioned works there is a shift from commemorative statues, busts, or abstract sculpture to large-scale murals.<sup>276</sup>

City planners and art committees have long understood the advantage of the large murals that transform deprived urban areas into outside galleries and change the attitude of the citizens to the previously dangerous part of the city.<sup>277</sup> Before speaking about

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<sup>273</sup> “Heart: Health Education Art Mural Project,” RECOAT, accessed August 20, 2019, <http://recoatdesign.com/heart>.

<sup>274</sup> Danysz and Dana, *From Style Writing to Art*, 302.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.* 303

<sup>276</sup> Helena Elias, “From squares to walls: contemporary murals of OSGEMEOS, Nunca and Bicicleta sem Freio in Lisbon,” in *Street Art & Urban Creativity Scientific Journal* 1:2 (2015), 43.

<sup>277</sup> Walde, *Mural XXL*, 11.

contemporary commissioned mural art in Glasgow, it is important to emphasise the history of similar outdoor projects in the city. One of the very first large murals was painted in the 1970s and was called the Hex. It looked like a three-dimensional pattern and consisted of hexagons in black and silver. The mural was commissioned by Scottish Arts Council and placed alongside the city's expressway at St Georges Road, Glasgow. It was painted by Stan Bell, the head of the Glasgow League of Artists (GLA), at the time. A signature of a local gang group at the bottom of the mural could be seen on the photo. Placing the signature on the commissioned work was an attempt to claim the wall and make a statement about distribution of power in the city. The street art movement started to develop in Glasgow according to the same pattern as in the USA. Both Glasgow and New York had a long history of difficult relationships among gangs and their confrontation. Glasgow territory was divided among existing gang groups and they were marking the borders of their territory with tags.<sup>278</sup>

Other murals started to appear funded by Scottish Arts Council like 'Boy on a Dog' made by John Byrne in 1974. (see Figure 9) It was designed in the style of gigantism and as the author says he was inspired by the works of the street artists in New York and wanted to create "something big" on an abandoned building for people to see and appreciate.<sup>279</sup> In 1977 the Scottish Arts Council provided funds for creating two building-size murals at Ancroft Street, Maryhill, Glasgow. The project was commissioned by the Scottish Development department in order to improve the industrial area and "to provide a decoration that would be attractive to the community."<sup>280</sup> Six artists had been asked to prepare the designs and participate in the organized competition. The works of Tim Armstrong was selected by the Scottish Development Department, Glasgow Corporation and local citizens from this area.<sup>281</sup> His designs resembled the elements of the nearby buildings and included archways, brick shapes, keystones and some symbols like the five-pointed star. (see Figure 10) He added this symbol to show that one of the works faced the church. In general, his idea was to fit the designs into local architecture and

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<sup>278</sup> Robert McLean and Chris Holligan, "The Semiotics of the Evolving Gang Masculinity and Glasgow," in *Social Sciences* 7 (2018), 7.

<sup>279</sup> "Welcoming Scottish Artist John Byrne," accessed September 15, 2019, <https://2019.nuartaberdeen.co.uk/news/john-byrne/>.

<sup>280</sup> Cooper and Sargent, *Painting the Town*, 12.

<sup>281</sup> For Walls With Tongues, "Tim Armstrong – Glasgow," accessed September 15, 2019, <https://www.forwallswithtongues.org.uk/artists/tim-armstrong/>.

“harmonize the colour and scale of the design with the surroundings.”<sup>282</sup> An interesting example of collaborative mural work is a set of murals created through the initiative from local artist John Kraska in 1977. (Figure 11) He managed this project and got the funding from different organisations: the Scottish Arts Council, the Scottish Development Agency and the Manpower Services commission. His goal was also to create an art piece together with the local community and citizens. Some materials and equipment had been donated or provided by the companies from Glasgow at a cheaper price. It took more than a year to finish the mosaic on the wall and different community groups participated in creating this project. As the author says:

The mosaic design arose from holding children’s art classes managed by project artists, held regularly in the evenings in the Community Shop. Dozens of children took part. It was quite different from art at school – for here the space was theirs.<sup>283</sup>

For John Kraska it was important to produce a mutually constructed work and have the voice of citizens. One of the development stages included a consultation with the local community and the final designs for the murals were selected using open voting system. It can be assumed that such a democratic approach to the creation of these murals was only possible due to minimal financial involvement of the administrative institutions. Also, it is important to note that all the artists who painted the murals in the 1970s in Glasgow were already famous figures in the Scottish art community, or even held a position in the Scottish Arts Council. This situation indicates that there was a status filter of artists who could legally materialise large scale art works in the urban space.

The second wave of commissioned mural projects in public space in the city started in 2008 and was initiated by Glasgow City Council. As it was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the private organisations in Glasgow create murals on regular basis but usually they don’t get wide publicity or located on a closed territory. The objective of this thesis is to investigate the struggle between street art interventions and dominant power, which is presented by local authorities, in public urban spaces. Such confrontation is especially visible in the city centre. Glasgow city centre is an important area as it is the

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<sup>282</sup> Cooper and Sargent, *Painting the Town*. 12.

<sup>283</sup> For Walls With Tongues, “John Kraska – Glasgow,” accessed September 15, 2019, <https://www.forwallswithtongues.org.uk/artists/john-kraska-glasgow/>.

most visited district by citizens and visitors.<sup>284</sup> It has a high density of shopping malls, offices and entertainment businesses. The main train and bus stations are located in the middle of the city centre and provide a constant flow of traffic and tourists. One of the features of the centre is a lack of open space and a high concentration of tall buildings with allocated and appropriated surfaces. That is why any changes and interventions in the city centre attract attention and cause a reaction from different interest groups.

The City Centre Mural Trail as a permanent project of Glasgow City Council was established a year before the XX Commonwealth Games took place in the city in 2014. Its strategy was aimed to “enhance the city centre environment” with the street murals that “are helping to rejuvenate streets and revitalise buildings and vacant sites that look a bit tired.”<sup>285</sup> City Council had commissioned some murals previously throughout the city and decided to develop the concept further as the artworks became popular among visitors.<sup>286</sup> Glasgow City Council has established the City Centre Mural Fund that is responsible for executing the City Centre Mural Trail. The concept of commissioned murals in Glasgow is binary: although they belong to street art culture and present one of its many forms, the character of the works has an altered connotation and perception. This thesis is intended to analyse how the nature of street art in legal and funded form is changing and how it is different from unauthorised writings.

When planning the execution of his or her work the street artist chooses a location. The placement of the future painting plays an essential role for the writer as it gives an opportunity to interact with the surfaces and environment around the wall or another surface.<sup>287</sup> It requires a thorough planning and consideration including the height of the work and where it will be placed. The artist decides how to transfer the message to the citizens and if it is important to make the work visible for large audience. Some street artists perform in dangerous conditions to be presented on urban spaces that are difficult to access. It shows their audacity and also prolongates the lifespan of their piece of art. When working in an unauthorized location the artist has a personal choice of the exact

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<sup>284</sup> “Location of central business district (CBO),” accessed September 15, 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zryqtfr/revision/2>.

<sup>285</sup> “Glasgow City Centre Economic Health Check (April 2019),” accessed September 15, 2019, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=45024&p=0>.

<sup>286</sup> Connolly, Interview.

<sup>287</sup> McCormick, *Trespass*, 51.

placement and freedom of creativity, sometimes it's more spontaneous. The street artist can use the architecture to their advantage and implement it into his or her work. The final product is a mix of different elements and the meanings that they produce. On the contrary, the commissioned works have specific requirements the artist has to follow. The location is already pre-determined by the authorities and spontaneous activities are not possible. A good example is a mural of a floating taxi created by artist Rogue-one and located on Mitchell Street in Glasgow. (see Figure 12) It illustrates the man hailing a taxi floating, strung to balloons on a brick wall. The mural is actually painted on a concrete surface, but Rogue-One had to paint the bricks in order to retain the concept. Under different circumstances the writer could have avoided the encumbrance of painting the wall by placing the work directly on a needed surface. As the artist states himself: "Can't believe I painted a wall to look like a brick wall just because I wanted a brick wall."<sup>288</sup> As the government provided a specific place for the mural Rogue-one was forced to find a solution that preserved his idea but complicated the execution of the work. He has spent more time and more resources on extra painting that was unnecessary under other conditions. A predefined and authorized location limits the creativity of the writers. Independent street art can ignore the existing structure and the writer has an option to play with the surfaces, combine them together. Art works can be placed on two buildings ignoring the official borders. The writer has an option to reclaim the urban space that existed before it was divided according to the commercial needs or property rights.<sup>289</sup> On the other hand, a commissioned project supports the artist financially and provides necessary resources that allow to materialise even complex ideas. When creating a mural, the writer has enough time to make the final painting perfect, use the opportunity to carefully outline every detail. Even though these details should be discussed and approved beforehand. In the case of the City Centre Mural Trail an artist has to submit an application form via web site. He or she explains in detail the topic and concept for the proposed mural and includes a digital illustration or drawing of the anticipated idea on the chosen location. The application is evaluated due to the criteria of the selected urban space. The artist has to find himself or herself a remarkable location "where installations

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<sup>288</sup> "City Centre Mural Trail Glasgow," accessed September 10, 2019, <https://peoplemakeglasgow.com/articles/185-city-centre-mural-trail/file>.

<sup>289</sup> Javier Abarca, "From Street Art to Murals: What Have We Lost?" in *Street Art & Urban Creativity Scientific Journal* 2:2 (2016), 63.

will have maximum impact”<sup>290</sup> and receive permission from the owner. As part of application process the artist should provide a copy of the written consent from the building/ land owners to install the mural and a report of a risk assessment on the chosen site.<sup>291</sup> Freedom to choose a location is limited for the artist by the possibility to obtain the permission. It is not an easy task for the artist to fulfil the requirements of a prominent location, and the owners of the buildings are inclined to provide a space for the mural on the surfaces that do not have big commercial value: the ones that are for sale or intended for future demolition.<sup>292</sup> These locations are offered from a pragmatic point of view as it is difficult to sell such constructions for advertising or marketing purposes. That happened to the Hip Hop Marionettes mural that was created in 2016 by Rogue-One and Art Pistol group and demolished two years later due to the total reconstruction of the building.<sup>293</sup> Also, the City Centre Mural Fund operates only in the limited zone of the city centre where the struggle for a vacant space is intense. The map (see Figure 1) shows the borders of the designated area and it covers about 3 sq. miles when the total city and council area is 68 sq. miles. Consequently, the artist is placed into complicated position to find a free wall in the predefined area.

The scale of the authorised and unauthorised murals differs and building size painting is only possible in the legitimised environment with the provided building equipment like cherry picker, scaffold or basket crane. The artist doesn’t need to adapt the work to the working environment as it operates on “inhuman, monumental scale, very far from the viewer.”<sup>294</sup> A huge artwork attracts immediate attention as it is more visible, but it loses the connection with the viewers. The citizens and visitors are forced to take a passive position of the consumer, not having a chance to amend or correct the mural:

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<sup>290</sup> “City Centre Mural Fund Guidelines,” accessed September 15, 2019, <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=19809&p=0>

<sup>291</sup> “City Centre Mural Fund Application Form,” accessed September 15, 2019, <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=19808&p=0>.

<sup>292</sup> “Glasgow Street Art,” accessed September 15, 2019, <http://www.relevantsearchscotland.co.uk/glasgow-street-art.html>.

<sup>293</sup> City Centre Team, “*The Hip Hop Marionettes Have Gone*,” December 18, 2018, <https://www.glasgowcitycentrestrategy.com/the-hip-hop-marionettes-have-gone.htm>.

<sup>294</sup> Abarca, “From Street Art to Murals,” 62.

It is no longer a portrait of the relation between a person and his or her surroundings, which is necessarily open to dialogue. It is, instead, a portrait of the way in which power relates to the environment, which is most often a blind, imposed monologue.<sup>295</sup>

One of the largest and most resource-demanding murals in Glasgow is located at Ingram Street car parking in the old quarter of the city centre. It is called Fellow Glasgow Residents and was created by artist Smug in 2013. (see Figure 13) This large-scale artwork is stretched over several buildings and is painted in a lifelike manner, depicting a giant in national tartan attire who is collecting a mushroom. The theme of this work is woodland nature and it shows a diverse wildlife of Glasgow: colourful birds, squirrels, bees and highland cattle. It impresses the spectators with the scale and scrupulously painted details, which were possible to create due to the help from the City Council. Although some viewers indicate with regret that the mural is “too wide to fit in one photo.”<sup>296</sup> In order to see the whole picture people have to go on the other side of the road and find a suitable location. The perception of the art differs, as a large artwork doesn’t engage the viewers in “an intimate way”.<sup>297</sup> The proportions of the mural astonish the general public, but sometimes it is too huge to appreciate the details on the upper parts of the painting. And the artist has to spend extra time thinking through the composition that would fit to the various viewpoints.<sup>298</sup>

The temporary nature of street art works is also one of the features of this movement. The street art culture is not constant and develops dynamically, since all the changes happen in the open space. The writers see new ideas and quickly adopt new techniques in the production of works or react to changing conditions. Constant updating of the images allows the street art movement to follow trends and reflect social changes or “the reasons for the changes.”<sup>299</sup> Street art could be easily eliminated or transformed by other people as a way of their own interventions. Murals are created as long-lasting pieces of artwork, and it is more difficult to see how the decorated urban space evolves over the time. Usually the exterior paint or some protection layers are used when creating a mural. Such approach minimises any influence from the external environment or unauthorised

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<sup>295</sup> Ibid. 62.

<sup>296</sup> London City Calling, “A Guide to Glasgow’s Best Street Art,” April 27, 2018, <https://londoncitycalling.com/2018/04/27/guide-glasgows-street-art/>.

<sup>297</sup> Abarca, “From Street Art to Murals,” 62.

<sup>298</sup> Walde, *Mural XXL*, 11.

<sup>299</sup> Lippard, *The Lure of the Local*, 288.

interventions. Other groups in the city lose their rights to respond, adjust or change the surroundings. The mural is a static image and its condition stays the same. In case of the City Centre Mural Fund any external interventions and writings are eliminated on the regular basis by the government. The murals are cleaned, and the paint is refreshed.

The content of the commissioned street art differs from the unauthorised writings where the artist has more freedom to choose provocative images or translate through art some personal messages. The range of the topics is limited and established by the concept or vision of the institution that provides funding. As the spokesperson of the City Centre Mural Fund mentioned in the interview, the City Centre Mural Fund has a specific concept of the images that are sponsored by The City Centre Mural Trail:

What we're trying to do through the Mural Trail is a lot of photorealism, trying to keep that kind of genre through every mural we do in city centre. We are not looking for anything too serious, we like quirky stuff, we don't fund any sort of political or religious background murals. It's just really photorealistic pictures maybe, it will lean slightly towards the history of the area.

The concept of the City Centre Mural Trail is to promote the city and draw more visitors. The murals commissioned by Glasgow City Council are related to the particular themes: local famous figures, animals or historical topics. Murals Billy Connolly and Dr Connolly I Presume have been created in commemoration of the 75th birthday of the well-known Scottish comedian. (see Figure 14) Some murals have been painted as part of the promotional campaign to celebrate Glasgow's 2014 Commonwealth Games. (see Figure 15) A mural at the Strathclyde University was created to commemorate the history of the university and its students. It consists of three different murals on the sides of the seven-storey buildings and shows students attending the lecture and depicts some of their significant achievements. A number of murals are dedicated to the animals and nature. Mural called Fellow Glasgow Residents shows local flora and fauna, the others depict wild animals of random choice: Glasgow Panda, Glasgow Tiger, Crocodile Glasga, Charing Cross Birds, Hand Shadow Puppets, etc.<sup>300</sup> Funded murals have socially acceptable themes to suit the taste of different people, citizens. As the official website and the representative declare, are designed to promote the Glasgow culture or simply serve

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<sup>300</sup> "The City Centre Mural Trail", accessed July 28, 2019, <https://www.citycentremuraltrail.co.uk/>.

as nice decorations to “brighten up lines and streets.”<sup>301</sup> The spokesperson for the City Centre Mural Fund also confirmed in an interview that the City Centre Mural Fund has its own concept and the submitted drawing should fit into this concept.<sup>302</sup> The viewers get nice pictures of a good quality, but the variety of street art forms are limited. It might change the perception of street art movement, which is based on the works that are executed by the government. An aesthetic perception is imposed on the audience and controlled by the specific concept of the City Centre Mural Fund. Being exposed only to a certain style, people get a defined idea of what street art should look like, which undermines other styles and forms of this subculture.<sup>303</sup> Other forms have been stigmatised and labelled as unfavourable artistic activities. Such approach demonstrates that street artists are forced to adapt to the vision of the authorities in order to be able to materialise their artworks. In the end “[the]audiences that consume, and institutions that distribute and display art, encourage artists to produce works that conform to the aesthetic standards of their art world.”<sup>304</sup> When sending the application to the City Centre Mural Fund the artist has to predict the topic that will be liked and approved by the officials. Although it is stated in the leaflet of the City Centre Mural Fund that the project “showcase a diverse range of talent and styles,”<sup>305</sup> it is clear that existing works are executed in a recognisable photorealistic style. The designs of the artists who work in certain techniques are more favourable to the Glasgow City Council. This selective attitude explains why around 80% of the commissioned murals are painted only by two artists – Smug and Rogue-One. Frank Carty, one of the top sign writers and mural artists in Scotland, confirms in the personal interview that he has no interest in participating in the City Centre Mural Trail as he prefers to create his works in a different style:

Yeah, I’ve heard of it [the City Centre Mural Trail] and I’ve spoken to a few chaps but as far as I can see they just wanted photo realism, more of the same of what they’ve got. [...] When I was talking to them I just found that they just want more photo realistic murals.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> “Glasgow City Centre Economic Health Check (April 2019)”, accessed September 15, 2019, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=45024&p=0>.

<sup>302</sup> Connolly, Interview.

<sup>303</sup> Brook, “Aesthetic Aspects of Unauthorised Environmental Interventions,” 313.

<sup>304</sup> Lachmann, “Graffiti as Career and Ideology,” 231.

<sup>305</sup> “City Centre Mural Trail,” accessed September 15, 2019, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=19649&p=0>.

<sup>306</sup> Carty, Interview.

The street art community expresses the same frustration that the City Centre Mural Trail promotes only one specific style of writing. An anonymous commentator from one of the biggest Internet forums about street art in Glasgow says:

The council aren't being cool by paying for these they're just making a lot of walls look identical in a different way-by paying the SAME street artist to paint VERY SIMILAR paintings over and over.<sup>307</sup>

Of course, funding of the mural allows the artist to create a large-scale project that he or she would not be able to create without financial support. Creating a mural is a good opportunity for the writer to improve his or her skills and painting techniques. Even though there is a controversial opinion that lack of resources stimulates creativity and continually encourages the artist to experiment, adding or altering the work according to the surroundings.<sup>308</sup> A commissioned mural project provides an opportunity to use special building equipment and expensive tools that are inaccessible for an ordinary street artist. Participation in the project promotes artist's name and enriches their portfolio. As the street artist Smug who created some of the murals in Glasgow said: "I've just been challenging myself to see how much bigger and how much more detailed I can make the murals."<sup>309</sup> However, it is not that easy for the young artists to get funding. When applying to the City Centre Mural Fund the writer should provide "evidence of [...] artistic style and ability."<sup>310</sup> The candidate needs to prove that he or she is already a famous artist and has achievements, for example presence in previous exhibitions, awards or other commissioned projects. The representative from the City Centre Mural Fund noted that the experience of the artist is one of the most important factors to be accepted and funded by the project. During the interview he mentioned several times that when receiving the application, they pay attention not only to the talent of the artist but his or her "skill to carry the work that's been proposed."<sup>311</sup> He said that the City Centre Mural Fund "will probably be looking for evidence that they [applicants] have done very large murals

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<sup>307</sup> Graff Licks, "Smug - Riverside Mural," accessed September 10, 2019, <http://grafflicks.blogspot.com/2011/07/smug-riverside-mural.html>.

<sup>308</sup> Abarca, "From Street Art to Murals," 65.

<sup>309</sup> The Scotsman, "Glasgow City Council Unveils New City Centre Mural Trail," November 3, 2016, <https://www.scotsman.com/news-2-15012/glasgow-city-council-unveils-new-city-centre-mural-trail-1-4270797>.

<sup>310</sup> "City Centre Mural Fund Application Form," accessed September 15, 2019, <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=19808&p=0>.

<sup>311</sup> Connolly, Interview.

elsewhere,” that the artists have the “ability to deliver stunning pieces of art.”<sup>312</sup> This attitude shows that it is important for the administrative body to be sure that the artist is able to transform the “symbolic capital” of his or her art into an “economical capital.”<sup>313</sup>

Graffiti artists are offering their art and culture to agents who want to apply value to cities, businesses and products. In this process the symbolic meaning of graffiti is transferred to products. Consequently, the products are transformed from dull and boring into urban and interesting.<sup>314</sup>

Glasgow City Council benefits from running the mural project as it helps promote the positive image of Glasgow and attracts more visitors. It is important for the local authorities to improve the reputation of a dangerous, criminal city, which Glasgow has received the reputation of due to a long history of gang activity. In 2013 Glasgow was described as “the least peaceful major urban centre” in the United Kingdom and got the highest rates of murder and violent crime.<sup>315</sup> However, compared to 2007 the homicide rate declined in the city and Glasgow has become more peaceful since then. Regardless is not easy to eliminate the negative reputation therefore the City Council is trying to change it by hosting international events (like the XX Commonwealth Games in 2014) or promoting art that stimulates the tourism industry. On TripAdvisor the Street Art Tour is placed among the 10 most popular walking tours in Glasgow.<sup>316</sup> Several businesses, including Walking Tours and Photo Walk Scotland, earn money by offering guided tours of the murals. The representative confirms the City Centre Mural Trail is a successful and popular project:

We know that Mural Trail is used by some companies working on promoting the city centre to draw people into the city: it could be for city breaks - people coming to the city for a day, a lot of transport organisations use it. We know that some of the large cruise ships and docks use Mural Trail as well. And we know that there are about four or five tour operators who actually take round the Mural Trails: some do it as a walking tour, some do it as a cycling tour, some do it as a bilingual tour and they are charging people to take them around to the murals.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>312</sup> Connolly, Interview.

<sup>313</sup> Jacobson, “Marketing with Graffiti,” 108.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid. 108

<sup>315</sup> BBC News, “*Glasgow ranked UK's most violent area*,” April 24, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-22276018>.

<sup>316</sup> TripAdvisor, “Walking Tours in Glasgow,” accessed September 10, 2019, [https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attractions-g186534-Activities-c42-t183-Glasgow\\_Scotland.html](https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attractions-g186534-Activities-c42-t183-Glasgow_Scotland.html).

<sup>317</sup> Connolly, Interview.

The City Centre Mural Fund has issued brochures and guides with a brief description of the murals, which are available for download in the Internet or in hard copy at the offices of the travel agencies in Glasgow. A spokesperson from VisitScotland, a national tourism organisation, stated in an interview to *The Scotsman* magazine that the colourful guide grabs the attention of tourists: “The images inside are really crisp and colourful, so people are attracted to take part in the walk, and go see the murals for themselves.”<sup>318</sup> Also, the City Centre Mural Trail App is available since 2017 and provides an online interactive map for the visitors to follow the trail. It is a popular application<sup>319</sup> and has the additional health benefit for the users to measure the distance walked when finishing the whole tour.<sup>320</sup>

The other aspect of differences between commissioned murals and unauthorised street art is the way of approaching or “consuming” the street art that citizens and visitors experience. Unofficial art interventions appear randomly, and people encounter them in unexpected places and under different circumstances, often during everyday activities. The connection between the art and the viewer is more personal and the art is not imposed on the audience. The concept of the art is not predefined or explained, and people are stimulated to take initiative and explore the urban space by themselves.

Mural art, finally, is also an attempt to depart from the oft-trodden paths of the art establishment. Artists make the streets their galleries. Visual art becomes a part of the day-to-day environment and tries to speak to people who normally have no affinity or access to art. Mural art bring colors and aesthetic tension into the grey monotony of our big cities.<sup>321</sup>

Created in the open space the street art logically reaches a large and mixed audience. It should be noted that part of the audience that views the street art will have a negative cogitation. Since public sees the street art in an uncommon environment (not as in dedicated spaces of art galleries or museums), they are unprepared to absorb the work and

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<sup>318</sup> *The Scotsman*, “Glasgow City Council Unveils New City Centre Mural Trail,” November 3, 2016, <https://www.scotsman.com/news-2-15012/glasgow-city-council-unveils-new-city-centre-mural-trail-1-4270797>.

<sup>319</sup> Connolly, Interview.

<sup>320</sup> “Glasgow City Centre Economic Health Check (April 2019)”, accessed September 15, 2019, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=45024&p=0>.

<sup>321</sup> Michael Nungesser, “The Art of Metropolis,” in *Mural Art: Wandmalerei*, ed. Heinz J. Kuzdas (Berlin : Schwarzkopf und Schwarzkopf 1994), 55.

can react hostile to any new interventions.<sup>322</sup> In these cases the City Centre Mural Trail acts as an intermediate form between unsanctioned street art and general public. The audience needs to be informed about the street art culture and have more knowledge about this movement in order to have a better understanding of its characteristics and appreciate the works.

The issue of struggle for space appropriation is clearly seen in the situation with the location of some murals in Glasgow. In 2011 a prominent underpass towards the Riverside Museum of Transport and Travel in Glasgow was completely painted over with a commissioned mural.<sup>323</sup> (see Figure 16) This area under the bridge was a distinguished space for the street art community, where writers mastered their skills and engaged with each other. Such tunnels and underpasses in the south-west of the city are called “the headquarters of Glasgow's graffiti scene.”<sup>324</sup> The placement of a new mural, which is dedicated to the museum and depicts different modes of transport, created a discussion among the street artists on the Internet forum. The commissioned mural was created by Smug, a famous artist who lives in Glasgow and has respect in the street art community. The comments show a negative attitude from the street art community not to the artist but to the decision of the city council to eliminate the old works. The space under the bridge, one of the “CLASSIC glasgow graffiti spots”<sup>325</sup> was appropriated by the government and previous works of the other artists were wiped out. As one of the commentator’s notices: “[S]mug is great at paintin, no doubt, but im kinda gettin pissed off with this shit now. [A] few murals is alright but that spot was full of graff and hes just taken it all out.”<sup>326</sup> The other commentator mentions the money issue for the artist who wants to live off his or her art:

No hating on smug personally, anyone could have been paid to paint murals. It isn't his choice where he paints, it's the councils. he isn't going to turn around and refuse money

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<sup>322</sup> Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (The MIT Press, 2002), 83.

<sup>323</sup> Graff Licks, “Smug - Riverside Mural,” accessed September 10, 2019, <http://grafflicks.blogspot.com/2011/07/smug-riverside-mural.html>.

<sup>324</sup> Scottishgraffiti.com, “Vandals or Artists? Those Who Graffiti Scotland's Public Spaces Risk Imprisonment and Death,” July 12, 2011, <http://scottishgraffiti.blogspot.com/2011/07/interview-with-er-from-this-sundays.html>

<sup>325</sup> Graff Licks, “Smug - Riverside Mural.”

<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

for a job. I'm sure he'd rather it wasn't graff he was going over but "A grand don't come for free".<sup>327</sup>

The discussion also raises the problem of not having any legal walls or areas in Glasgow where street artists can create their works in a public space. One of the commentators marks that "there are tons of writers in glasgow who would love to get that good but the council wont provide them with anywhere to learn."<sup>328</sup> The representative of the City Centre Mural Fund confirms that Glasgow City Council doesn't have plans to create a designated self-regulated space or legal wall for unauthorised street art. Especially not in the city centre. Also, in general he showed a sceptical attitude to this idea: "Because it one thing that we could have a self-regulating space, but it never seems to work, and we have never seen any evidence from elsewhere that it worked."<sup>329</sup> Such a radical attitude raises the question as to where young artists can get the experience to provide "evidence that they have done very large murals elsewhere"<sup>330</sup> in order to be accepted by the City Centre Mural Fund.

The way of legitimization of the street art through creating commissioned murals is a complex issue, since it promotes existence of the street art in urban space, but does not accept this movement as a self-regulating culture that needs a platform for growth and not a set of rules that limit its presence in the city. When talking about participation in the City Centre Mural Fund, a street artist Smug confirms the positive effect of the City Centre Mural Trail for the writer and the viewers. Working on the commissioned mural he is always excited to produce something "really exciting to everybody," and declares that the feedback about his works from the general public is "hugely positive."<sup>331</sup> However, the local building owners and shopkeepers who commission murals usually agree to provide the surface for the project following their mercantile objectives. They

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<sup>327</sup> Graff Licks, "Smug - Riverside Mural," accessed September 10, 2019, <http://grafflicks.blogspot.com/2011/07/smug-riverside-mural.html>.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid.

<sup>329</sup> Connolly, Interview.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331</sup> The Scotsman, "Glasgow City Council Unveils New City Centre Mural Trail," November 3, 2016, <https://www.scotsman.com/news-2-15012/glasgow-city-council-unveils-new-city-centre-mural-trail-1-4270797>.

believe that placing a mural reduces the likelihood of vandalism against their property<sup>332</sup> which limits the spread of other forms of street art.

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<sup>332</sup> Huntington, “Sustainable Graffiti Management Solutions for Public Areas,” 57.

## 5. Conclusion and Possible Solutions

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the issue of distribution of powers in urban public spaces and how the position of street art in Glasgow has been shaped due to changing circumstances. The concepts presented by Lefebvre, de Certeau and Mitchell provided an understanding of how the role of the city, the history of its development, the variety of economic, social, political, and geographical factors influence the production and development of urban spaces. They examine the complexity of the social-cultural relationships in the city and the constant struggle for different groups to be presented and acknowledged in society. The analysed concepts highlight the functioning of co-existing powers in the city, a challenge between them to influence everyday life development of the urban image. A question of re-appropriating the space is raised: a desire of such groups as street writers to have a platform for free expression of their artistic needs, and for the viewers and citizens to be exposed to the uncontrolled creativity, which is provided on restricted conditions in modern urban spaces.<sup>333</sup>

As it was shown in this thesis street art has a long history and rich culture. Over the years its popularity has increased significantly, and it has become part of mainstream movements.<sup>334</sup> The status of global phenomenon earns the right for street art culture to be included in a dialogue with dominant power, like government and business, for more loyal conditions on access to the public sphere. The main struggle for the street art is connected to the undefined position of this movement on a legal basis and its unacceptance by the government in illegal forms.<sup>335</sup> The case of the City Centre Mural Trail shows how the leading powers try to take control over public artistic movement and establish their limits on its activity in the city. The attitude towards unauthorised artistic interventions is still strict in the city and on a legal basis Scotland pursues a zero-tolerance policy when dealing with them.<sup>336</sup> Existing policy on managing illegal street art in Glasgow is a good example how controlling power restricts the interest of other

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<sup>333</sup> De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 1984., Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 1991., Lefebvre, *Writings On Cities*, 1996., Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 2003., Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?" 1995.

<sup>334</sup> McCormick, *Magic City*, 21.

<sup>335</sup> Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004, accessed July 27, 2019, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2004/8/contents>.

<sup>336</sup> "Criminal Law (Consolidation) (Scotland) Act 1995," accessed September 10, 2019, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1995/39/contents>.

groups. There is no balance in the developed strategy as it doesn't reflect the needs of the community or provide equal alternative options to fulfil them.<sup>337</sup> Not only street artists but also citizens and property owners deserve the right to influence the decision-making process on public art. One of the solutions can be an establishment of public voting system when a common decision will be made about the future of the created street art regardless of its legality. Residents of the building, property owner, businesses or others willing to participate would get a voice to change the image of the urban space they live and operate in.<sup>338</sup> The government has to recognise the wishes of the society to retain the existing works of street art on the buildings. As it was examined in the theoretical part of this thesis, a close connection between different groups of citizens and governing powers is important for social and cultural progress and development of the city. Only in public space the right to the city can be claimed and implemented, and its openness is crucial for the democratic construction of the society. Since street art culture is a multifaceted movement and expressed in various forms, it would be fair to recognise its artistic value and not be so radical regarding measures to regulate street art. Promotion and support of street art should not be expressed only in the colouring of grey facades and "revitalising buildings and vacant sites that look a bit tired."<sup>339</sup> or imitation of city improvement activities. It is not important for each street artist to get approval and recognition of the state or society to create his or her work. Some writers work for pleasure and see this activity as personal form of artistic expression.<sup>340</sup> They are more comfortable with public tolerance to this type of activity and understanding of the artistic value of their work. It will be more important for them to get a recognition that they have equal rights to be visible in the city and have their rights on appropriation of urban space. Street artists present a group of interests that should have a voice in the planning and development of public places. Therefore, they are entitled to make a decision as to where they place their alternative form of expression.

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<sup>337</sup> Young, "Negotiated Consent or Zero Tolerance?," 101.

<sup>338</sup> Caroline Davies, "Bristol Public Given Right to Decide Whether Graffiti is Art or Eyesore," *The Guardian*, August 31, 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2009/aug/31/graffiti-art-bristol-public-vote>.

<sup>339</sup> "The Special Edition of The City Centre Mural Trail," accessed September 25, 2019, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=38294&p=0>.

<sup>340</sup> Halsey, and Young, "'Our Desires Are Ungovernable'," 282.

The controversy surrounding the piece called *Slave Labour* that was done by Banksy, is an example of applying different approaches to the issues of street art, if the government sees financial or cultural benefits in the work. *Slave Labour* was produced on the side of a budget store in London and was removed in 2013 by the authorities and sold through an auction house.<sup>341</sup> At first the work was offered for sale at Fine Art Auction in Miami. Although the auction house proclaimed that the work had been acquired legally, the citizens of London made a stand against the sale.<sup>342</sup> The politicians supported the right of the residents to reclaim the work that was created for the public and because the whole concept of the sale contradicted the wishes of the artist. Due to communal and media reaction the work was removed from the auction. However, when the work was returned to the United Kingdom it was displayed in a private exhibition and sold later at an auction for a double price.<sup>343</sup> A new sale caused disturbance to the public again, but it was claimed as a legal purchase.

The current state of street art culture in Glasgow is examined in this thesis to prove that this movement is evolving and attracting the attention of private companies, citizens and tourists. However, the government supports and initiates only certain projects that institutionalise the street art movement.<sup>344</sup> The representative of the City Council expresses doubts that there will be any changes in the attitude influencing how the Council handles the issues of unsanctioned street art in the near future.<sup>345</sup> Although street art as graffiti is illegal under the UK legislation, there are some examples of more loyal stances on these practices from local authorities in other cities across the country: The Council of London Borough of Hackney is dedicated to reducing and eliminating unfavourable street art but recognises that some citizens have different opinion on this issue and that “street art makes a positive contribution to the urban environment.”<sup>346</sup> They provide an option for the owner to keep the artwork on the property, even if it faces the public area. It is explained on the official website what rules they follow when deciding

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<sup>341</sup> Stephen Bates, “The ‘Slave Labour’ Banksy Sale Should be Enough to Provoke Another Banksy,” *The Guardian*, May 13, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/may/13/stephen-bates-diary-banksy>.

<sup>342</sup> Richard Luscombe, “Sale of ‘stolen’ Banksy mural cancelled at 11th hour,” *The Guardian*, February 23, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2013/feb/23/banksy-missing-mural-auction-stopped>.

<sup>343</sup> Bates, “The ‘Slave Labour’ Banksy Sale Should be Enough to Provoke Another Banksy.”

<sup>344</sup> Connolly, Interview.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>346</sup> “Report Graffiti,” accessed September 25, 2019, <https://hackney.gov.uk/graffiti>.

whether to allow the writing or to eliminate it. The policy still imposes enough restrictions and some statements can be interpreted in different ways. The council reserves the right to decide what kind of street art is “inappropriate for the location or out of keeping with the surrounding area” and remove it from the surface.<sup>347</sup> However, this is already an indicator of a new attitude to the street art from the authorities. They start to value different forms of the street art movement and differentiate them. The Lambeth Council follows an approach of providing a designated place for street artists. An “Authorised Graffiti Area” is placed in the tunnel on Leake Street in London (which is now incorporated by Leake Street Arches company) where street artists are welcome to create their writings in every form or style.<sup>348</sup> On the one hand, such an initiative shows that the council understands the need of the community to have a space for its artistic expressions. It is a popular among tourists’ area where everyone can show his or her talent and practise their writing skills. This area contributes to the development of the city, attracts new visitors, acts like a platform for communication. It is a self-regulated space where the works might be painted over and new art constantly appears. On the other hand, this area is strictly limited and has a certain list of the rules. (see Figure 17) The council imposes conditions of control and while allowing prohibited forms of behaviour like graffiti, on the area they ban typically legal activities, like advertisements. This situation demonstrates a similar attitude of the dominant power to the unregulated activities that have the same dynamic. Only in this case the adverts are “damaging” authorised street art initiatives.

An alternative solution for negotiated consent between street artists and the government is the construction of a “partnerships model” in the city.<sup>349</sup> This approach is based on the establishment of an agency that will negotiate special conditions for the street artists. The aim of the agency would be to reach a consensus on various requests from various interest groups, agree on the creation of special areas where the attitude towards unsanctioned artistic interventions will be more positive.<sup>350</sup> Artists will get a platform where it is possible to create and master their writing skills without fear of being arrested. Since visibility and location of the work are important features for street artists,

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<sup>347</sup> “Report Graffiti,” accessed September 25, 2019, <https://hackney.gov.uk/graffiti>.

<sup>348</sup> “Leake Street Arches”, accessed September 25, 2019, <http://leakestreetarches.london/>.

<sup>349</sup> Young, “Negotiated Consent or Zero Tolerance?,” 102.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.* 102.

these areas should not be limited to the outskirts.<sup>351</sup> Central districts have more opportunities to reach a wide audience and have an influence on its perception of street art culture. The advantage of this approach is that different social classes will be exposed to the diverse artistic expressions during their everyday activities. The street art will become something familiar, integrated into the everyday urban landscape, rather than a criminal and dangerous anti-social practice.

Several educational tools might be implemented at schools or as a part of city events. Explaining street art culture to the general public could help change its perception, making it less of a social problem or antisocial behaviour.<sup>352</sup> In a detailed study on street art culture, based on the interviews with writers, the author Nancy MacDonald wrote that at first she had a negative perception of this movement and the people involved in it:

I saw graffiti as a random destructive act; enjoyable, yes, but not one with any far-reaching implications. My perceptions of the people who wrote it were just as skewed. Simple-minded tearaways and menacing ones at that.<sup>353</sup>

Her views and attitudes have changed completely after exploring the culture and getting to know the members. She declares that “[s]ometimes we have to work a little harder if we want to hear the story they have to tell.”<sup>354</sup>

Development of the Internet and digital resources contributes not only to the popularisation of the street art movement but also transforms the attitude to the culture and the writings.<sup>355</sup> There are a variety of online platforms that present an autonomous space for promotion and sharing of street art works without approval from the authorities or official art institutions.<sup>356</sup> This option can be interpreted as one of the spatial tactics according to the ideas of de Certeau, as an oppositional measure to controlling strategies. The artists have an option to communicate with other members of the culture all over the

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<sup>351</sup> Klein, “Creativity and Territory,” 8.

<sup>352</sup> Huntington, “Sustainable Graffiti Management Solutions for Public Areas,” 65.

<sup>353</sup> MacDonald, *The Graffiti Sub-culture*, 232.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.* 232.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.* 231.

<sup>356</sup> “Graff Licks,” accessed September 10, 2019, <http://grafflicks.blogspot.com>., “Scottishgraffiti.com”, accessed September 10, 2019, <http://scottishgraffiti.blogspot.com>.

world, learn from the best practices or receive a commercial profit by selling the prints and photos directly.

Some examples from public art interventions give hope that the constant struggle for a change in urban space gets results and is finally recognised by the authorities. If speaking about Glasgow, the confirmation of possible changes can be a situation with a traffic cone that is now constantly standing on the head of Duke of Wellington's monument. (see Figure 18) An orange traffic cone started to appear on top of the statue in the early 1980s as an unsanctioned intervention from the public.<sup>357</sup> Glasgow City Council tried to remove the cone for 30 years, but a new one was always placed again after a few days. In 2013, the council announced a plan to double the height of the statue platform in order to prevent possible placement of the traffic cone again.<sup>358</sup> This decision caused a reaction from the citizens, who organised an online petition to preserve the cone. A support page on Facebook was created and more than 100,000 fans from around the world signed a petition to keep the cone. Glasgow City Council withdrew its intention to remove the cone, although never confirmed the permanent placement of the cone.<sup>359</sup> It's interesting to note, that the authorities used a monument with a cone as a symbol for promoting tourism and culture in the city. A replica of the statue was presented at the official opening ceremony of the XX Commonwealth Games in Glasgow in 2014.<sup>360</sup> This example shows how public opinion and the voices of citizens can change governments perspective about an action that was considered vandalism and transform it to a symbol of the city and local culture.

Urban art expressions are intertwined with the process of constantly transforming society that, according to Mitchell and Lefebvre, should never be solid and static in urban space.<sup>361</sup> Dominant power acting through government is always reluctant and cautious about any changes to established rules. Even though, for citizens and artistic groups the potential of finding new forms of expression in an urban environment is a more

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<sup>357</sup> BBC News, "Plan Dropped to End Cone Tradition on Glasgow's Wellington Statue," November 12, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-24907190>.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid.

<sup>359</sup> Gillian McDonald, "Why Glasgow's Duke of Wellington Statue Was Allowed to Keep His Cone," March 16, 2017 <https://inews.co.uk/inews-lifestyle/travel/glasgows-duke-wellington-statue-allowed-keep-cone-527890>.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid.

<sup>361</sup> Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?," 115.

progressive and balanced way of development than the situation of stable structural boundaries. As allocation of advertisements and commissioned works is approved and taken for granted<sup>362</sup>, public street art interventions have a right to become a norm for the urban environment. In some cases, it is not much that advertising is favoured by the citizens, but more that society has become accustomed to its presence.<sup>363</sup> Unauthorised street art interventions “are neither problematic nor dangerous but are taken as such because they interrupt the familiar, the known, the already named—in short, the categorical.”<sup>364</sup>

This thesis serves to educate and broaden the understanding of not only what street art is but also what a future could look like where the concept of street art receives more diversification and liberalisation at the legislative level. The question of possible liberal changes in Glasgow City Council policies remains open, as it requires an involvement of higher authorities and reviewing of the national legislation on street art and graffiti. This thesis is aimed to stimulate further analysis of the street art movement in Scotland from new perspectives as there is not enough academic researches on this matter. While the question of the right to appropriate urban spaces is still under discussion, spreading awareness about street art culture is required among different groups of citizens to creating a new cultural understanding of this movement.

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<sup>362</sup> Cronin, “Urban Space and Entrepreneurial Property Relations”, 65.

<sup>363</sup> Smith, *The Guerrilla Art Kit*, 22.

<sup>364</sup> Halsey, and Young, “‘Our Desires Are Ungovernable’”, 295.

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## 7. Appendices

### 7.1. Interviews

**Interview 1.** Transcript of Recorded Interview with Seamus Connolly, Principal Officer at City Centre Regeneration, Glasgow City Council.

Taken at Glasgow City Council in 229 / 231 George Street, Glasgow G1 1RX

Interviewer: Natalia Grigoreva

March 27, 2019

**Natalia:** How is the selection process organised and what do you pay attention to when receiving the application?

**Seamus:** There is a number of criteria that the applicant has to meet. Number of things could be... first of all the artist's ability to actually carry the work. So, we need to know that they have got talent and skill to carry the work that's been proposed. So we will be looking for what they have done elsewhere and the skill of that work and also if they can meet the technical criteria: technical installation, risk assessment, health and safety- all the practical things that you need to take into consideration when you are doing work on the street, their main impact on people. Do they have permission from the building owner or land owner to install on their property. So that's mostly what we look for. If we have been approached by a street artists that we haven't worked with before and they want a large, very large mural, then we will probably be looking for evidence that they have done very large murals elsewhere because the skill of that piece of work could be quite daunting to people who haven't done that before.

**Natalia:** Is it important if it was a legal work or if it was a graffiti?

**Seamus:** Probably may be legal. A lot of our street artists have come from that graffiti background. They have come from learning how to graffiti areas and developing that skill on old warehouses or walls, in the periphery of maybe city centres, or areas where they lived. But then have turned that talent into more or less a business and they show their worth through the installation of these art pieces. We have always looked for where they have abided by the rules with installations: they have had permissions, have followed the correct procedures. Because if they have done it elsewhere, they will follow the same procedures with us.

**Natalia:** Is it important if it is a local artist?

**Seamus:** No, we have worked with artists from Australia and beyond other areas, also from Glasgow. But it's not important if they are local, what it is important for us is that they have the talent and ability to deliver stunning pieces of art.

**Natalia:** Do they need to provide maintenance and CV?

**Seamus:** It's not about maintenance, we take care of the maintenance. And to be honest we've never had any maintenance issues with any of the murals, to be fair. It's about talent and how they've developed some projects in the past.

**Natalia:** And do the artists need to provide the permission beforehand?

**Seamus:** Yes.

**Natalia:** Should it be in the city centre or somewhere else?

**Seamus:** We only cover the city centre. Our boundaries are from Charing Cross to the river and High Street in East.

**Natalia:** Is there a specific reason why is it so?

**Seamus:** It is just to be where City Council works, we have the city centre team. We manage and promote initiatives within the city centre.

**Natalia:** Are there other teams?

**Seamus:** There are no other teams but there are some other works commissioned elsewhere. Glasgow Housing Association has done lots of murals in the city, community groups also commission murals but there is no specific team that deals with murals outside of city centre.

**Natalia:** Is the artist(applicant)'s background important if the artist did illegal graffiti before? Can you decline the application because of that?

**Seamus:** Not all. It is the ability to do the work and adhere to the conditions will be the part of the grant.

**Natalia:** And do they need to provide the first drawing?

**Seamus:** Yes.

How is the approval procedure of the final drawing organized?

**Seamus:** A final design will be a photoshop that on to the wall where it will be installed on. And we will be agreed on what we will pay for.

**Natalia:** If they provide a drawing and you don't like it or want to change something-how is it done?

**Seamus:** It stays with us. The final decision for us whether we give them funding or not. It's not about whether the project goes ahead. Cause they still can go ahead with it if they have the owner's permission. They can seek funding elsewhere. What we're trying to do through the Mural Trial is a lot of photorealism, trying to keep that kind of genre through every mural we do in city centre. We are not looking for anything too serious, we like quirky stuff, we don't fund any sort of political or religious background murals. It's just really photorealistic pictures maybe, it will lean slightly towards the history of the area.

**Natalia:** Do you have the concept and the drawing should fit into this concept?

**Seamus:** Yeah

**Natalia:** And what is the concept?

**Seamus:** The concept is to promote the city and to promote the artist. Cause what we know now is a lot of these artists obviously, will get work across the world and they are putting on exhibitions as well for their talent. One is to promote the city draw people to the city centre we know it's a draw for tourists and locals. Two, to promote artists and their talent and three, to ensure that areas that were previously being graffitied can be turned into nice works of art and four to really ensure that areas can be vibrant with these installations.

**Natalia:** How does Glasgow city benefit from this project, are there so far any measurable changes that the project improved the image of Glasgow?

**Seamus:** We know that the Mural trail is popular on TripAdvisor which is good for the city image. We know that Mural Trail is used by some companies working on promoting the city centre to draw people into the city: it could be for city breaks- people coming to the city for a day, a lot of transport organisations use it. We know that some of the large cruise ships and docks use Mural Trail as well. And we know that there are about 4 or 5 tour operators who actually take round the Mural Trails: some do it as a walking tour, some do it as a cycling tour, some do it as a bilingual tour and they are charging people to take them around to the murals.

**Natalia:** But they do it like individuals?

**Seamus:** Yeah, so businesses have actually sprung up on the back of installation of murals. We also have a mural app that's has been running for about year. Last year 19000 people clicked on the app. We know that it is really popular.

**Natalia:** Have you done any surveys?

**Seamus:** No, we haven't done any surveys.

**Natalia:** When did you start the project, the team was assigned?

**Seamus:** It probably started in about 2013 just before the Commonwealth Games came to the city. When 4 or 5 large sport murals were done in the city, some outside the city centre. Starting from then as they were seen as very popular, we started to look into how we can develop that sort of concept further. We have done a mural fund, we offered money for installations and from that because it became popular we developed a City Centre Mural Trail.

**Natalia:** Are there any other projects initiated by GCC related to the graffiti community.

**Seamus:** Not really. We are involved in over 50 art projects but none of them really specific as the murals street we are developing a contemporary art trail for the city centre. This project is about a year away.

**Natalia:** Do you know are there any other projects to create a designated self-regulated space for graffiti artists?

**Seamus:** Not within the city centre. Because it one thing that we could have a self-regulating space, but it never seems to work, and we have never seen any evidence from elsewhere that it worked. There are other areas in the city like SWG3 that does a lot of work with artist and may provide a free space. But within the city centre, we don't have any plans to use any sort of graffiti wall or activity. We might develop small areas where people could come and show their talent but not graffiti. It would be a small wall where they can show that they are able to install art on a wall -not a wall where someone could graffiti or tag on a regular basis.

**Natalia:** So, it will be like a festival?

**Seamus:** Not a festival. We'll form a mural fund, It will be again a wall that could have a changeable scene once a year. We would agree to pay for an art installation and that would be in for a year. And then a new artist can come along and say that he/she would like to do something. And they will be there for a year. But not an interchangeable wall where people could come with tons of spray paint and paint all over the wall or tag.

**Natalia:** Why is graffiti considered as vandalism and not as free public art?

**Seamus:** Yes. It is illegal on the legal basis. If somebody has a talent, they can come to us and we can help them to use their talent within the mural trail. We don't advocate for as graffiti.

**Natalia:** Will you remove the graffiti from public property regardless their aesthetic value?

**Seamus:** Yes, we have to remove them. And it costs council tax payers money to remove them. There are certain areas where we have installed murals to prevent more vandalism. And it stopped the vandalism there because people tend not to graffiti over pieces of art. And it reduces the cost for the council to remove the graffiti.

**Natalia:** And will you also remove aesthetically great piece of graffiti that was done illegally?

**Seamus:** To be honest, I haven't seen any. All what we have seen anti-social graffiti, political stuff, religious stuff, gang tags. I haven't seen anywhere somebody's come in and one a really great piece of art. I used to run, years ago an anti-graffiti team who'd remove the graffiti. I know the impact that anti-social graffiti has on people's everyday life. I am not an advocate for allowing people to think it's okay to vandalise somebody's property. It does have an impact on how people perceive the area, how safe it is. If the graffiti not managed it will bring other elements of anti-social behaviour. And I don't think there will be any changes in Council policy for how we deal with the graffiti now. If someone has a talent, they are more than welcomed to come forward to us and show that they are willing to turn that talent into a real skill that people want to see. There is an element of real skill and talent involved in it.

**Natalia:** Where to find a space to master the skills? Are there any possibilities?

**Seamus:** Not from our point of view within the city centre. I haven't seen other business owner building owner who is willing to give up their space for this type of graffiti.

**Natalia:** How do you perceive the transition from graffiti to street art murals for the artists themselves?

**Seamus:** We can only go by some of the artists who have done work for us in the past. They turned into a business now. They are popular, they have got followers on social media. They turned their skill and talent into something useful and worthwhile. No doubt they get benefited out of it as well, seeing as how many loved some of the work they do.

**Natalia:** Do you have any projects in the future to promote or change graffiti into street art?

**Seamus:** In the future we might have something like a mural festival or something but that would be a few years down the lane. Aberdeen said they'd do something similar. We just now are concentrating on people coming forward with ideas, developing them further and hopefully funding them and getting them on the wall.

**Natalia:** Do you receive many applications? How do you make the decision – once a year?

**Seamus:** No, it is done on a case by case basis. If an application comes in we deal with it. There is no cut off point that it is done once in 6 month or once a year. A lot of these murals take a long time to get up and running because of the permission from the landowner and availability of the artist because they are very busy. So, we just have our own programme and we just take it now on a case by case basis. The murals are temporary, they may come and go. Some of them are gone because of development. For example, Puppet mural was removed already. It was a temporary mural. And we knew beforehand it is temporarily and artists knew it will go at some point. We usually lose about 2-3 a year. So, we are planning to install about 3 a year.

**Natalia:** Why it happens?

**Seamus:** A lot of spaces lander sell when they know it is only temporary. Sometimes these are the walls that are only available. Cause it is not easy to get a large-scale wall that is going to make impact on the city centre to be sure that it is available.

**Natalia:** OK. Interesting!

**Seamus:** Yeah, as I said we'd love to see graffiti artists to come and show their talent and make an impact in the city centre, positive impact on everyone who engages with the mural. We see it as a really important aspect of the project.

**Natalia:** Is there an option for a graffiti artist to become a street artist?

From local authority point of view, we can't advocate for graffiti.

**Natalia:** But the artists who made murals have a graffiti background?

**Seamus:** Yep. But if they are earning money with their art they are not graffitiing. They have stopped graffitiing. They could be seen as good role models for young people coming through who have artistic talent.

**Natalia:** Do you know about other companies that provide space?

**Seamus:** I don't, to be honest. I don't know of any organisation in Scotland that provides a space for people just to go and tag or graffiti. Certainly not us.

**Interview 2.** Transcript of Recorded Interview with Frank Carty, a signwriter and mural artist in Scotland, [www.artisanartworks.com](http://www.artisanartworks.com).

Taken by phone call on May 21, 2019

Interviewer: Natalia Grigoreva

**Natalia:** Thank you so much for your answer that is very nice of you. According to the website you produce commercial art works and murals, but I have read that you travelled before and worked as a street artist. When did that shift to settle as mural artist happen and why?

**Frank:** To be honest it was always quite clear in my ambitions to paint murals from when I was very young. I actually painted my first mural when I was about 8 years old, my Dad was a traditional sign painter. I started working with him when I was pretty young, so I am used to working on a large scale from when I was very young. When I started and it was always murals I was interested in to be honest.

**Natalia:** What are benefits of being a mural artist (comparing to the street artist)?

**Frank:** The benefits of working on large pieces is that you get to transform an environment very quickly and comfortably. Physically I enjoy working with murals, I like the physical thing of the movement, long strokes and stuff it feels good, it's almost like dancing. I like the physicality of it and keeps you fit and moving.

**Natalia:** What is the difference between a street artist and a mural artist for you?

**Frank:** I think there is a sameness. When I was in street art, I was actually like going underground on the street. That's what we used to call a street artist, I wasn't like a street artist...I was busking around traveling and that is what I did for money when I was 16 or 17 till 18 or so. I did that in Ireland and Spain...The term street artist has changed obviously, now it means something different, but that's what you used to call a street artist in the UK somebody that worked literally in the street or near the pavement. That's what I did when I was younger.

**Natalia:** Do you perceive street graffiti as a crime (antisocial behaviour)?

**Frank:** Well of course it can be but generally I've always been an advocate of graffiti. What I've always said to people is that most of the time you only see what a graffiti artist has done on the run in 30 seconds, which of course isn't going to be great. But some of the most dedicated artists to be honest most of the people I know. It can be antisocial and

destructive, but I think most people don't get to see what these guys can do. If they just had more time. [...]

**Natalia:** Is street graffiti a social problem to be solved?

**Frank:** I think it's like the thing spray paint is just another medium. I'm a legitimate artist, I've had my business for a long time and sometimes when people see you are working with spray cans you get all the stares or the police will come and you get comments from people on the street. That's just the medium im using, obviously there are a lot of connotations with graffiti. For me it's just another medium and it's a very effective medium that can be used.

[...]

**Natalia:** Have you participated in Mural Fund programme?

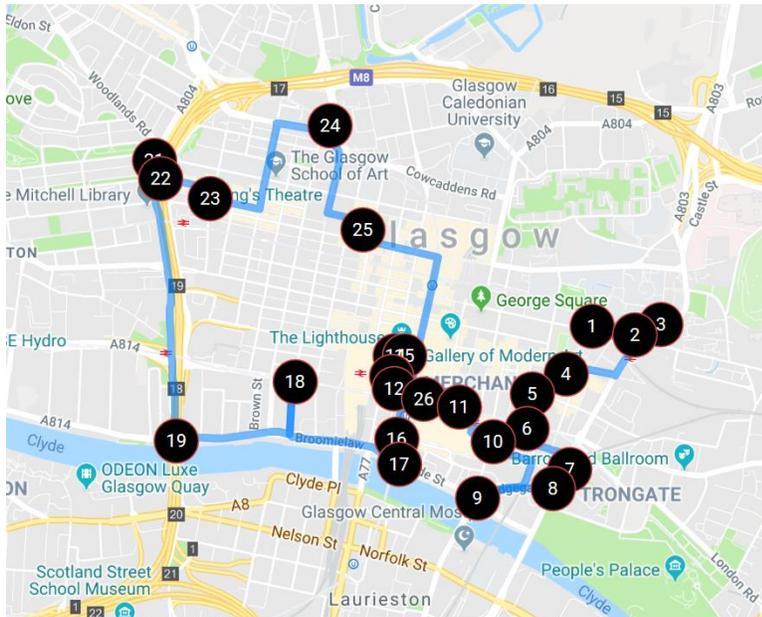
**Frank:** Yeah, I've heard of it and I've spoken to a few chaps but as far as I can see they just wanted photo realism, more of the same of what they've got. They don't give guys very much money... You could lose money while doing it. When I was talking to them, I just found that they just want more photo realistic murals. Some of the guys that did it, have done amazing things around the world. I'm just not for doing things to raise my profile, I probably should to be honest. But we've always came at it from essentially how can it pay the bills kind of thing.

**Natalia:** And what is your attitude to the Mural Fund?

**Frank:** I think it's a positive thing, anything thats about colour placing- I'd always take a mural over a plain wall and it's been good for upping the profile of the city of Glasgow. [...] most of the stuff that has been commissioned are very photorealistic and the mural fund hasn't funded any actual old school graffiti.

## 7.2. List of Figures

Figure 1. The City Centre Mural Trail in Glasgow.



Source: “Mural Trail Map,” <https://www.citycentremuraltrail.co.uk/murals/MuralMap>, accessed July 20, 2019.

Figure 2. Example of tagging.



Source: Personal photo taken by the author on February 8, 2019, Glasgow.

Figure 3. Example of throw-ups.



Source: Personal photo taken by the author on April 10, 2019, Bristol.

Figure 4. Example of pieces.



Source: Personal photo taken by the author on April 10, 2019, Bristol.

Figure 5. Example of a stuckistry.



Source: Personal photo taken by the author on March 10, 2019, Glasgow.

Figure 6. Example of a plaque.



Source: Personal photo taken by the author on April 10, 2019, Bristol.

Figure 7. Example of stickers or posters



Source: Personal photo taken by the author on April 12, 2019, Bristol.

Figure 8. Free DAZE Campaign. Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, 25 April – 21 May 2008.



Source: New Social Art School, <http://www.newsocialartschool.org/freeDaze.html>, accessed July 20, 2019.

Figure 9. The mural Boy on a Dog.



Source: The Scotsman, <https://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle-2-15039/artist-john-byrne-to-launch-nuart-street-art-festival-in-aberdeen-1-4895641>, accessed August 20, 2019.

Figure 10. Two murals in Ancroft Street.



Source: About Tim Armstrong, <http://www.timarmstrongstainedglass.co.uk/page82.html>, accessed September 20, 2019.

Figure 11. The mosaic mural project initiated by John Kraska.



Source: Personal photo taken by the author on January 20, 2019, Glasgow.

Figure 12. The mural The World's Most Economical Taxi.



Source: The City Centre Mural Trail, <https://www.citycentremuraltrail.co.uk/murals/muralabout/41>, accessed September 20, 2019.

Figure 13. The mural Fellow Glasgow Residents.



Source: The City Centre Mural Trail, <https://www.citycentremuraltrail.co.uk/murals/muralabout/28>, accessed September 20, 2019.

Figure 14. Billy Connolly.



Source: The City Centre Mural Trail, <https://www.citycentremuraltrail.co.uk/murals/muralabout/44>, accessed July 20, 2019.

Figure 15. Badminton.



Source: The City Centre Mural Trail, <https://www.citycentremuraltrail.co.uk/murals/muralabout/30>, accessed September 20, 2019.

Figure 16. The mural at Riverside



Source: Graff Licks, 2011, <http://graflicks.blogspot.com/2011/07/smug-riverside-mural.html>. accessed July 20, 2019.

Figure 17. Authorised Graffiti Area



Source: The Tunnel, Waterloo, 2009, <https://londonfornothing.wordpress.com/>, accessed July 20, 2019.

Figure 18. Equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington



Source: Personal photo taken by the author on February 25, 2019, Glasgow.