# Cultural Tourism and Heritage in Northern Portugal

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Edited by

Clara Sarmento and Sara Cerqueira Pascoal

Cambridge Scholars Publishing



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This book first published 2020

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-5275-5449-X ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-5449-8

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## INTRODUCTION

Cultural Tourism and Heritage in Northern Portugal is the narrative of both an opportunity and a challenge. The opportunity to develop routes of cultural tourism in the North of Portugal, while empowering and engaging communities in the protection of cultural heritage. And the challenge to enhance sustainable tourism, with an impact on employment, economic growth, poverty reduction, environmental protection and the general preservation of authenticity in culture and heritage. In fact, cultural tourism is one of the newest trends in the industry, supported by a postmodern style of demand, growing levels of cultural capital, rising educational levels, a desire for direct forms of experience, and global mobility. This book appears in a pivotal moment, because there is an increased interest for the use of literature, arts, crafts, heritage, and traditions, as well as for tangible and intangible cultural products in general, to promote places and destinations, while preserving the expressions, memories and identities of social-cultural territories. The current cultural turn in tourism and related research methodologies has led to the development of economic strategies where culture and creativity play a relevant role in the branding of competitive cities, regions and countries, using innovation and technology to promote their international image.

All over Europe, there is a wide-ranging interest for an interdisciplinary approach to cultural and literary tourism in and about Portugal, as proved by the conferences LÉA! Lire en Europe aujourd'hui — Close Reading versus Distant Reading (Porto, 2011); Lit&Tour: International Conference on Literature and Tourism (Lisbon, 2012); The Imaginary of Travelling: Literature, Cinema, Comics (Braga, 2013); III Interdisciplinary Conference 'Literature, Travels and Cultural tourism in Brazil, France and Portugal' (Lisbon, 2015); Luso-French Conference 'Géographie, Langue et Textes Littéraires: Écrire le lieu, fictionnaliser l'espace' (Porto, 2015); International Conference 'Literature and Tourism — Literary Portugal' (Lisbon, 2016); The International Conference Hans Christian Andersen in Portugal: Following the Trail of the Writer in the Light of the Romantic Travelogue as a Genre and Literary Tourism as a Phenomenon (Sintra, 2017); Conference 'Tourism and River, Lagoon & Sea Cultures' (Porto, 2017); Routes of Heritage, Street Art & Literary Tourism — The projects

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TheRoute and StreetArtCEI (Porto, 2019); Seminar 'Interdisciplinary Approaches to Slow Travel and Literature in Northern Portugal' (Porto, 2019); International Conference 'Worlds of Cultural Heritage' (Coimbra, 2019), to name but a few. However, this widespread interest for an interdisciplinary approach to cultural tourism has mostly produced conferences for an academic audience and specialized books, also aimed at academically minded members of the public, often written in Portuguese. Therefore, there are few titles in this field focused on the general international audience, local leaders, curators, entrepreneurs and travel agents, which can have a global reach, thus bridging the gap between local opportunities and global investment.

Cultural Tourism and Heritage in Northern Portugal tackles these shortcomings and seizes the opportunities created both by the European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018 and by Portugal's current high-profile as one of the world's leading destinations for quality and cultural tourism. This book offers a fresh perspective on tourism as a powerful tool for decentralization, insertion and empowerment of communities, while inspiring further studies, research projects, and actions for a sustainable investment in tourism. Managers and policy-makers will find here examples of successful – and profitable – practices likely to be replicated anywhere in the world, with a high impact on society, on business and on multiple fields of study, research and education. Cultural Tourism and Heritage in Northern Portugal targets all those involved in the tourism industry, both as hosts and guests, as well as all those who take a special interest in culture, travel, heritage, and the economic potential of Portugal.

In Portugal, tourism has increased significantly over the last decade. The North of the country, and the city of Porto in particular, have become world-leading and awarded destinations<sup>1</sup>. In 2018, statistics showed that the number of non-resident tourists arriving in Portugal reached 22.8 million, corresponding to a growth of 7.5% when compared to 2017. Regarding the number of overnight stays all over the national territory, the highlight goes to the increase in Porto and the Northern region, which registered the biggest growth in the country (+8.5%). This trend obviously reflects the upward trend in tourism all over the world, which continued to increase in 2019 – albeit at a slower pace (+5.6%) –, standing at 1.4 billion, according to the provisional data available from the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)<sup>2</sup>. In Porto and the North of Portugal, tourism seems to grow at an even faster pace when compared to the rest of the country, thus emphasizing the need to implement a sustainable development strategy, where the preservation of cultural heritage proves to be a priceless asset. Concurrently, UNWTO reveals a

new trend in the profile of tourists: they are now solo and multigenerational travellers, as a result of aging populations and single households, pursuing a healthy lifestyle, valuing walking, wellness and sports tourism. The rise of the access economy and of the importance of sustainability has led to travelling with the purpose of either 'change', in a quest for authenticity and transformation, living like the locals; or 'show', collecting *Instagrammable* moments, experiences and destinations.

In this book, the authors make the most of their academic and professional backgrounds in the fields of tourism, cultural studies, heritage, business, hospitality, archaeology, management, system technologies, anthropology, and education, among others. They offer new perspectives in tune with the shifting preferences of modern visitors, while creating alternative routes that are not usually offered to mass tourists, thus fostering sustainability and economic growth in a country where tourism has proven to be of an enormous economic value. The authors sustain the repositioning of Portugal as a cultural tourism and heritage destination, with a more effective branding and marketing strategy, and put forward case-studies of research and entrepreneurship in often unexpected and widely ignored areas.

Cultural Tourism and Heritage in Northern Portugal is organized in three main sections: Part I. "Cultural Routes on the City's Walls" on graffiti and street art as resources for urban development and cultural tourism; Part II. "Research and Cultural Entrepreneurship", with examples of synergies between the academia and businesses; and Part III. "New Discoveries by the Portuguese Sea", on new opportunities for sustainable tourism on the Portuguese coastline that go beyond the 'sun & sea' stereotype and explore the unique cultural and historical identity of Portugal.

Part I, "Cultural Routes on the City's Walls", opens with "Public Space Appropriation: Between Art and Delinquency", which discusses the re-humanization and re-appropriation of public spaces through graffiti and street art. Street art belongs to an artistic counterculture movement, inspired by marginal cultures and ideologies. Developed with a visual scope, street art integrates artistic movements that emerge as a reaction to indifference and urban conformism. It gained notoriety and public interest during the last two decades of the twentieth century when it brought works of an unexpected aesthetic quality into the streets, by adopting graffiti practices. By the beginning of the 21st century, street art became a worldwide phenomenon. With deep roots in the social behaviour of youth, it challenges the imposed political and artistic order and calls into question the essence of the modern urban environment, as well as the right to use it.

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Understanding street art's contribution in its appropriation and rehumanization of public spaces is thus both critical and well-timed, if only because of the increasing number of 'painted walls' and interest in their social, creative, cultural, and institutional aspects. However, while the debate focuses on issues related to property rights, legitimacy and private ownership, less attention has been paid to the way in which the artists' notoriety defines the shifting criteria of evaluation of those rights and their social acceptance. This chapter addresses the aforementioned gap in literature by analysing the different cultural, creative and ideological relations underlying this artistic movement, and how they condition the approach and the dynamics of recognition. It begins with an overview of the literature on the subject, defines a model to explain its evolutionary process, and concludes by arguing that street art should be viewed as an issue of diversity.

"Paths of Re-Existence in Multiple-Cities: Porto and Bahia Occupying (Other) Colours and Expressions" proposes a tour of the routes of unpredictability in two cities of opposite hemispheres, on the two sides of the Atlantic. In this chapter, possibilities for intercontinental dialogues include walking, crossing, photographing, being contaminated by minimal gestures amidst maximum places that inspire sensations and demand knowledge. The author questions the representation of the experience of streets, cities and worlds, as an aesthetic-political posture of interrogation of what we call 'representational politics'. Hierarchical models of communication-recognition produce few possibilities for the proliferation of sensorial experiences of phenomena, objects, images, writings, and territories. Multiplication in contamination evokes the works of Wenceslao Oliveira Junior, who studies the supervised performances of Brazilian graduation ceremonies, when students leave classrooms and go into the field, i.e., into the streets, schools, offices, hospitals, and restaurants. There is no intention here to reflect on the political meaning of the event, neither on the way the media represents it. What the author brings to light is a reflection on the relation between those actions in Brazil and the possibilities they may bring for tourism in Portugal. This is the concept chosen by the author: the concept of contagion.

"Urban Art, Heritage and Tourism" is part of an ongoing research project about the relationship between the so-called urban art and tourism, especially taking into consideration the Portuguese case, that both authors have been researching (Campos, 2009, 2016, 2017; Sequeira, 2016). Subsequently, they focus on contemporary urban tourism, particularly in the Portuguese context, where it has been growing at an unparalleled rate. By way of illustration, in 2016, internal tourism has reached

unprecedented levels for all the main indicators: overnight stays, revenue, number of guests, jobs, and exports. The Portuguese tourism authority has published data showing that tourism is currently considered the greatest economic activity in terms of national exports, representing a total of 16.7% of all exports in 2017. This growth in tourism-related revenues has led to new offers, new forms of accommodation and new methods of entertainment. Likewise, creative entrepreneurship in the tourist sector is also a developing area. Nevertheless, the main focus of this chapter is not on the economic dimension of tourism, but rather on the cultural and symbolic dimensions of this phenomenon. On the one hand, there is a concern with understanding tourism in relation to collective forms of consumption; on the other hand, the role that this mass phenomenon plays in the configuration of the city and in the evolution of certain social areas is also discussed.

"The Project StreetArtCEI: Routes of Graffiti and Street Art in Porto and Northern Portugal" introduces the most recent and mediatic project of the Centre for Intercultural Studies of the Polytechnic of Porto: StreetArtCEI (www.streetartcei.com). The project StreetArtCEI blurs the borders between dominant and marginal cultures, their practices, symbols and aesthetic manifestations in the unstable space of the city, by discovering, collecting and preserving graffiti and street art works in midsized and metropolitan cities of Northern Portugal. Using the conceptual tools of intercultural studies. StreetArtCEI awakens both tourist and inhabitants to the materializations of self- and hetero-marginalized aesthetics, selected by their quality and visual impact and organized by geographical recurrence, always with open access. The methodology of the project includes both unexpected art works in irreverent sites. unapproved by authorities; and art works ratified and commissioned by private and public institutions, in tourist spots and high-end streets. Regardless of the recognition or anonymity of the author, StreetArtCEI proposes a search for the art hidden in urban labyrinths and sets off a race against time and censorship. StreetArtCEI finds, in the routes of everyday life, those visual narratives created by elusive artists, with their invaluable information on the citizen's socio-spatial practices, perceptions and concerns. The chapter reflects under a critical standpoint on the experience of the urban territory, tackling the effects of urban commodification and gentrification. Art is a potential factor of socio-economic empowerment, decentralization and development, provided it does not become another cause of social segregation, as responses to changing urban identities ought to be democratic and inclusive.

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The second section of the book focuses on "Research and Cultural Entrepreneurship". The first chapter, "Intelligent Systems for Personalized Points of Interest and Routes", introduces the project "TheRoute -Tourism and Heritage Routes including Ambient Intelligence with Visitants' Profile Adaptation and Context Awareness", led by GECAD, the Research Group on Intelligent Engineering and Computing for Advanced Innovation and Development of the Polytechnic of Porto, which has taken the challenge of creating automatic generated routes for visitors in Northern Portugal. These routes fit the profile of both individual visitors and groups of tourists, including aspects like emotion, mood and personality, and are also aware of contextual factors like weather, prices. schedules and security. Located in the North of Portugal, routes are developed around urban and rural locations, paths (like the Portuguese Route of Santiago or the Douro valley), and themes (musicians, writers, visual arts, theatres, etc). The system generated by TheRoute models Points Of Interest (POIs), supported by different platforms, like desktops, notebooks, tablets, and smartphones. The chapter proceeds to describe the system's architecture based on ambient intelligence and the interface of the TheRoute platform. It concludes by summarizing the modelling process of POIs, visitors' profile and algorithms for the generation of routes.

The interim conclusions of the project TheRoute, alongside other research projects developed by the Centre for Intercultural Studies of the Polytechnic of Porto, are the basis of the chapter "Enhancing Literary Tourism in the North of Portugal: The Project TheRoute and the Branding of Destinations", that describes and discusses the methodologies used to design and create literary routes in Northern Portugal. The chapter also pinpoints the relevance of smart technologies for this modality of tourism, a subset of Cultural and Heritage Tourism, which is an emerging trend in Tourism Studies.

The chapter "Border Tourism: An Opportunity for the Dry Line Region, Northern Portugal and Galicia" addresses border regions as a challenge for the agents in the territory. From the point of view of tourist development, border regions represent a priority area for applied territorial development strategies, both at the local and at the European level, through cooperation across borders. This strategic cooperation must be achieved by promoting innovative policies that involve all the regional actors in the territory. This represents an opportunity for regions with similar problems and characteristics, supported by formally constituted entities and by research at the regional level. The chapter collects and analyses discourses, perceptions and case-studies on the Galicia-North

Portugal Euroregion, regarding regional cross-border entrepreneurship and tourism. The results show the importance of cooperation for tourism and the development of the region.

The last section of *Cultural Tourism and Heritage in Northern Portugal*, designated as "New Discoveries by the Portuguese Sea", opens with the story of "A New Life for the Motorboat 'Praia da Costa Nova'", the case-study of a motorboat that is the oldest one to navigate the Portuguese lagoon of Ria de Aveiro. The 'Praia da Costa Nova' was built in 1945, to transport goods and people from the Air Base and shipyards of São Jacinto, thus establishing the first regular motorboat service between Aveiro, Ovar, Torreira and São Jacinto. Now fully recovered for experience tourism and events, the boat was restored in order to navigate the Ria de Aveiro lagoon. This compelling story reveals an all-embracing entirely Portuguese tourism project, which refuses to forget the heritage and culture of the region. The project 'Praia da Costa Nova' was shortlisted for the 2016 Luigi Micheletti Award, administered by the European Museum Academy.

In the same cultural territory, "The Moliceiro Boat of Ria de Aveiro: Portuguese Popular Culture as a Tourism Asset" addresses the present context of exploration of Portuguese cultural heritage, both material and immaterial, for the purpose of tourism. Processes of representation and celebration of cultural objects and practices have been reconstructed under forms that are useful to political, economic and institutional powers. bearing in mind their recreational consumption. This is an artificial and external type of consumption, within a ludic, centrifugal context, aimed at a general outside audience and at tourists in particular. This trend is far removed from the original production for local and immediate consumption, in a context of restricted, centripetal economic subsistence, within a geographically, economically and culturally (de)limited community. Objects have become vehicles for affirming regional identity, for representing a space, a context, an experience. In this case, "a people who paint their boats and launch them into the waters of a lagoon, create an album of images through which they express their vision of the world" (Rivals, 1988). The particular forms of macro and microeconomic production of the Ria de Aveiro lagoon generated specific aesthetic, symbolic and morphological phenomena. Aware of the representativeness and symbolic-economic value of the moliceiro boat, builders and owners are currently carrying out the mission started by local authorities in the 1950s. Nowadays, local authorities explore the aesthetics of the moliceiro for economic, instead of ideological, reasons, which justifies the boat's

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recovery, preservation and exploration, in the current context of tourism and services economy.

The chapter on "The Belinho 1 Shipwreck: A Probable 16<sup>th</sup> Century Ship Lost at Esposende" describes a compelling case-study with a strong potential for cultural tourism in Northern Portugal, related to maritime and underwater archaeological heritage. In the winter of 2014, João Sá, Luís Calheiros, Alexandre Sá, and Emanuel Sá, all relatives and habitual visitors of the Belinho beach, in the north coast of Esposende, communicated the finding of an important set of ship timbers and artefacts washed ashore after a storm. Between 2015 and 2017, a succession of storms resulted in more wreckage being washed ashore. In April and May 2017, both geophysical surveys carried out off the coast and exploration diving made it possible to identify an anchor, four bronze and iron cannons, related wood, and several artefacts belonging to a shipwreck site. This is probably one of the most important underwater archaeological sites to have ever been found in Portugal.

The book closes with "The Route – Santiago de Compostela: Walking the Landscape Towards One's Own Identity", another research line that originated from the project The Route, previously described on chapter five and also referred on chapters four and six. This multidisciplinary research focus on the planning and organization of thematic tours related to modern pilgrimage destinations, in this case the well-known routes of Santiago de Compostela. The authors worked on a new route to Santiago de Compostela, along the wooden paths that follow the Northern Atlantic coastline of Portugal. The chapter focuses on the different perspectives that lead to the creation of a product that reflects the purposes of the project The Route: creating new data and tools for the planning of trips. routes and touristic tours, using heritage and cultural assets. These contents intersect with other research topics and new technologies, in order to be used by the general public. The routes to Compostela possess a strong spiritual appeal, therefore the creation of a new route increases the number of pilgrims and tourists and adds value to the identity of host communities along the way.

The chapters compiled in *Cultural Tourism and Heritage in Northern Portugal* contribute to academic research as much as to cultural planning, entrereneurship and business practices, providing a comprehensive array of case-studies, key findings, and methodologies. The authors emphasize that a strategic, integral, and inclusive sense of identity and territory sustains cohesive communities, capable of addressing their own needs and developing their own resources, within the complex framework of globalisation. By recognizing the cultural value of different sections of the

community – including groups that face social and economic exclusion – cultural resources and heritage that could otherwise be seen as ordinary become exceptional. And the exceptional is what tourists seek, as opposed to the commonplace routine of everyday life<sup>3</sup>.

Clara Sarmento & Sara Cerqueira Pascoal Porto, November 2019

### Notes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 2012, 2014, and 2017, Porto was distinguished with the prestigious award of Best European Destination (https://www.europeanbestdestinations.com/). The city was also highlighted by Lonely Planet as one of the top 10 best value cities in 2017. Earlier, in 2015, Porto had been elected by readers of *USA Today* as the Best Under-the-radar Romantic Destination. Likewise, in 2019, Portugal was elected "Europe's best travel destination" at the World Travel Awards for the third consecutive time, following previous wins in 2017 and 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> United Nations World Tourism Organization (2019), *International Tourism Highlights 2019 Edition*. Madrid: UNWTO. DOI: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284421152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cultural Tourism and Heritage in Northern Portugal is part of the research program of the Centre for Intercultural Studies (CEI) of the Polytechnic of Porto (P.PORTO). CEI is located at ISCAP, the Business School of P.PORTO. Detailed information on the Centre for Intercultural Studies is available at: www.iscap.ipp.pt/cei.

# PART I. CULTURAL ROUTES ON THE CITY'S WALLS

## CHAPTER ONE

## PUBLIC SPACE APPROPRIATION: BETWEEN ART AND DELINQUENCY

## ANTÓNIO OLIVEIRA

## Introduction

Street Art belongs to an artistic counterculture movement, inspired by marginal cultures and ideologies. Developed with a visual scope, it integrates the artistic movements that emerge as a reaction to indifference and urban conformism.

It gained notoriety and public interest during the last two decades of the twentieth century, when the adoption of graffiti practices, brought works of an absolutely unexpected aesthetic quality to the streets. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, it became a worldwide phenomenon (Young, 2016).

Deeply rooted in the social behaviour of adolescents, it challenges the imposed order – political and artistic – and calls into question the essence of the modern urban environment (Schacter, 2008; 2016), and the right to use it (Ulmer, 2017).

Understanding Street Art's contribution in its appropriation and rehumanization of public spaces is thus both critical and well-timed, if only because of the increasing number of painted walls and the increasing interest in its social, creative, cultural, and institutional aspects (e.g. Schacter 2016; Honig and McDowall, 2016; Ulmer, 2017; Young, 2016).

However, while the debate focuses on issues related to property rights, legitimacy and changes to the concept of private ownership (e.g. Salib, 2015; Schacter, 2014), less attention has been paid to the way in which the artists' notoriety defines the alteration of the evaluation criteria of these rights and of their social acceptance (e.g. Bengtsen and Arvidsson, 2014; Gavin, 2007; Sam, 2007; Young, 2010), and even less is known about how this notoriety emerges (Schacter, 2016; Young, 2016).

This chapter addresses the aforementioned gap in literature by analysing the different cultural, creative and ideological relations underlying this artistic movement, and how they condition the approach and the dynamics of recognition.

It begins with an overview of the literature on the subject, defines a model to explain the evolutionary process throughout time and concludes by arguing that street art should be viewed as an issue of diversity.

### This is not Art

#### The barriers

In the twentieth century, especially in its second half, art was reduced to the space it occupied and/or the individual who performed it. In this sense, street art is not art, but it will eventually be more or less art (Fig. 1-1).



Fig. 1-1. More or Less Art. Writers: Add Fuel, Hazul, MaisMenos, Tamara Alves. Place: Backyard Metamorfose Art Gallery, Porto.

If a urinal is in an art gallery or museum it is art. If it is in a warehouse, it is a commodity. If it is in a bathroom it is a urinal, so the place actually

defines the object. Likewise if it is an artist or a curator (artistic director or a related position) that describes the urinal, it is art. Besides that, the urinal is nothing more than a urinal. It is the individual status that defines the object.

Over the years I found that the word of the individual prevailed over the space. Especially if it were a museum curator's word. This power emerges from the control it has and exercises, on the use of artistic space and consequently the ability to turn a urinal into an artwork. This fact can be explained according to economic theory from two complementary perspectives: Resource Based View and Dynamic Capabilities Approach. Both are guided by an inside out vision – *inside-out paradigm* (Rumelt, 1984).

According to these perspectives, creation value has its origin in the internal organizational process, and depends on the ability of appropriation of resources that are external to the organization (Wade and Hulland 2004). The process of achieving value is based on "the firm's ability to integrate, build, and reconfigure internal and external competences to address rapidly changing environments" (Teece et al. 1997, p. 516). To the authors, resources and capabilities are synonymous, and they become assets when combined in unique ways by organizations. Therefore, value is the result of an organizational process. Consequently, those who not only hold the regulatory power over resources, but also the ability of appropriation are those who hold power.

This is the theoretical frame that allowed me to say that the value of art is created by the curators. Hence, the performance of the museum and the creative dynamics that sustain those performances also depend on them.

The responsibility of organizing the artistic process is theirs. They are the ones who choose the artists, they are the ones who choose the works and it is they who choose the spaces to hold the exhibition. Which further strengthens their power. To Abbing (2010, p. 24) "people in higher positions appropriate the definition of art", and in my opinion imprison creativity. Hostage to this reality, "the aesthetic experience does not exist with these works, there is nothing to appreciate, to evaluate, to question. The work has become a rhapsody of theories and nouns" (...) "accepted, in full submission to the principles that an authority imposes" (Lésper, 2012, p. 12), art becomes a dogmatic construction.

A barrier is created.

The most unexpected evidence is the responsibility of artists in the construction of this reality. "The Dadaists represent one of the first concerted efforts by artists to subvert the notion that creativity has to be a specialized activity confined to specialized spaces" Bonnett (1992, p. 83).

Since the goal is "to make a work of art which is not a work of art" and "good or bad, it's the same thing". (Duchamp interviewed by Cabanne, 1971, p. 48).

Whether art is something, anything or nothing, it does not matter. About his paintings, Frank Stella said "what you see is what you see" (Stella interviewed by Glaser, 1966, p. 153), to which Robert Morris adds "simplicity of shape does not necessarily equate with simplicity of experience" (Morris, 1968, p. 228) to explain the interaction between his artwork and the viewer.

It was Ad Reinhardt<sup>2</sup> who established the aesthetic and conceptual philosophical foundations of the dominant trends of art in the second half of the twentieth century:

The one object of fifty years of Abstract Art is to present art-as-art and as nothing else, to make it into the one thing it is only, separating and defining it more and more, making it purer and emptier, more absolute and more exclusive – non-objective, non-representational, non-figurative, non-imagist, non-expressionist, non-subjective. (...)

The one place for art-as-art is the museum of fine art. (Reinhardt, 1962, p. 3/4).

Therefore, if an object is outside a museum it is no longer art. This philosophical conception has not changed in more than half a century (see e.g., Bourdieu, 1983; Bourriaud, 2007; Lemoine and Ouardi, 2010; Lésper, 2012; Roman, 2008; Schacter, 2016).

The barrier is raised; Street Art is not Art.

#### The trenches

As we saw in the previous point, the only place for art is the museum: the fine arts museum. From this conceptual inevitability, the justification for the construction or reconversion of museums emerged, where these works would be exhibited.

In the very beginning, the *SFMOMA* in San Francisco was reconverted in 1975; and the following museums were built: *Centre Georges Pompidou* in Paris, 1977; *MOCA* in Los Angeles in 1979; *Sprengel Museum* in Hanover in 1979 and the *Louisiana Museum of Modern Art* in Humlebæk in 1977. By the end of the nineties, modern art museums had become omnipresent.

In the forefront of this process, we cannot ignore the contribution of the *Biennale di Venezia*<sup>3</sup> and *Bienal Internacional de Arte de São Paulo*<sup>4</sup>, in the organization of the International Avant-garde Art Exhibition.

But it is at the museological organization that structural changes happened. Parallel to the development of these new spaces, collaborative partnerships between different museums were developed to organize complementary exhibitions for their own collections. These partnerships were strengthened with the collaboration of the most important galleries<sup>5</sup> and private collectors. Galleries and collectors, on a loan basis, allowed museums to display the works of their most prominent artists in exhibitions. But the loans are not for free. This practice has had at least three fundamental implications over the years.

The first implication is to generate a dynamic flow regarding its visitors, i.e. museums tend to receive visitors on a regular basis rather than just occasionally. This leads to a set of parallel activities such as, colloquiums, performances, films, workshops, lectures, etc.

The second is the need to evaluate each new exhibition, in all its operational matters. A problem of principle is established, because the institution that bears the costs in the name of the public interest is the public institution. But those who financially profit from it are private institutions, such as galleries and private collectors. Deprived of financial benefits, the public institution is increasingly dependent on private cooperation, and so the question is: is there freedom of choice – and is this choice based on merit; or is it a choice driven by profit-making purposes?

The third implication is linked to complementary industries, which have become increasingly specific, that make the exhibition possible, of which I highlight: (1) logistic processes for transportation, packaging and handling; (2) preparation and assembly of exhibition spaces; (3) logistic processes associated with the display of the artworks themselves in the spaces assigned to them; (4) preparation of online and printed pre and post-exhibition catalogues.

In summary, a new homogeneous and structured industrial sector is created for a mass culture, which Adorno and Horkheimer (1979) coined as "culture industry", to highlight what they saw as a paradoxical linkage between culture and industry (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979; Bourdieu, 1983).

In 1997 the term "creative industry" emerged in Chris Smith's<sup>6</sup> speech, defined as:

given the levels of growth already experienced in these fields, given the flow of changing technology and digitalisation, given our continuing ability to develop talented people, these creative areas are surely where many of the jobs and much of the wealth of the next century are going to come from (Smith, 1997, apud, 2013).

By arguing that "the arts were for everyone, not just the privileged few" Smith (1998, apud, 2013) opened up an ideological debate between the usage of the term "cultural industries" or "creative industries", and there followed a theoretical disagreement (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007; Garnham, 2005; Throsby, 2008a; 2008b).

According to Garnham (2005, p.17), "Culture as the expression of the deepest shared values of a social group, as opposed to civilization, which was merely the meretricious and superficial taste and social practices of an elite, and of art as the realm of freedom and as the expression of utopian hope". Hence, the use of the term "cultural industries" can be understood according to two different and opposing philosophical approaches, one that rejects the relationship between economy and culture, and another that "took the term "industries" seriously and attempted to apply both (...) to the analysis of the production, distribution and consumption of symbolic forms" (Garnham 2005, p.18), moving away from the economic basis/superstructure paradigm to focus on culture as a sphere of relatively autonomous social practices.

To the author, the term "creative industries" is more related with arts and media in economic terms. This analysis gains importance with the adoption of deregulation, liberalization and privatization policies throughout the 1980s and 1990s. By definition (DCMS; 1998) the creative industries concept is an extension of the cultural industries concept in order to incorporate the copyright industries (e.g. Caves, 2000; Potts et al, 2008). In Throsby's (2008a) words, all cultural industries are creative but not all creative industries are cultural. This is the reason why Galloway and Dunlop (2007, p. 27) point out that "the key outputs of the cultural industry are not found in other parts of the creative industries". So, the distinction between the two concepts should not be a political/ideological one but also economic. These two vectors of analysis cannot be mistaken one for the other, nor overlapped.

To Schacter (2014, p. 163), "globally dominating authority of this now ideological norm, the capital C from 'Creative' takeover of civic public policy", but in my opinion this is a reinforcement of the previously identified barriers. The capital C could also represent the curator or cultural elites that we can find in all modern art museums. Museums that are "free" but not free for all<sup>7</sup>, only to the very few already there.

I prefer the capital C meaning Cooperativism, Cooperation, Cosharing, which are the values that I find in the street art movement.

## From underdogs to Underdogs<sup>8</sup>

In Portugal, street artists (writers) have and want to have their identity being known and recognized. Although anonymous, we all know who these artists are and paradoxically they could be anybody. They have never accepted being tagged as street artists, they are writers. Between the ideological conflict, over which the Cultural approach underlies and the reconciliation solution of the Creative approach (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007), all of them claim the intellectual property of their works, aware that only this recognition ensures the preservation of their own outsider, "delinquent" status – the public space appropriation.

This is a paradox in the Street Art movement. Before being recognized as an artist, everything the writer does results from an illegal appropriation and this illegal appropriation legitimizes the recognition that leads to its legality. As Young (2016) points out, what was once a clandestine act of vandalism is now a celebrated form of public art.

De-humanized spaces are usually appropriated. More than the everyday spaces defined by Bonnet (2002) or the non-places to which Augé (1995) refers, I consider those spaces that have lost their human functionality as de-humanized (1) by impossibility or disinterest, (2) by abandonment or dysfunctionality and that by virtue of this dehumanization, become adequate for the development of the writers' work in the different stages of their formation.

These spaces thus regain their human functionality through this work of appropriation, making the "illegal" status of urban art a vector to reencounter, rediscover and re-evaluate the city (see e.g. Honig and McDowall, 2016; Landry, 2012; Young, 2016), which is also paradoxical.

Similar to Young's (2016) observation, the actors who started this movement in Portugal were teenagers back then and those who lend vitality to it and ensure its nonstop renewal continue to be teenagers. The increasing awareness, impact and interest of this movement corresponds, first and foremost, to the natural aging process of those who started it. Its renewal is assured by the collaborative attitude that prevails in its most prominent authors, in the formation, mentoring and constructive criticism of the *new students*.

Based on this evidence, the impossibility to dissociate graffiti from Street Art arises. Both movements, as well as all other coexisting movements, are technical processes of appropriation that correspond to the evolution of the artist as such, and the relation to public visibility, applied technique and punishment.

The probability of being punished (or celebrated) depends on public recognition. The greater the recognition, the less the probability of punishment. Over time, the situation is reversed and the writer is no longer pursued as a delinquent, but celebrated as an artist. Until then, tags, throw ups, pieces, stickers and stencils... anything can happen and everything is viewed as an illegal act of vandalism.

Empirical analysis allows me to conclude that consent derives from public recognition. In other words, it is the illegal and unapproved work that supports legal legitimacy. I define four stages in this evolutionary process (1) anonymous delinquent; (2) public delinquent (3) public artist and (4) private artist.

In the first stage, the goal is to acquire and develop skills, techniques and creativity. Private de-humanized spaces are appropriated. Abandoned industrial buildings are the first choice as they provide the space and time required for the learning process. Smooth walls, large spaces and, above all, little to no surveillance, guarantee a learning-by-doing approach. With regards to artistic practice, these venues offer unique opportunities to achieve the technical mastery regarding the different tools and utensils<sup>9</sup>; as well as different styles and techniques<sup>10</sup>, from which an artistic persona will emerge, known by their tag (their recognizable authograph).

Alternatively, street artists search for de-humanized public spaces, which are painted according to the human occupation of their surroundings. Thus, dormitory suburban areas are painted during the day on weekdays. Downtown stairways and its surrounding walls or structure, alleys, and other out-of-the-way locations like spaces between or behind office buildings are painted at night or on weekends. In my opinion, this is one of the reasons why we are witnessing Street Art development processes spreading from downtown to the outskirts and the other way around. The flow depends on the availability of de-humanized spaces and ease of access.

At this stage, writers are only anonymous delinquents, but these appropriated spaces regain their human functionality.

Firstly, because they are transformed into schools of culture and creativity, collaborative work and sharing. Subsequently, perhaps ten years later, they might become "museums" and the preservation of the works – which were illegally performed in such spaces – becomes an object of academic discussion and public analysis (see e.g. Campos, 2008; MacInnis, 2016; Ulmer, 2016; Young 2016). In a nutshell, even as anonymous delinquents, writers already shake and impact conformism.

De-humanized spaces have their origins on political, economic and social changes as well as technological environments (PEST analysis). The

main evidence points to the need to a debate on Street Art versus urban abandonment, based on a strategic approach. I propose Osterwalder and Pigneur (2009) Design Thinking Canvas analysis, based on the Shaughnessy (2014) formulation of Ecosystem, grounded in Design Thinking (Brown, 2008).

In the second stage, writers go from anonymous delinquents to public delinquents by appropriating public spaces that maximize public visibility.

The decision-making process on the space to be used can be systematized in a four-stage<sup>12</sup> sequence, theoretically based on the distinction between (1) motivational process, defined as a function of commitment to achieve the goal – why strive for certain goals, and (2) volitional process – how to strive for chosen goals (Brandtstädter, 2009; Heckhausen, 2007). Which is justified, because there is a direct relationship between the visibility of the space to be appropriated and punishment, that is, the greater the visibility, the greater the probability of being punished. Besides, there is a direct and conflicting relationship between the quality of the work and the time of elaboration: at the beginning, the more elaborate the work, the longer the intervention, and the longer the intervention time, the greater the probability of being punished.

From this perspective, the specific skills of the writer come to fruition, such as the ability to plan, the technique to be applied, the time required for its implementation — which are both dependent on the specific characteristics of the space to be appropriated<sup>13</sup> — and finally the talent to execute it.

The developed work is always understood as an evaluation test, inherent to the learning process, that can be erased, because other writers do not recognize its quality – in assessing the pieces – or because the evaluation period is completed, which usually seems to be about six months, and then the space is re-appropriated.

This ephemeral nature is a fundamental characteristic in the human reappropriation of the de-humanized spaces where these works are performed. When they are referenced, these works and spaces are subject to comments, searches and visits. In other words, they become alive. The alley, the anonymous accesses and parking lot walls regain their importance; and regardless of the positive or negative impacts, *there is an elephant in the room that nobody can ignore...* The public space is rehumanized. This re-humanization becomes a continuum because of the ephemerality of the work (piece, throw up or stencil). People go back to the spot to see if it is still there – *the elephant in the room* – or if it has been replaced. They can appreciate it or not, like it or dislike it, but it goes

on and by virtue of these continued dynamics, the space becomes more and more re-humanized<sup>14</sup>.

It is at this stage that the writer adopts the style that will make them recognized. It is the style that defines the artist and, regardless of the technique used, if the artist adopts different styles, each one of them will correspond to an acronym. Each acronym reflects the specific perception of the represented reality. Besides that, it underlines the attitude, culture, values and beliefs of the *persona* it represents, i.e. the acronym rather than a pseudonym or a heteronym.

In the third stage, writers are stripped of their public "delinquent" status to become public artists, a status acquired by the technical level and artistic quality of their work. As mentioned earlier, at this stage, not only are they not punished, but are accepted and admired. Their works become an instrument and leitmotiv to establish national and international social relations hitherto unlikely, not to say impossible.

When recognition becomes widespread, public appropriation of the public artist takes place. Thus, this recognition imposes a change in the norms and behaviour of their artistic activity. This is a point of no return. Writers who reach this status now have the power to influence decisions and ignore them, becoming politically and socially costly, which justifies the legitimacy of the illegality (Fig. 1-2), trash becomes art and dirt becomes "beauty".

This public recognition gives rise to the possibility of refocusing art on work and talent. So, writers become curators of their own works and organizers of their own festivals and events (Young, 2016), assumed as a form of sharing, learning and developing work together, which is extended and open to society, ensuring financial and non-financial support, and a guarantee of its continuity.



Fig. 1-2. From Trash to Art. Writer: Mesk. Place: AXA building, Porto (lost).