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*Hasta arriba o hasta
abajo: cuerpos, muros y
paisajes industriales*

**GET UP OR GET DOWN: BODIES, WALLS,
AND INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES**



Figure 1. View of 5Pointz from Crane Street. (Image by Ezmosis)

Keywords: graffiti, industrial landscapes, art, architecture, embodiment

ABSTRACT

Based on the concept of embodiment, this article aspires to discern the meanings that underlie the practice of graffiti in New York City since the 1970s. The study uses as a reference the 5Pointz complex, an old post-industrial building in Long Island City, Queens transformed into an exterior graffiti museum and multiuse residence. This art mecca was demolished in 2014 and subsequently redeveloped. The text explores this building by extracting 4 episodes of the diachronic meaning of graffiti. These emerge from 4 key oppositions: self/other, powerful/powerless, nature/culture, and structure/chaos, distinctions mediated through graffiti in the space of the wall.

The text begins with a study of the Chicano gang roll call and its relationship to tattooing. This precedent of graffiti is contrasted with the role of the name/tag in contemporary graffiti. Based on the socio-political context of the eighties and nineties, the wall is proposed as an embodiment of authority and as a cultural matrix within the concrete jungle. The migration of graffiti to 5Pointz in the nineties is read along with the institutionalization of urban art and the search for haven in the face of public criminalization. Finally, looking towards the future, the demolition of 5Pointz in 2014 is understood as a pivotal point that offers new meanings of the wall, framed by the reality of neoliberal speculation and junk space. The baseline of inquiry is: What do we become when we find ourselves against walls and vice versa? How is the nomological nature of walls conjugated? What does an alternative theory of the post-industrial landscape look like?

Palabras clave: graffiti, paisaje industrial, arte, arquitectura, encarnación

RESUMEN

Partiendo del concepto de encarnación, este artículo pretende vislumbrar los significados que subyacen la práctica del graffiti en la ciudad de Nueva York desde la década de 1970. Utiliza como anclaje temporal a 5Pointz, un antiguo complejo industrial en Long Island City, Queens transformado en museo exterior de graffiti y residencia multiuso. Esta meca del arte fue demolida en 2014 y su terreno fue intervenido posteriormente. El texto explora este edificio extrayendo cuatro episodios del significado diacrónico del graffiti. Estos surgen de cuatro oposiciones claves: yo/otro, autoridad/subalternado, naturaleza/cultura, y estructural/caos, distinciones mediadas por el graffiti en el espacio del muro.

En principio, se estudian los listados nominales de las gangas chicanas y su analogía con el tatuaje. Se contrasta este precedente del graffiti con el rol de la firma en el graffiti contemporáneo. A partir del contexto sociopolítico de los años 1980 y 1990, se propone el muro como encarnación de la autoridad y como matriz de cultura en la jungla de concreto. La migración del graffiti a 5Pointz en los años noventa se interpreta junto a la institucionalización del arte urbano y su búsqueda de un albergue ante la criminalización pública. Finalmente, de cara al futuro, la demolición de 5Pointz en 2014 se entiende como punto de pivote que abre la puerta a nuevos significados del muro, ante la realidad de la especulación neoliberal y el espacio chatarra. Las preguntas fundamentales son las siguientes: ¿Qué devenimos ante los muros y viceversa? ¿Cómo se conjuga la naturaleza nomológica de los muros? ¿Qué semblante tiene una teoría alternativa del paisaje posindustrial?



The intent of this research is to tell a narrative that peels away the layers of meaning in the skin of 5Pointz. Through the concept of embodiment it seeks to trace the diachronic meaning of the technique of graffiti and how its interwinement with the history of this post-industrial building has impacted

Figure 2. View of the site of 5Pointz from Jackson Avenue with the current pair of towers and the elevated 7 train. MoMA PS1 lies out of the picture frame to the right, one block away. (Image by: Andrew Campbell Nelson)

the course of this meaning. In the age where it is ever more necessary to confront and deliberate the history of the post-industrial landscape, the vocabulary of architecture as a critical discipline is in much need of richer political ground. If it is to have some say, hopefully positive, in the current re-development of old urban industrial

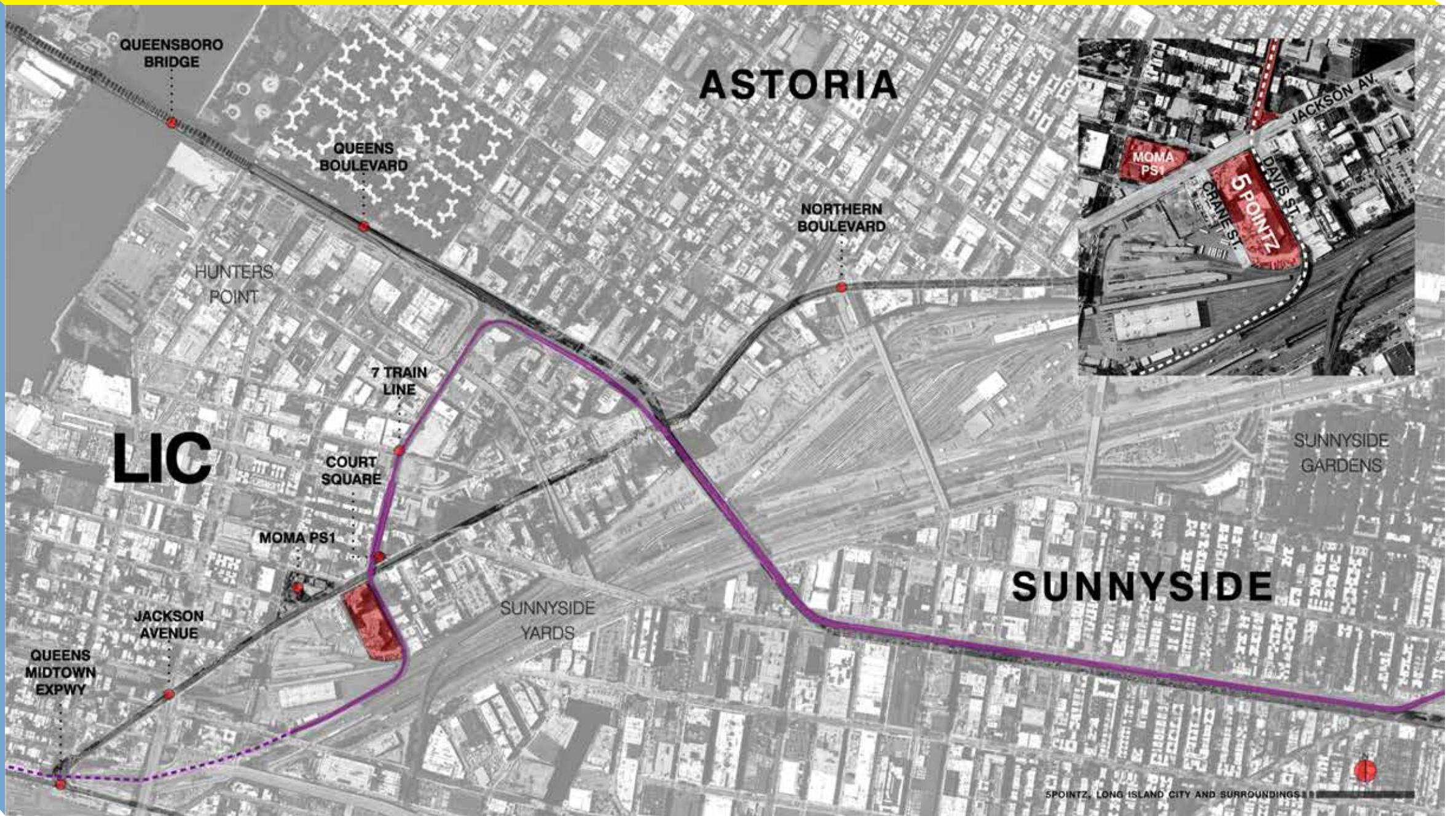


Figure 3. Regional map situating 5Pointz within main landmarks, major neighborhoods and surrounding infrastructure. (Image by Edward A. Aguilera Pérez)

centers, it must have a certain depth of understanding of the evolving meanings of urban space and how these relate to the experience of different and specific groups in society. Class conflict, race, religion and violence: it is all truly there,

embodied, with all the intellectual hedonism of an elusive topic. This is an attempt to expand that vocabulary and through a revised understanding, and expand the architect's role in this conversation.

This conversation is a part of our times, and specifically, of today's tribulations. The development of graffiti can be viewed as a series of time periods with different meanings throughout its development, arrival, and demolition at 5Pointz. This paper



Figure 4. (top)
Example of
Chicano gang
roll call, circa
1970. (Image by
Howard Gribble)



Figure 5. View
of tag-covered
Lexington
Avenue express
subway car.
(Image by John
Naar)



Figure 6. The
encounter
between graffiti
and the urban
wall can be seen
as a juxtaposition
of Nature and
Culture. (Image
by John Naar)

is based on the assumption that these meanings can be explored through social, economic, and political context. It tells the story of four meanings that can be found when studying the history of graffiti in relation to 5Pointz, in addition to pointing toward a fifth one, yet undefined. These meanings relate to a series of dichotomies explored throughout, which are: self/other, powerful/powerless, nature/culture, and structure/chaos. These meanings relate to the embodiment of the walls and respond to the question of what role these walls play within their interaction with human beings.

All this cannot be done without first getting a sense, albeit general, of 5Pointz (Figure 1). The former “Institute for Higher Burnin” was located at 45-46 Davis Street in Long Island City, Queens, near Court Square. The site is bounded to the north by Jackson Avenue, a major thoroughfare connecting the neighborhood with the Queens Midtown Expressway and Queens Boulevard, granting access to Manhattan, northwest Brooklyn and Sunnyside Gardens. To the South, a wall of railway tracks -Sunnyside Yards- separates Hunters Point and the site from west Sunnyside. The elevated 7 train line stops north at Court Square station and then continues along Davis Street into Sunnyside Yards, passing right in front of the site and flanking it along the west. An approach along Jackson Avenue from the north would show MoMA PS1 in the back to the right, located just one block from the site, as well as the dark-green metal structure of the 7 train penetrating

the view horizontally. Behind the intersection, there is a series of typical frame warehouses in faded yellow ochre, tattooed in graffiti (Figure 2). The eight-building complex served as a curated outdoor/indoor graffiti museum, with the interior being occupied mainly by artist studios, a light manufacturing business and a small school. After demolition in 2014, development followed with the erection of two residential towers rising from a common mixed-use space, totaling 1.4 million square feet.¹ The site was renamed, not without some dispute,² to 22-44 Jackson Avenue (Figure 3). 5Pointz still exists today as a radioactive presence in memory and the current political debates over the fate of the industrial city. To begin exploring this subject through the skin of embodiment, it is necessary to stretch back to the past of graffiti and its relationship to identity, minority gangs and tattoos.

Tattoo

Some experts ascertain that the development of contemporary graffiti is strongly informed by the traditions and values of Chicano, Caribbean and African-American cultures. Two notable examples of their influence are painted roll calls and tattooing, understood as metaphors of cultural inscription that relate the individual and urban space as two faces of one skin. “Gang members’ reinscription of street corners and walls transforms the neighborhood itself as an extension of the group,”³ claims Jon Wolseth in his study of Honduran gang culture in Colonia Belén. Later in the text, in reference to the work

of Susan Phillips on gang graffiti in Los Angeles, Wolseth points to the territorial aspect of gang graffiti. The notorious roll call (Figure 4), which acts as a “list of active members at the time of the graffiti... provides the altered identities of its individual members, through the exclusive use of gang *apodos* (nicknames).” Through them, the “neighborhood spaces become the billboards for gangs to advertise their presence to others in the neighborhood.”⁴ The relevance of *apodos* in this context lies in their role in “marking a young man as part of a network of affiliation to those in his clique.”⁵ In his essay “The Faith of Graffiti”, Norman Mailer also alludes to a certain layer of distance in the representation of nicknames instead of proper names within the emerging graffiti culture of the 1970s. Yet, he does so from a drastically different angle:

The kids bear a not quite definable relation to their product. It is not MY NAME but THE NAME... an object is hit with your name...⁶

Furthermore, Mailer underlines the relevance, in his words, of the fact that “In the environment of the slum, the courage to display yourself is your only capital.”⁷ If one thinks about both of these discourses through the lens of embodiment, one could argue that they mark a difference regarding what is embodied in the self/urban skin. In the context of Wolseth’s argument, the name is concerned primarily with the sorting out of cultural loyalties within the critical social fabric of relationships. Architectural elements embody

iterations of the collective self, the skin of the *barrio* and the gang member. The name of graffiti writers tagged all over the Lexington Avenue Express in the 1970s (Figure 5) owe themselves to a different set of concerns, which include graffiti as a process of sorting out power relations and effecting the exchange of name-value as social capital.

When considering the case of 5Pointz -which begins to operate as a center for graffiti artists in 1993 under the name “Phun Phactory”- one might observe that the graffiti tattooed to the skin of this industrial carcass speaks of yet another strata of meaning that corresponds in part to a different socio-economic milieu. To understand this meaning, it is crucial to study the outstanding traits of the social, economic, and political landscape that led to the center shift of graffiti from the act of city-wide naming to a city-wide name.

Name and Body

This project takes the beginnings of the 1970s as a point of departure to the timeframe within which graffiti is considered: the space usually referred to as contemporary graffiti. The turn of the decade marks the emergence of tagging in New York City, “stylized signatures or logos that are unique to each individual graffiti writer.”⁸ In the same context was the solidification of hip-hop subculture with its other media of expression, such as rap music, breakdancing and disk jockeying. These were far from isolated practices.⁹

When thought of in the context of the African diaspora in the United States, some sources have argued that Hip-Hop can be considered through three interconnected streams of development: dance, musical and oral culture.¹⁰ These three correspond to three areas of cultural exploration centered on the body, the drum, and the spoken word. These are not isolated fields of culture either. In a study of the role and meaning of the body in African diaspora dance, Thomas F. DeFrantz argues that it “may be likened to verbal language most in its conspicuous employment of ‘call and response’ with the body responding to and provoking the voice of the drum.”¹¹ It should be noted that this process of “communicative collaboration”¹² between the body and the rhythm bears resemblance with saint-channeling practices through drum music in Caribbean religious traditions, such as the Yoruba. When considered in this light, it could be said that graffiti brings the written word into the conversation, where the distorted letter mirrors the twists and turns of the breaking body in conversation with the drum. Similarly, the process of communication between the drum and the body is in a sense parallel to the relationship between the graffiti writer and the wall, where this architectural element embodies a complex character tainted by the specific socio-political context of the time.

As important to what the wall embodies in graffiti is the content of what is written. Graffiti has been classified in three main types: tags, throw-ups, and pieces. Tags

-the oldest recognized form of contemporary graffiti- consist mostly of names written in monochrome, usually in a relatively small scale, emphasizing speed and quantity. Throw-ups can be names or phrases, usually bigger in scale, polychrome, emphasizing style and impact. Pieces are short for “masterpieces” and define much more detailed work, with high time investment, multiple color layers and complex typography.¹³

An important common denominator between all these types is the name. In his renowned essay “The Faith of Graffiti”, Norman Mailer explores the connection between the meaning of the name in graffiti and the act of overwriting. On this topic he writes:

You hit your name and maybe something in the whole scheme of the system gives a death rattle. For now your name is over their name, over the subway manufacturer, the Transit Authority, the city administration. Your presence is on their presence, your alias hangs over their scene.¹⁴

Mailer’s reading of the impulses of many graffiti writers during the early 1970s as a sort of rage against the “whole scheme of the system” is certainly romantic, yet it extracts a crucial layer of meaning from his interviews with renown graffiti taggers: the embodiment in the wall of a political force, an authority, as well as a contested territory. One could say that through graffiti, the characteristic alienation of African American and Caribbean minorities from the centers of economic power

becomes a concrete conversation between these poles of power. The operations of overwriting in this period's graffiti can be understood as a cultural technique¹⁵ that mediates this distinction: namely, in Mailer's words, "the schizophrenia of the powerless and all-powerful in one psyche."¹⁶

Pursuit

This meaning was fueled greatly by the panic in the multiple transgressions necessary to make a graffiti piece happen. Mailer explains how the punishments for defacement of a subway car during the 1980s involved police beatings and trial by court where "the early prisoners [would be condemned] with the command to clean the cars and subway stations of the names... Pain and humiliation were the implacable dues."¹⁷ And yet the rewards, it seems, overwrote the perils.

Indeed, contemporary graffiti in New York City unfolded within a body of cultural values and perceptions that stressed to define, upon the face of deindustrialization and economic stagnation, a specific form of the term "public". Joseph Heathcott argues in *The Bold and the Bland* that:

For many New Yorkers, however, the spate of graffiti exemplified the self-indulgence of youth, the retrenchment of public services in an era of federal devolution and the decline of New York City's fortunes more generally. Detractors saw in the tag-covered subway cars a

diminished respect for public spaces that belonged to all New Yorkers, not just a few roving 'vandals.'¹⁸

Events such as the 1973-75 Economic Recession during the Nixon administration existed par on par with a general feeling of disillusionment and decadence of the Post-World War II promise of progress. The Vietnam War protests, which gained strength at the end of the sixties during the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson, can be read as a crucial turning point in the relation of United States citizens to the authority of the State. During the Cold War, the image of young and old bodies in protest at the cost of the rising United States military-industrial complex can be seen as a direct challenge to the image of the model citizen. Perhaps the power dynamics already underlined within the distinctions of graffiti find an echo in this ethos.

A close architectural parallel to this disillusionment could be the demolition of Pruitt-Igoe, which became throughout its life a symbol of the failure of the urban renewal project and public policy more generally. More specifically, Pruitt-Igoe also serves as an extreme example of the condition of working-class neighborhoods in which many contemporary graffiti writers grew up in. Concerning this, Mailer describes upon his visit to the apartment of Junior 161 in Washington Heights, the "dark pits in the plaster speaking of the very acne of apartment house poverty... that gloom... the grinding entrapments of having lost to the law -lawyers' fees, bondsmen,

probation officers, all of it- and the twice-grinding worries of debt and economic disaster."¹⁹ It could be said that this constitutes yet another historical layer of meaning within the graffiti of 5Pointz: the opposition of a colorful landscape to a bleak concrete jungle, or the opposition between Nature and Culture (Figure 6). One could point to this as the referenced affinity, at least distantly referenced today, through which 5 Pointz as a post-industrial aerosol center makes sense. This is true only if the post-industrial is read as a continuity of this "bleak concrete jungle" through which the vines of alterity sneak. *Overwriting* as a cultural technique in graffiti could also be thought of as negotiating this distinction in the architectural element of the wall.

Long Island

This distinction acquires more contrast when observed through the economic history of Long Island City vis à vis 5Pointz. It should be said that it was precisely during the 1970s industrial devolution that owner Jerry Wolkoff acquired the old Neptune Water Meter Company building, which was to become 5 Pointz.²⁰ It should also be noted that:

Long Island City had played a significant role in New York's industrial growth during the first half of the 20th century, particularly after completion of the Queensborough Bridge in 1908. Like Williamsburg in Brooklyn and Hunt's Point in the Bronx, the area accommodated the extension of manufacturing, machining and warehousing

operations beyond built up Manhattan.²¹

During this time, the eight-structure complex of 5Pointz served as a space for clothing manufacturing, a phonographic record needle producer, storage, and, most notably, the production of water meters.²² Yet, the area was not always industrial, of course: Long Island City owes its origins "back to the early 1630s when a land grant, awarded by the Dutch, established a 160 acre peninsula in Astoria as Jarck's farm."²³ Renowned for the fertility of its soils, Long Island City supported a strong farming tradition that was superseded by its transformation into a manufacturing center under the entrepreneurship of the Steinway family in the late 19th century. During the presence of this German migrant family in current Long Island City -a period known as the Steinway Settlement era- the city was developed unto an urban center with a street grid and housing construction principally through the imperative of making it a livable place for the workers of the Steinways' manufacturing and transportation businesses.²⁵

As the end of the 20th century approached, New York City became less industrialized, with many of the heavier industries closing or relocating and leaving behind an increasing number of vacant structures.²⁶ In terms of tax revenue, Long Island City became an underproductive urban district with a high maintenance cost.²⁷ In parallel, during the Koch and Giuliani administrations, the United States government underwent the neoliberal transformation of

governance characterized by federal devolution and reduction of support for municipal planning.²⁸ As a result, "To increase tax revenues, municipal authorities directed public dollars increasingly toward the leverage of private investment toward 'higher and better' uses of land... [and] began to prepare proposals for new zoning designations, special districts and overlays."²⁹ The 1993 Plan for Long Island City collected the intentions of the city planners by projecting the intensification of light manufacturing in the area as economically convenient due to the availability of spacious industrial buildings, access to transportation, and the waterfront, and proximity to Manhattan.³⁰

This bears resemblance to the transformation of many other post-industrial neighborhoods in New York City such as SoHo in Manhattan and Williamsburg in Brooklyn. In this sense, with the increasing demands for bigness prevalent in contemporary art at the time, artists and businesses shared a common interest in "solid buildings with large amounts of space that could be rented comparatively cheaply."³¹ On this point, Ilcheva argues that "[graffiti] Muralism emerged from this activity because of the will to increase the size or volume of the works. While a tagger would gain reputation for the wide spread and frequency of his tag, murals added the dimension of creativity as an important factor in it."³² Another key factor that led to the movement of graffiti artists to 5Pointz was the harsher policies enacted by the Koch and Giuliani administrations. In truth, "Beginning in 1980, Mayor Ed Koch made the eradication of graffiti

a high priority for his administration, establishing harsher penalties for 'defacement', installing razor-wire fencing and surveillance equipment around train yards, and equipping the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) with more sophisticated graffiti removal machines."³³ In addition, media campaigns such as the 1982 poster campaign "Make your mark in society, not on society" specifically focused on young minorities, encouraging them to a more "productive" life by channeling the message through the icons of young Latino culture such as Hector Camacho.³⁴

Despite the increased targeting and personal risk, graffiti entered a process of surface migration from the predominant subway aerosols to "other surfaces such as parapets, highway ramps, parks and playgrounds."³⁵ It could be said that this—added to the new scale demands of contemporary art and the graffiti eradication campaign—urged new meanings into the practice of graffiti.

These new conditions favored increasing sedentarism: the merge of graffiti with the mainstream art cycles and the search for spaces where practitioners could continue their work and perhaps build a professional practice. When in 1993 Pat DiLillo and Michael 'Iz the Wiz' Martin arranged with owner Jerry Wolkoff to turn this unused factory complex into an urban gallery, the embodied meaning of the wall was different. Perhaps it was not so much about the sorting out of social identities or the exchange of capital, but rather about the location

of a haven, a permanent structure to house the visual chaos of these distorted cultural landscapes. On this point, Heathcott points out that "The Phun Phactory provided an outlet for aspiring graffiti writers to hone their skills and experiment with new techniques free from the constant harassment of the NYPD."³⁶ Public perception of graffiti had also changed, to the point that today the debate between "vandalism or art" is discussed favorably for graffiti in the channels of official discourse such as the New York Times.³⁷ It is more common to emphasize, as in the context of the demolition of 5Pointz, the role of graffiti works as "public art [that] connect in resonant ways with the communities around them."³⁸ Arguably enough, it is in these terms that through 5Pointz, graffiti engages the issue of the evolution of industrial heritage in contemporary urban centers.

The Spatial Fix

With the activation of previously derelict industrial sectors such as Long Island City, the stage was set for speculative urban development. These processes "unfolded within the global reconstruction of real estate and finance capital that led investors to seek what David Harvey calls the 'spatial fix'—new pathways of accumulation grounded in speculative property development."³⁹ The growing influence of 5Pointz since its inception, along with other art-related re-appropriations of post-industrial structures in its surroundings such as MoMA PS1, serve precisely as a new pathway for capital accumulation. One could

point out that it corresponds to the broader commodification of culture in a globalized society, as well as the monetization and mediatization of specific cultural expressions that are difficult to commodify due to their urban fixation.⁴⁰

In addition, this commodification of graffiti is "rather influential in terms of its social meaning."⁴¹ As has been said, the migration of surfaces of graffiti to 5Pointz marks a shift in perspective from its value as a "rebellious act... into an activity within the respected art community and even the expensive art industry."⁴² The same thing can be said of the commodification of street art as a whole, where the integration of graffiti in advertisement and the high auction prices of the works of artists like Banksy and Basquiat testify to an assimilation of the proximity of these practices to an established institutional framework. Thus, it could be argued that the material conditions of graffiti favored its institutionalization in more permanent, even more marketable spaces such as 5Pointz, while simultaneously preparing the terrain for the exchange of its value for more profitable means of accumulation. What the walls of 5Pointz embody then is a haven, but a precarious one; a structure, albeit unhomey.

Proper Property

More questions on the meaning of graffiti within the post-industrial landscape of New York City arise with the 2013 whitewashing and the most recent demolition of 5Pointz, which took place in 2014. The issue



Figure 7. View of 5Pointz after the incident of whitewashing. (Image by Max Touhey)

has stirred the discussion around artist rights and the extent to which the State negotiates the constructs of property around a wall and the copyrights of aerosol artists to their work. The issue of property has, in a sense, always been in the DNA of graffiti, be it through the specific regulations surrounding it within the NYC capitalist economy, the shifting boundaries of the public sphere and of who partakes in it, as well as the evolving meanings of the ways in which the people engage with these walls. Of relevance may also be the dispute around the

rights of the owner, Mr. Wolkoff, over the name 5Pointz and its carry-through to the new development,⁴⁴ perhaps as a possible point of difference with the value of the name within the emergent graffiti scene in the 1970s. In addition, the incident of whitewashing (Figure 7) and its classification as such is certainly reminiscent of the erasing mechanisms sponsored throughout the Koch and Giuliani administrations. One could interpret that both carry undertones of purity, be it cleanliness or tabula rasa, sustained on a basis of property claims –one regarding

public property and another regarding private property. Thus, they problematize the longstanding relationship of graffiti to urban hygiene and junk. In part, this comment refers to the connection between visual pollution, the distorted aesthetics of graffiti, and a certain abjection to the other which is left unexplored in this paper. It also refers to a definition of junk that bears some resemblance to Rem Koolhaas' argument in his essay *Junkspace*, where the substitution, through current development patterns, of critical layers of urban fantasy with meaningless difference may relate to

the demolition and redevelopment of 5Pointz.

Against

Through these recent events and many others, the semiotics of the wall have acquired a twist that merits revision. To initiate this discussion is to approach the study of architectural devices not as passive objects but rather as actors that both mediate and operate in the dynamics of power within the city. Perhaps this twist is indicative of a different time, in which the toolset developed during the late 20th Century by theoreticians even of the stature of Koolhaas does not suffice to face the challenges that await. To confront this, it is crucial for Architects to be, among other things, *against*. The space of Theory is yet another fighting ring.

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Notes

- ¹ Details about the project can be found at www.hto-architect.com/22-44Jackson.php.
- ² For more information, see www.huffpost.com/entry/5-pointz-landlord-trademark.
- ³ Wolseth, 2011, p. 39.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.
- ⁵ *Íd.*
- ⁶ Mailer, 1974, p. 158.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 170.
- ⁸ Ilcheva, 2015, p. 16.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- ¹⁰ Despite the fact that graffiti culture was influenced and practiced by people of many ethnicities from the beginning, this article parts from the premise that the influence of African-American and Caribbean cultures was decisive enough to leave a strong imprint in the meaning of graffiti. It is thus the focus of this paper.
- ¹¹ Defrantz, 2004, p. 67.
- ¹² *Íd.*
- ¹³ Ilcheva, 2015, p. 16.
- ¹⁴ Mailer, 1974, p. 157.
- ¹⁵ For information on cultural techniques, see Siegert, Bernhard, and John Durham Peters. *Doors: On the Materiality of the Symbolic*. Vol. 47, 2012, doi:10.1162/GREY_a_00067; and Siegert, Bernhard, and Geoffrey Winthrop-Young. *Cultural Techniques*. Fordham University, 2015, doi:10.2307/j.ctt14jxrmf. JSTOR.
- ¹⁶ Mailer, 1974, p. 157.
- ¹⁷ *Íd.*
- ¹⁸ Heathcott, 2015, p. 84.
- ¹⁹ Mailer, 1974, p. 157.
- ²⁰ A brief summary of the history of 5Pointz can be found at www.widewalls.ch/5-pointz/.
- ²¹ Heathcott, 2015, p. 85.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- ²³ "History of Long Island City", 2019.
- ²⁴ *Íd.*
- ²⁵ *Íd.*
- ²⁶ Heathcott, 2015, p. 85.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 86.
- ²⁹ *Íd.*
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- ³² Ilcheva, 2015, p. 16.
- ³³ Heathcott, 2015, p. 84.
- ³⁴ For more information, see www.nytimes.com/1982/04/30/nyregion/celebrities-join-mayor-in-new-battle-against-graffiti-writers.
- ³⁵ Heathcott, 2015, p. 84.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁷ For two instances of this, see medium.com/writing-chicago/street-art-graffiti-changing-our-perceptions and www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/07/11/when-does-graffiti-become-art.

³⁸ Heathcott, 2015, p. 85.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴⁰ Ilcheva, 2015, p. 10.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴² *Íd.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴⁴ For more information, see www.huffpost.com/entry/5-pointz-landlord-trademark.

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**MONOGRÁFICO
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**EL DISEÑO AUTÓNOMO
Y
EL EMERGENTE CAMPO
TRANSNACIONAL
DE LOS ESTUDIOS
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