

Street Art and related terms – discussion and working definition

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Abstract

This paper gives a short introduction and discussion of the term Street Art and related terms like Graffiti and Urban Art. A major part discusses my definition of Street Art and other definitions and the differences and commonalities of these terms. Street Art consists of self-authorized pictures, characters, and forms created in or applied to surfaces in the urban space that intentionally seek communication with a larger circle of people. Street Art is done in a performative and often site-specific, ephemeral, and participatory manner. Street Art is mostly viewed online. It differs from Graffiti and Public Art. I quote first and foremost German researchers that are not translated into English but in my opinion should be part of the international academic discussion.

Keywords: Street Art, Urban Art, Graffiti, Working Definition, Overview, Summary, Terms.

1. Introduction

“What is Street Art?” This was the first question in a Call for Papers for a Street Art conference in New York in March 2015 as well as for another one in Nice in September 2015. Cedar Lewisohn, curator of the Street Art show at Tate Modern in 2008, blustered in an international Street Art conference in Lisbon (2014) about academic writers who deal with Street Art being fans rather than critical academics. What he said, is, in my opinion, just a problem of communication – i.e., what is not available in English simply might not exist in the minds of some researchers. Since about 2005, a range of academic authors have already tried to answer the question, “What is Street Art?” A lot of them don’t write in English.

This paper is a short introduction and discussion of the term Street Art and related terms. This is necessary as Street Art often gets blurred with, for instance, Public Art, Graffiti or Urban Art. Here, I primarily cite the work of German researchers yet to be translated into English that, in my opinion, should be part of the international academic discussion.

2. Graffiti – in brief

Today, the term Graffiti, a relative of Street Art, is associated with a particular form of Graffiti called Style Writing, a.k.a.

contemporary graffiti, underground graffiti, or subculture graffiti. This “American” Graffiti spread from the USA to be quantitatively the most dominant in the Western world since the late 1960s. Style Writing (as I call this form of Graffiti here) is name writing in the form of little (name) tags or bigger more elaborated (master)pieces et al. affixed to urban public surfaces, usually with a spray can or a marker in a qualitative and/or a quantitative way.

The word “Graffiti” comes from the term “sgraffito”, which was first mentioned by Vasari in 1564 (Vasari, 1945)¹ who referred to a technique of Sgraffito – or scratched patterns on the façades of houses in the Renaissance – related to fresco painting. The word “Graffiti,” a relative of the Italian word for scratching or writing, began to lose its technical meaning around 1850 in favor of its more “unofficial” characteristics, particularly for researchers in the field of ancient history and archeology like Garrucci and the archeologists uncovering ruins in Pompeii (Stahl, 1990).² In the case of these projects, “Graffiti” refers primarily to word-Graffiti. Street Art studies hardly deal with historical or traditional Graffiti and bathroom Graffiti, and when the term Graffiti is used, it generally refers to Style Writing Graffiti.

The books of Johannes Stahl (1989; 1990; 2009) provide a history of traditional graffiti (which is a history of Street Art

as well) until the 1980s, while Jacob Kimvall's "The G-Word" (2014) provides a differentiated discussion of contemporary Style Writing Graffiti not just as art or vandalism.

3. The Term Street Art

Street Art pioneer John Fekner has given a very broad definition of Street Art as: "All art on the street that's not graffiti" (Lewisohn, 2008: 23) or, that is not Style Writing. I agree with him that whatever Street Art is, it is not synonymous with Graffiti, although, as we will see, occasionally the genres do blur. However, not all Street Art is derived from Graffiti Writing.

Street Art was not always called Street Art. Reineke (2007) explains that the term first experienced a breakthrough in the media in 2005. After 2004, the terms "Post-Graffiti" and "Urban Art" competed with one another (along with a slew of other terms) for dominance in English language online forums in which artists and authors engaged in controversial discussions regarding terminology (Reineke, 2007).³ Each of the terms emphasizes different aspects of what we now call Street Art ten years later. "Post-Graffiti" falsely implies that Graffiti is somehow a thing of the past (D-Face, in Reinecke, 2007: 16), whereas Street Art in fact grew out of (Style Writing and other forms of) Graffiti, particularly in light of the supplies and media used and the biographies of Street Artists. Artists like the French Pochoirists around Blek le Rat in the 1980s or punk stenciling are hardly even included in "Post-Graffiti." Such "Stencil-Graffiti" is seen today as both a precursor and a technical sub-type of Street Art because of the popularity of stencils in both the media and among the general public, even though they represent just one method of the reproduction techniques used in Street Art. Unlike Style Writing, Stencil Graffiti is rooted in the context of historical Graffiti, which began in Pompeii and continues today and even includes things like bathroom Graffiti and sayings or quotations in public places, all of which fall into the category of daub scribbling and are categorically removed.

The meaning of Street Art has changed over time. As early as 1975, Robert Sommer used the term Street Art to refer to wall paintings and mural art, however such art projects are in fact legal and "an art form directed towards communicating with masses of inhabitants and passers-by that is planned and approved for exhibition in public spaces" (Derwanz,

2013, p. 112). Besides the fact that such art is legal, this kind of Public Art is not Street Art because it is "contemporary artwork located outside of galleries and museums as an aesthetic and communicative object in order to democratize access to modern art" (Danko, 2009: n.p.). In 1996 an English translation of a Russian book, published in 1984, about early Soviet propaganda (art) is entitled "Street Art of the Revolution: Festivals and Celebrations in Russia 1918-33." Although some Street Art today has roots in propaganda or political posters of 1920s Russia, Fascist 1940s Italy, or/and 1960s France, this 1990s understanding of Street Art differs from the use of the term since 2005. A lot of propaganda pieces were not illegal for instance. In 1985 Allan Schwartzman published a book called "Street Art." Schwartzman's understanding of the term is close to the one used here although he published photos with a mixture of legal and illegal Style Writing Graffiti together with what is called Street Art today.

4. Definition of Street Art

I agree with Peter Bengtsen (2014) that the "term Street Art cannot be defined conclusively since what it encompasses is constantly being negotiated." Thus, the following definition of Street Art is not conclusive but represents a working definition:

Street Art consists of self-authorized pictures, characters, and forms created in or applied to surfaces in the urban space that intentionally seek communication with a larger circle of people. Street Art is done in a performative and often site-specific, ephemeral, and participatory way. Street Art is mostly viewed online. It differs from Graffiti and Public Art.

According to Walde (2006), since 2000 Street Art is a movement.⁴ Before it was just single artists who did what we now retrospectively call Street Art, like Fekner, Zlotykamien, Nae-geli, Holzer or Basquiat and Haring.

4.1 Street (and) Art

The weakness in my definition, like the weakness inherent in the term Street Art, lies in the portion that falls under "art." According to Hoppe (2009a) Street Art often did not develop out of the field of art, just as it differs from art in form. Because of this, neither Street Art nor Graffiti have to be

categorized as art although Street Art academics like Nora Schmidt (2009) see Street Art as art. When I refer to “drawings and signs of all kinds” (German: Zeichen aller Art) I must consequently, like Siegl (2009), categorize missing pet signs as Street Art or only speak of “self-authorized installation of every sort of artistic drawings and signs.” I am resistant to this because Street Art so often echoes or reflects the optical and/or technical sensibilities of graphic design or illustration more so than so-called fine art. I view Street Art not as an art historian so much as a visual humanities scholar (German: Bildwissenschaftler) who deals with images of all kinds, regardless of their relationship to the problematic label “art.”

Stahl (2009, p. 7) escapes this “Street Art equals art” dilemma by referring back to the photographer, author and artist Brassai, who, in 1933 labeled scratch-Graffiti, more closely related to the Graffiti in Pompeii that was on the streets of Paris in his time, as “l’art bâtard des rues mal famées” or “bastard art of back streets.” Brassai’s avant-la-lettre-understanding of Street Art works antithetically. To him, street and art are equally valued opposites, a “mutt” or “mongrel,” as Stahl (2009) puts it. “Street” is not only a qualifier of “art” – in fact it is much more the opposite, as is the case with the term anti-art.

The dialogue between the antonyms “street” and “art” is, overall (although sometimes in a destructive way) constructive. Street Art can refer to everyday phenomena on the “street” that can be perceived as “art,” whether or not they are intended as such. Art is in the eye of the beholder, as was the case with Brassai (1933) who discovered art on the street and used his eyes (or a camera) to cut these works out of their context and make them into art objects (Wucherer, 1989) that nevertheless preserve the feeling and authenticity of the location. In short – some Street Art is more Street, other Street Art is more Art. In this vein, Kimvall (2014, p.11) speaks of “graffiti vandalism and graffiti art.”

4.2 “Illegal” versus “Self-authorized”

The term “urban space” in my aforementioned definition is analogous to Siegl’s (2009, p. 67) “surfaces belonging to others [...] or under public jurisdiction.” This inherently excludes permitted spaces that belong to Street Artists or spaces where Street Artists are allowed to create works. The

space, the “street” in Street Art, dictates a necessary illegality, at least in Europe or the USA.

Both Graffiti and Street Art are bound together by their characteristic of being “unofficial” (Krause and Heinicke, 2006), “unsolicited” (Siegl, 2009), un-commissioned or “unsanctioned” (Bengtson, 2014) and therefore – from a legal point of view – are often considered to be vandalism. As laws are different from country to country, Street Art may not be illegal everywhere, for instance in China or South America, whereas it may be considered illegal in Europe or the USA.⁵ As “illegal” or “illicit” (which have both moral and legal connotations) are terms that do not apply for all Street Art, “self-authorized” – as per my definition – might be a better term.

The illegality (in most of the Western world) or the “self-authorized nature” of the act of applying artwork is a commentary on capitalism and consumerism in general in that, initially, it cannot function in terms of sales marketing and is therefore autonomous - as opposed to “gallery art”, where artists hope for a sale.⁶ Official Public Art is commissioned, or it was installed either with the consent of the property owner or retrospectively declared legal by the property owner. The narrower or wider understanding of the term “Street Art” is dependent on its further commercial applicability. Those who create (paid) commissioned art quickly encounter the critique that rather than creating art freely and creatively on their own, they are at least in part swayed by the influence of a client or just fulfilling a client’s wish.

Street Art in the narrower sense applies to all art in urban spaces that is not limited by law or by the taste of authorities like sponsors, homeowners, or the state - art that is not directly commercial. This applies to the extent that the artist may not use the work for commercial purposes at all or else risk the accusation from “Street Art purists” that the artist is in the business of self-marketing (though this is always partially the case). In this way, Street Artists (in theory) unplug themselves from the consumer circuit and can deal with an artistic subject without tainting themselves with the stink of double standards: they criticize consumer culture but at the same time, at least indirectly, promote their own artwork, that is, produce “salable” art.⁷ Most Street Art artists sooner or later face the so called “sell-out” conflict: on the one hand they want to live off their art, on the other hand they might betray their anti-consumer principles and lose their

street credibility, that is, their reputation among like-minded people.⁸

Although Siegl (2006) includes legal phenomena in his understanding of Street Art – like pre-approved stickers or legally (commissioned) pictures on walls by Street Artists who otherwise work illegally – I adhere to Krause and Heinicke's (2006), Reineke's (2007), and Derwanz's (2013) refusal of this broad definition of Street Art that includes aspects that contradict the core values of Street Art as unofficial and self-authorized, but not because of the commercial aspect of legal Street Art. Street Art is almost always also a form of self-promotion. Almost all Street Art protagonists are chasing the Style Writing dream of "getting up", creating a name for themselves and their work and making themselves and their work known, in order to actually make a living, although many may not admit to this (Ephraim Webber, in Reinecke, 2007: 16).

In a Street Art context the term "mural" also often refers to "large, often multi-color, and labor-intensive paintings such as wall, airbrush, and spray can paintings" (Philipps, Herder and Zerr, 2013, in Bengsten, 2014: 131)¹⁰ However, murals are more often sanctioned than not. Baudrillard (1975) already recognized that there are enormous differences between Style Writing and murals. Murals are usually committed to respective communities, they are Public Art while Graffiti and Street Art are more committed to their individual messages, which may stem from a small group or groups but have no official sanction (even when they potentially gain this character over time).¹¹

4.3 Word versus Image

Even if a mural is not sanctioned or commissioned it is less likely to be considered vandalism because it is more easily understood and accessible for the general public than Graffiti Writing. This greater understanding evolves often from the fact that murals and Street Art consist more of images than (unreadable) words.

The following quote about historical Graffiti from Milnor (2014, p. 3) highlights the role of the written word, for these as well as for Style Writing Graffiti: "Certainly, Graffiti can be distinguished from canonical literature in the sense that they are emphatically material, fixed in time and place, and

are thus as much objects as texts." The material aspect, the solidity, tends toward an understanding of a pictorial object and less so an actual text. Even bathroom Graffiti seeks to communicate or send a message and is therefore technically almost indistinguishable from Street Art. Bathroom Graffiti might often be closer to the "street" than "art". Stenciled images, murals and other Street Art are usually less cryptic than Style Writing and the stencil has a communicative element of clarity and reproducibility that enables readability.

For Klitzke (2005) Street Art differs from Graffiti in that Graffiti tends more toward written letters while Street Art tends more toward pictorial communication, although both exist on and move within the same continuum between writing and pictures (Klitzke, 2005; Krause and Heinicke, 2006; Lewisohn 2008). Hoppe (2009a) pointed out that paper based Street Art works are even more pictorial than works directly sprayed onto a surface.

In Street Art, the picture often dominates the work rather than the ornamental name writing that characterizes Style Writing. Such Style Writing often communicates with the work of other Style Writers and does not primarily seek to communicate with the general public (Faile, in Lewisohn, 2008: 15) a direct contrast to the aforementioned definition of Street Art: "that intentionally seeks communication with a large circle of people." Even Street Art that leans heavily on the use of words is more reflective of advertising than Style Writing in that it prioritizes readability for the general public. Baudrillard (1975) sees the political significance of Graffiti (in this case he means Style Writing) in the disruption it causes in the system of signs and written communication in the city through the meaninglessness of its content. The mere fact of the existence of such Style Writing Graffiti provokes questions concerning ownership and property as well as who has the right to communicate what and where (Krause and Heinicke, 2006). This is something else that Street Art and Graffiti have in common.

For Lewisohn (2008) Street Art is less limited by set stylistic rules and by few artistic materials like spray paint and markers than is Style Writing Graffiti. Lewisohn's statement, while exaggeratedly formulated, can be affirmed at least in general, although it is easy to find examples to the contrary both in terms of quality and quantity. These same caveats

apply to another of Lewisohn's theses, namely that Street Art relies more heavily on preparation in a studio rather than the technically difficult and dangerous creation of Style-Writing-handwork on location on the street.

In general, it can be said that Street Art often places more value and emphasis on content and external communication while Style Writing emphasizes technical virtuosity. Equating Street Art with Graffiti or using Graffiti as the catch all term, in the way that Siegl (2009) or Stahl (2009) to a certain extent do, seems to me not to be constructive – although it is forgivable because these two pioneers of Graffiti research not only consider Graffiti to be made up of Style Writing, but also everything else that fits with the category of "Graffiti" as an all-encompassing historical term.

4.4 The Viewer of Street Art

Street Art works speak less to those who often view art, as people on the street generally do not see the urban environment as an outdoor gallery, but rather as scenery on the way from point A to point B. Often they have an unwanted art experience, one that is not controlled like an art experience in a museum. For instance Banksy's early illegal stencils and other Street Art pieces have the goal of bringing a ready-to-understand message to a passerby-viewer (Blanché 2012). Since the breakthrough of the internet most viewers of Street Art experience it online. Since then Street Art is not mainly made for the street, i.e. to be an eye-catcher there, but to look best on photos or videos for online viewers.

Most Street Art is not for everyone even though it seems to be. In theory it might be for everyone. Most Street Artists attach their work in areas where people expect Street Art, usually the gentrified parts of the city, for example in London, New York or Berlin. Those areas that might need Street Art, the rather poor and the rather rich residential areas are often free of Street Art. Also on the internet it can be easy to miss Street Art photos without purposely seeking them out. Most passers-by on the street do not recognize Street Art if it is not a big mural that is in your face. For them, Street Art and Graffiti are often forms of visual noise that they ignore. Even most people who seek out Street Art online a lot tend to overlook Street Art on the street, as they may not be trained to see it.

4.5 Street Art Is Site-specific

Another definition of Street Art is by the philosopher Nicholas Riggle (2010: 246): "An artwork is Street Art if, and only if, its material use of the street is internal to its meaning." The problem with Riggle's definition is, as Bengtsen (2014, p. 132) pointed out, that: "[i]t remains unclear, however, who is to judge whether the use of the street is indeed essential to the meaning of a specific artwork." The context of each Street Artwork, that is, "its material use of the street" changes during its life period on the street in a palimpsest way. The site-specificity of Street Art is part of Riggle's definition and was pointed out earlier, for instance by Lewisohn (2008), Waclawek (2008), and Hoppe (2009a). Not all Street Art is site-specific in the same way. Some is perfectly tailored to its place, while others could be placed anywhere on the street – like a poster. There are different degrees of site-specificity of a Street Art work and the degree and quality of site-specificity can change during the shelf life of the street piece because Street Art is ephemeral and participatory (see section 4.7). A Street piece can refer to a certain wall, but also to a certain area, street, city, country or all of these at once.¹²

4.6 The Performative Aspect of Street Art

Derwanz (2013) draws attention to the performative aspect of (legal) mural painting or pavement art, which she does not attribute to Street Art. Although it is very rare to see the "performance" itself – or the actual often spectacular application of Street Art content – like Waclawek (2008) I see a clear performative element integrated in every work of Street Art. The visual "short and to the point message, often marked by unexpected combinations [...] [of Street Art, note UB] convey visual quality created at break-neck speed" (Beck, 2003, p. 5) dictate their creation., inBanksy's words:

Graffiti is an art form where the gesture is at least as important as the result, if not more so. I read how a critic described Jackson Pollock as a performance artist who happened to use paint, and the same could be said for Graffiti writers – performance artists who happen to use paint. And trespass (Hamilton, 2013: n.p.).

Street Art is usually not a performance according to the usual meaning of the term. In general, a performer performs in front of an audience. But these works frequently carry the

information that “something happened” on this particular spot. This something is very often the illegal attachment of a piece of Street Art to a surface in a public space. Its adventurous, cheeky, bold attachment is part of the artwork:

A significant/decisive epistemological change in art occurred in the 20th century. This change is not so much that actions take the place of objects but much more so that real objects and real actions take the place of their representations/replace the mere representation thereof. This is only made possible through the fact that these real objects and actions are, for the first time, recognized/seen/perceived as both serious and necessary elements of artistic presentation (Pfaller, 2012, p. 192).

Banksy’s art still relies on representing objects, but real objects on the street or in a museum become props in his work without losing their original purpose. They are both still an electric cable on a wall, or a functioning telephone box, but also part of a temporary artwork. His appropriation of street-furniture on the street or in an art venue often does not destroy them but rather re-labels them.

From “classical” performance Street Artists adopted the importance of time – the spectators can see in what short time they made this work without getting caught – also the transience of ephemeral Street Art and the importance of space. Banksy’s art is, like many performances, tailored for a certain location and loses its original condition when transferred elsewhere. Like many performance artists, Street Artists also sell documentations, prints, DVDs, and books of their Street Art in an ironic way as “souvenirs” or relicts. Street Art, like performance art, is a kind of process-based art; each work of Street Art is imprinted with traces of the process. As per se non-sellable forms of art, performance art and Street Art are consumer critical art forms – both criticize the role of an art object as a consumer product.

Both the performance aspect and the aforementioned pointed site-specificity grow organically from the spatial situation, the location, or the birthplace of creation – the “street” in Street Art. The various forms of Graffiti also contain this performative element. It grows from the relationship with the location in which it is created, the value – that is, how bodily or legally dangerous or risky the placement is. This differs

from the location in the sense that Lewisohn (2008: 63) invokes when he says, “[g]raffiti is such a stubborn genre that it refuses to take on any of the conditions of its placement.”

4.7 Street Art Is Ephemeral and Participatory

Street Art is often participatory. That is, anyone can paint over it, destroy it, add something to it, or complete it. Other Graffiti Writers or Street Artists, homeowners, and the council are the usual suspects to change and remove Street Art; but the general public, the passers-by can also become active participants with a piece of Street Art. Street Art is inherently non-commissioned, so it is already outlawed and can be altered. Billboards and Public Art are commissioned and usually meant to remain untouched/unaltered.¹³ Style Writing has strict rules about who is allowed to alter pieces of other Style Writers. Some Street Artists encourage interaction with other players on the street, while some make their work as hard to alter and destroy as possible, for instance by using firm material like the tiles of French Street Artist Space Invader, or New York based former Street Artist Darius Jones’ metal street sculptures. This is a counter reaction as most of this kind of participation is destructive.

However, there is another type of non-destructive participation, especially in Street Art that is connected to the role of photography. A lot of recent street pieces leave blank space in the artwork where people have the opportunity to pose with the artwork, e.g. for photos and selfies.

Most Street Art is ephemeral, i.e. temporary. Wind and weather, sun and rain destroy most unprotected Street Art. The shelf life of a Street Art or Graffiti piece varies, but after a few hours, months, or years, it reaches the end of its existence. Photography can serve to document the process of change over time for a piece of Street Art, a process that is encouraged by many Street Artists.

Street Artists also use a different site specific aspect involving participation, the role of (digital) photography and the role of the viewer of Street Art both online and on the Street. With their smartphones, the online viewer of Street Art merges with the one on the street as Banksy for instance geotagged photos of his recent work on Instagram so people can go there and take a photo or just have a look. Street Artists are often interested in involving the viewers in their Street Art through a kind of scavenger hunt. This is the logical conse-

quence of Banksy including detailed advice how to attach stencils in the street in his early days on his website, in his books, or in magazines with Banksy-interviews. He does not just want the audience to watch him perform; he wants them to join him in the game of Street Art.

5. Urban Art

The term Urban Art is broader than Street Art and also includes legal works. Urban Art seemed more appropriate as an umbrella term for any art in the style of Street Art, Style Writing or mural art. Urban Art was and is often a synonym for Street Art. The auction house Bonhams called their sale of works by Street Artists or artists who often work on the street “Urban Art.” Urban Art is art that is often performed by Street Artists for the purpose of earning a living, frequently with recycled motifs or techniques of their Street Art pieces without illegality or self-authorization – and often without the site-specific aspect.

However, if Urban Artists attach illegal works on the street, they become Street Artists and graffiti writers (again). In contrast to the majority of Public Art or art in public space, Urban Art refers stylistically to Street Art and graffiti Style Writing, that banks on the street credibility of Street Art without being illegal or un-commissioned and without relying on the often unadventurous appearance of “sanctioned” community mural art. Unlike Public Art, Urban Art can be in a museum or gallery – that is, it can be sold commercially as well. Dismounted from the street, works of Street Art become Urban Art. Unlike Street Art or Land Art, the majority of Urban Art focuses less on the mounting location and the urban environment. Urban Art is very often gallery art in the visual style of Street Art.

6. Further considerations

Lewisohn (2008) is not completely wrong in his claims regarding Street Art scholarship. I would not agree with his charge that most research about Street Art is written by fans – in other words, without critical distance – but the majority of the papers given at Street Art conferences are rather descriptive. Most can be summarized as, “there is this Street Art project in such-and-such and I will give you some more details about that” – and that’s it. What is often missing is a theoretical discussion.

As a researcher in visual culture (in German: Bildwissen-

schaftler) I often miss in academic Street Art research a debate and an examination of what it is that we are seeing. A lot of researchers simply deal with the frame-set of Street Art – i.e., Street Artists combined with background information about shows. Some researchers show many visual examples of Street Art, and leave you alone with these – as if the pictures could speak for themselves. Well, in a sense they do, but they speak with everyone differently. A lot of researchers have spoken with Street Artists, graffiti writers, and new media practitioners, but not with Street Art itself. Interviews are not always the solution. Most Street Artists who say that their art is great might be wrong – as indeed might be the case if they say the opposite. “Anything-goes” might be fruitful for Street Art but not for Street Art research: some carefully defined working categories might be helpful. I plead for more Street Art research and less research about Street Artists, although one cannot be without the other.

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Notes

1 - "Questo e i lavoro ehe per esser da! ferro graffiato hanno chiamato i pittori sgraffito," according to Giorgio Vasari: *Le vite dei piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architetti*. Carlo L. Ragghianti (Ed.). Milano 1945: 375: Libro I, Capitolo XXVI; *Degli Sgraffiti delle case ehe reggono all'aqua, quello ehe si adoperi a farli, e come si lavorine Je grottesehe ne Ue mure*.

2 - According to Johannes Stahl: *Graffiti: Zwischen Alltag und Ästhetik*. Munich 1990: 5. He refers to W.P. McLeans' definition of graffiti in the *Encyclopaedia Universalis*. Paris (1968) vol. 7, 1970: 850.

3 - Reinecke (2007) and Waclawek (2008) obviously preferred the term Post-Graffiti but changed their titles and terms to "Street Art" as this term became more familiar in the media.

4 - I have discussed the reasons for this elsewhere (Blanché 2012).

5 - Here further research is needed.

6 - At least, not in the short run. Not only in the cases of Banksy and Shepard Fairey - their works on the street lead to the fact their prints and books sold.

7 - See previous footnote. In the case of Bristol and London Street Art this, to a certain extent, boosts tourism.

8 - The first sell out allegations against Banksy appeared as early as 2003 (Beale, 2004).

9 - Axel Philipps, Eelco Herder and Sergej Zerr (2013) include graffiti pieces and legal works done by Street Artists in an unpublished paper ("The recognition and dissemination of Street Art with Flickr. A visual content analysis") quoted by Bengtson (2014: 131; 210).

10 - Like Banksy's selected work in Bristol in 2007, Mild Mild West, which has become a landmark in the world of alternative art (BBC, 2014).

11 - I have discussed this elsewhere (Blanché 2012).

12 - For the difference between Street and Public Art see Hoppe (2009b) and Danko (2009). See also Bengtson (2014).