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URBAN ART SCENE IN MADRID: *HOW CAN CONTEMPORARY ART BE USED FOR TOURISM?*

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ABSTRACT

Urban Art (UA) is a contemporary art form which was developed in cities. While UA growth in certain cities has been faster, the progression of UA in most cities has faced opposition. This paper explores the current context of the progression of UA in Madrid. Furthermore, the research gives reason to UA's capability as a tourism tool in Madrid, and identifies the stakeholders related to UA who should benefit. It is carried out using qualitative methodology through an exploratory approach and is completed with the use of more primary sources data. Observations, short questionnaires and interviews are the main instruments used in gathering the primary sources data, while document analysis is used to process additional secondary sources data. The results show that Madrid is full of different types of UA, and UA can be further developed as a tourism tool in the city. The urban artists are creating their own UA pieces both legally and illegally while facing obstacles, even though impediments have reduced. However, the investigation concludes that Madrid's UA can be further developed through strong support from local policy makers by giving the direct benefits of this development to local UA stakeholders.

KEYWORDS

Urban Art; Urban Art Tourism; Tourism Development Plan; Madrid Tourism.

ECONLIT KEYS

L83; Z38

Illustration 1. Legal UA murals, Cebada market, Madrid. Source: the author.

1. INTRODUCTION

Urban Art (UA) is a contemporary art type specifically seen in city environments, thus increasing its visibility in the past few decades. In Europe and the Americas, one sees how UA has beautified city environments through allowing for artistic expression. Since UA has already made some cities more popular, its use as a tourism development tool in Madrid can also be assessed.

1.1) PROBLEM SETTING

Madrid is the capital city of Spain and considered an important tourist destination. It is the 23rd mostly visited city in the world (Thelocal, 2015), with 5.74 million tourists visiting in 2016 (Statista, 2017). The city has many attractions to allow visitors to experience the grandeur of the Spanish capital, such as various museums, parks, markets and historical buildings.

Spain was heavily affected by the 2007-2009 global economic downturn (recession) which impacted every aspect of life, and Madrid was no exception. Amidst chaos in the city, some Madrilenians (inhabitants of Madrid), along with peers in other cities, found creative and positive ways to express their ideas in a non-violent way through various forms including UA.

On the other hand, the UA scene in Madrid faced obstacles. The local government of Madrid considered UA to be an attempt of vandalism to disrupt the daily lifestyles of people through mob activity. The government demonstrated their attitude through several instances of arrest of artists who had been drawing on walls and on other public transport services (Euronews, 2013).

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The fact that UA is attracting tourists, yet receives less support from the government, brings to light an important question. Is it possible to use the UA scene in these cities as a tourism development tool, in cooperation with the government? If so, what benefits will there be to tourism and how can these benefits be reaped? Thus, considering the city of Madrid as a case study for UA, this research investigates whether or not UA can be used in attracting tourists in Madrid, and how UA can be further developed.

Illustration 2. Legal urban artists painting in La Latina community centre, Madrid. Source: the author.

1.2) RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main aim of this research is to find out how the UA scene in Madrid can be used to further develop tourism in the city. The probe focuses on the ways in which tourism can benefit from UA and identifies the stakeholder groups who should benefit from UA tourism in Madrid. The main research question is:

Does urban art in Madrid have the capacity to be developed as an attraction for the visitor who comes to Madrid and, if so, how and through whom can this be made possible?

In the process of answering the main research question, the investigation will aim to answer the following:

- Which forms of UA are present in Madrid and in which neighbourhoods in the city? Is UA in Madrid unique compared to other cities? How does UA relate to the city's law as well as the current tourism development plan?

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- How are the urban artists involved in creating their art pieces in Madrid? Are there any obstacles faced by urban artists through administrative authorities?

- What are visitors' and residents' perceptions of using Madrid's UA as a tourism tool? What are the gaps existing in the perceptions of UA stakeholders?

- What is/are the way(s) that policy makers can further relate UA in Madrid to the city's tourism development plan? What other general value additions can the policy makers think of for the development of UA tourism in Madrid?

This sub-exploratory Inspection was completed with the use of more primary sources data. Observations, short questionnaires and interviews are used as the main data-gathering instruments while document analysis is used to process the additional secondary sources data.

In the second part of this paper, the theoretical framework will be explored. The third section is on methodology and the fourth part highlights the probe findings. The paper ends by giving recommendations to policy makers and highlights shortfalls of the case study and using UA in Madrid as a tourism attraction.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1) URBAN ART (UA)

2.1.1 DEFINITION OF UA AND RELATED ARTS

Identifying a specific definition for UA is never an easy task since each scholar specifies a different definition. Urban Art, originally introduced by Allan Schwartzman in 1985 (Lewisohn, 2008) is an all-encompassing varied artistic expression against an urban backdrop, deriving directly from graffiti art, in a two or three-dimensional state. Since then, UA is continuously used in various scholarly contexts, growing exponentially in the last decade. Belgun (2013) defines UA as a type of visual art created in and around urban spaces. Together with the definitions that each scholar gives for UA, there were also new names suggested such as *guerrilla art* and *neo*

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graffiti . As UA, in most of the cases, is matted with the words graffiti art and street art, the below explanation is given on UA's interrelation with these terms.

When the term graffiti is mentioned, one might immediately think of lettering and spray painting. This is the general notion people have of graffiti. To a certain extent, this understanding is true, at least in differentiating graffiti art from street art (Gleaton, 2012). Gleaton further explains that, throughout history, graffiti art has been widely used to describe wall writings including political, sexual, humorous and self-identifying messages. The word *graffiti* is derived from the Italian word *graffare*, which means to scratch on a surface. The idea of graffiti art has always existed along-side other artistic achievements, while the only difference is that graffiti is sometimes perceived as an unconventional art. Ganz and Swoon (2006) also mentions that graffiti is largely governed by the desire to spread one's personal fame.

Street art, on the other hand, is described as an art type created with a distinctive attitude and involves the street in a significant way (Riggins, 2012). Rafferty (1991) had earlier supported this definition mentioning that street art is a more artistic-oriented painting type. Urban art's inception relates to graffiti art, as explained by Schwartzman (Lewisohn, 2008), yet both genres often cross over and borrow from one another (Hughes, 2009). Street art is often also called *post-graffiti* (Bou, 2005, p.7), since it conveys a transformed set of aesthetic ideals that were initially borrowed from graffiti art during the 1970's which explains why there are some unique graffiti characteristics in street art.

Even though many scholars (Riggins, 2012; Rafferty 1991) make an effort to prove that street art and graffiti art are significantly different to one another, there are also interrelations and matted patterns similar to both art types. Therefore, it is important that the reader develops a more informed understanding of the similarities of street and graffiti art to consider UA as a combination of both.

Table 1 explains the many similarities between street art and graffiti art and shows how the art types are related. Thereby, this thesis proceeds with the consideration that UA is a combination of both street art and graffiti art.

STREET ART	URBAN ART	GRAFFITI ART
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- Both art types initiate from the same origin word: *grafarre*.
- All street and graffiti artists use tagging as their main benchmark to show identity.
- Both categories of artists undertake an element of risk because their art can still be considered as vandalism offences by authorities.
- Both art types are seen in urban environments along streets, walls and in various modes of public transportation.
- The art lover and the scholar have recognized both art genres as subjects of interest.

Table 1. Similarities between street art and graffiti art. Source: the author.

2.1.2 HISTORY OF UA

While some scholars say it was first the Aboriginals in Australia who used to paint walls (Gastman et al., 2011) the others such as Riggins (2012) point towards much earlier evidence in the caves of Lascaux and other similar locations. In the medieval era, sign marking was a common practice in Elizabethan England, and it was not uncommon for a soldier to write his name on the wall. During the same period, graffiti was also present in many monuments in Asia such as by the Sigiriya fortress in Sri Lanka in the 5th century AD.

Returning to the contemporary times, scholars including Gastman and Neelon (2011) attribute the start of UA to Cornman, a graffiti artist in USA during the 1960's. Others attribute the inauguration of UA to a 1960s setup of suburban youth gangs in Australia called "sharpie culture", which are suburban youth groups characterized for their violent behaviour. Kostov (2014) supports Gastman and Neelon's ideas that the UA scene started initially in cities like Philadelphia, Chicago and New York and later was spread to other cities worldwide. UA further developed in the 1970s and gained significance through television documentaries, magazine articles and websites such

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as websites on art crimes (Lewisohn, 2008). Therefore, media and mass communication have played an influential role in accelerating UA's growth.

2.1.3 TYPES OF UA

Urban artists create a variety of types of art pieces. Ganz and Swoon (2006) mention that most modern urban artists have liberated themselves from relying solely on spray paint – the medium used in graffiti - by creating different types of media such as *tag, yarn bombing, wheat pasted poster, street installation and stencil graffiti* (Belgun, 2013). Some artists also take advantage of *legal walls*, creating new paths for recognition. These art types are described as follows:

- *Tagging* is the most common and the oldest type of urban art form (Illustration 3). It is an art type where the artist writes his name through letters, symbols or other forms. What one immediately recognizes as graffiti on the street is most often tagging (Hughes, 2009). Tagging is a common art form for all urban artists to propagate their identity.

Illustration 3. Tagging in Ventas, Madrid. Source: the author.

- *Bombing or yarn bombing* (Illustration 4 & 5) is a way of tagging or spray-painting multiple surfaces within one location, often using quick tags (Hughes, 2009). This art form is popular in UA circles as many artists have maximized their exposure as a tagger. Yarn bombing is an appealing way of expression for youth and is seen in its novelty as a visual representation with a holistic aesthetic form.

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Illustration 4 & 5. Yarn bombing in El Rastro and Embajadores, Madrid. Source: the author.

- *Wheat pasted poster* (Illustration 6) uses an adhesive made from mixing equal parts of flour and water. The artist covers an area with the paste, removes the wrinkles and bubbles in the paste, then unfurls a poster, drawing, painting or photo on top of the paste (Keays, 2015).

Illustration 6. Wheat Paste Poster in El Rastro, Madrid. Source: the author.

- *Street installation* is a site-specific art form (Illustration 7) and is often created in a three-dimensional or sculptural form (Allen, 2013). Street installations vary from temporary to permanent and may combine several urban art techniques (e.g. a stencilled art piece of a child pulling a wagon includes part of an actual wagon attached to a wall). Some installations make use of visual illusions so that the observer will think twice regarding how the art piece was created.

Illustration 7. Street Installation in Malasana metro station, Madrid. Source: the author.

- *Stencil graffiti* (Illustration 8) uses a stencil of paper of cardboard to spray-paint a design onto a wall. A stencil is usually a phrase, an image, or a combination of both (Allen, 2013). Some stencil graffiti forms are repeated around a specific geographic area while many are one-off and limited to one location.

Illustration 8. Stencil graffiti in El Rastro, Madrid. Source: the author.

- *Legal walls* have been one of the best modes of UA through which urban artists have gained official recognition and empowerment (Lewisohn, 2008). As the name suggests, this type of art is legal and created with permission from property owners and even entire neighborhoods, which allow artists to

Illustration 9. Legal walls in El Rastro, Madrid. Source: the author.

paint the house walls or shop doors (Illustration 9). Since legal wall artists don't have constraints on time or security, a completed legal wall becomes a high-quality art piece with much time invested in it (Allen, 2013).

2.1.4 ROLES OF UA

The UA scene also plays important roles in society which affect and inform society about this contemporary art form.

UA *exposes the viewer to the contemporary visual culture* in a society (Rafferty, 1991) and links multiple institutional and disciplinary domains which rarely intersect diagonally. Rafferty's idea was earlier highlighted by Lefebvre (1974), who also holds the UA community responsible for overtaking the public visual spaces in cities and are in competition for the most visible spaces in cities. Due to this competition, visibility in public spaces can sometimes act as a barrier for an urban artist and their artwork's legitimacy, thus creating conflict between the artist and those who create barriers by drawing boundaries for usage of public spaces (Rafferty 1991).

Secondly, UA acts as an *informal mode of communication* in highly communicative societies and is used as a platform to propagate a message to society or the government. Throughout its existence, and though it is prevalent, UA is most often ignored as an official mode of communication. UA's role as an informal mode of communication is most effective when authorities ignore the people's call for rights. This is clearly exemplified from the city walls of Pompeii in Italy to the great wall of Los Angeles.

UA also plays the role of *bringing awareness to socio-political issues*. During protests, revolts and cries for revolution against social injustice and oppression, UA

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sends a powerful message to governments, as demonstrated by the socio-political murals in Ireland.

Together with these direct roles, UA also plays valuable but hidden and indirect roles in society such as being an *inspiration for architects & designers*, *making a city more aesthetic* and by *attracting UA-loving tourists*. However, one tends to forget these indirect roles of UA, especially as a tourism attractor.

2.1.5 VIEWPOINTS OF SOCIETY ON UA

For some, urban art is regarded as *a sanctioned type of art and an alternative form of vandalism*. Graffiti art, in its various forms, challenges urban relations implicitly and embodies counteractive practices (Certeau, 1984). Therefore, graffiti art can be highlighted as a public disorder, partly because of the contest for visible space (Rafferty, 1991). Thus, urban managers try various expensive ways to eradicate graffiti art in some cities, including irradiation. Continuous use of more sophisticated graffiti eradication methods has caused urban wars related to UA. For example, the Transport for London workers had ignorantly removed a Banksy (a UK based, world renowned urban artist) masterpiece near Old Street station in London in 2007 (Keays, 2015). Despite these eradication methods, graffiti art still persists in many cities and, moreover, is growing.

Because of the fact that most graffiti artists are gaining their reputation through experimenting and trespassing, perceptions on UA tends to be more diverse (Gleaton, 2012). Even though UA contributes significantly to society through its direct roles in the socio-political sphere, only a few see UA as *a rising voice to the disempowered* or a *force to develop a person's identity through pseudonym* or as an *instrument bringing beauty to an ugly environment* (Ganz et al., 2006).

During the last few decades, the UA scene has been receiving a substantial amount of bibliography. The academics have noted the importance of UA's communicative role, and it is being studied as a reaction to economic suppression. There are even scholars who took the study of graffiti to the next level, such as Quinne Dombrowski who documented her own graffiti within the University of Chicago.

Starting as an anarchic and underground project, UA has grown to be a major part of the visual space in cities and is making its way into museums and galleries (Lefebvre, 1974). This exponential growth can be attributed to the fact that scholars have given *high aesthetic importance to the subject.*

2.2) URBAN ART (UA) AND TOURISM

2.2.1 ROLE OF UA AS A TOURISM TOOL

Art and culture have always been a source of tourism and are major tourist pull factors. UA is also a genre of contemporary art and has been a catalyst to attract tourists by its glamour (Heineck, 2012). As explained before, the presentation of UA as a tourism development tool can be identified as one of its indirect roles. There are countries where the hidden aspect of UA tourism is intentionally brought up during political unrest periods worldwide (Neves & Semoes, 2017). More importantly, the growing interest of UA-loving tourists backs the importance of this type of art as a tool for tourism. The increasing global popularity of UA has opened doors for a growing number of tourists to visit cities for the purpose of UA tours.

2.2.2 UA TOURISM IN CAPITAL CITIES

Bogota is the capital of Colombia and was a city where UA was considered to be illegal and sanctioned. In 2011, the killing of a 16-year-old urban artist by a policeman had created social tension which resulted in the mayor issuing a decree in 2013 promoting UA as a sign of artistic expression. The published decree defined specific locations in Bogota for urban artists to do their art. The decree was acted upon by various private and government companies who hired selected urban artists to decorate certain parts of city walls. Bogota's liberal attitude on the UA scene has assisted in increasing the number of UA-interested tourists visiting the city. This liberal attitude has also helped local urban artists to lead UA tours in the neighbourhoods of Bogota and guide visitors. The police even went the extra mile once to promote UA by

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arresting two urban artists who were painting illegally on walls during Christmas time, but merely used the artists as police Christmas decorations and then released them.

The government in Argentina had earlier declared certain parts in its capital, Buenos Aires, to be open for UA which helped Buenos Aires to be considered the most supportive city for UA in Latin America (Braun, 2015). It is not uncommon for the local government in Buenos Aires to sponsor urban artists regularly to paint colourful, larger-than-life murals in busy streets. Thereby, some urban artists in Buenos Aires have become celebrities (Baillie, 2014), which has been a pull factor for art lovers to visit the Argentinian capital. A policy document from the government proposed the registration of urban artists to keep their painting in designated spots. Although there are laws prohibiting graffiti in certain parts, UA has been a true magnet of visitors to Buenos Aires.

Paris is one of the most visited capitals in the world. While the potential for UA has increased in the past decade, the city has been slow in supporting UA. Even though there is a Parisian law dating from 1994 which considers UA as an act of vandalism, the UA movement in Paris has overcome many obstacles to win the hearts of both the authorities and art-loving tourists (Kostov, 2014). This was demonstrated when the Parisian urban artist JR won the Ted prize in 2011 (Clark, 2011) resulting in Parisian UA pieces receiving more formal recognition and thereby attracting more art-loving tourists (Kostov, 2014). The emergence of new UA galleries with pieces of renowned urban artists has been seen in certain neighbourhoods in downtown Paris such as the 13th district (Clark, 2011). Gradually the message of the importance of UA is changing the perception of the local government (Kostov, 2014).

Walking down Old Street in the neighbourhood of Shoreditch in London, one will come upon a brick building covered in awe-inspiring UA pieces. These are paintings by some of the most famous urban artists in the world such as Banksy, Stick, and ROA. However, London's UA scene has gone through a long struggle to achieve the current recognition. Over the years, the urban artists faced hindrances from the authorities. However, the sheer determination of artists has helped some parts of London become state-of-the-art UA localities, where UA is freely practiced without objections (Elsworth-Jones, 2013). Part of this revolutionary change is owed to the

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world-famous urban artist, Banksy. He has been maintaining an underground profile and creating different types of UA pieces in London from 2003. Banksy was selected as one of the 'Times hundred most influential people in the world' in 2010. It was then that London recognized the importance of UA and how it has the capacity to powerfully reach a global audience. After this UA revolution, London's official tourism site is now openly encouraging visitors to see the UA in the city and directs the visitor to graffiti art websites and local UA tours. This site also lists 15 renowned urban artists in London and thereby encourages local artists to get involved with the tourism industry.

2.2.3 UA TOURISM INITIATIVES IN OTHER CITIES

In Spain, Barcelona is encouraging UA and included UA in the tourism development plan in its early stage (Robinson, Heitmann & Dieke, 2011).   Barcelona, a city always flooded with tourists, has therefore attracted a niche category of UA-loving tourists who come to see the new pieces of UA which increase on a yearly basis. The government support for UA in Barcelona has helped a number of specialists in Barcelona to become established and offer UA tours for visitors since UA in Barcelona is included among the must-sees in the city.

Another UA-supportive example is Rio de Janeiro. The local government passed a court order in 2009 to decriminalize the UA scene (Young, 2012). In a further amendment, UA was legalized if created with the consent of the property owners. With the support of the government, UA has been flourishing in all parts of Rio de Janeiro, from the upper-class neighbourhoods to the favelas (Shanty neighbourhoods).

Toronto is another excellent example where the local government is openly inviting UA stakeholders to participate in a system called the "graffiti management plan. The graffiti management plan supports urban artists who bring vibrancy to Toronto's streets. The local government also has an official panel of specialists to judge the value of an artist's art piece (Keays, 2015). The Toronto tourism office is also promoting city tourism through television personalities who host their show in Toronto's busy streets full of UA pieces, further inviting visitors (Pocock, 2016).

2.2.4 WORLDWIDE UA TOURISM EVENTS

With the increasing recognition of UA in Paris, the first *Paris UA fair* was organized in April 2016. With the participation of 50 local and international urban artists, the Paris UA fair showcased renowned art pieces and group UA creations. According to the website, around 50,000 visitors from different countries visited this fair which pinpoints the high interest on Parisian UA. The fair was also the first of such an event to broaden the official recognition of the urban artists in Paris.

Nuart is one of the biggest UA festivals in Europe, held annually in Stavanger, Norway. Since its inception in 2001, a leading group of international urban artists are invited to draw on the walls of Stavanger for one week in September, creating one of the most dynamic street art festivals in Europe. The main aim of the event is to provide an artistic environment of UA for the visitors.

The UA scene in Canada is being exemplified in Cambridge, Ontario where the "*Cambridge International UA festival*" is being held annually since 2016. The chairperson was initially inspired by a street art festival in Florida and decided to host this event in Cambridge to attract more urban art-loving tourists to the city. The event gives a new breath to the UA culture in Canada, featuring urban artists from Canada as well as the USA.

3. METHODS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1) SOURCES OF DATA

This investigation followed a qualitative research methodology in the collection and processing of data since this project mainly dealt with the thoughts, perceptions and ideas of different stakeholders within UA and UA tourism circles in Madrid. This exploratory work was carried out on site, where a set of research instruments was used to answer each sub-question. The total of participants added up to 146. These 146 persons were chosen on the basis of usefulness, involvement and on the basis of giving valuable information on the theme and case study under analysis.

The primary data were collected in the first quarter of 2016 from interviews with participants in different categories (stakeholder groups). The participants interviewed were 4 tourism experts (4 employees of the United Nations World Tourism

Organization), 2 policemen in Madrid (Guardia Civil), 1 graffiti paint shop personnel (owner of Madrid graffiti shop Montana), 3 local urban artists, 2 visiting urban artists, 1 UA tourism company guide (the owner of Madrid UA Tours) and 1 government-supported UA project personnel (chief of Madrid street art project). In total 14 interviews were carried out with each of these participants. Another 2 of the local urban artists were given questionnaires.

40 domestic tourists -where 8 [20%] from Salamanca, 4 [10%] from Segovia, 8 [20%] from Barcelona, 3 [7.5%] from Zaragoza, 3 [7.5%] from Gijon, 4 [10%] from Huelva, 1 [2.5%] from Cadiz, 5 [12.5%] from Granada and 4 [10%] from Cordoba were chosen as local tourists . This category was given a questionnaire to be filled in; in total 32 questionnaires to 40 participants (the number of questionnaires handed out is less than the total in this category since one questionnaire was sometimes used for 2 or more travellers together).

Moreover, 50 international tourists were also included in the sample where 6 [12%] were from Portugal, 8 [16%] from Belgium, 6 [12%] from the Netherlands, 6 [12%] from China, 4 [8%] from India, 6 [12%] from the UK, 4 [8%] from the USA, 6 [12%] from Germany and 4 [8%] from Italy. The foreign tourists were also handed out questionnaires after explaining about the subject, adding up to 30 (the number of questionnaires handed out is less than the total in this category since one questionnaire was sometimes used for 2 or more travellers together).

Another 40 residents of Madrid were given exactly 40 questionnaires to be filled in.

The 146 participants provided data representing all stakeholder groups. Secondary sources of data related to the subjects of UA, UA & tourism and the UA context in Madrid were obtained through the policy documents and other existing academic and professional literature such as previous research, journals and magazines.

3.2) RESEARCH LAYOUT

The project was carried out during a two-week period in March 2016, and most of the data was collected during this time frame. Table 2 depicts how the field work was carried out. Each column represents a specific category of participants and/or institutions. The layout is explained below:

- Policy context of Urban Art (UA) in Madrid. This category represents the spheres revolving around the current policy situation of UA and tourism segments in Madrid.

- Creators of UA in Madrid. This category shows the local and international artists who are creating their own art pieces in the city.

- Actors & Institutions supporting UA in Madrid. As the name suggests, this category shows an overview of the people who contribute to the development of UA in Madrid.

- Societal perception on UA in Madrid. The final category takes into consideration the viewpoints of several 3rd party stakeholder groups in Madrid who are not related to UA creations but who are tourists or residents.

Numbers in Table 2 represent the number of participants approached in each stakeholder group. If a number is not present, only one actor has been approached in the corresponding institution. Next to each participant group name, the instrument(s) used to collect data is/are mentioned in brackets.

Policy context of UA in Madrid	Creators of UA in Madrid	Actors and Institutions supporting UA in Madrid	Societal perceptions on UA Madrid
2 policy documents (document analysis)	5 local artists (3 interviews, 2 questionnaires)	Madrid Street Art Project - Chief person (interview)	50 international tourists (questionnaire)
4 tourism experts (4 interviews)	2 international artists (2 interviews)	Madrid Urban Art Tours - Owner (interview)	40 local tourists (questionnaire)
2 police officers (2 interviews)		Madrid Graffiti Shop Montana - Owner (interview)	40 residents (questionnaire)

Table 2. The structure of the research layout of the fieldwork. Source: the author.

3.3) DATA HARVESTING METHODS

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With regards to the primary sources of data (tourism experts, urban artists, tourists, etc.), several methods of data collection were adopted.

The first primary source was interview data. Interviews were conducted, where both methods were carried out in Spanish and in English. Use of semi-structured interviews allowed the interviewer to keep the basis of a theme while being open to participants' additional input on the relevant sub-questions. During the 14 interviews recordings and subsequent transcripts were created.

The second method for collecting primary data was through surveying. A short questionnaire (in Spanish or English) was created so that participant categories were able to express their own ideas openly (moving from close-ended to open ended-questions) on specific themes.

In addition to the interview and survey methods, the observation of everyday reality in Madrid was included as a data collection method. Observation was mainly done to gain knowledge on the types of UA and UA locations, and to observe urban artists at work. Observation also included participation in a UA tour organized by an UA tourism company. Through participating in this tour, a broader understanding on the UA types was acquired.

Further, the academic literature and the additional sources of data (derived from the media, internet, etc.) were examined through document analysis.

3.4) METHODOLOGY

3.4.1 POLICY CONTEXT OF UA IN MADRID

- During the field work, the "Communidad Madrid-centro de turismo" (Madrid tourism centre) in the public square of Plaza Mayor was visited. Two policy documents for Madrid's tourism were received and critically evaluated, namely the 2012-2015 and 2015-2019 tourism development plans.
- It was necessary to contact Madrid's government administrators of tourism to get a more neutral perception on the UA scene and on Madrid's tourism from a policy-maker point of view. The best stakeholder group for this task were the tourism experts employed at the UNWTO (United Nations World Tourism

Organisation) in Madrid. Before the field work began, the tourism experts were approached via email for an onsite interview. Four tourism experts of four departments were interviewed using a semi-structured format.

- While collecting data in Madrid, 2 interviews were held with two Police personnel.

3.4.2 CREATORS OF UA IN MADRID

- Five local urban artists were approached before field work via email or social media. Due to the inability to meet on site, the survey method was used for two artists through a short, semi-structured questionnaire sent by email. For one artist, an in person, semi-structured interview format was adopted. One interview was carried out via Skype.

- During the field work, participative observation was used to see local and international urban artists at work in the La Latina community centre (Illustration 2) and they were interviewed.

3.4.3 ACTORS & INSTITUTIONS SUPPORTING UA IN MADRID

The field work was also aimed at meeting the stakeholders of institutions who support the UA scene in Madrid.

- Madrid Street Art Project (MSAP) is a government supported public-private organization (initiated in September 2012) dedicated to promoting, support and add value to UA through implementation of projects. An interview was done with predominantly open questions.
- Madrid Urban Art Tours (MUAT) is a UA tourism company solely owned by a French expat who lives in Madrid. He promotes Madrid's UA in the form of tours for UA tourists since January 2016. After participating in this UA tour, the owner of MUAT was interviewed with the help of a semi-structured format with predominantly open questions, and the interview lasted 20 minutes.

- Madrid Graffiti Shop Montana (MGSM) is a part of Montana Colours, a company witnessing to the expansion of graffiti in Madrid and indirectly responsible for the UA evolution in the city. Therefore, MGSM was visited and an interview was carried out with the owner.

3.4.4 SOCIETAL PERCEPTIONS ON UA

- One of the most important tasks in the field work was to investigate how society perceives Madrid's UA scene. For this task, 50 foreign tourists, 40 tourists from other cities (visitors) and 40 Madrilenians (residents) were approached using a short questionnaire as the data collection tool. There were several reasons to reach these three categories of participants. Firstly, to examine how stakeholders in society, who are not directly related to the UA scene, perceive Madrid's UA, and secondly, to check whether Madrid's UA can be considered an attraction to both the resident and the visitor.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Through carrying out this case study, many of the research questions have been answered. Specifically, the answers to the research questions and project results are highlighted below.

4.1) CURRENT CAPACITY OF UA IN MADRID

4.1.1 UA TYPES, LOCATIONS AND UNIQUENESS

The UA scene in Madrid has become a striking contemporary art culture in the past years. It appeared first in 1983, starting with graffiti (Abarca, 2012). During the investigation, it was seen that UA in Madrid has gradually expanded to various other types of art such as murals, stickers, wheat white posters, tagging, stencil, yarn bombing, street installations and legal walls, similar to what Belgun (2013) described as modern types of UA. Participative observation and interview responses of urban

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artists revealed that UA pieces are spread across the whole city in touristic as well the non-touristic neighbourhoods (barrios) such as Lavepies, Malasana, El Rastro, Chuecca and Usera.

After speaking to different groups of UA related stakeholders, it is appropriate to say that Madrid's urban art is unique in its own special way. Dourone, an international artist from France (Illustration 10) and Madrid Street Art Project (MSAP) clearly see that Madrid has its own unique UA style compared to other European cities such as London, Berlin and Barcelona. "*Luckily, globalization has not hit the street art in Madrid yet as in other cities*" states Guillermo de la Madrid, the chief person of MSAP, stressing that Madrid UA is unique due to its non-globalized nature. Sabek, an urban artist, affirms what Guillermo said by stating, "*Madrid's urban art is unique to others because Madrid's artists entirely draw using passionate expressions and not to show any political or social messages like in London*". This remark affirms the role of UA in developing a person's identity through pseudonym.

Illustration 10. International Urban artists Dourone in La Latina, Madrid: Source: the author.

4.1.2 CURRENT LAW REGARDING UA

In the absence of a municipality official, the conversations with the tourism experts in UNWTO and the police officials were helpful in comprehending the current laws regarding UA. Miguel Rivera, the quality and performance auditor in UNWTO specified that "*The current law in Madrid doesn't allow drawing urban art in public places and it is considered as vandalism. But there are certain places in Madrid dedicated to urban art and therefore are legal*". His answer was echoed during the conversation with the

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policemen, from "la Guardia Civil", who added that UA creations are not allowed in the historical and old parts of the city but are permitted in other neighbourhoods.

The current power devolution of Spain was also mentioned by Rivera who stated that "*Spain has 17 communities where Madrid is just one of them. The community of Madrid allows each local municipality (out of 179 in Madrid) to decide on the maintenance of urban art within their own boundary*". This seems like a complex system where there exists a long administrative hierarchy. However, this also allows each urban artist to first be recognized through his/her local municipality and then as the next step, create art pieces in the greater community of Madrid.

4.1.3 UA IN THE CITY TOURIST PLAN

Madrid's tourism development plans span five years, including the 2011-2015 plan and the current plan from 2015-2019. The 2012-2015 tourism plan focused on six themes, namely art & cultural heritage, gastronomy, entertainment, nightlife, commerce & shopping and other special products (Communidaddemadrid, 2012). In the 'art & cultural heritage' theme, the policies mainly focused on the world-renowned art museums in Madrid. It is important to note, however, that UA was not a part of this theme or any of its sub-categories.

In the current tourism development plan 2015-2019, there is a significant change in the approach of tourism themes. Madrid has been divided into 14 strategic themes instead of six (Communidaddemadrid, 2015). Among these 14 themes, 'arts & culture' and the 'neighbourhoods of Madrid' are two themes. It is striking to see that "modern and contemporary art" is included as a strategic instrument under the theme arts & culture. ''Modern and urban Madrid' is also mentioned under the theme 'neighbourhoods of Madrid'. This shows that the government is interested in promoting contemporary art in Madrid by including it in the tourism policy document.

It is also beneficial to identify some of the strengths and weaknesses of the existing policies. The policies are directly linked to the government plans of tourism development in the city considering UA in the bigger picture. The policy aims to solidify the position of urban Madrid and the role of the various neighbourhoods of Madrid in

tourism. However, what's not clear is whether modern and contemporary art includes UA and whether the government is going to promote UA on a long-term basis. This is what should be included in the next policy document of 2019.

4.1.4 CAN UA BE USED AS A GENERAL TOURISM TOOL?

It was clear from the interviews with the UNWTO personnel that the authorities are considering UA as a tourism tool. "*Absolutely! Street art has gaining more and more recognition as a tourism tool which is shown through a variety of examples of street art exhibitions of permanent and temporary character, aimed at visitors in many regions*" exclaimed Jelena Novakavic, Sustainable Strategist at UNWTO. Jelena elaborated further on the reasons why UA is increasingly attracting tourists by saying that, "*Other than the obvious appeal of artistic expression, the main reason behind the attractiveness of street art as a tourism tool is that it holds an element of storytelling, an element of narrative*". However, until now, the UNWTO has not participated or implemented a UA tourism initiative. The greatest way that the world's biggest tourism organization can influence UA is when certain speakers mention UA tourism in their conference papers. With relation to Madrid, the organization had implemented a project on city tourism in 2013 named "Madrid precious time", with the business stakeholders in Madrid. Sandra Carvao, head of communications at UNWTO mentions "*Through events like we did with Madrid city, urban art can be indirectly influenced for recognition*". Recently, in the summer of 2018, a program named 'Urban Madrid' was implemented to promote city tourism but not specifically UA tourism. It is thus clear that UNWTO will not get involved in any projects in the future specifically related to UA tourism.

4.1.5 CURRENT INVOLVEMENT OF UA STAKEHOLDERS

The conversations with the local urban artists helped to reveal their background

information and the manner in which they create their UA pieces in Madrid. Almost all the local artists (80%) were Madrilenians and were born in the city periphery.

Some of local urban artists are creating both legal and illegal art pieces while the others are only creating legal art. Sabek was one of the artists who mentioned, "I *do illegal and legal stuff both. That is why I don't want to show my face if you are taking a photo*" (Illustration 11). The statement of Sabek once again highlights the risks that urban artists have to face on a daily basis.

Since MSAP is one of the main government-supporting institutes, they play an important role in uplifting the UA scene in Madrid. As the owner mentioned in his own words, *"I think we help artists by organizing and supporting projects where artists can take part and work in a fair way, giving time to develop their projects and become professionals"*.

Illustration 11. Local Urban artist Sabek with his face not shown, Madrid. Source: the author.

4.1.6 OBSTACLES FACED BY UA CREATORS

The project aimed to reveal whether or not there are obstacles that urban artists face from the government when creating UA pieces. Without any exception, all urban artists as well as MSAP agreed that there are obstacles, which have decreased in comparison to the past. Artist Boas Mistura narrated a story where they had to pay a fine of 6000€ for painting a grey art piece named "Blue sky" in a grey coloured wall. Borondo mentioned that the previous local government arrested and fined him for painting the street, but after a few years asked him to get involved in a street art project. "*I feel that is dumb*" he said. "*The government is however spending more money for legal art and providing better facilities for urban artists than earlier*" further stated

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Borondo. Borondo's statement proves the fact that UA changes the perception of governments over time (Kostov, 2014).

The results above give clear answers to the first research sub-question in the case study.

4.2) EXPLORING THE EXTRA UA CAPACITY IN MADRID

4.2.1 CAN MADRID'S UA BECOME A TOURISM TOOL?

Most of the UA stakeholders, including the experts from UNWTO, artists and MSAP agree to the fact that UA in Madrid can be further enhanced as a tourism development tool. Jelena Novakovic stated, "*In the past years the quality of street art in Madrid has improved with much more sophistication in expression. The MSAP is a good example of how creative design can lead to complement tourist offer and enhanced visitor satisfaction.*" This comment shows that the tourism experts in UNWTO know about MSAP and how it helps uplift Madrid's UA.

Guillermo from MSAP highlighted that UA in Madrid should be important for residents rather than tourists, *"I understand it may become attractive for tourism, but I consider street art as something positive especially for Madrilenians. I would like street art to become a tourism tool as you say, as it probably will".* His statement gives a valuable insight to what MSAP actually does. MSAP aims to promote UA in Madrid as an aesthetic element primarily for Madrilenians.

Field work carried out with local and international tourists and the Madrilenians revealed their preferences regarding the attractiveness of Madrid's UA pieces. It was concluded that most of the foreign tourists (82% - from Germany, Italy, Portugal, India, China, the Netherlands and Belgium) as well as the local tourists and residents (80%) regarded Madrid's UA pieces in the city as attractive. They had not yet seen the art pieces but were willing to stop to see them the next time. One local tourist from Cadiz mentioned "U*rban art gives life to Madrid by its colourful designs. It makes the ugly walls pretty".* The talent of Madrid' urban artists were mentioned by a foreign tourist from Germany who stated, "*The craftsmanship of the artist is to be seen in UA because most of the art is done with a meaning on it".*

The survey completed by tourists and residents also found that the majority desire to recommend the UA scene in Madrid to family and friends. Results showed a similar pattern to the findings regarding the attractiveness of Madrid's UA pieces; the majority of the foreign visitors (80% - from all countries except for India and China), local tourists (92.5% - from all cities except from Gijon) and Madrilenians (83.3%) would gladly recommend the urban art to their families and friends. One of the Madrilenians gave the reason as to why she would recommend Madrid's UA to family and friends, "*Madrid has a nice type of art which brings a new landscape to the city environment*" she said. Another local tourist from Barcelona stated, "*A promotion to friends and family will be responsible for them to see another characteristic and another form of Madrid's culture*".

4.2.2 FUTURE ASPIRATIONS OF UA STAKEHOLDERS

The five local urban artists were open enough to reveal their future aspirations. Some of the artists have concrete plans to use their artistic talent for future development while others create urban art pieces without any future ambition. Artist Somos1984 didn't have any idea regarding his future plans and decided to live day by day. Artists Boas Mistura and Dos Jotas revealed that they would give the city squares more colour and continue to work more freely and critically in the future. Borondo, the most famous UA artist in Madrid who lives abroad, says "*I would return to Madrid only if the government in Spain changes"*. His statement indicates that the overall attitude in Spain on the subject also needs to be changed.

4.2.3 UA STAKEHOLDER VIEWS ON URBAN ARTISTS AS GUIDES

Different categories of participants were asked about what they think about urban artists accompanying tourists in Madrid as guides. When asked, artists' opinions differed drastically. Dos Jotas and Boas Mistura found the use of urban artists as

guides to be a positive idea, while Boas Mistura was already guiding tourists himself. Somos1984 was of the idea that guides should be different than urban artist and that there are already stakeholders specializing in organizing urban art tours.

It was also seen that a high number of international tourists (64% - from the Netherlands, USA, Belgium, UK and Germany), Madrilenians (80%) and the local tourists (95% - most from Cordoba) liked the idea of Madrid's urban artists working as guides to accompany visitors and show their art pieces. One Madrilenian stated, "*Urban artists know better than anyone about UA and also about the details and therefore will do a better job*". It was appropriate to ask the MSAP about how they are helping the urban artists to achieve this desire to lead tours. During communication with MSAP, Guillermo mentioned, "*We guide our tour ourselves. We haven't considered including the artists in our tours*".

4.2.4 AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT

MSAP does not use urban artists as guides in their UA tours. This can be considered as a lost opportunity for urban artists and this project proves that such an opportunity shouldn't be missed for willing urban artists.

The results of the research also show that there is no official method to recognize an urban artist in Madrid even though there are procedures for making legal UA pieces. Additionally, the lack of a certified system to recognize potential urban artists demands the need of a proper recognition plan such as artist licenses.

It is not only MSAP that mediates UA talent with city projects in Madrid. According to the MSAP chief, there are three other similar public projects named Paisaje Tetúan, Paisaje Sur and Paisaje Vallecas. This is a good sign that more and more government-supported organizations are being initiated in Madrid for UA, but the need is for closer collaboration within these parties.

A specific problem was identified when talking to Chris Pears of MUAT. He pointed out some errors in MSAP's UA tours saying that those tours are only conducted in Spanish and emphasized the lack of varying techniques in guiding. This is an issue between two private UA-supporting institutions which should be resolved. The results

give clear answers to the second sub-question in the investigation.

4.3) HOW TO REALIZE THE EXTRA CAPACITY OF UA?

4.3.1 THROUGH THE CITY TOURISM PLAN

The results of this research show that the local government of Madrid, which came to power in May 2015, has been supportive towards the UA scene in Madrid. However, the inclusion of "modern and contemporary art" and "modern and urban Madrid" in policy documents does not necessarily mean that UA is a part of Madrid's current tourism development plan 2015-2019. Additionally, the current tourism development plan is limited to a presentation and does not elaborate on specific theme objectives used for tourism. Therefore, it is necessary to specify the relevant micro-level steps needed to uplift the UA scene in Madrid.

With regards to the future, Guillermo identified that the increasing influence of UA as a tourism instrument having an impact on the city's next tourism development plan in 2019. He stated, "*There will probably be some intention to include street art specifically in the tourism policy in the coming years, but I hope that is done respecting the UA culture and letting tourists enjoy it freely".* His statement shines a ray of hope for the UA-lover because the use of UA to attract tourists to Madrid is expected to become more influential in the future. So, the upcoming policy document in 2019 should include UA and specify objectives.

4.4) THROUGH WHOM SHOULD UA'S POTENTIAL BE REALIZED?

4.4.1 LOCAL URBAN ARTISTS

One realizes through the views of the local urban artists that there are several measures that the government can take to support the UA scene in Madrid.

Somos1984 stated that more support is needed through advertising, financing and fostering locations for urban artists to paint freely. Dos Jotas also emphasized the importance of financial support. As Borondo suggested, it's important that the government stipulate more budgetary allocations for projects such as MSAP which benefits the artists financially.

4.4.2 MADRID STREET ART PROJECT (MSAP)

It was observed earlier that some of the local urban artists like the idea of simultaneously being a guide, but that MSAP is not using urban artists as guides. The government of Madrid can intervene in this situation to give advice and encouragement to projects like MSAP to use local urban artists as guides.

4.4.3 MADRID URBAN ART TOURS (MUAT)

This project also found that the government support has always been very minimal to private UA institutes like MUAT. Chris Pears had a negative view on the subject. "*In Madrid it is very difficult for a foreigner to carry on a business. I mean for me, it has been hard to talk to the government officials on supporting my tours.*" Chris' remark suggests that Madrid's government is mostly working with the known and local partners, such as MSAP, work preferably with Spanish organisations.

4.4.4 UNITED NATIONS WORLD TOURISM ORGANISATION (UNWTO)

The tourism experts clearly indicated that UNWTO has not been associated with the subject of UA explicitly in the past. UNWTO does not aim to promote UA in the first place, and they have done minimal efforts to support UA in general.

5. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1) ANSWERING THE MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

In the first part of this investigation, the main research question is posed. **Does**

urban art in Madrid have the capacity to be developed as an attraction for the visitor who comes to Madrid and, if so, how and through whom can this be made possible?

The case study has proved that the UA in Madrid can be further developed as a tourist development tool both for the visitor and the resident. Even though there are obstacles from the government and conflicting ideas of various UA stakeholders, the project proves that UA has the capacity to grow and spread across the city, providing benefits to stakeholders who collaborate. The government should further increase the role of UA by not only focusing on UA in policy documents in the future, but also facilitating more private-public partnerships in UA. Further, the probe shows that, if a choice has to be made, UA will be more beneficial for local tourists and Madrilenians than foreigners. The below policy recommendations are given.

5.2) POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The following policy recommendations are proposed for the local government of Madrid and the UNWTO.

As for the policy recommendations for the government, working on UA tourism and UA-related activities in the upcoming tourism policy document for Madrid for 2019-2023, with open support, would be essential. Moreover, the government should show the full support for the promotion of UA through erasing the ambiguous 'fake freedom' with the support of the urban artists themselves. The local government should also continue to develop UA in Madrid as a tourism development tool for the local tourists as well as the Madrilenians, with more financial help for government supported projects such as MSAP and other public-private UA related initiatives. Granting permission for more of the unused spaces in the city (ex; junkyards, public parks) will help those to be used as community centres, thereby permitting legal UA creations. Implementing a proper structure to give urban artists recognition through a permit or a license based on the quality of the UA pieces would enhance the wellbeing of the artists themselves. Finally, an UA museum in Madrid is to be recommended, with the art creations of local urban artists, for the further development of UA and also to attract more urban art-loving tourists to Madrid.

The UNWTO is recommended to create a future publication or event related to UA tourism as a part of urban tourism, thereby helping national governments to realize the importance of this art type and work on it on a global basis.

5.3) STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF CASE STUDY

This case study encompasses some strengths and limitations, which are outlined in Table 3.

Strengths	Weaknesses
• The case study can be used as an example for studying UA potential in other Spanish cities.	• Each city has its unique UA creations which can be different to that of UA in Madrid. So, comparisons are not always useful.
• The case study can be taken as inspiration for tourism policy makers in capital cities with regards to UA.	• This case study is not ideal to be taken as inspiration for cities where there are no UA pieces to be seen and where stakeholders don't have enough interest in UA.
• The case study highlights a less known cultural attraction in a city already known for its other tourism attractions and tourism institutions.	• This study has a drawback on the size of samples and their representativeness. The qualitative and exploratory nature of this research helps to understand this limitation.

Table 3. Strengths and weaknesses of the case study. Source: the author.

5.4) STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF UA IN MADRID AS AN ATTRACTION

Also, there are some strengths and weaknesses noted in table 4 on the possibility of developing UA in Madrid as a tourist attraction.

Strengths	Weaknesses
• There are many open spaces in Madrid where new UA pieces are showed off increasing visitor numbers.	• The difficult attitude of the government in Madrid on UA and reckoning UA as an illicit art type.
• The existence of non-governmental organisations in Madrid is a strength	• The changing policies with different governments slow the growth of UA

to focus on UA tourism and its development through which the government is indirectly influenced.	tourism in Madrid.
• The prevalent UA tours and public private partnerships on UA development in Madrid which gives more background to improve UA tourism.	• The reluctance of the most popular urban artists to paint in public or rejection to cooperate with the government-initiated UA projects.

Table 4; Strengths and weaknesses on the possibility of developing UA in Madrid as an attraction for tourists.

Source: the author.

Acknowledgments

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