DESIGN INVASION FROM THE STREETS: A STUDY OF STREET ART'S APPLICATION IN DESIGN

Thesis

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By

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ABSTRACT

Street Art is an illicit sub-cultural activity that has permeated into various design applications in recent years. These ranges from design motifs on products to themes on television commercials. In 2008, Barack Obama commissioned Street Artist Shepard Fairey to design the posters for his presidency campaign. Barack Obama was elected as the president of United States in 2009 and Fairey's *HOPE* poster has since been acquired by the U.S National Portrait Gallery; it was also officially made a permanent collection. This thesis intent to use the framework of the Blue Ocean Strategy to identify characteristics that have facilitated Street Art's translation into mainstream design applications. Understanding these characteristics can provide designers with foresight to similar emerging cultural phenomena. In addition, this thesis attempts to contribute to the existing body of work on Street Art.

Keywords: Graffiti Writing, Street Art, subculture, design, Blue Ocean Strategy.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Origins and motivations

This research was initiated by my interest in innovations in brand designs. As I began my research into the subject of innovation and brand design, I became aware that the term innovation is highly subjective. In essence, innovation means different things to different people; under different situations. For example, if modern inventions like the cell-phone or computers were to suddenly appear in old England, the people there would most likely not know how to use them (Berkun 2007). Without usage, these pieces of equipment would not be recognized as innovations. Psychological and social factors thus play critical roles in the recognition of an innovation (Berkun 2007). These factors include compatibility with social habits, beliefs, values and lifestyle. Other factors like the level of complexity and their trial-ability are also important (Berkun 2007).

Current literature on innovations by Craig Vogel, Tom Kelley and Scott Berkun has suggested processes that yield innovation. In the book, *Breakthrough Designs*, Vogel suggested that products became more innovative when they resolved gaps found within the S.E.T factors; S.E.T represented social, economical and technological factors (Cagan 2002).

When a service or product provides a solution to the gaps within these factors, they fulfilled the criteria of being innovative (Cagan 2002). One of the examples provided in Vogel's book is Starbuck Coffee (Cagan 2002). Vogel attributed the success of Starbucks Coffee to innovation (Cagan 2002). He praised CEO Howards Schultz for his ability to identify and resolve opportunity gaps within the S.E.T factors (Cagan 2002). Firstly, Starbucks resolved social opportunity gaps by providing escape opportunities for people during their working hours (Cagan 2002). Its venue also served as a central location for intellectual forums. Secondly, Starbucks fufills the technological factor by using the best machines for quality roasting and brewing processes (Cagan 2002). Aside from the quality of roast, these coffee machines also produced a unique noise that further intensified and promoted customer experiences in their store. Last but not least, Starbucks successfully identified the economic gap in consumers (Cagan 2002). Realizing that there were sufficient people with expendable income, Starbucks created an environment for those who could afford expensive coffee during work break (Cagan 2002). Vogel credited the success of Starbucks to the appropriate usage of style and technology (Cagan 2002). He also pointed out that successful innovations are consumer-centric and deliver experiences that people find both rewarding and valuable (Cagan 2002). Similar to Vogel's approach to innovation, Kelley also considered social and technological factors as important criteria for innovation (Kelley 2001). Unlike Vogel's method however, Kelley's emphasized cross-pollination and collective effort (Kelley 2001). An example Kelley provided of cross-pollination was of how his company IDEO repurposed the usage of Sorbothan from a material originally used for track shoes to shock absorbers in harddrives (Kelley 2001).

Apart from the process involved with innovations, others like Scott Berkun reviewed myths involved with innovation. In his book, The Myth of Innovation, Berkun questioned the sources of innovation and explored various myths associated with it (Berkun 2007). He introduced epiphanies and reviewed their relationship towards innovation (Berkun 2007). According to him, most of us are fond of epiphanies and regard this as the most significant component of innovation (Berkun 2007). He reasoned this by the fact that humans have associated everything creative with the divine(Berkun 2007). In line with that, the word epiphany originated from religion and was first used to indicate insights from the divine (Berkun 2007). The tale of Newton's discovery of gravity from a falling apple is a good example of how we are fond of crediting innovation to epiphany (Berkun 2007). Far from the truth, Newton had actually spent 20 years working on explaining gravity (Berkun 2007). He did not discover gravity; instead he resolved gravity with math. Despite our fondness for epiphany, Berkun noted that epiphany actually plays a tiny role in the overall innovation process (Berkun 2007). Instead, hard work is the most vital aspect of the innovation process.

Other than epiphany, Berkun also discussed about the history of innovation in his book(Berkun 2007). By evaluating occurrences in history, he questioned our perception of Roman as great builders that remains despite the fact that a majority of their buildings collapsed and killed thousands(Berkun 2007). In summary, history appears to tell only of success and not of the failure of innovation(Berkun 2007). Lastly, Berkun noted that there are infinite processes to innovation and elaborated on two common scenarios(Berkun 2007). The first occurs when hard work is

executed in a specific direction. An example of this would be Xerox's first copying machine. Xerox exhausted a decade of effort before success(Berkun 2007). The second scenario is one where hard work initiated from a certain direction is later redirected towards another purpose. A good example of this would be 3M's Post-it Notes(Berkun 2007). The inventor, Art Fry had at first, unintentionally created a form of weak glue at 3M. Unable to use what he created, Fry held on to his invention until he finally arrived at a usage(Berkun 2007). Similar stories of such innovation include Teflon, tea bags and the microwave(Berkun 2007).

1.2 Recognizing Street Art as innovation

Besides revealing methods to innovation, current literature on innovation indicates that the recognition of an innovation has much to do with specific culture, people and even times(Berkun 2007). As I began my research on innovations in branding, I stumbled over the phenomenon of Street Art's growing acceptance in the mainstream. Similar to Tom Kelley's concept of 'cross-pollination', Street Art, an illicit sub-cultural art form is now being re-purposed in various commercials and products(Kelley 2001). This subculture activity that was once heavily stigmatized as vandalism is now recognized as "Art" in numerous galleries and museums(Kelley 2001). In recent years, big brands like Nike have also endorsed Street Artists like Futura in their products and advertisements (Casey and Orwall 2007). The translation of such an illicit sub-cultural art form to mainstream design indicates the emergence of a trend that we can identify as innovation. This phenomenon also prompted me to carry out research on how Street Art, an

illicit art form translated itself into mainstream design applications.

Street Art is a form of sub-cultural activity that is defined as art developed in public spaces. This form of art has also been seen as a post Graffiti Writing movement and is often characterized by its illicit nature (c100 2003). Grafitti Writing in this thesis refers to the subculture activity that involved the "vandalism" of New York Transit lines during the late 1960s(Macdonald 2001). Street Art is not limited to Graffiti Writing and it extends itself into other mediums: stencil, street installation, stickers, video projections etc(c100 2003). In recent years, Street Art, an illicit art form of a particular subculture surfaced itself in the domain of 'High-Arts' (Miranda 2008). This is evidenced by its success at various art auctions and galleries. In 2007, Street Art Banksy sold a spray-paint on canvas work for £102,000 at the Sotheby's art auction(Frenkel 2007). Aside from galleries, Street Art has also been featured in numerous design applications; these range from television commercials to product endorsements (Figure 1.2). In recent years, companies and organizations have also commissioned work from Street Artists. For instance, the recent presidency campaign posters of Barack Obama involved the work of famed Street Artist, Shepard Fairey (Lewis 2008). After winning the presidency election, President Obama even wrote a letter to Shepard acknowledging his talent and praising him for inspiring people to believe in "change" (Fairey 2008).

The emergence of Street Art into mainstream design also corresponds well to Cagan's model of innovation. By assessing Street Art with Cagan's method of innovation, we can identify the opportunity gaps that Street Art



Figure 1.1. Commercials that utilized the aesthetics of Street Art

has fulfilled within the S.E.T factors (Figure 1.1)(Cagan 2002). First of all, the availability of computer software like Photoshop and Illustrator has allowed Street Artists today the ability to manipulate complicated imageries. This fulfills the opportunity gap in technology. Secondly, the cost of painting walls on the street is free compared to purchasing canvas, fufilling the economical gap factor. Last but not least, the streets also provided these artists with unlimited exposure to the general public. Assuming that a piece of Street Art is situated in a highly populated area, it can receive maximum public exposure. In line with that, there are no entry barriers to Street Art: The wall provides the opportunity for anyone who is talented in arts a chance to display their abilities, fufilling the social gap factor.

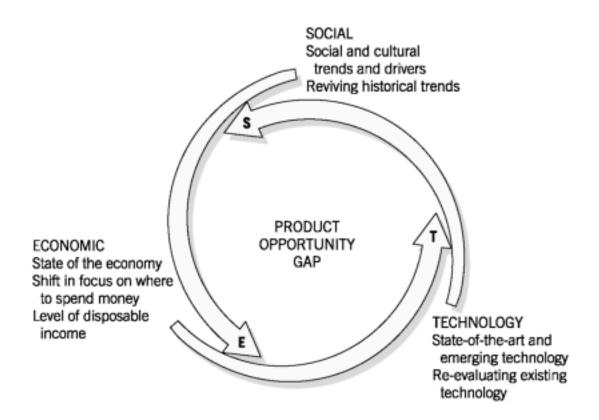


Figure 1.2. The S.E.T factors (source:Cagan, Jonathan (2002), Creating breakthrough products)

1.3 Thesis Statement and intention

Having witnessed the influence that Street Art has had on various design applications, this research intends to find out how Street Art has managed to translate itself from an illicit art form of a subculture, to one that is accepted in the mainstream. Throughout this thesis, Street Art will be analyzed with consideration to its predecessor, Graffiti Writing (Lewisohn 2008). By means of content analysis, principal factors from Graffiti

Writing and Street Art will be identified. Principal-factors are valuable characteristics practiced by this subculture. Finally, these principle factors will be evaluated with the analytical tools of the Blue Ocean Strategy (Kim 2005). The Blue Ocean Strategy is an analytical framework devised to identify and understand distinctive factors practiced by successful companies (Kim, 2005). The core of the Blue Ocean Strategy is value innovation where cost factors are reduced and new elements are introduced to increase value (Kim 2005). Even though Street Art is not a business, its presumed evolution from Grafitti Writing to Street Art heavily resembles businesses' formation of new market-space. The utilization of "the Blue Ocean Strategy" is therefore appropriate to the study of this cultural trend. The strategy canvas of the Blue Ocean Strategy provides us with the ability to capture the current state of play within an industry. In the case of Street Art, the strategy canvas will be used to identify Street Artists' strategic profiles against both Graffiti-Writers and Fine Artists.

Research on Graffiti Writing in the 1970s has been extensive with few explicitly on Street Art. Though some have written about Street Art's involvement with commercial design applications, none has reviewed it with the Blue Ocean Strategy. Despite numerous cases of ethnographic research on the Graffiti writers of the 1970s (Ferrell, 1995, 1996; Macdonald, 2001), few have been conducted on Street Artists. Findings from this research will reveal the relationship between Street Art and Graffiti Writing. In line with that, findings will also explain for how Street Art translated itself into the mainstream. Additionally, findings will also provide the design community with a better understanding of Street Art and the various influences it has on design. Lastly, findings from this

research may provide the design community with foresight to similar cultural emergences that are happening in our society. By predicting these emergences, designers can take advantage of the situation and develop the most appropriate design solutions for emerging markets.

1.4 Introduction to Grafitti Writing

Graffiti Writing is the predecessor to 'Street Art'. Unlike Graffiti, which is generally understood as unauthorized writing or drawing on public surfaces (Phillips 1999), Grafitti Writing is a sub-cultural activity associated with hip-hop culture. It first originated in Philadelphia but gained ground in New York's transit system during the 1960s (Austin 2001; Lewisohn 2008). The fundamental goal of Graffiti Writers is to gain fame through Grafitti Writing (Chalfant 1984; Silver 1983).

The history of Grafitti Writing had often been associated with a teenager by the name of Demetrius (Chalfant 1984; Times 1971). In 1971, Demetrius went about writing his tag-name Taki183 on walls, bus stops and inside subway all over Manhattan. He did his tag with a magic marker and derived the number 183 from the street he lived on (Silver 1983). His ubiquitous writings attracted attention and on July 21, 1971, the New York Times published an article about him (Figure 1.3). Demetrius was 17 at that time and had just graduated from high school (Times 1971). In the newspaper interviews, he defended his act of vandalism by comparing it to advertising campaigns (Times 1971). The newspaper article brought fame to Demetrius and he was soon idolized by many other youths (Chalfant 1984). In line with that, the article is also believed to have brought about substantial

followers and a rise in Grafitti Writing (Chalfant 1984).

With 'Graffiti Writings' being associated with break-dance and rap music; its popularity grew rapidly during the 1970s (Silver 1983). With

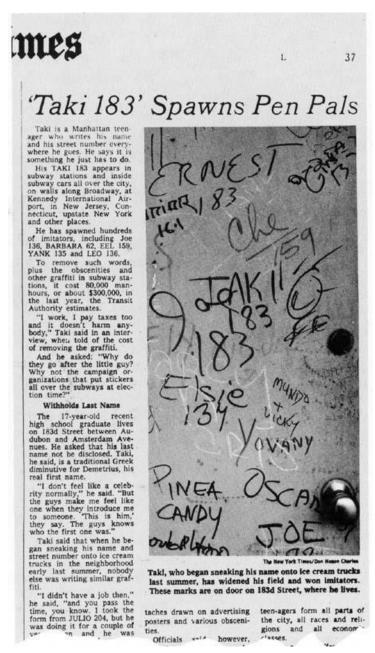


Figure 1.3. 'Taki 183' Spawns Pen Pals (Source: *New York Times*, 1971).

increased participation, the competition for fame intensified. The influx of competitors changed the factors involved with gathering fame in Graffiti Writing. The competition evolved from an activity that based on quantity (number of tags) to one that became concerned about quality (aesthetic and style) (Austin 2001). This phenomenon is also documented in the documentary film *Style-Wars* (Silver 1983). By 1975, every train in New York City was covered with 'Graffiti Writings' (Silver 1983). In fact, the proliferation of Graffiti Writing was so prominent that visitors from outside of New York City became aware of it- It was also reported that many foreign tourists had anticipated witnessing Graffiti when they were in New York City (Austin 2001).

Graffiti Writing lasted until the late 1980s when New York City's Authority finally managed to put an end to it (Austin 2001). Prior to that, the Metro Transit Authorities of New York City had waged consecutive wars that were unsuccessful (Austin 2001). The MTA (Metropolitan Transportation Authority) eventually won by increasing their security on the subway system (@149st 1998). They did this by increasing surveillance, installing additional fences and placing guard dogs at the train yards (Austin 2001; Silver 1983). After the end of Graffiti on the subways, some Graffiti writers went back to the streets while others pursued careers in the Fine Arts industry (Austin 2001). Many Graffiti-writers evolved into Street Artists, extending their work beyond just "Graffiti Writings" (Lewisohn 2008).

1.5 Introduction to Street Art

Street Art emerged during the peak of Graffiti Writing. According to Cedar Lewiston, the phrase became common in the late of 1970s(Lewisohn 2008). Due to the amorphous nature of 'Street Art, there is no clear distinct point for its origins(Lewisohn 2008). Also, Street Art in many instances is perceived as 'Graffiti' as people loosely used the term 'Graffiti' to describe both Street Art and Graffiti Writing (Figure 1.3)(Lewisohn 2008). In 1985 Allan Schwartzman published a book on Street Art and suggested that Street Artists are those with formal art education, but chose to practice their arts in the street (Schwartzman 1985). Rejected by the world of highbrow Art, while at the same time inspired by the Graffiti-writers, these



Figure 1.4. Early Street Art (Source: Schwartzman, Allen (1985), *Street Art*.)

artists adopted the ideas of doing art on the streets. Besides 'Street Artists', terms like 'Graffiti artist', 'urban artist' and 'guerilla artist'have also been used to describle this group of artists (Schwartzman 1985).

Despite its similarities to Graffiti Writing, Street Art differs from Graffiti Writing in terms of form, function and intention(Lewisohn 2008). Unlike Graffiti-writers who communicated in codes that could only be understood by its own community most Street Artists generally complete their work with the intention of open communication. The absence of coding may have aided Street Arts' distinctive success in the mainstream (Schwartzman 1985). In addition to their different intentions, Street Artists also works with a broader array of mediums. These include stickers, stencil and even three-dimensional objects(Lewisohn 2008). Some Street Artists have extended the definition of Street Art to include Performance Art (Lewisohn 2008). Graffiti Writers, on the other hand have mainly worked with markers and aerosol paint (Macdonald 2001). While Graffiti-writers are concerned primarily with their nametag and style of typography, Street Artists focused more on pictorial icons and concepts (Lewisohn 2008).

1.6 Street Art's presence in galleries and design applications

It is interesting to note that Street Art has over the years found its way into various advertisements and other mainstream design applications. The imagery of Street Art has appeared in a wide variety of applications. This ranges from commercials' themes to motifs found on apparel, products and posters. More recently, it has also found its way into the presidency campaign (Lewis 2008; Wortham 2008). Numerous Street Artists have also

been featured in major museums around the world.

In the recent presidency campaign, Street Artist Shepard Fairey was commissioned to produce campaign posters for the now-elected president of the United States, Barack Obama (Figure 1.5). Fairey goes by the street-name 'Obey' and had been famed for the ubiquitous street posters he made of 'Andre the giant' (Wortham 2008). Today, 'Obey' has successfully transformed itself into a clothing label that distributes clothes to 20 countries worldwide. In addition to that, Fairey has also formed Studio



Figure 1.5. Poster for Obama Campaign, designed by Shepard Fairey (source:http://obeygiant.com/)

Number One; a company that had in recent years been commissioned to work on a range of design jobs. These jobs include product advertisements (Absolut), music albums and even video games (Guitar Hero 2).

During the recent presidency campaign, Fairey distributed 300,000 stickers and 500,000 posters and generated more than \$400,000 for the Obama's campaign (Wortham 2008). In line with that, he sold a series of limited edition posters that grew in price during the campaign. The posters sold initially at \$45 each but were auctioned on eBay for up to \$4000 (Lewis 2008). Fairey reportedly donated all the proceeds back into Obama's campaign. On Feb 22th 2008, Fairey received a letter of appreciation from Obama. In the letter, Obama noted that Fairey's work had encouraged people to believe in changing the status quo (Figure 1.6).

Besides Fairey, other Street Artists has also been endorsed and commissioned. In recent years, Nike has endorsed several Street Artists for their sneakers and apparels (Casey and Orwell 2008). In an article by Wall Street Journal (Casey and Orwell 2008), Nike revealed the strategy of endorsing Street Artists like Lenny Futura to expands the company's profit. Mr. Parker, the CEO of Nike refers to this strategy, as maintenance of the company's standing as "the influencers of influencers (Casey and Orwell 2008).

Aside from Street Artists who have generated fame by working with corporations, there are also Street Artists who have gained success without corporate endorsement. "Banksy" for instance, is a London Street Artist who is known to reject commissions. Despite his denial of corporate

sponsorship, he has gained enormous fame for his artwork (Placa 2004). In recent years, he has sneaked into national museums to illegally install his work (BBC 2005). Though most of these museums have removed his installations, the British Museum retained his work and made it a collection. Banksy's works have also became recognized as tourist attractions in Bristol in recent years (Bull 2008) (Figure 1.7). His work has

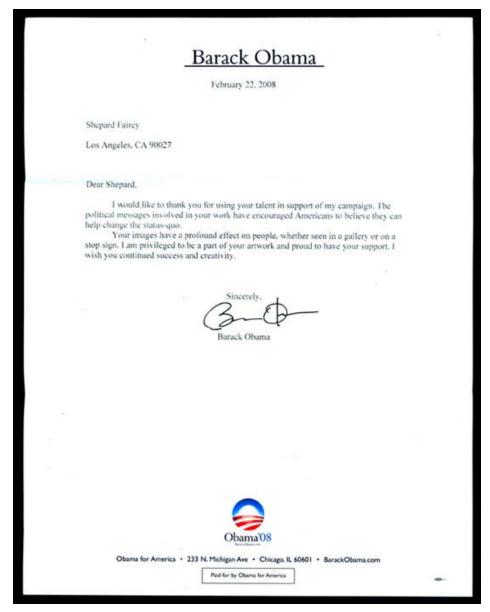


Figure 1.6. Letter of appreciation from President Obama (source:http://obeygiant.com/)



Figure 1.7. Street Art by Banksy (source:Banksy (2006), *Wall and Piece*.)

been auctioned and sold for as high as £102,000 at the Sotheby's art auction (BBC 2007). Recognizing Banksy's talent, the city council of Bristol even ordered the restoration of his Street Art when it was defaced by other vandals (Lefley 2007).

Last but not least, Street Art is also highly visible in today's television commercials. It can be seen on advertisements ranging from soft drinks to pharmaceutical products. Some of these advertisements center on using



Figure 1.8. The concept of reverse Graffiti (source:http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5lX-2sP0JFw)

Street Art as the theme while others use the style of Street Art by including elements like paint drips or stencil-stylized visuals. New methods that can be seen on the streets are also commonly used in commercials. Clorox, for instance used a new method termed "reverse Graffiti" for its advertising (Figure 1.8). Instead of spraying paint through a stencil, this method of Graffiti involved removing out dirt through the stencil.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1: Graffiti background

To understand Street Art it is imperative for us to first understand its root, which is Graffiti. The word Graffiti came from the Greek term graphein (to write), which can also be defined as the inscription of figures, design or words on walls and surfaces (Bartholome and Snyder 2004). Graffiti was actually common in ancient times and was found on the carved rocks found in the ancient Egyptian town of Abu Simbel (Bartholome and Snyder 2004). Ancient Graffiti has also been discovered in the Italian city of Pompeii (Bartholome and Snyder 2004). The messages of ancient Graffiti range from the pleasures of food to advice on friendship and love. Research on ancient Graffiti has revealed that it is often raunchy in tone (Bartholome and Snyder 2004). Modern Graffiti on the other hand is different in the sense of being more literate and self-conscious; commonly reflecting current affairs disseminated by mass media (Bartholome and Snyder 2004). On top of that, all modern Graffiti is classified as illicit and perceived as vandalism (Phillips 1999).

2.2: Categories of Graffiti

Modern Graffiti can generally be categorized into three distinct categories. These three categories were identified in a study conducted by Stephen J Anderson and William S. Verplanck in the 1980s (Phillips 1999). The ion of Anderson and Verplanck's research was to show that Graffiti can be used as a sensitive social barometer of social events

(Anderson and Verplanck 1983). The three distinct categories identified by them are: 1) Tourist Graffiti, 2) Inner-city Graffiti, and 3) Latrinalia.

- 1) Tourist Graffiti is Graffiti that consists of little more than names, dates, letters and simple expressions (Anderson and Verplanck 1983). It is commonly found on trees, rocks and other surfaces. Tourist Graffiti is believed to be the oldest identifiable form of Graffiti. Cave Graffiti is an example of this category.
- 2) Inner-City Graffiti takes on three main forms: 1) First, there is the unique language that youth in the ghetto takes on. This form of Inner-City Graffiti is primarily about youths writing their pseudonym with an indicator of the neighborhood they live in. 2) The second forms of Inner-City Graffiti are territorial markers written by street gangs. 3) The third form of writing is the "king of the wall", where nametags are spray-painted or drawn onto train, bus and various other surfaces (Anderson and Verplanck 1983).
- 3) Latrinalia is the most familiar form of Graffiti. It is found in public toilets (Anderson and Verplanck 1983). The term latrinalia was used by Alan Dundes when he conducted research on toilet Graffiti.

Street Art was not identified as a category during Anderson and Verplanck's Graffiti research studies. However, since Street Art is closely related to Graffiti Writing, we can assume that it belongs to the category of inner City Graffiti (Anderson and Verplanck 1983). It is also worthwhile for us to recognize that all three forms of inner-city Graffiti listed by Anderson and Verplancks are related. For example, the "king of the walls" was an evolved genre from the "youth of the ghettos" (Austin 2001). Prior to painting the subways, these youths tagged their pseudonym around their neighborhood. In line with that the youths that tagged their pseudonym actually derived the idea of Graffiti Writings from

the Street Gangs (Austin 2001).

2.3: Graffiti researches and relevancies

There have been numerous research projects on Inner-City Graffiti as an art form, a crime and also as a youth deviant subculture. Most of this research focused on understanding the Graffiti Writing phenomenon that happened in 1960s New York's Transit lines. This commonly involves ethnographic research. Researchers who have studied Graffiti Writers include Nancy Macdonalds, Craig Castleman, Jeff Ferrel and Joe Austin. All these researchers looked into Graffiti Writing as a form of subculture activity and conducted unstructured interviews with Graffiti Writers (Bernard 2006).

Castleman and Austin both provided a historical account of Graffiti Writing. They both credited early writers like Taki183 for the growth of the activity (Austin 2001). Unlike Castleman, Austin's book provided a more thorough account of the history of "Graffiti Writing (Austin, 2001). Austin also listed events that happened concurrent to the history of Graffiti Writing. This included the various political events that were happening in New York City (Austin 2001). Austin also suggested that the Authority had announced "war" on Graffiti Writers as a means to divert public attention away from the bigger issues that were present in New York City (Austin, 2001).

Jeff Ferrel on the other hand focused much of his work on the illicit factors of "Graffiti Writings" (Ferrell 1996). Like Austin, Ferrel suggested that Graffiti Writing has been constructed as crime by the authorities. He provided examples of the activities that authorities have done; including the involvement of corporate sponsorship and the manipulation

of public perception via television media and programs (Ferrell 1996). Unlike Austin, Ferrel's research centered on Graffiti Writing that happened in Denver- years after the phenomenon in New York City (Ferrell, 1996). In another article, "The Making of Space, Race and Place", Maggie Dickson highlighted the impact of a Neo-liberal economy on Graffiti-writers (Dickson 2008).

The article noted that the privatization of spaces had influenced the authorities to promote excessive control over Graffiti (Dickson, 2008). Through privatization, corporations are able to determine whether Graffiti Writing is art or vandalism (Dickson 2008). When a corporation endorses Graffiti-writers, they can celebrate it as art and permit their writings. When they don't endorse the writers, they may engage with the law enforcers to arrest the writers. This bias that exists within a Neo-liberal community reflected how certain groups have more control over the city's aesthetic and the legality of certain activities (Dickson, 2008)

Aside from the criminalization of Graffiti, there have also been articles that indicated that Graffiti Writing prompts an increase in other crimes. In an article by the FBI, Graffiti Writing has been noted to invite other crimes like pick pocketing and mugging (Grant,1996). The FBI drew parallel between Graffiti Writing and the "broken-windows" theory; where abandoned cars and uncollected trash have prompted an increase in other crimes (Grant 1996)

Other than the subject of the illicit, Nancy Macdonalds, Craig Castleman and Joe Austin all discussed the language, lifestyle and background of Graffiti-writers in their books (Castleman, 1982; Ferrell, 1996; Macdonald, 2001). In Macdonald's book, she discussed the relationship between Graffiti-writers and the construction of their masculine identity (Macdonald, 2001). Craigh Castleman's book on the hand emphasized the organiza-

tions of this subculture(Castleman, 1982). In his research, he interviewed the Graffiti squad officers and revealed the working relationships between Graffiti-writers and the police(Castleman, 1982). Lastly, Joe Austin's book traces the various political events that happened concurrent to the growth and decline of Graffiti Writing in New York City(Austin, 2001).

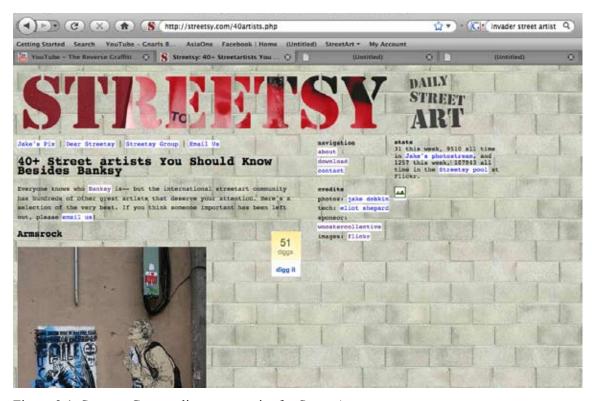


Figure 2.1. Streetsy.Com: online community for Street Art

Aside from research that focused on understanding the behaviors and lifestyle of Graffiti-Writers, some have also looked into the relationship between Graffiti-writers and advertisers. Alex Kataras, for instance wrote that "Graffiti-art" was the result of post-war advertising in his master's thesis(Kataras 2006). By comparing "Graffit-Art" to previous Art movements, he suggested that Graffiti-Art was a direct response to the present land-scape of popular culture, its advertising (Kataras, 2006).

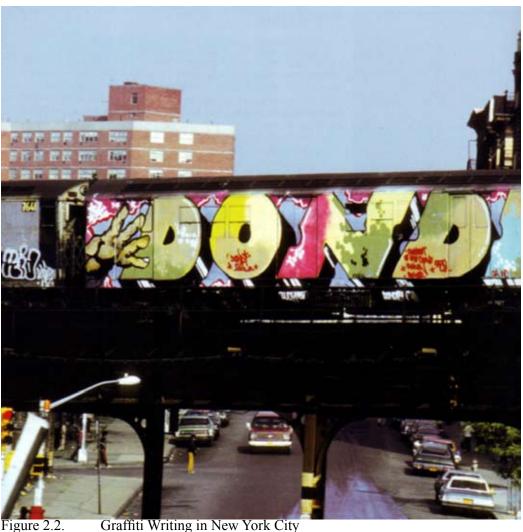
Other than research on Graffiti Writing, exclusive research on Street Art is quite limited. Due to the fact that Street Art is so closely related to Graffiti Writing, many have treated these two genres as one. Cedar Lewiston, author of the book, Street Art highlighted that the constant crossover between Graffiti Writing and Street Art made it hard for this genre to be defined (Lewisohn, 2008). In another book, also titled Street Art, the author Allen Schwartzman revealed that Street Art first appeared in the late 70s, following the emergence of Graffiti Writing (Schwartzman, 1985). Schwartzman also suggested that Street Artists are those with a fine art education. Inspired by the approach of Graffiti Writers, Street Artists took their art out into the streets (Schwartzman 1985).

With the emergence of electronic media, information on Street Art is also more readily accessible through various online communities. Websites like http://www.streetsy.com and http://www.woostercollective.com publish the latest information and works found on the streets (Figure 2.1). Video documentaries and interviews with "Street Artists" can also be found on these websites.

2.4: History of Graffiti Writing.

The history of Graffiti Writing provides important insights to the development of this subculture. Research on the Graffiti-writers from 1970s New York City subways is quite extensive. However, due to the illicit nature of this activity, documentation of its history will always remain subjective. To provide a more thorough account of its history, information from different sources was compared and cited. Sources contributing to its history included books by Joe Austin and Craig Castlemen. The website "@149st", maintained by a prominent Graffiti-writer in the 1970s is also cited.

Graffiti Writing first started in the 1960s. When some youths in New York City began writing their names all over the City (Austin 2001). Unlike gang writers, these youths wrote with a different intention: to pursue fame (Silver 1983). Known as writers, their first targets included ice cream trucks, larger vehicles and blank walls on the streets (Austin 2001). Though many associated Graffiti Writing with the phenomenon that happened in 1960s New York City's subway, sources have indicated that the activity first originated in Philadelphia during 1950s (@149st 1998; Austin 2001). During the 1950s, writers like Cornbread and COOL earl made conscious efforts to generate fame by spray tagging their name all over Philadelphia (Austin 2001). Despite the earlier occurrences, no one is certain if Graffiti Writing in New York City was adopted from Philadelphia. However, Graf-



(Source: Chalfant, Henry (1984), Subway Art)

fiti Writing from both Philadelphia and New York first appeared from the streets (@149st 1998; Austin 2001).

2.4.1 1970s to late 1970s

By the early 1970s, more youths had joined the Graffiti Writing subculture (Austin 2001). The writing activities had by now evolved and migrated from the streets to centralize on the Subway Trains (Austin 2001). During this period of time, New York City's subway received so much Graffiti Writing that visitors to the city associated Graffiti with the "image" of New York City (Austin 2001). Tourists who visited New York City also anticipated witnessing these Graffiti (Figure 2.2)(Austin 2001).

In 1971, an interview about a Graffiti-writer, Taki 183 was published in the New York Times. The article brought Taki 183 to fame and heavily influenced other youths to participate in Graffiti Writings (Chalfant 1984; Times 1971). Taki183's article not only granted him fame, it also earned him the title "king of bombing" (Austin 2001). Though Taki183 was one of the pioneers of Graffiti Writing, he was not the first. Austin and @149th both credited Julio204 as the first Graffiti-writer (@149st 1998; Austin 2001). According to Austin, Julio204 was a Puerto Rican youth involved with a Manhattan Street gang in the late sixties. He used similar writing conventions to Taki 183 but wrote for the purpose of marking territory for his gang (Austin 2001). Austin mentioned this writing convention was a solution to establish personal identity in a dense city (Austin 2001). Additionally, he suggested that this writing convention could have also reflected the influence of sixties television. During the sixties, actors commonly introduced themselves with such a naming conventio for example Marrive the Blick Queen of the 89th (Austin 2001).

By the 1970s, a Graffiti Writing community was already in place and writers would fre-

quently hang out at certain train stations to exchange ideas, admire work or discuss their "kings" and "idols" (Austin 2001). While the train station serviced as a meeting location for writers, the trains functioned as mobile displays, circulating their work all over the city; increasing visibility (Austin 2001; Macdonald 2001; Silver 1983). Additionally, the community also formulated its own rules and created a prestige economy (Austin 2001). Within a prestige economy, a writer gains and loses status according to the rules set up by the subculture (Austin 2001). The primary motivation of writers remained the same; that is to acquire fame amongst the subculture through writing.

Before 1971, writers competed solely over the number of tags they could put up. They termed the act of putting up tags as "getting up" (Castleman 1982). Those who "got up" the most earned the title of "king" (Chalfant 1984). The path to fame was a simple one until more enrolled into this subculture (Chalfant 1984). With increased members, the writing competition intensified. To position themselves against other competitors, writers began adopting scale and improving the quality of their tags for additional salience (Macdonald 2001). This shift in direction prompted a new method to tagging; writers shifted from using markers to spray paint (Chalfant 1984). As scale of work became a key factor in writing, writers began modifying Spray can's caps (Austin 2001). The modification of these caps allowed writers to cover a larger surface area with minimum time (Austin 2001). Instead of a writing culture that focused on the quantity of tags that one can put up, the criteria to fame now involved scale and quality. Eventually aesthetic and style became part of the writing equation. Elaborated design also began to surface into the writing scene and trains were now tagged with elaborated designs termed "pieces", short for masterpieces (Austin 2001). Writers who did the best pieces were given the title of "style master" and well-executed pieces were called "burners". As this competition of style and scale intensified, ambitious writers painted entire cars to gain recognition (Austin 2001). Because pieces are complex, more work is required for both their preparation and execution. Instead of a straight paint-to-surface approach, writer began preparing their work in sketchbooks before final execution (Austin 2001). The shift in direction prompted many to participate in what was termed the "style-wars".

From 1971 to 1974, efforts were made to recognize Graffiti Writing as an art form. In 1972, a sociologist major student, Hugo Martinez set up the United Graffiti Association (Austin 2001). Though many distinctive Graffiti-writers joined this group and even attempted to have exhibitions in galleries, the organization never took off (Austin 2001). Many attributed the failure to the fact that the art community was still unable to accept Graffiti Writing as art at this point in time (Austin 2001).

By 1975, the act of painting an entire car had become a standard practice among writers. In fact, some writers even wrote a "piece" on two whole cars to display their abilities (Austin 2001). "Bombers" who had focused mainly on doing smaller tags also began adopting scale into their equation (Macdonald 2001). As scale became so integrated into the writing culture, Bombers evolved and worked on "Throw-ups". "Throw ups" are bigger tags usually made with two colors. Writers first outline the big letters before filling them with paint (Chalfant 1984). Similar to tags, they are easy to execute and allowed writers to quickly populate the trains with their Tags (Austin 2001).

As New York City struggled with financial problems, the MTA remained poorly maintained (@149st 1998; Austin 2001). Due to poor maintenance and low security, the train system encountered the worst bombing situation in the 1970s. With increased participants in Graffiti Writing, blank surfaces became scarce (Austin 2001). Graffiti writers began to violate their code of conduct and wrote over one another's tags (Austin 2001). The act of writing over another writer's tag was a gesture of disrespect in the writing community. However, due to a lack of surface areas, many Graffiti writers went ahead with

the violation (Austin 2001). Apart from the scarcity of surfaces, the increased in Graffiti Writing had also made it much harder for one to acquire the "king" title (Austin 2001). Graffiti writer, "IN" for instance went to great extents to earn that title. In the summer of 1975 the writer "IN" painted 10,000 "Throw ups" and completed a 3D piece on a car. As commented in Castleman's book, they were not beautiful, not pretty but he "got up"!(Castleman 1982).

2.4.2 Late 1970s to early 1980s.

In late 1970s, The MTA declared consecutive wars on writers and began extensive cleaning of the subway exterior (Austin 2001). Interestingly, the frequent cleaning of the subway provided writing opportunities for some writers since it freed up surfaces for writing. However, due to the random cleaning of trains, writers were faced with an unpredictable fate they did not know; whether their work would be erased the following day (Austin 2001). The random cleaning of trains pressured many writers to give up their writing career. Writers also began looking into alternatives ways to continue Graffiti Writing (Austin 2001). It was also during this period of time that Street Art began to emerge on the scene (Lewisohn 2008; Schwartzman 1985). While Graffiti writers began framing their writing as art, traditionally trained fine artists began adopting writers' strategies of utilizing public spaces to showcase their work. By the early eighties, art galleries also began to take an interest in Graffiti Writing;(@149st 1998). A number of these galleries also reportedly took "Graffiti-art" to Europe (Austin 2001).

During 1982 to 1985, New York City managed to raise more funds and the authorities took a tougher stance towards Graffiti writers (Austin 2001; Silver 1983). With a bigger budget, tougher laws were made. Stores in the City were prohibited from selling spray paint to minors and spray paints were to be locked in cages; to prevent theft (Austin

2001). Coping with mounting pressure from the authorities, more writers either gave up or migrated to the gallery scene (Austin 2001). However, despite these restrictions, some writers persisted with writing on trains. According to Joe Austin, many of the remaining writers were actually happy with the decline in writing, as there were now a lot more surfaces to paint (Austin 2001).

The decline in writing activity encouraged the MTA to announce another war on Graffiti during 1986. This time, the MTA intensified surveillance and deployed more guards to trains and yards (Silver 1983). The intensity of their patrol, together with new legislation allowed the MTA to eventually win the war. New legislation forced spray paint manufacturers to redesign the caps of their spray paint, preventing the modification of spray caps (Austin 2001). Without these modifications, writers found it more difficult to execute "pieces". During this period, documentaries and movies about Graffiti Writing were also introduced (Austin 2001). With easier access to production, independent magazines dedicated to Graffiti Writing also began to surface in the market. The emergence of these publications greatly legitimized Graffiti as a form of art (Austin 2001). In addition, more Graffiti writers migrated to the gallery scene and began branding themselves as artists. By 1989, the MTA declared victory over Graffiti- writing. By this time, Graffiti writers who did not migrate into the galleries either reverted back to writing in the streets or retired from scene (Austin 2001). The decentralization of writing also eroded the values and conducts of Graffiti Writing. Joe Austin observes this in his studies of the 1980s writers. According to him, new writers had no regards for old masters. Unlike previous writers from the subway, new writers were oblivious to the various established ethics of previous writers (Austin 2001).

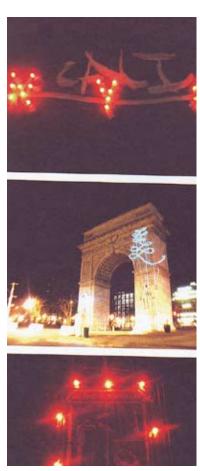


Figure 2.3. Street Art by Graffiti Research lab (Source: http://Graffitiresearchlab.com/)



Figure 2.4. Street Art by Joshua Allen Harris (Source:http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L-a607j2dOo)

2.4.3 1990s and Beyond

By the 1990s, the act of Graffiti Writing spread across the globe and into the American suburbs. To counter this movement, cities began developing new programs to combat Graffiti Writings. These programs usually involved ways to clean off the Graffiti (@149st 1998).

As Graffiti Writing evolved into Street Art, new methods of tagging including the use of stickers, stencils and wheat pasting emerged (Austin 2001; Walde 2007). Unlike previous writers, Street Artists no longer wrote on the streets for fame; instead they "tagged" with an artistic intention(Lewisohn 2008). By now, alternative mediums like chalk, paint, and even plastic bags are being explored. The "Graffiti Research laboratory", for instance use digital projections (Figure 2.3). Others like Street Artist Joshua Allen, create inflatable sculptures that take shape when air is released through the streets vents (Figure 2.4).

2.5 The Prestige Economy of Graffiti Writers

While historical research reveals the events that took place during the Graffiti Writing period, anthropologists like Nancy Macdonald uncover the culture and inner workings of Graffiti-writers. At the heart of this subculture, the establishment of a prestige economy held the community together; providing it with a system and order(Lewisohn 2008).

According to Joe Austin, Prestige Economy is defined as the attainment of status by performing according to a set of cultural rules (Austin 2001). By the early 1970s, Graffiti-writers created their own prestige economy (Austin 2001). Within this economy, writers strove for fame while at the same time maintaining respect for other writers. A hierarchy

structure was also developed within this economy; where writers were judged only by their talents(Austin 2001). Nancy Macdonald, Joe Austin and Craig Castleman all discuss the prestige economies and cultures of Graffiti-writers in their books.

The growth in the writing population together with the centralization of the writing location (at the train yard) played a vital role to the development of the writers' prestige economy. A centralized location for this activity prompted more interactions and exchanges. Writers also frequently gathered at a designated station to elect their "kings" (Austin 2001). With a healthy number of members, the writers also developed a set of language unique to the Graffiti writers. Terms like "bombing" are now included in the description spray painting. Other conducts like the usage of an original identity and the placement of one tag also became integrated values of the community (Macdonald 2001). Perhaps most important to this subculture is the practice of apprenticeship. Newly enrolled writers (Toys) would often understudy under masters before going off on their own (Macdonald 2001). This master-to-apprentice relationship also formed a career path within this subculture (Austin 2001).

2.5.1 Careers of Graffiti Writers

The 'career' concept has been used to analyze and describe other deviant involvements. These included the studies of gang members, drug traffickers and even football hooligans (Macdonald 2001). The career concept is also applicable to Graffiti Writing because writers go through a development phase that starts from the bottom (toy) and moves to the top (accomplished writers) (Macdonald 2001). The writer's career path resembles other occupations like graphic design. Unlike real careers however, writers receive fame instead of money for incentives. The lack of monetary incentives in Graffiti Writing is



Figure 2.5. Tagging (source: Austin, Joe (2001), Taking the train. New York)



Figure 2.6. A "throw-up" (Powers, Stephen (1999), (source: *The art of getting over*. New York: St. Martin's Press.)

cited as one of the reasons why writers resign from the subculture as they age (Macdonald 2001).

The entry to writing often begins with one choosing an appropriate name. Often, names from popular media are adopted to represent one's persona (Macdonald 2001). Other times, the assessment of how letters work with one another (typography) is a serious consideration. Once a name is selected, a writer would claim ownership of it by tagging (Macdonald 2001) (Figure 2.5). Adopting another person's name or style is considered copying and writers termed this "biting" (Macdonald 2001). Biting is discouraged and the concept of this is similar to legal copyrights.

Taggers started off as "Toys" and would usually work as an apprentice under an established writer until they were ready to do "pieces" (Macdonald 2001). At the beginning of

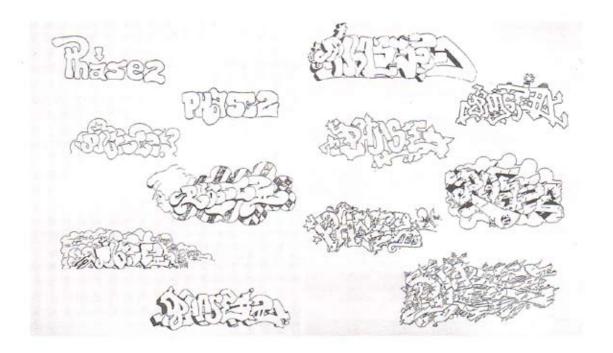


Figure 2.7. Evolution of Graffiti tag into wild style (Source: Austin, Joe (2001), *Taking the train*. New York)

their career, most used markers and would do small tags. As writers became more experienced, they would move into bigger pieces called "throw-ups" and gets promoted to the rank of a writer (Macdonald 2001). "Throw-ups" (Figure 2.6) are big outlines of tags executed with spray paint (usually in two colors). To accomplish these, the spray caps of aerosol cans are modified. These modifications allow for greater surface coverage with the spray can (Austin 2001).

From the throw-up, writers usually progress to painting "pieces" (Figure 2.7) Writers who can execute "burners" are promoted to the status of "Piecer" (Macdonald 2001). Those who are good with pieces earn the rank of style-master. Pieces are short for masterpieces and they are large and elaborately designed. These designs often require extensive planning and preparation. To prepare for pieces, writers conceptualize their design in sketch-book called black books (Austin 2001; Silver 1983). The black books also functioned as a medium for writers to exchange ideas with one another.

"Pieces" were actually an evolution from throw-up and they only surfaced after taggers saturated the writing scene. To stand out from the crowd, writers turned to scale, style and complexity to arrive at the solution of doing pieces (Macdonald 2001; Silver 1983). Well-executed pieces called burners require more talent and thus command greater respect from the writing community (Macdonald 2001). To truly generate fame however, writers would have to consider participating in both tagging and piecing. That is because tagging provides writers with exposure; while pieces allow writers an opportunity to stand out. Since pieces are complicated, a writer can only execute limited numbers of them (Austin 2001). Tagging thus complements piecing in the sense that they are easily executable. While tagging helps brand a writer's existence, elaborated "pieces" help brand a writer's abilities (Castleman 1982). This concept is similar to the method of advertisers; where commercials are repeatedly delivered for recall and recognition (Hoyer and MacInnis

As Graffiti-writers advanced their careers to become "Kings" and "Masters", many began to consider retirement while others chose alternatives available in the commercial realm (Macdonald 2001). Interviews with various writers reveal that as they grow older, they were faced with the reality of society (Macdonald 2001). Because the feasibility of being an illicit writer becomes questionable, many of these writers evolved into artists and joined galleries to make a real living out of "Art" (Austin 2001; Macdonald 2001).

2.5.2 Graffiti writers and the Masculine Identity.

Apart than the careers of Graffiti-writers, researcher Macdonald highlighted the qualities of warfare and masculinity that were present in Graffiti Writing. The language of Graffiti writers for instance, reveals a sense of warfare & masculinity (Macdonald 2001). Writers express themselves with terms like bombing, attack, mission and burn. According to Nancy Macdonald, writer transformed Graffiti Writing into a "theatre of war" to prove a sense of masculinity. She attributed this to that fact that Graffiti Writing is a male-dominated activity.

By transforming their landscape into a war zone, writers imagined their spray-can as guns and termed their trip into yard as "missions" (Macdonald 2001). In line with that, they also created enemies out of the subway authorities. The creation of an enemy provided the Graffiti-writers with a common opposition and validated their role as men. Graffiti Writers visualize themselves as courageous men who dare to enter, attack and escape enemies' territory without notice.

Apart from accomplishing a sense of masculinity, the transformation of the authorities into enemies also provided writers with new audiences. In order to catch these writers, the authorities would need to first understand Graffiti Writing by becoming their audiences. On top of that, the authorities are also dragged into a battle of masculinity; as they prove their worth by fighting the Graffiti-writers (Macdonald 2001).

The concept of masculinity is also demonstrated in the arrests of some Graffiti writers (Macdonald 2001). According to Macdonald, some Graffiti-writers were reportedly happy to be arrested. As suggested by Macdonald, the arrest of writers at times granted them with desired media coverage; amplifying them as bad outlaws (Macdonald 2001). The coverage also publicized their sense of masculinity and granted them instant fame (Macdonald 2001). In essence, committing crime provided a means for one to develop the male identity. Male writers go through the process of writing, aware of its risk and danger, to acquire and validate their status as real men (Macdonald 2001).

The importance of the masculine identity is further validated by Graffiti-Writers. Many writers confess that they enjoy outwitting the authorities more than writing (Macdonald 2001). Lastly, because male writers associate the act of writing with the acquisition of manhood, they try to secure its masculine identity by prohibiting women from joining Graffiti Writing (Macdonald 2001). In addition to that, they discredit women writers by evaluating their sexuality instead of their work (Macdonald 2001). According to Macdonald, the relationship between male and female writers can be explained by the sex theory; where man distinguishes themselves away from women, so as to be men (Macdonald 2001). The exclusion of women from this subculture ultimately served the purpose of preserving its masculine identity (Macdonald 2001).

2.5.3 Graffiti Writers and their tags.

Besides verbal language, writers also communicated with their written work. For instance, tagging on the empty space on top of another writer's tag signifies that the writer has little respect for another writer's work (Macdonald 2001). To further exhibit hostility, writers cross out the tags of other writers (Macdonald 2001). However, not all neighbor tags are considered as hostile gestures (Macdonald 2001). Depending on the context of these tags, some "toys" may place their tags beside veteran writers' to express respect (Macdonald 2001). Other times, experienced writers tag themselves besides another experienced writers to mark themselves as equally experienced (Macdonald 2001).

The tag name is an important aspect to Graffiti Writing. Its usage allowed Graffiti writers a new identity in a new career. While Graffiti-writers strive for fame within the writing community; they also remain anonymous among the public with their pseudonyms. According to Joe Austin, the writing conventions reflected influences from television (Austin 2001). In line with this, the concept of anonymity reflected underlying principles of super-heroes in comic books. Often, super-heroes conceal their real identity when they are not attending to super-heroes' duties (Austin 2001). This "superman syndrome" provides writers an escape from reality, and a way to satisfy their alter ego (Austin 2001).

Even though a tag name provides Graffiti writers with the benefits of self-actualization, it can also bring about an additional burden (Macdonald 2001). Since juggling between dual identities can at times be tricky, some writers got confused and became too attached to their writing careers. As a result, these writers were unable to resume a normal life. Many of them became so obsessed that they couldn't reframe from writing and were repeatedly arrested. (Macdonald 2001).

2.6 The Evolution of Graffiti Writing

By reviewing the history of Graffiti Writing and its prestige economy, we are able to identify the changes that have taken place in this subculture. Graffiti Writing originated from an act of putting up signatures and evolved into a war of style and salience. Writers originally competed on the merit of putting up the highest number of tags on walls and surfaces (Chalfant 1984). They first started in the streets and eventually congregated at the trains of New York City. The train also became the central location that disseminated their work (Austin 2001; Silver 1983). As the general public noticed writers, their actions were published, leading to an influx of new members. With increased members, the writing community matured and formed its own prestige economy; this included the formation their own language, careers and ethics.

As tags saturated the surfaces, writers began doing bigger tags to differentiate themselves away from the tagging competition. To accomplish the task of making bigger tags, writers switched medium from markers to spray paint. They also modified the cap on their aerosol cans to more effectively cover a larger surface area. As bigger work became the norm of Graffiti Writing, writers evolved again to include style and complexity as important factors in the writing culture. Writers then began to work on more elaborate and time-consuming works termed pieces. With added complexity, writers spent more time on preparation and formed crews to execute their work (Austin 2001). To stand out from their competitors, writers focused on new stylizations for "pieces". These stylizations range from the inclusion of arrows to the formation of non-legible tags called the wild style (Austin 2001; Silver 1983) (Figure 2.8).

After the MTA won the war on Graffiti, the writing activities dissolved and reverted back to the street. Some writers also evolved into Artists and participated in gallery shows



Figure 2.8. Wildstyle

(Austin 2001). To cope with their new environment, new mediums were introduced. These included stencil, wheat pasting and stickers (Austin 2001; Lewisohn 2008). During this period of time, many Graffiti writers began looking at integrating concepts into their work while Fine artists adopted the use of public space. These two cross-pollinated and evolved into Street Art.

2.7 The emergence of Street Art from Graffiti Writing

As Graffiti writers aged, many reconsidered the feasibility of being an illicit writer (Macdonald 2001). To counter for reality, many older writers began accepting corporate jobs and branded themselves as artists. In order to be recognized as artists, many writers began to participate in gallery shows (Macdonald 2001). When the MTA won the battle

over Graffiti Writings, many Graffiti writers migrated into the galleries to become artists (Austin 2001). To maintain their "street cred", many of these writers continued working in the streets while participating in gallery shows (Austin 2001).

While Graffiti-writers migrated into gallery scenes, traditionally trained artists inspired by Graffiti-writers began working in public spaces (Schwartzman 1985). These artists upon realizing the impact of Graffiti Writing decided to work in the streets around 1976s. The two genres cross-pollinated and adopted strategies from one another, evolving Graffiti Writing into Street Art (Schwartzman 1985). As Fine-Artists adopted writer's strategies of working in the streets, they brought along their traditional Arts background and introduced conceptual work and new techniques into the environments. Unlike previous Graffiti Writers who worked solely with type-based imageries, Fine Artists introduced more conceptual pieces of work and changed the landscape of Graffiti Writings(Lewisohn 2008). At the same time, Street Artists also redirected their enemy from the train authorities to corporations. Instead of tagging the trains, Street Artists began modifying advertisements found on the streets(Lewisohn 2008). In line with that, new methods of tagging were introduced.

New media like stickers and wheat pasting are now adopted by the Street Artists (Figure 17) Since United States Postal Services offer free mailing labels, Street Artists utilize these self-adhesive labels to first write, draw and paint (Austin 2001). They then tag these labels onto various surfaces. The new practice minimized time taken to "vandalize" the environment; reducing the risk of arrest. Many more media were also introduced with this notion of fast "vandalism". These included wheat pasting and stenciling (Figure 2.9). Despite this, the direct application of spray paint was still practiced by many Street Artists (Lewisohn 2008). To differentiate themselves, many Street Artists sought new media to illustrate their ideas on the street. Some of today Street Artists had even adopted

the use of three-dimensional objects and sculptures (Gavin 2007) (Figure 2.10).

Even though Street Art appeared around 1975s and can be assumed to have shifted from Graffiti Writing in the late 1980s; it never really caught the attention of the public until the 1990s. According to Cedar Lewishon, this has much to do with the rise of the anti-globalism movement in the 1990s (Lewisohn 2008). Due to extensive media coverage of the anti-globalism movement, Street Artists who were involved with corporate sabotages



Figure 2.9. wheatpasting work by Faile (source: http://www.faile.net/)



Figure 2.10. Street Art by Mark Jenkins (source: Gavin, Francesca (2007), Street Renagdes)



Figure 2.11. Collective group, Cut up (source:Gavin, Francesca (2007), Street Renagdes)



Figure 2.12. Street Art by Kaws Source: Gavin, Francesca (2007), *Street Renagdes*)

began to receive attention. Some of today' Street Artists who are involved in corporate sabotages included Artists like Cut-Up. The Collective group Cut- Up frequently attack advertisers by cutting up their billboard advertisements and re-arranging them into new images (Figure 2.11). Other artists like Kaws actively integrate their own icons into existing advertisements (Figure 2.12).

2.8 Differences between Street Art and Graffiti Writing

Though similar in many ways, Street Art primarily differs from Graffiti Writing in its overall intentions. Unlike the Street Artists, Graffiti writers wrote for themselves and their community. This is evidenced in the interviews with writers from various sources. Writers revealed that they have no desire to be recognized by people outside of their community (Macdonald 2001). In an interview featured in the documentary film "Style Wars", a young writer revealed to his parents that he just wanted to "bomb" trains and is not concerned about others (Silver 1983). It is also this notion of exclusion from the mainstream that drove the aesthetic of Graffiti Writings. The wild style for instance, is a style where the letters are stylized to the point of being illegible (Silver 1983). This intention of writers differs from that of Street Artists, where they created work to be understood. In addition, writers are also primarily concerned about their names while Street Artist creates Art without medium or communal constrains.

Aside from the differences between the two genres, the media employed by Writers and Street Artists are different(Lewisohn 2008). Unlike the Graffiti-writers, most Street Artists do not limit themselves to spray paints and extend their mediums to include wheat pasting, stencils, sculptures and performance. In recent years, some Street Artists have even experimented with removing dirt to leave behind stenciled marks; testing the boundaries of this illicit activity.

Lastly, while Graffiti writers centered their attack on New York City's subway, Street Artists are known to rebel against global corporations and advertisers (Lewisohn 2008).

They do this by modifying their advertisements on the street. Despite the prevalence of their "hatred" towards corporations, many Street Artists have ironically embraced the commissions for work they have received from them (Lewisohn 2008).

2.9 Vandalism versus Art: Is Street Art a Crime?

Despite all the differences between Street Art and Graffiti Writing, there are still similarities between these two genres. The greatest similarity between these two genres is that both are considered a crime. The debate over whether Graffiti should be considered a crime has been discussed in various papers and books.

Susan A. Phillips who did extensive research on gang Graffiti suggested that modern Graffiti is essentially illegal because it has not been accepted by society (Phillips 1999). Likewise, she noted that most "ancient Graffiti" could not be considered "Graffiti" because it was socially accepted and legal.

Other researchers like Jeff Ferrell suggested that authorities have criminalized Graffiti Writing by manipulating public opinions through the media (Ferrell 1996). Joe Austin expressed similar opinions and elaborated that the Mass Transit Authorities had used their actions against Graffiti-writers to divert public attention away from problems that were happening in New York City(Austin 2001). According to Austin, cleaning trains was visible work that was used to pacify the public. On top of that, he argued that the tax money spent on curbing Graffiti Writing could have been used to stop other serious crimes, like robberies in the subway trains. In summary, he believed that the authorities could have legalized Graffiti Writing and repurposed the use of tax money somewhere else (Austin 2001).

Apart from the research of Ferrell and Austin, Graffiti Writers, who are taxpayers themselves, argued that they should also have ownership over public spaces (Times 1971). Graffiti writers supported their argument with that fact that public spaces have been unfairly taken over by advertisers (Times 1971). This bias is even more obvious when in the case of Street Artists who were initially considered illegal gaining permission to display their work when corporations endorsed them (Niccolai 2001). This Neo-Liberalist structure reveals a double standard system and indicates that certain groups in our society enjoy privileges when deciding if something is Art or Crime (Dickinson 2008).

In addition to issues of legality in Graffiti Writing and Street Art, others have expressed concern over the relationship of "vandalism" to other crimes. The Graffiti Writers for instance were commonly known to have used stolen spray-paint (Austin 2001). In addition to that, others have also highlighted the "broken windows" theory, where a state of disorder like broken-into-cars frightens law-abiding citizens and invites other criminal activities (Grant 1996). In this case, Graffiti Writing is believed by the FBI to cause an increase in other crimes like robberies.

Last but not least, most writers have participated in Graffiti Writing simply because it is a crime (Macdonald 2001). As mentioned in the section about masculinity, writers have enjoyed outwitting the authorities to validate their manhood.

2.10 Graffiti Writing nd Street Art's Relationship to Advertisers.

Despite being on the illegal side of the fence, Graffiti Writing and Street Art are in many ways similar to branding and advertising. Similar to the process of creating a brand, a Graffiti writer or a Street Artist would first have to select a name that can clearly repre-

sent his persona (Russel and Lane 2002). After a name is selected, a visual identity is then created for it (Landa 2006). Next, various touch-points are selected (Figure 2.13)(Wheeler 2003). In the case of Graffiti-writers, their chosen touch-point & location happened to be the trains.



Figure 2.13. Touch Points (Source: Wheeler, Alina (2003), Designing brand identity)

Beside touch points, the number of times a person is exposed to an advertisement is also central to the development of brand awareness. Advertisers therefore measure and charge their services by frequencies or "impressions" (Solomon et al. 2006). In Graffiti Writing, writers performed a similar act of generating impressions; termed as "getting up". This term refers to writers repeatedly tagging the walls (Castleman 1982).

When frequency saturates, scale became Graffiti writers' new salient factor. Like advertisers, writers utilized scale for salience: they began with small tags and later evolved into

painting over an entire car. Likewise, advertisers utilize a variety of large-scale displays, including billboard advertisements and "Jumbo Screens" in sports stadiums. Scale essentially provides salience to attract the audience's attention. When tags failed to stand out in the midst of competition, writers differentiated themselves with bigger pieces of work (Austin 2001). For additional salience, many Graffiti-writers evolved and worked on complicated designs. Writers termed this large and elaborate work "pieces"- short



Figure 2.14. W + K interact working on a commission work with Nike (Source:http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=19mLBU_ocpM)

for masterpieces (Chalfant 1984). However, as noted in previous chapters, "pieces" are harder to execute and demanded more time. Because of this, writers would commonly practice both piecing and tagging to optimize time and achieve maximum exposure (Castleman 1982). This strategy to achieve fame is identical to branding, where multiple

touch-points are engaged to maximize the visibility of a brand (Wheeler 2003). To facilitate speed in tagging, Street Artists utilized new media like stickers, wheat paste and stencil. These new media allowed Street Artists to accomplish what Graffiti-writers had previously desired: speed of attack and quantity.

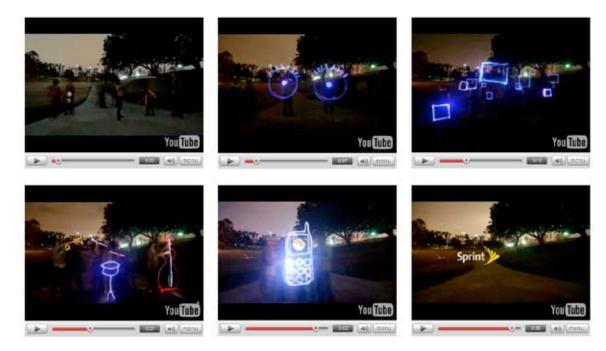


Figure 2.15. Sprint commercial that used the concept of light writing (source:http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lW 9SYaWAQg)

The relationship between Street Art and advertising extends even further with the endorsement of Street Artists. Instead of competing with Street Artists over urban spaces, many corporations engaged with Street Artists and integrated their art onto their products. Nike for instance endorsed Street Artists like WK + interact for their advertisements and designs (Figure 2.14). More recently, President Barack Obama commissioned Street Artist Shepard Fairey to design his presidency campaign's posters (Lewis 2008).

Apart from corporate endorsement, advertisers are also commonly known to utilize icons and aesthetics from Street Art's. Many of today's commercials are for instance decorated

with elements like spray paint drips or swirling arrows abstracted from Street Art. In line with that, commercials also frequently make use of the latest themes found in Street Art. In a recent commercial by Sprint, "light-writing", a new form of Street Art, is promoted as the central activity in the commercial (Figure 2.15).

2.11 Street Art's relationship to Fine Arts.



Figure 2.16. Tate Modern held art exhibition for 6 Street Artists (Source: http://www.tate.org.uk/modern/exhibitions/streetart/default.shtm)

Other than establishing relationships with popular media and corporations, Street Art has also found its way into high art and galleries. In recent years, numerous galleries and museums have held exclusive shows for Street Artists. During August 2008, Tate Modern in London held a show for six internationally acclaimed Street Artists (Modern 2008) (Figure 2.16).

IIn addition to being featured in museums, Street Artists have also seen successes in various aspects of High Art. The paintings of Street Artist Banksy for instance, have successfully been auctioned at Sotheby's for £102,000 (BBC 2007). On top of that, Banksy has also successfully set up gallery shows in various cities around the world. Apart from the

conventional way of exhibiting in museums, Banksy had also infiltrated various institutes like zoos and various national museums to install his work (Banksy 2006). Although most of the museums have discovered and removed his work, the British Museum has made one of his self–installations a part of their permanent collection. Other than museums, Banksy has gone to the West Bank Barriers in Palestine to install his artwork (Banksy 2006).

Besides Banksy, Street Artists like Shepard Fairey have received international recognition as an artist. Recently, The US National Portrait Gallery acquired his poster for the Obama campaign for their permanent collection (Itzkoff 2009). Apart from Banksy and Fairey, similar successes have happened for other Street Artists like Kaws, Blu, Faile and JR (Fisher 2008).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1: Understanding Street Art with the Blue Ocean Strategy

The evolution from Graffiti Writing to Street Art closely resembles transformations in businesses. Businesses often have to differentiate themselves from their competitors to acquire competitive advantage (Kim 2005). Likewise, Graffiti-writers adopted similar strategies of differentiation to stand out from competition and work in new markets. The evolution from Graffiti writers to Street Artists indicated a strategic move that explains "Street Art's" translation into popular culture. For this research, analytical tools like the strategy canvas from the "Blue Ocean Strategy" will be used to analyze the strategies of Street Artists. The strategic profile of Street Artists will also be compared to the 1970s Graffiti-writers and Fine artists. Through these comparisons, we will identify the factors that had facilitated Street Artists' translation into the mainstream.

The Blue Ocean Strategy is an analytical framework devised by Professor W. Chan Kim and Renee Mauborgne. The "Blue Ocean" is a metaphor used to describe a situation of new demands that is irrelevant to old competitions (Kim 2005). The strategy greatly differs from conventional wisdom that advises a company to compete aggressively over existing demand (Kim 2005). When competition intensified in those situations, mounting costs and shrinking demand often resulted in the "Red Ocean".

The purpose of the Blue Ocean Strategy is for a company to: 1) analyze the current land-scape of competitors, 2) identify potential markets missed out by competitors 3) escape from intense competition over the same market. 4) Create new markets where competition is irrelevant or low (Kim 2005). In the context of this research, the strategy canvas of the Blue Ocean Strategy will be used to analyze and compare the strategies of Street Artists, Graffiti writers and Fine Artists (competitors landscape).

Fundamentally, the Blue Ocean Strategy works around the concept of Value Innovation (Kim 2005) (Figure 3.1). In essence, value innovation involves reducing cost and increasing buyers' value. To reduce cost, a company can eliminate excessive factors that competitors focus on. To raise buyers' value, a company can introduce new products or services that existing businesses do not offer. By allowing the scale of economy to work itself into

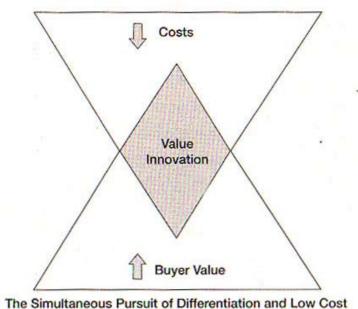


Figure 3.1. Value Innovation (Source: Kim, W. Chan (2005), *The Blue Ocean Strategy*)

this formula, superior value can then be realized (Kim 2005).

To analyze the current competitor landscape with the Blue Ocean Strategy, principal factors relating to companies and its industry will first have to be indentified. Companies will then be evaluated and rated according to these factors. By charting the rating of these factors over the strategy canvas, the current state of play in the known market can be captured (Kim 2005). To revise a strategy and increase buyers' value, a four action framework is used. The purpose of the framework is to evaluate factors that a business should eliminate, create, reduce and raise against current market.

A successful example of the Blue Ocean Strategy is "Cirque Du Soleil" (Kim 2005). The creation of Cirque Du Soleil allowed the company to overtake industry leaders like Ringling brothers and Bailey (Kim 2005). Previously, Ringling and Bailey had for decades dominated the circus industry (Kim 2005). To identify the strategy that had facilitated Cirque Du Soleil with its success, the strategy canvas will be used. To utilize the strategy canvas, principal factors associated with the various circuses are first evaluated and rated. They are then charted on the strategy canvas to reveal their strategic profiles (Kim 2005).

As revealed in the strategic profiles of Cirque Du Soleil, the company diverged from factors that the circus industry had over-emphasized (Figure 3.2). In addition, they also eliminated factors that were not advantageous to the industry (Figure 3.3) (Kim 2005). These included the use of animals and the endorsement of star-performers. Since animal right groups are pro-active, the tradition of having animal shows actually cost traditional circuses problems and money (Kim 2005). Shifting away from the traditional circus model, Cirque Du Soleil integrated the concept of theatre and story-telling into its shows (Kim 2005). In addition, slapstick humor in traditional circuses was replaced with a more enchanting style (Kim 2005). To enhance the overall experience at Cirque Du Soleil, the company embraced more exquisite designs for its tent and seats (Kim 2005). Last but not least, multiple productions were added to increase shows' demand (Kim 2005). Despite

the fact that Cirque Du Soleil have shifted away from the traditional model of circus business, the new strategy provided it with a bigger market and allowed it to charge premium ticket prices that increased its profit margin (Kim 2005).

The Strategy Canvas of Cirque du Soleil

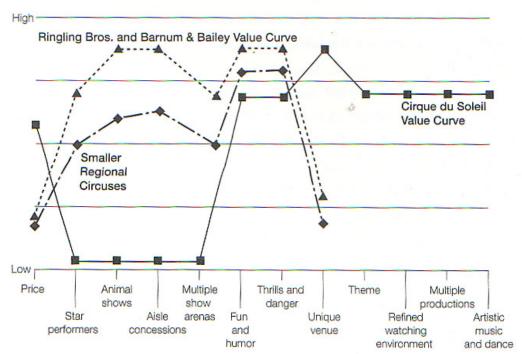


Figure 3.2. Strategy Canvas of Circus Du Soleil (Source:Kim, W. Chan (2005), *The Blue Ocean Strategy*)

Eliminate-Reduce-Raise-Create Grid: The Case of Cirque du Soleil

Eliminate	Raise
Star performers	Unique venue
Animal shows	
Aisle concession sales	
Multiple show arenas	
Reduce	Create
Fun and humor	Theme
Thrill and danger	Refined environment
	Multiple productions
	Artistic music and dance

Figure 3.3. 4 Action Framework for Circus du soleil (source:Kim, W. Chan (2005), *The Blue Ocean Strategy*)

Though Street Art is not a business, its evolution from Graffiti Writing very much resembled the formation of new markets. Similar to the strategy of Circus Du Soleil, Graffiti writers integrated elements from Fine Artists, participated in gallery shows and expanded their market to include audiences from the public and the high arts. In addition, the history of Graffiti Writing also suggests various creations of blue ocean strategies.

During the beginnings of Graffiti Writing, writers competed solely on the merit of puttingup numerous tags (quantity). As more enrolled into Graffiti Writing, tags saturated the writing landscape and turned the situation into a "Red-ocean". In order to gain fame, some writers diverted from the competition and created a "Blue-Ocean strategy". Instead of competing over the frequency of attacks, these writers abandoned markers and adopted aerosol paint to work on large-scale tags. The use of aerosol paint signaled "value innovation"; it reduced the cost involved in creating large-scale tags and allowed these Graffiti writers to acquire salience and fame (Chalfant 1984). However, this strategy did not last forever and large-scale tagging lost its competitive advantage when other writers adopted it. To recreate a "Blue-Ocean", some writer began integrating styles and complexity into their tags. Instead of large-scale tags, writers created elaborate pieces of work that demanded more skill and talent (Silver 1983).

When the Train Authority declared their victory over Graffiti writers, the writing community disseminated back to the streets (Austin 2001). At the same time, they crosspollinated with Fine Artists and evolved into Street Artists. Through this evolution, they exercised a new strategy that allowed them to gain audiences from the public and the high-arts. Similar to the strategy of Cirque De Soleil, where the company repositioned itself outside of the circus industry and integrated factors from theatres, Graffiti Writers repositioned themselves by integrating factors from fine artists. Like Cirque De Soleil, Graffiti-writers expanded their market by shifting from of their former genres: they

evolved into Street Artists and included the public in their audiences. With new audiences, Street Artists reduced, eliminated, raised and created various factors that enabled value innovation. While Cirque De Soleil eliminated star performers and animation shows, Street Artists eliminated the exclusive use of type in their creations. Similar to how Cirque De Soleil raised the factors of a unique venue, Street Artists raised their abilities to independently execute bigger pieces of work. In addition, Street Artists also increased their participation in gallery shows. Likewise, they reduced factors that involved illicit behaviour, scale and repetitions. Unlike Graffiti-writers who primarily focused on proving masculinity through the engagement of illicit stunts, Street Artists generally reduced competition over these factors. Lastly, Street Artists take the non-conventional route to being an Artist. Unlike traditional fine-Artists, they do not rely on gallery networks for fame. Instead, Street Artists generate much of their fame by working on the streets.

3.2: Methods:

This section of the thesis illustrates how I identify the Blue Ocean Strategy of Street Artists. To reveal Street Artists' Blue Ocean Strategy, principle factors for Graffiti-writers and Street Artists are first identified. Principle factors include values and practices that are important to these two sub-cultural genres. These factors are identified through content analysis of books, articles, video documentaries and Street Artists' websites.

Since Graffiti Writing peaked in New York City's subway during 1970s, principle factors of Graffiti writers will be captured from this period of time (Chalfant 1984). Graffiti-writers and Street Artists will then be rated according to these factors. Following this, ratings will be used to generate the first strategy canvas. The purpose of this first strategy canvas is to evaluate factors that Street Artists responded to in Graffiti Writings. Next, princi-

pal factors of Street Artists will be rated and integrated into the existing strategy canvas. The updated Strategy canvas will provide an overview of Street Artists strategies against Graffiti writers. To explain Street Artists' Blue Ocean Strategy, the four-action framework will then be utilized. The four-actions framework reviews the reduction, elimination, rise and creation of factors within a strategy. By processing Street Art strategies through the four-action framework, we can identify the factorial shifts that have resulted in Street Artist's Blue Ocean Strategy.

Lastly, because Street Art has infiltrated the market of Fine-Artists, the strategy canvas of Fine-Artists will also be generated for comparison. By comparing these strategies, we can gain a better understanding of the factors that have facilitated Street Artists entry into the High-Art market.

3.2.1: Population Sample

Purposive Sampling similar to Barroso's study of people living with Aids will be used for this study (Barroso 1997). A total sample of 54 Street Artists will be identified for this research. These artists are listed as the top Street Artists on http://www.streetsy.com/40artists.php. "Streetsy" is a prominent site for the Street Art community and is also one of the top findings when one searches for Street Art on Internet search engines.

3.2.2 Profile of Street Artists:

Below is the list of the "Street-names" and condensed profile of the 54 Street Artists compiled from Streetsy (Table 3.1). All 54 Street Artists takes on some form of unique identity or practice. Blu-Blu for instance, is known to animate large-scale drawings on the

walls for his Street Art work (Figure 3.4). Another Street Artist, JR is known for his large-scale photography of people (Figure 3.5).

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	Zero Cents	
	Banksy	invasion into properties

Table 3.1. Condense profile of Street Artists and their traits



Figure 3.4. Street Art by Blu



Figure 3.5. Street Art by JR (source :http://jr-art.net/)

3.2.3: The 9 principal factors identified from 1970s Graffiti Writing:

1.Illicit: This factor measures where the tags are being placed. Tags on private property (for example people's houses or cars) are considered more illicit than tags on the walls of abandoned streets or isolated public spaces. In Graffiti Writing, writers trespassed train yards to place their tags on trains, making this activity highly illicit (Macdonald 2001).

2.Complexity: This factor analyses the general amount of craftsmanship required to execute a piece of work on the street. Complex designs usually demand more work and time and the work of Graffiti Writing is highly complex compared to Street Art (Silver 1983).

3.Hazardous: This looks into the amount of danger that a writer may get involved with when executing his work. In the case of Graffiti Writing, writers have to cross over fences and risk getting electrocuted on train tracks when they sneak into the train yards (Austin 2001).

4. Type-Based: This factor evaluates the involvement of type in works. Graffiti Writing, for instance is heavily based on text.

5.Repetition: This factor evaluates the repeated usage of the same icons and tags. Graffiti Writing is highly repetitive as writers propagate the same tags over and over again (Austin 2001).

6.Scale: This factor measures the size of work. Scale was an important attribute in Graffiti Writing. At one point in time, some writers even tried tagging one "piece" on multiple cars (Austin 2001). Despite the importance of scale, Graffiti-writers' works are still limited to the scale of train cars. .

7.Location: This factor measures the location of artwork in relation to human exposure. New York City's Subway was a very strategic location as it was central to numerous commuters. It was also mobile and transported Graffiti-writers' work to other locations.

8.Independence: This factor measures the amount of collaborative effort required. When scale became a factor in writing, Graffiti writers formed crews to execute bigger works (Austin 2001). The situation reduced one's ability to work independently.

9.Gallery Shows: This factor measures the level of participation in gallery shows.

3.2.4: Principal factors identified from Street Artists:

1.Sub-vertising:This factor measures the level of "attack" that Artists have conducted towards corporations. These attacks usually involve Street Artists modifying messages of existing advertisements.

2.Self-publication: This factor measures artists' involvement with self-publications (print).

3. Tours: This factor measures the number of places that Street Artists have installed their work. Street Artists who have their work installed in more cities will have a higher score.

4.Persuasive Images: This factor measures the usage of persuasive images. Persuasive images draw on visual parody and the violation of reality (Messaris 1997). They are frequently utilized in advertising (Figure 3.6) (Messaris 1997).



Figure 3.6. Image that violates a sense of reality are frequently used in advertisements for attention (source: Messaris, Paul (1997), *Visual persuasion :the role of images in advertising.*)

3.2.5: Data Analysis:

Street Artists and Graffiti Writers will be rated by means of empirical observation through content analysis of books, articles, video documentaries and Street Artists' websites. (Table 3.2) In line with that, a series of interviews of "Street Artists" will also be reviewed. These interviews are derived from the online video archive www.youtube.com. Interviews are also archived and listed on my blog page at http://erwinlian.blogspot.com.

3.2.6: Scale and measurements:

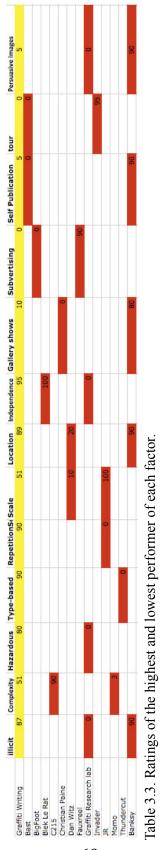
A numeric scale in the range of 100 is utilized for the rating of each factor (Table 3.3). These numeric ratings are then remapped onto the scale of low, middle and high; the remapped scale allows for easier charting on the strategy canvas. Scores within the range of 0-40 are classified as low range, 40-70 classified as mid range and 70-100 classified as High range.

3.2.7: Extremities as a point of reference for ratings:

To ensure better distribution of the overall ratings, the best and worst performers of each factor are positioned as "reference points". For example, Street Artist "Banksy" performed the most illicit act and has the highest score at 90 points and Graffiti research lab performed the least illicit act and has the lowest score at 0 points. Their scores will therefore serve as points of reference for the rating of other Artists under the illicit factor. All other Artists will thus fall in range of 0-90 points for their ratings. Below is a list of identified performers for each factor.

Graffiti Writing		y Hazardous	Type-based	Repetitions scale	Location	Independe	Gallery shows	Subvertising	Self Publication	non 2	oncia.	SIVE IMAGES
Armemek		12		2			i or			1 2	0 0	o L
Rast				o ur			20 10				00	200
BioEnot		1 10		00			7				00	3 00
Blin				9			76				86	86
Borf				06			7			0	86	2
Blek Le Rat				28			76			10	78	S
Bloke				88						0	0	20
Booker				88						0	0	20
5215				9			2			0	87	28
Christian Paine				ın						0	0	0
Dan Witz				0			74			2	0	23
Darius Jones VERBS				9						2	0	87
David Choe				9			7			**	87	86
D*Face				86			27				06	87
Deuce Seven				30			24			0	0	S
Elbowtoe				9			7.			0	0	25
Espo				06			2.			**	0	80
				00			7			10	0	28
Fauxreel				ın			2.				0	S
Faile				7			77			**	78	20
Gala				9			2.			0	0	00
Graffiti Research lab				0						0	06	0
mminent Disaster			0 0	9			27			0	0	00
nvader				06			7			2	95	80
ace				98			7.				78	98
esus Saves				06						0	0	0
				0			7.			2	88	00
udith Supine				0			7			0	0	0
Katsu				06						0	0	0
ChowHope				88			2			3	0	9
lster				2			2.				0	0
ondon Police				88			8			0	06	0
Mark Jenkins				88			8			0	06	06
Michael Defeo				88			8			10	87	20
MISS Van				31			80			.0	0	20
Momo				9			7.			0	20	0
VeckFace				98			7				78	S
Shepard Fairey				88			8			0	06	9
Os Gemes				2			8			.0	06	20
Rate				88						0	20	0
Robots will Kill				7			2			0	0	0
Revs				06						0	0	0
Spazmat				88			2.			0	0	00
Chris Stain				9			N.			0	0	0
Skewville				80			N			0	0	20
Stickman		4		98			2			0	0	0
Swoon				0			7			.0	0	0
hundercut				28			7			0	0	86
JFO				88						0	0	0
				S			7			10	23	98
Zero Cents		9		80			2			0	20	0
Zevs	89	4	3 28	9	50 87	100	24		36 86	10	22	0
Designations	00	30		oc			ā				00	00

Table 3.2. Ratings of Street Artists



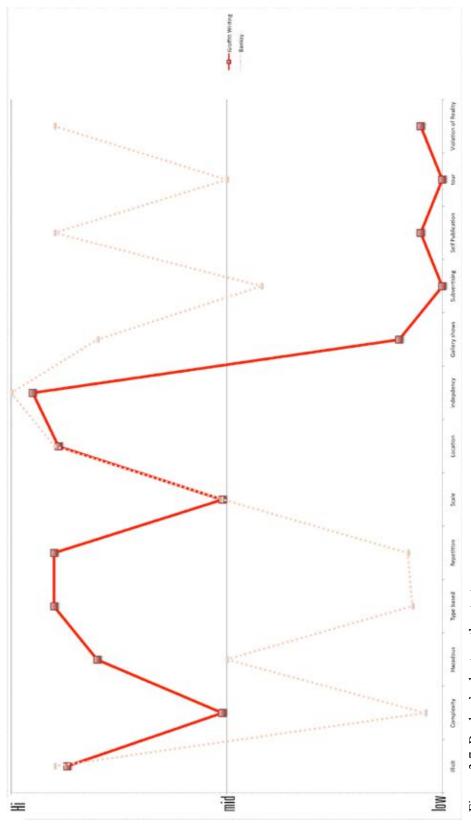


Figure 3.7. Banksy's chart on the strategy canvas.

1) Illicit factor: Banksy is rated highest for this factor while Graffiti Research lab received the lowest rating. (Figuare 3.7) Banksy has been known to trespass institutes like zoos and museums to install his work (Figure 3.8). Graffiti Research Lab on the other hand work with laser projections and their activities leave no physical marks behind.

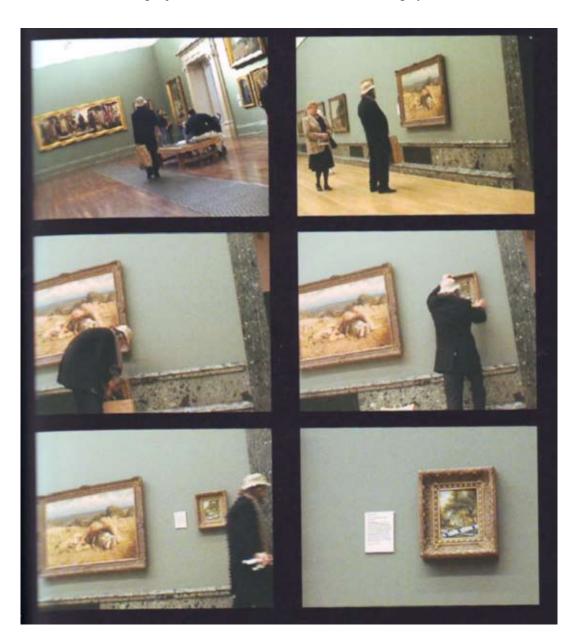


Figure 3.8. Banksy illegally installed his work in the museums (source:http://www.banksy.co.uk/)



Figure 3.9. Street Art by Thunder Cut (Source: http://www.thundercut.com/)



Figure 3.10. Street Art by JR (sourcehttp://jr-art.net/)

2) Complexity Factor: C215 received the highest rating for complexity as he frequently utilized multi-layered stencils to execute elaborate and complex work onto surfaces. The work of MoMo received the lowest, as it is relatively easy to paste stickers onto walls. There's barely any form of complexity involved with his installation process.

- 3) Hazardous Factor: Graffiti-Writers received the highest rating as they risked their lives crossing electric tracks to enter train yards. On the contrary, Graffiti Research lab is rated the lowest as laser projections involve minimal risk of getting injured or hurt.
- 4) Type Factor: Graffiti-Writers are rated highest as they work extensively in type. Street Artist Thunder-Cut is rated lowest as this artist fully relies on image for their work (Figure 3.9).



Figure 3.11. Street Art by Dan Witz (source: http://www.danwitzstreetart.com/)

Repetition: Graffiti-writers acquire the top rating for this factor as they are known to repeatedly use the same "tag" in their work. Street Artist JR (Figure 3.10) is rated lowest with literally no re-use of the same image in his work.





Figure 3.12. Before and After subvertisment by fauxreel (source http://www.fauxreel.ca/)



Figure 3.13. Banksy's work in Gaza

- 6) Scale Factor: JR deploys large-scale machinery to install gigantic pieces of work in the street. He is therefore rated the as the top contender for this factor. Dan Witz, on the other hand is known for his small but realistic paintings in the streets (Figure 3.11).
- 7) Subvertising: Faulfax's work is predominantly about subvertising; they go about modifying big billboards with their own messages (Figure 3.12) Faulfex therefore re-

ceived the highest rating for this factor. Graffiti-writers were never involved with subvertising and hence receive the lowest rating in this factor

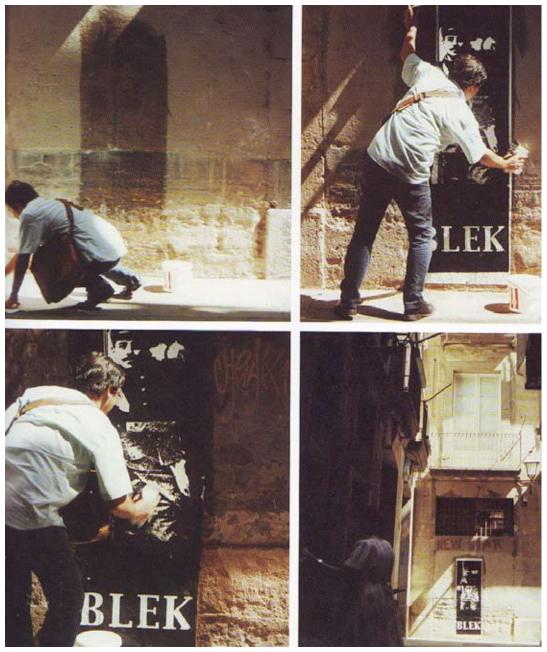


Figure 3.14. Street Art by Blek (Source:Rat, Blek le, (2008), Blek Le Rat.)

8) Location Factors: Banksy is the top contender in the location factor as he has



Figure 3.15. Banksy's work that showed the usage of persuasive images. The imagery seems to interact with the real lock in this peice. (source: Banksy (2006), *Wall and Piece*.)

taken on numerous public institutions that were well situated for human traffic. His locations included museums, zoos and even the sacred location of Gaza (Figure 3.13). Dan

Witz's paintings on the other hand are the smallest and situated at places that were not very visible to many.

- 9) Independence Factor: Blek Le Rat can independently install all his work and is therefore rated highest for this factor (Figure 3.14). The performance of Graffiti research lab however requires the involvement of numerous participants and is thus rated lowest here.
- 10) Self-publications: Banksy has self-published at least 2 books and was also featured in numerous others; he is therefore rated the highest for this factor. Street Artist Bast has however not published any books and is hardly featured in any publications.
- Persuasive Images: Street Artist Banksy utilizes a serious of work that violated a sense of reality; He is therefore rated highest for this factor (Figure 3.15). The Graffiti Research lab on the hand use few types of imagery and hence take the lowest rating for this factor.
- Tours: Street Artist Invader is known to have traveled around the world with his tile work in the street, he is thus rated the highest on this factor. Street Artist Bast's work can only be found around Brooklyn in New York. He is therefore rated the lowest on this factor.
- 13) Gallery Factor: Street Artist Christain Paine has not been featured in any gallery shows and is therefore given the lowest rating here. Banksy on the other is extremely active in gallery shows and is thus rated the highest among all.

3.2.8: Generating the Strategy Canvas:

Completed ratings of the Graffiti writers and Street Artists are utilized for the charting of their Strategic profiles on the Strategy Canvas. The Strategic profile of Graffiti-writers is represented by one thick red line, while Street Artists are represented by individual dotted lines. Each dotted line represents one Street Artist. (Figure 3.16).

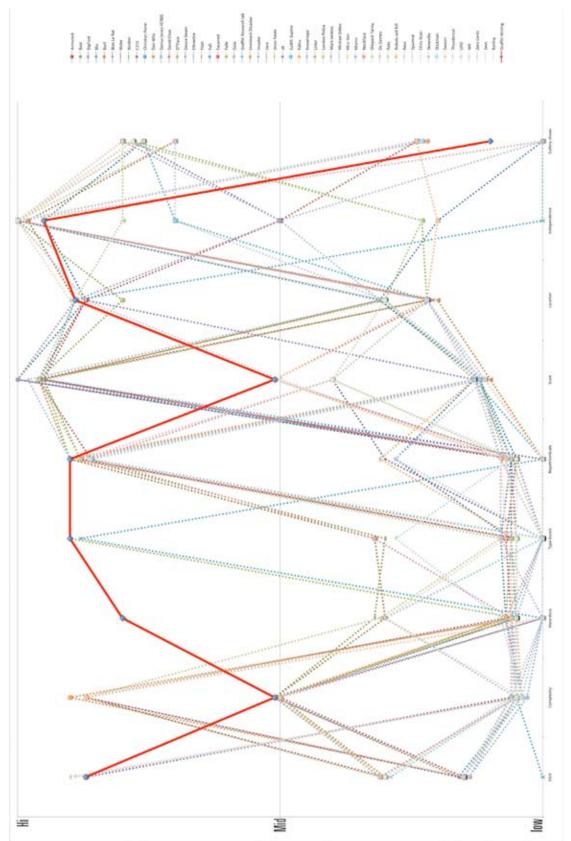


Figure 3.16. First Strategy Canvas Of Graffiti Writers and Street Artists

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1: Analysis of the first Strategy Canvas:

Findings from the first strategy canvas reveal that Street Artists diverged from most of the factors practiced by Graffiti-writers. The Strategic profile (Chart) of Street Artists shows that they are not highly involved with factors like illicit, complexity, hazardous and typebase tags. In addition to this, Street Artists have also reduced repetition in their work (Figure 3.15).

Unlike the writers, "Street Artists" have increased their participation with galleries and museums. Further research into this factor revealed that the works of 42 of the 54 Street Artists have been featured in actual galleries. Findings also indicated that Street Artists placed more emphasis on the factor of independence as most were able to execute work in the street independently.

Lastly, the strategic profile of the Street Artists also indicated a gap in the location factor.

Far from the visibility that Graffiti-writers received from tagging the subway trains, Street

Artists have selected less visible locations where they are less prone to arrests.

The first strategy canvas provides us with insights into Street Artists' strategies against those of Graffiti-writers. To fully capture the current state of play, Street Artists' principal

factors are integrated into the second Strategy Canvas.

4.2 Analaysis of the updated Strategy Canvas

The second strategy canvas provides us with a deeper understanding of the strategies of Street Art (Figure 4.1). Other than diverging from Graffiti writers' principal factors, Street Artists has also integrated four new factors in their strategy: subvertising, self-publication, tours and the use of "persuasive images".

As indicated in the first strategy canvas, these four new factors were not part of Graffiti Writing. The inclusion of these four factors suggests "Street Artists" interest in and emphasis on self-promotion.

4.3: Evaluating Street Artist Blue Ocean Strategy with the four-action framework.

To clearly evaluate and explain Street Artist's Blue Ocean Strategy, the four-action framework will be utilized. The four-action framework reviews the reduction, elimination, rise and creation of factors within a strategy. By processing Street Art strategies through the four-action framework, we can identify the factorial shifts that have resulted in Street Artists' Blue Ocean Strategy..

4.3.1: Reduction:

There has been a general reduction in factors that involve risk. Generally, Street Artists take into account the risk and severity of being caught or injured. Today's Street Art occurs in places that are less hazardous or prone to police patrol. Unlike Graffiti Writers,

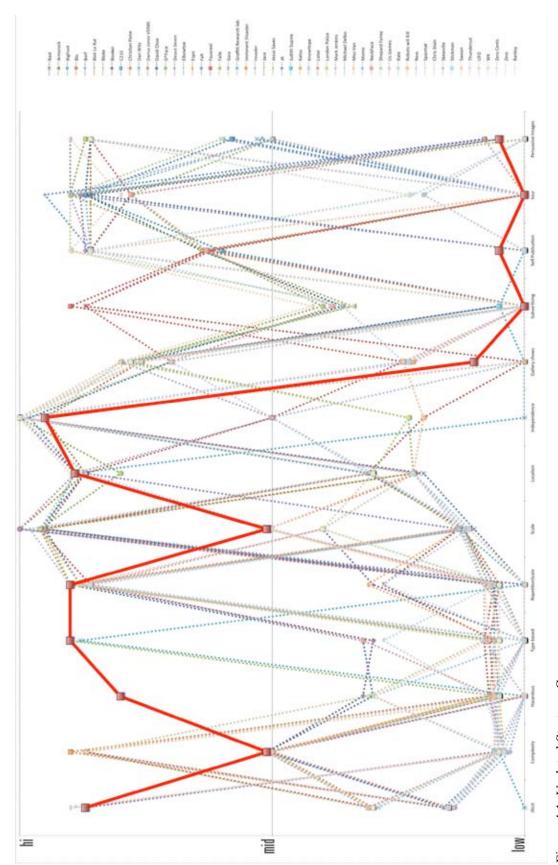


Figure 4.1. Updated Strategy Canvas.

Street Artists minimize "vandalizing" private properties. With heavier security in public facilities, "Street Artists" has avoided vandalizing locations like the Subway.

Apart from risk-related factors, "Street Artists" have also reduced the complexity involved with the execution of their work. Instead of laborious hours with spray paint, they utilize new mediums like stencil and wheat pasting to speed up the process of "getting up". With easier access to computer software and printers, "Street Artists are also capable of producing large-scale posters all by themselves.

Other than risk and complexity factors, Street Artists have in general reduced the scale of their work. Though most Street Art is smaller than pieces by the 1970s Graffiti writers, there are a few distinctive Street Artists who are known to execute gigantic pieces of work. These Street Artists include JR, Blu and Shepard Fairey. Their works are often a lot larger than Graffiti writers. In order to execute their work, they deploy large scaled machinery like cranes (Figure 4.2). As revealed by Street Artist JR, the utilization of this equipment camouflaged the illicit nature of their activities; allowing them to get away with their installations (Artasty.com). This method of stealth is also reflected in other "Street Artists" work. Many dress up as maintenance staff to replace billboards' advertisements in broad daylight! (Lewisohn 2008).

In summary, the reduction in various risk-associated factors indicates Street Artists concern over the risk of arrest. To fulfill the objective of having their work in public, Street Artists take on calculated risks and utilize their intelligence to camouflage themselves in order to accomplish ambitious work.

4.3.2: Elimination:

Unlike Graffiti-writers who worked only in type, Street Artists eliminate that exclusivity and work with various imageries and concepts. Street Artist Blu for instance is known for making animations from large-scale paintings created on the streets. Others like C215 is



Figure 4.2. Installation process of JR

known for his use of multi-layered stencils (Figure 4.3). Mark Jenkins on the other hand is known for making tape sculpture (Figure 4.4). The elimination of work made exclusively in type contributed greatly to the rise in Street Art's audiences. Previously, Graffiti writers stylized their writing to the point that they were no longer legible. This made it hard for people outside of the subculture to comprehend or recognize it as art.

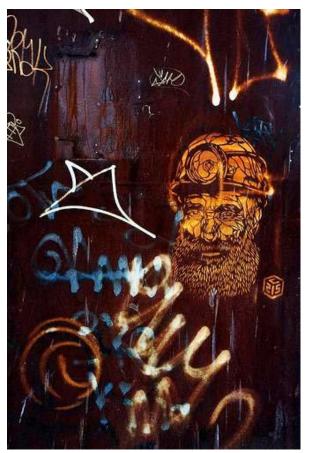


Figure 4.3. Work by Artist C215 (source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/c215/collections/)



Figure 4.4. Street Art by Mark Jenkins (Source:Gavin, Francesca (2007), Street Renagdes.)

4.3.3: Raise:

With aid of technology in work preparation and processing, Street Artists are able to easily work with complicated images. Unlike Graffiti writers who focused mainly on the execution process, Street Artists have reduced complexities involved with the execution process. They accomplished this by adopting more effective methods of application like stenciling and wheat pasting. This reduction in complexity has allowed Street Artists to work more independently. The independence factor extends beyond the production work of Street Art. By researching the websites of the Street Artists, I identified fourteen Street Artists who operate their own online stores. Street Artist D-Face, for instance sells stickers, wallets and even key chains on his website(Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5. Online products offered by D*Face website (http://www.dface.co.uk/)

Apart from raising the factor of independence, Street Artists have also increased their participation in gallery shows and museums. This shift in gallery participation greatly differentiates the "Street Artists" from the Graffiti Writers. Despite a rise in gallery participation during the later stages of Graffiti Writings, most Graffiti-writers in 1970s were not involved with galleries or museums. "Street Artists" in essence function between the world of Graffiti Writers and "fine-Artists", showcasing their work in both galleries and in the streets.

4.3.4: Create:

Street Artists have not only eliminated and reduced a number of factors practiced by the Graffiti-writers; they also introduced 4 new factors into Graffiti Writing. The first factor involved the use of "subvertising"; where company advertisements or logos are modified with parodies or other statements. The second factor involved Street Artists going on tours. Street Artists, Invaders for instance expanded the territory of his work by installing them in various cities around the world. In line with that, he also maintained a website to update his international fans of the locations he tagged. The third factor involves Street Artists' engagement with self-publication. Within my population sample of 54 Street Artists, 23 Street Artists have published their own books. In line with that, 36 of them maintain a personal website (Table 4.1) and 35 of them have promotional videos or interviews that can be found on "You tube (Table 4.2). Youtube is a popular video sharing website on the Internet.

The fourth factor created by Street Artists involves the utilization of persuasive images.

The concept of persuasive images is reviewed in the book Visual Persuasion by Paul

Messaris. According to Messaris, advertisers manipulated visuals in their advertisements

to elicit our attention (Messaris 1997). They accomplish this by utilizing images as simulated reality, as evidence and as implied selling propositions (Messaris 1997). Similar

Artist	Website
Armsrock	yes
Blu	yes
Borf	yes
Blek Le Rat	yes
C215	yes
Christian Paine	yes
Dan Witz	yes
Darius Jones VERBS	yes
David Choe	yes
D*Face	yes
Deuce Seven	yes
Espo	yes
Fafi	yes
Fauxreel	yes
Faile	yes
Graffiti Research lab	yes
Invader	yes
Jace	yes
JR	yes
KnowHope	yes
Lister	yes
London Police	yes
Mark Jenkins	yes
Michael Defeo	yes
Miss Van	yes
Momo	yes
Shepard Fairey	yes
Robots will Kill	yes
Spazmat	yes
Chris Stain	yes
Skewville	yes
Thundercut	yes
WK	yes
Zevs	yes
Banksy	yes

Table 4.1. Street Artists who has personal websites

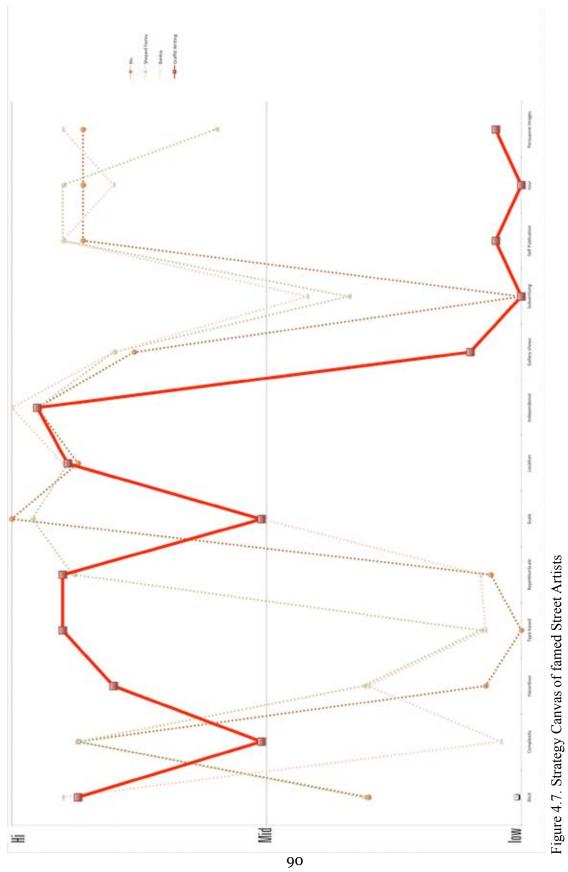
	Youtube
Blu	yes
Shepard Fairey	yes
Chris Stain	yes
Invader	yes
Espo	yes
Fafi	yes
Faile	yes
Fauxreel	yes
D*Face	yes
Bast	yes
BigFoot	yes
Elbowtoe	yes
Jesus Saves	yes
Judith Supine	yes
NeckFace	yes
Os Gemes	yes
Revs	yes
Swoon	yes
Armsrock	yes
Borf	yes
C215	yes
Dan Witz	yes
David Choe	yes
Graffiti Research lab	yes
Jace	yes
JR	yes
Lister	yes
London Police	yes
Mark Jenkins	yes
Miss Van	yes
Momo	yes
Skewville	yes
Thundercut	yes
WK	yes
Zevs	yes
Banksy	yes

Table 4.2 steeet artists who can be found on youtube.



Figure 4.6. Street Art work by Banksy violates the sense of reality (Source:Banksy (2006), *Wall and Piece*. London: Century)

to advertisers, Street Artists have also utilized persuasive images in their work. One of the more notable examples found in Street Art is the use of images as simulated reality (Messaris 1997). A good example of this is Banksy's iconic painting of rats; the painted rats are illustrated as painters interacting with their physical environment; leaving behind trails of actual paint (Figure 4.5). Like advertisers, Street Artists arouse public attention by creating images that violate our reality.



4.4: Evaluating the strategies of Famous Street Artists:

To further validate the factors contributing to Street Artists' Blue Ocean Strategy, the strategic profiles of three of the most famous Street Artists are isolated here for comparison.

These three Street Artists are Blu, Shepard Fairey and Banksy; they are selected based on distinctive reasons.

In an survey commissioned by Great Britain's Art Council, Banksy was rated as the number three art hero of the under-25s (Monthly 2007). Shepard Fairey on the other hand is famed for the poster design of President Obama's recent election campaign. Lastly Blu has been featured in numerous publications and has recently been selected for a museum show by Tate Modern in London.

Findings from this strategy canvas reflect similar results from previous canvases (Figure 4.7). All three Street Artists exercised reduced risk when it comes to the execution of their work. Consistent with the findings of previous canvases, these three Artists increased their participation in self-promotion and are highly involved with the factors of gallery shows, subvertising, tours and the use of persuasive images.

4.5: Comparing Street Artists Profile to those of Fine Artists:

Previous strategy canvases revealed to us the strategic differences between Street Artists and Graffiti-writers. Findings also indicated that Street Artists have established a non-traditional method of realizing their artistic careers. Instead of following the path established by traditional art, Street Artists diversified their "channels of distribution" by expanding into public spaces. To understand the strategies that have facilitate Street Art's success in

the domain of high-art, the strategies profile of Fine Artists will be compared and evaluated.

Similar to methods utilized in the previous strategy canvas, the principal factors of Fine Artist are identified from various literature about Fine Artists' careers. This literature includes books by Daniel Grant and Caroll Michels (Grant 2006; Michels 1997). Four principal factors central to the career of Fine Artists are identified. These factors are: 1) Reliance on network of galleries, 2) Reliance on gallery shows, 3) Reliance on Sales representatives, 4) Reliance on art publications. Graffiti Writers and "Street Artists" are then rated over these Fine Artists' principle factors (Figure 4.8).

The strategic profiles of Fine Artists reveals that "Street Artists" have positioned themselves in-between Graffiti Writers and "Fine-Artists". Compared to Graffiti Writers, "Street Artists" are more involved with the principle factors related to Fine Artists. Unlike the "Fine-Artists" however, Street Artists are not as heavily weighted towards these principle factors.

4.6: Comparing similar cultural-trend emergences:

To gain a deeper understanding of how Street Art translated into the mainstream, similar trend emergences from other sub-cultural activities can be identified and reviewed. Two of the more notable sub-cultural emergences that have happened in past years include tattoos and rap music. Similar to Street Art, these two activities were once considered rebellious and "underground". Likewise, they were also once stigmatized and shunned by the mainstream (Penn 2007). Today, they have permeated into the mainstream and are widely accepted by many people. According to Harris Interactive, a 2003 survey reported

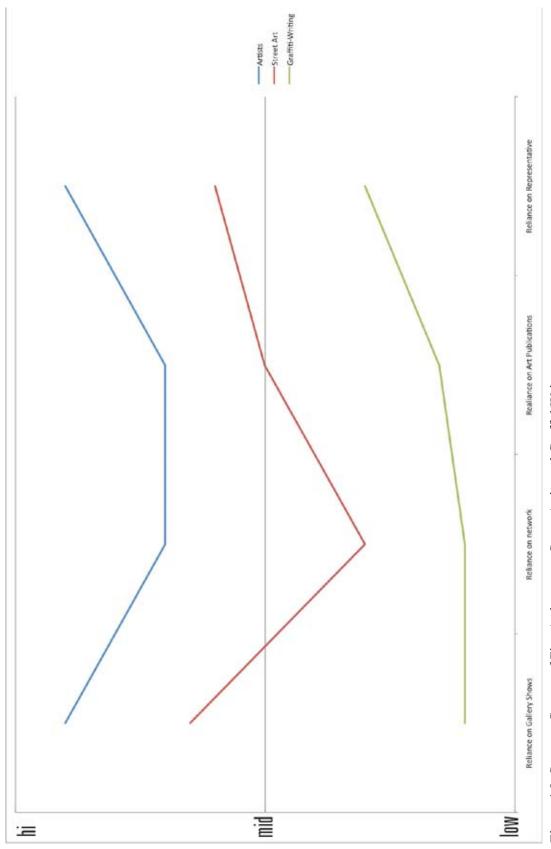


Figure 4.8. Strategy Canvas of Fine Artist versus Street Artist and Graffiti Writers

that sixteen percent of all U.S adults have at least one tattoo (Server 2003).

Aside from being associated with sub-cultural beginnings, these activities have in recent years portrayed a more socially acceptable image. Street Art, for instance has in recent years became active in legal spaces like galleries and museums. Their increased involvements with legal spaces has also revised their image from one of criminal activity to one associated with Art. With Street Art's increasing presence in various commercials and products, the sub-culture is further legitimized and accepted by the mainstream. This translation process is shared by both Tattoos and Rap music.

Tattoos and Rap music have both undergone similar processes of "Sanitization". Tattoos for instance were once associated only with inmates, criminals and sailors. Today, they are widely perceived as body Art (Server 2003). Much like the translation of Graffiti Writing into Street Art, Today's Tattoo parlors have distanced themselves from their old image of being seedy and dirty. They are presented as Art boutiques, they are clean and creative (Kaiyala). Other than being situated in nicer environments, tattoos are also commonly seen on Hollywood celebrities. This endorsement by celebrities is similar to Street Artists' endorsement by companies.

Like tattoos and Street Art, Rap music has also undergone the process of sanitization and become popular. In the article 'Commercialization of the Rap Music in Youth Subculture', Blair reviews the stages involved with the commercialization of a sub-cultural activity. These cultures first acquire their identity before becoming raw materials that are then commercialized by mass culture industries (Blair 2004). Blair uses Rap music as an example and elaborates on how it has been sanitized and promoted through various commercials (Blair 2004). She also indicates that rap, which was an expression of black people, was transformed and repackaged until it lost the black historical experience. Ac-

cording to her, mass cultural industries have the ability to dominate the development and diffusion of subcultures (Blair 2004).

By comparing Street Art to Tattoos and Rap music, we recognize that they have all undergone similar processes of sanitization. In line with this, they have all been diffused and promoted by mass cultural industries; celebrities wear tattoos and advertisers endorse Street Art and rap music.

Unlike the rest of the groups, Street Artists appear to have assumed more active roles with self-promotion. Instead of waiting for mass cultural industries to select them as raw materials, Street Artists initiated self-promotion and "sanitized" their own activity by participating in galleries and museums. In addition to that, they also produced and merchandized their own products. This finding suggests that Street Artists have assumed the role of Mass cultural industries and commercialized their own activity.

4.7: The Characteristics of a Good Strategy:

As noted in the "Blue Ocean Strategy", a good strategy usually possesses three characteristics. These characteristics are focus, divergence and a compelling tagline (Kim 2005). We can easily identify these three characteristics in Street Art:

4.7.1: Focus:

Street Artists are focused on creating compelling artwork in the street. They evaluated the situation of the streets and intelligently installed their work without arrestments (Walde 2007).

4.7.2: Divergence:

Street Artists avoided the conventional path of both Graffiti Writers and "fine-Artists". They diverge from excessive reliance on galleries and create their own spaces for showcase in the street. Moving away from the cultural constraints of Graffiti Writers, they widen their audience to include the general public and gallery patrons. These divergences open up new market opportunities for "Street Artists"...

4.7.3: Compelling Tag:

Street Artists have a clear-cut and compelling tagline: "Quality Art for everyone". Even though Street Artists never quite formulated this tagline, it is clearly the tagline for Street Artists. Their works are not segregated but enjoyed by both the public and gallery patrons.

4..8 Findings:

Findings from this research indicate that Street Art has translated itself into various commercial design applications by means of a "Blue Ocean Strategy". This Blue Ocean Strategy involves Street Artists positioning themselves between two genres, Graffiti Writing and Fine Art. Rather than working within the principal factors of Graffiti Writing, Street Artists diverted away from factors that involved excessive risk and dangers. To successfully install work on the street, they assessed their environment and camouflaged themselves to avoided arrest. Unlike Graffiti Writers, Street Artists also developed imageries that were both more accessible and persuasive. Rather than limiting the exposure of their work to the public, Street Artists actively increased their participation in galleries

and museums. By being involved with these legal spaces, "Street Artists" greatly "sanitized" and legitimized their activities. With a sanitized image, "Street Artists" expanded their audiences to include patrons of the high Arts. In addition to this, Street Artists also work independently to promote themselves through various online media. To counter the process of commercialization, Street Artists assume the role of mass cultural industries by making their own products and merchandizing them.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Blue Ocean Strategy of Street Art.

This chapter will attempt to conclude this thesis work with results gathered from the research.

This study has provided the design community with a better understanding of the cultural trend diffusion of "Street-Art". By identifying and evaluating the factors involved with this diffusion, the design community will gain greater awareness of Street-Art and its influences on various design applications. As indicated in previous chapters, these influences included the applications of Street Arts onto various products like shoes and apparels. Famed Street Artists like Shepard Fairey have also been commissioned to design posters for Barack Obama's presidency campaign (Wortham 2008). Last but not least, Street Art is also highly visible in today's commercials and advertisements. It can be seen in advertisements ranging from soft drinks to pharmaceutical products.

This study also brings to light the importance of "innovative strategies". The blue ocean strategy of "Street-Artists" indicates the effectiveness of differentiation in crowded market spaces. Rather than competing with Graffiti-writers or Fine Artists, Street Artists diverted from excessive factors that these cultures practiced, and appealed to broader markets. As mentioned in previous chapter, Street Artists took into account the risk and

severity of being caught or injured. They minimized vandalism on private properties and increased their participation in galleries and museums. By being involved with these legal spaces, "Street-Artists" greatly "sanitized" and legitimized their activities. On top of that, Street Artists also assumed the role of mass cultural industries by making, promoting and merchandizing their own products. The understanding of Street Artists' strategies provided budding design entrepreneurs with valuable insights to formulate their own strategies in current market spaces. Designers can utilize similar approach used in this study to analyze other emerging sub-cultural activities. They can identify the potential of other emerging sub-cultural activities by evaluating their principal factors with the strategy canvas. Much like the strategy of Street Artists, designers can assume the role of mass cultural industries by sanitizing and commercializing these sub-cultural activities. They can do this by of promoting the activity through new channel of distribution, like the Internet.

This study has also provided an insight into possible cultural trend emergences that may be happening in the market space. Findings from this study reveal that the emergence of various sub-cultural trends has much to do with mass cultural industries. Mass cultural industries diffuse trends into the mainstream by commercializing them in "sanitized" ways. Sub-cultural activities that are sanitized and propagated through various media may therefore signal the rise of a new cultural trend. Designers can make use of this information to identify possible trend emergences and provide appropriate design solutions for clients who are interested in the next "trend".

Last but not least, this research has provided designers with an understanding of the dynamics between strategies. As seen in the case of Street-Art, Street-Artists out-performed Fine-Artists by deploying non-conventional strategies of entering the Fine-Art market.

They do this by gaining popularity from the streets instead of relying on the network of

galleries and agents. Similarly, today's designers can re-evaluate the conventional factors advocated by its industry to avoid being caught in the "red-ocean". During a conversation with my advisor, Professor Jim Arnold, I was told that many "award-winning" designers failed in the real market space. Despite acquiring awards from the design industry, their designs were never successful in the general market. Much like the example given of Cirque Du Soleil in previous chapters, these designers reacted like Ringling and Bailey in the circus business and had overemphasized factors that were not advantageous to the industry.

5.2: Future Work

By evaluating the strategic profiles of Street Artists against Graffiti Writers and Fine Artists, this thesis research has utilized the "blue-ocean" strategy to explain how Street Art transformed itself from an art that was associated with an illicit subculture to become prominent in various design applications.

Despite attempts to be thorough in this research, there are areas in this thesis that would require further research. In this thesis, Street-Art has been assumed to be an evolved form of "graffiti-writing". Even though this relationship has been mentioned in various examples of literature, it has not been validated by any research.

Additionally, further research may also be required for the measurement of persuasiveness in Street-Artists' imagery. The persuasiveness of images is commonly studied in advertising. Findings from this research will provide a more accurate account of the effectiveness of Street-Artists' imagery.

Also, additional research may be conducted on identifying and categorizing sub-cultural activities that have been used in design. With a more thorough understanding of the kind of sub-cultural activities that had translated into design applications, the design community can better identify sub-cultural activities that have a potential to cross into the main-stream.

Lastly, this thesis research had only identified sub-cultural trends that successfully diffused into the mainstream. Further research can be conducted on sub-cultural activities that have failed to penetrate into the mainstream. Identifying the factors involved with these failures will provide us with a better insight into the probability of these sub-cultural transferances. In line with this, further research can also be carried out into methods to detect these trend emergences. Designers who are better aware of these trend emergences can take advantage of these situations and develop products that would satisfy the emerging market.

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APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY

Active: A writer who currently paints

All City: A writer whose work can be found in many different locations.

Bad: Something which is great or fantastic.

Battle: A competition between writers using pieces or tags

Bite: To copy another writer's work

Black book: A sketchbook containing a writer's Graffiti designs.

Bomb, can, destroy, kill: To completely cover something in Graffiti.

Buff: To chemically clean Graffiti from the surface of a train.

Bumpkin: A writer who does not live in London.

Burn: To pain exceptionally well.

Burner: A well-executed piece.

Cap; fat or skinny: Spray can nozzles which make the spray width wide or narrow.

Catch tag: To tag one's name here and there.

Cheap fame: A profile that has not been earned through hard work.

Crew: A group of affiliated writers.

Cross out, dog out, line out: To put a line through another writer or crew's name.

Cross out war: A dispute between writers who are lining out each others' name

Diss, cuss: To disrespect or insult another writer.

Down; A writer who is part of a crew or highly respected.

Drop: To paint a piece

Dry, lame ,wack: Something which is bad or of substandard quality.

Dub: A quick outline of a writer's name with a silver or gold painted interior

End to end: A piece covering the entire length of a train carriage.

Fanatic, hardcore: A highly active or reckless writer

Fill-in: The interior shade of a piece, throwup or dub.

Freight, BR's: Overland trains which travel across the country.

Give props: To give a writer credit.

Go over: To write over another writer's name with your own.

Grass: A police informant.

Hall of fame: A legal or semi-legal walled painting site.

Hot: A risk yard or area which is being monitored by the police.

Interactive: A write who has temporarily stopped painting.

Jock: A sycophant or wannabe

King: The most accomplished or prolific writer

Line: A line on the underground or subway.

Mission: An illegal painting trip.

New Jack: A new or recent writer.

New school: A newer generation of writers

Old school: An older generation of writers.

On tour: A trip abroad to do Graffiti and/ or steal paint.

Outline: The line silhouetting a piece, throwup or dub.

Pay one's dues: To show one's dedication through a full and active illegal career.

Piece: A painting, short for masterpiece. To paint a word or image with more than two colors.

Props: A writer's credits

Rack: To Steal

Rads: Police

Rep: A writer's reputation,

Retire: To give up Graffiti on a regular basis.

Safe: Something which is 'good' or without risk.

Scar: Graffiti that is still faintly visible after having been chemically cleaned.

Sell out: A writer who renounces illegal work and works commercially for money.

Shout out: To thank or acknowledge someone.

Tag: A writer's name and signature.

Tagging, hitting, getting up: Writing one's name or signature.

Third rail: the electrified rail on a train track.

Three-stroke" A throwup with the first letter of a writer's name

Throw down: To put a writer in a crew

Throwup: A quickoutline of a writer's name with a black and white painted interiors.

Top to down: A piece reaching from the top of a train carriage to the bottom.

Toy: A young, inexperienced or artistically incompetent writer.

Train jam: An organized group Graffiti attack on the underground system.

Up: A prolific writer.

Whole car: A piece

Whole train, Worm: A piece or series of pieces extending the entire length of a train.

Wildstyle: A complex writing style characterized by its angular interlocking letters.

Window down: A piece painted below the windows of a train carriage.

Writer: Someone who writes Graffiti. A member of the subculture.

Yard, Depot, lay up: A place where trains are berthed.