URBAN PARASITES:
RE-APPROPRIATION OF INTERSTITIAL SPACES IN ARCHITECTURE
THROUGH THE ACT OF GRAFFITI

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Senem Yıldırım
ABSTRACT

URBAN PARASITES:
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This thesis focuses on parasitic spaces as areas of re-appropriation displaying radical stands against sterility of urban environment. The aim is to search for the potential of the formation and spread of urban parasites in the city for a new method in designing architectural environment. Urban parasites are indicated in the study as areas of individual intervention formed in interstitial spaces of city. They form alternative zones within the urban fabric that emerge from spatial and symbolic connection of individually transformed interstices sharing the same context. As a unique form of urban parasites, the study grounds on the act of graffiti, since it forms an architectural discourse on reconstruction of interstices, and encourages alternative spatial configurations. Referred as observers of city, graffiti artists are studied as creators of urban scenes and intervenors of new frontiers for alternative territories. The process of choosing graffiti spots is researched as a way of recognizing and interacting with interstices of city, through the act of walking. While choosing spots, graffiti artists provide the continuity of parasitic zones by spatially and symbolically referring to other spots. To trace back the development of interstitial spaces, parallel with the heritage of graffiti forming them, this thesis focuses on the city of Berlin as a significant case on the subject. To observe urban parasites formed by connection of graffiti spots and examine the changing identity of interstices in different contexts, the graffiti map of Berlin is reinterpreted along the route from Mitte, the center of former East Berlin, to Friedrichshain, the housing district of former East Berlin. By producing maps based on personal observations and comparing them with other available maps, the study traced the continuity of urban parasites overlapping with graffiti spots in Mitte and Friedrieschain before and after Berlin Wall, while documenting the changing identity of interstitial nodes by observing Kunsthau Tacheles in Mitte and Yaam in Friedrichshain.

Keywords: Urban Parasites, Interstitial Spaces in Architecture, Re-Appropriaion of Space, the Act of Graffiti, Berlin
ÖZ

KENT PARAZİTLERİ:
MİMARİDE ARA MEKANLARIN GRAFİTİ MÜDAHALESİ İLE YENİDEN SAHİPLENİLMESİ

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Kent Parazitleri, Mimaride Ara Mekan Kavramı, Mekanın Yeniden Örgütlenmesi, Grafiti, Berlin
To My Family
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Definition of the Problem

It is a question of space without a particular use, so much so than one can talk of marginal or resulting voids. It is the operation of the reconfiguration of parasite architecture that determines an inhabitable vacuum, accessible, protected, dense of character or even simply meant as a possibility of existing.¹

This thesis "Urban Parasites: Re-Appropriation of Interstitial Spaces in Architecture through the Act of Graffiti" develops the research on how parasitic spaces are shaped in the city space by asking the following questions: firstly, under which post-modern architectural conditions parasitic spaces emerge; secondly, can urban parasites be evaluated as architectural interventions and if they do, can the act of graffiti be evaluated as a parasitic form that reconstructs architectural space; and finally, how the graffiti pieces are positioned in space as constitutive parasitic entities in relation to post-modern architectural context they implanted in.

An inquiry about urban parasites firstly problematizes the post-modern architectural conditions of city, since a parasitic entity can be assumed to develop as a reactionary stand against the existing spatial environment. The study starts with the assumption that urban parasites are formed by the inhabitants of city as transformed contexts –as breathing areas in urban fabric-, against the sterile structure of post-modern architectural space but co-existing with it. Towards this assumption, the study questions the social and governmental dynamics and their reflections on sterile city space which encourages the emergence of parasitic spaces –the spaces of individuals to co-exist-. The initial claim of the study is that parasitic spaces emerge from the problematic relation between the sterile city space and individual attempts of reconstructing new contexts that disturbs the homogeneity of the sterile urban space. The specific spaces, in which urban parasites emerged, then, are evaluated as neglected areas embedded in urban fabric and developed despite the strict order of urban structure. These spaces are referred in the study as interstitial spaces, and they are questioned as potential

spaces of individual expression and intervention since they possibly form “breathing spaces”\(^2\) within but also against the condensed architectural structure of the city. The act of graffiti, as the subject of inquiry, and as a form of urban parasite, is questioned in terms of its parasitic character, its methods encouraging individual intervention, its potential to form an alternative spatiality against the sterility of urban space, and the specific contexts the act of graffiti spatially positions itself within urban fabric. The interstitial spaces, in this sense, are questioned as potential graffiti spots and are evaluated in terms of both the spatial relations graffiti pieces construct to the interstice itself—how the pieces are positioned and composed accordingly to spatiality of interstice, and the relations of the graffiti pieces to the sterile urban fabric in larger scale.

1.2. **Aim and Scope of the Thesis**

The thesis "Urban Parasites: Re-Appropriation of Interstitial Spaces in Architecture through the Act of Graffiti" aims to develop an understanding about the parasitic spaces embedded in interstitial spaces in city and their relation to existing city fabric they are growing by holding onto but also against it. Such a study of interstices is aimed to contain an inquiry about individual re-appropriations to interstices which give them a reactionary character against the sterile architectural structure of its context.

The interstitial spaces are defined in the study as areas placed not necessarily on the edges of cities but embedded in existing fabric. They develop outside of the refined zones of official maps while holding onto the fabric of city. Since the interstices in city space are developed within but against the existing tissue, the problematic relation between the interstices and the rest of urban fabric is questioned in terms of the potential of interstitial spaces to co-exist with the existing structure through individual re-appropriations. That potential is researched in relation to the conditions where the order between the edges of city gets blurred and the “undecidable spaces”\(^3\) merge into existing structure. The point of interstitial spaces merge into existing fabric, according to study, is where a creative re-signification of space is formed and re-appropriation of interstices takes place. Then, the study analyzes formations of interstices, which are filled with meaning and opportunities, in specific situations where individual dynamics emerge.

Studied as a form of individual intervention to interstices, urban parasites are assumed to construct and characterize the in-between spaces, while developing new relations between re-appropriated interstices and existing context. By questioning the formation of interstices in relation to existing fabric of city, and in relation to other interstices; this thesis develops a


research not only on the changing visual vocabulary of the city, but also on reconstruction of city’s visual culture by individual intervention. Thus, the study searches for unique situations in which not only the material and immaterial existence of urban parasites are affected by surrounding context, but also the spatial and symbolic configuration of urban parasites transform the existing context. The material and immaterial existence of urban parasites, as mentioned before, is affected by social and governmental dynamics within the city. The context, in which urban parasites are implanted, on the other hand, cannot be transformed by singular interventions; thus, the study questions the existence of a continuous zone of intervention.

Starting from the assumption that each interstice is transformed into a unique entity by individual intervention, the study develops a further inquiry about the spatial and symbolic relations between each interstice sharing same context and search for a visual connection and uniformity among the interstices of city that would form an alternative spatial zone in city. The traces of visual continuity can be found among separate interstices of city and would show that each interstice presents a unique spatial identity while sharing a symbolic language with other interstices, since they develop as spatial reactions against the existing context, despite being placed into and growing upon it. Such an inquiry would prove the existence of an alternative layer, a zone of re-appropriation formed by the connection of interstices, which will be mentioned in the study as “parasites”. Within a sterile architectural structure, these urban parasites have the potential to shape their own contexts by developing a visual and symbolic relation to other interstices in the same context, by spatially binding to them.

The study of interstice and parasites in architecture, then, becomes a remarkable agent for determining methods of recognition of and interaction to city space, discussing newly developed identities within in-between spaces and documenting the continuity of a parasitic zone in city.

Although the term used for indicating a variety of concepts in architectural literature, in the study, “urban parasite” refers to a uniformly formed alternative zone embedded into urban fabric constituted with the spread of and connection to individually-reconstructed interstices each other. The notion of parasite, here, indicates the character of reconstructed in-between space which is growing into and also despite to the existing architectural fabric. One of the major motives of the study is to determine and document the visual and immaterial continuity among interstices in order to search for the possibility of reconstructing unique identities for each interstice while forming a shared visual and social language among them. At this, point the method and physical configuration of individual intervention that shapes the interstice gain importance.

In this respect, the thesis refers to the architectural wall, which, as a potential surface of inscription for interstices, is evaluated as the agent of material appearance of individual interventions to interstices. Wall, in the study, is a significant entity for discussing varying spatial re-configurations of the interstice since it is a formative of both inside and outside
architectural space. Moreover, since the wall is also a surface to be re-designed, it is a remarkable agent for defining unique methods for reconstructing the interstices

The methods for the reconstruction of in-between spaces and the formation of parasites are various but they all require individual participation and physical intervention with the interstice. Thus, this thesis discusses a unique way of intervening with the wall and a debatable method for re- appropriating the interstices in space: the act of graffiti. The act of graffiti, in this sense, emphasizes and uses the potential of the wall to define, reshape, and contour the context that eventually forms the space in-between. The importance of the act of graffiti in a research about urban parasites is caused of two aspects; firstly, by presenting a unique spatial discourse, the act of graffiti reconstructs the spatial language of the interstice, and re-forms the material and symbolic appearance of the in-between space by disturbing the surfaces surrounding it. This aspect helps the study to question various spatial configurations and changing characters interstices gain through radical graffiti implantations. Secondly, by analyzing the graffiti artist as an explorer of city and an urban spectator, the study aims to understand the process of re-appropriation from the eyes of intervener, and tries to trace the continuity within urban parasites by focusing on the process of choosing graffiti spots in which the footsteps of graffiti artists, who becomes the agent of connecting interstices each other, is followed. In a detailed analysis of the process of choosing spots, the study aims to determine a path of intervention on which the graffiti artist, by using the act of walking, explores city space, recognizes and reconstructs the interstices, and bind them together by performing graffiti pieces on a continuous route which would eventually form the urban parasite.

According to given motives, aims and methods chosen to support the assumption that interstitial spaces in city have the potential to form a continuous form of alternative zone, namely an urban parasite, which would be traced and understood through the act of graffiti; this thesis search for a unique case to determine and document urban parasites through graffiti pieces: Berlin. As a specific context, the thesis studies the city of Berlin because the interstitiality within the urban structure of Berlin can be discussed both in relation to its trace post-war architectural history and context and in a comparison to the language of graffiti through this period—given that Berlin is one of the capitals of the act of graffiti.

1.3. Method of the Study

While developing the research on interstitial spaces re-appropriated through the act of graffiti, which in a continuous manner, form urban parasites; the study claims that the act of graffiti is an alternative way of design for architectural environment. Within the process of finding and binding urban parasites, the study uses a methodology which suggests a synthesis of architectural representation materials and theoretical research. This method is
mentioned in the literature as “research by design”, and is used in the study to generate both verbal and non-verbal inquiries on the architectural discourse urban parasites form by both searching architectural theories and developing a material-based research on the intervened interstices within architectural built environment. Research by design provides the study a framework in which the design is a substantial part of research process, which will be used to compare the data gained from theoretical readings about interstitial spaces in architecture to the architectural materials developed on urban parasites in the case study. In this respect, the study develops proposals prepared with architectural drawings, maps and analysis on the case study, and by moulding them with theoretical inquiries, it is planned to achieve a “subsequent rationalisation: argumentation, theoretical explanation of the proposal and subsequent testing in practice”. Thus, the study discusses the interstitiality in architectural theory as well as the potential of the act of graffiti to form new spatialities, while producing architectural materials to support the theoretical background on the interstices and graffiti pieces transforming Berlin.

The study starts by drawing a theoretical frame by scanning previous studies made on the notion of interstitial space in architecture, the material and immaterial relation of interstitial spaces to existing contexts with an analysis of the current dynamics of post-modern city space, and the concept of urban parasites.

Referred as urban parasites, which are constituted as continuous alternative zones embedded in urban context formed with re-appropriated interstices, the concept of parasitic has been analyzed in a variety of meanings in architectural literature. Used to define various concepts, urban parasites often refer to as singular artistic installations—“flexible and sometimes temporary structure that feeds off the existing infrastructure and build form”—aimed to be displayed in urban space, or as technological implants and media facades placed on urban surface displaying “inconspicuousness, integration, expansion, interference, mobility

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4 The term “research by design” defines a unique way suggesting an interconnection between “architectural practice and research process and methodology”. Jørgen Hauberg, in his article “Research by Design – a research strategy”, claims that research by design develops a strategy to decrease the distinction between research and design by synthesizing theoretical inquiries with architectural materials. As both a verbal and non-verbal method, research by design, according to Hauberg, is a branch of “research through art and design” which “is a material-based research, development work and action research” using “practical experiments what are being achieved and communicated through the activity of design process”. The concept is used to interconnect design research with the theoretical framework to produce a larger perspective on the development of architectural environment.


5 Research by Design - International Conference (2000). - Delft University of Technology - Faculty of Architecture, in cooperation with the EAAE/AEEA, November 1-3.

opportunism in order to profit from the vast realm of potential architectural hosts, or even high-rise buildings constructed in a traditional neighbourhood. However, the theoretical approach of study overlaps with the concept of “parasitic architecture” of Oswald Mathias Ungers stating parasitic architecture “as a mediator between the changes in society on the one side and the urban systems on the other.

The parasite is informal compared to its host. Therefore, the parasite can be used to stimulate and accommodate spontaneous processes and informal initiatives. This is achieved because the parasite provokes, explores and breaks open both physical and mental boundaries in order to offer opportunities for the elusive and new propositions.

Thus, urban parasites formed with interstitial spaces in city is begun to be analysed through its initial element: the interstice, through methods of re-appropriations of the interstice and through a theoretical works studying the notion of interstice.

To be able to understand the methods of the re-appropriation of space, the study first deals with the problem of interstices in the city, searching for the interstices (the in-between spaces) within the existing texture of an architectural environment that forms the background of the study. To analyze the interstitial space formed within the urban fabric, the thesis makes an inquiry about current architectural conditions in which the in-between spaces are shaped. Developing a perspective on the leftover, the forgotten and the undesigned, the organized space should be questioned in terms of social and governmental dynamics and their reflections on the city space. While on one hand, the study analyzes public space as an area of governmental control that is provided by false images and artefacts meant to create the ideal space by preventing the user from intervening, as a place where individual control is provided by the notion of punishment; on the other hand, it questions public space as a place where the individual dynamics of re-appropriating public space against standardization and stabilization are born. The study defines interstitial spaces as "functionally indeterminate sites", or "hybrid, in-between spaces," in spite of their

7 Teyssot, George. Hybrid Architecture: An Environment for the Prosthetic Body, Convergence 11, No. 4, 2005, pp. 72-84.
belonging to an organized public space and to the intimate domain. They "seem to have grown rather than [being] planned and therefore appear to be the reverse of urbanism".  

The formation of interstice and theories for its reconstruction should be studied before research is developed concerning methods of intervention for in-between space. In this study, the interstitial space is analyzed in comparison to the similar studies in literature, each of which has its own terms to explain the phenomena of the interstitial: Deleuzian's "Fold", Slavoj Zizek's "Architectural Parallax", and Foucault's "Heterotopia".

After analyzing the concepts that theoretically construct the interstice, the study searches for architectural elements and different spatial configurations that physically construct it. According to the study, the interstitial is an indeterminate entity within the space transformed by the intervener. It is not a fragmented area to be redesigned but together with other interstitial spaces in city, it has a potential to form a continuous strip, spreading and binding to other interstices within the urban fabric, which is referred to as the "urban parasite" in this thesis. To trace back the continuity of interstitial spaces in city, the study takes the wall as the initial fragment of this continuous strip; the wall is studied in detail, in terms of its surfaciality, its space-defining character, and its potential to be re-appropriated by the user and redefine interstitial space. The wall in the study not only forms territories that creates interstices, but also creates the building skin as a fold in-between inside and outside; within the interstice spaces shaped between wall and public space and within folding spaces formed between inside and outside, a multiplicity of spatial interactions can now be read and reread by the intervener. At this point, the study refers to Deleuze’s "Fold" again by evaluating the building not just as a space but an entity formed of many spaces folded into many sites by the vertical and horizontal movement of the wall, which also forms a space in-between the form articulation of the space. The parasitic wall is conceived where there is a folding of space into other spaces. The wall not only creates folds within itself, but also forms territories around it in which the parasitic spaces are constructed.

12 In "Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque", Gilles Deleuze questions the interstice within the notion of fold by rethinking the relation between inside and outside by debilitating the uniformity of the built form and reclaiming the relation between inside and outside by emphasizing the role of the building surface.
13 In "Parallax View", Slavoj Zizek states that the concept of parallax as an architectural entity in which the interstitial spaces of tentative functions wrapped with buildings of precise functions can be defined.
14 In "Of Other Spaces", Michel Foucault uses the term heterotopia as the conceived space where experimentation and intervention occurs; while explaining the very concept, Foucault states that heterotopias remould the space by questioning the grammar of the existing order. (This text, entitled "Des Espaces Autres", and published by the French journal Architceture-Mouvement-Continuitéin October, 1984, was the basis of a lecture given by Michel Foucault in March 1967.)
The method chosen in the study to represent the reconstruction of the interstitial space, the continuity and connection of interstices, re-definition of wall as a surface of inscription, and also the individual initiative and creativity is the act of graffiti. The act of graffiti emphasizes and uses the potential of the wall to define, reshape, and contour the context that eventually forms the space in-between. The analysis of graffiti in the study is developed on multiple theoretical backgrounds. Firstly, the study discusses the aestheticity and politicality of the act of graffiti upon studies of Guy Debord’s “Preliminary Problems in Constructing a Situation”¹⁵ and Tom Huhn’s analysis of the aestheticity of Immanuel Kant "Kant, Adorno, and Social Opacity of Aesthetics”¹⁶ to develop a comparative understanding on the identity and visuality of the act of graffiti. The theoretical framework is supported with various examples of graffiti pieces from different contexts presenting various visualities and aiming to give different social and cultural messages through spatial reconstruction. Then, when analyzing the relationship of graffiti pieces to interstices, the study focuses on the process of choosing graffiti spots as a method for recognizing and reconstituting interstices. Within this process, the graffiti artist who becomes the intervener is evaluated within the concept of Walter Benjamin’s “flâneur”¹⁷ who explores and intervenes in the interstitial space. The process of choosing spots for the graffiti artist is a remarkable way of exploring and experiencing the space; in terms of the methods the graffiti artist uses for choosing graffiti spots, they converge with the methods of the flâneur as both subjects use the act of walking for recognizing city. Thus, the study uses the act of walking as the method for observing and determining urban parasites—continuous graffiti sites—and for analyzing the experiences of the graffiti artist, who physically intervenes in the space in-between.

¹⁵ In his essay “Preliminary Problems in Constructing a Situation, Guy Debord discusses the effects of creating a situation within the urban scene on the identity and contextuality of city space. In that sense, the act of graffiti overlaps with the methods of Situationists, since both movements reconstruct scenes to re-appropriate space and present a reactionary stand against the existing order. Debord, Guy. Preliminary Problems in Constructing a Situation, Internationale Situationniste #1, 1958, (Paris, June 1958), translated by Ken Knabb.

¹⁶ In his articles "Aesthetics, Architecture and Graffiti" and "Street Art: Inner Voice Of the City", Efe Korkut Kurt discusses the problems and effects of evaluating interventions of the wall as a method to carry "gallery art" to the streets by using the wall as a canvas through the act of graffiti. Referencing Tom Huhn's seminal article, "Kant, Adorno, and Social Opacity of Aesthetics", Kurt discusses the notion of public art in relation to whether art for public use exists or not with reference to the works of Kant and Adorno, and questions the physical features of the wall and its capacity to be used as a mere canvas. The discussion of public art through an urban surface will be made in later parts of study.

¹⁷ The term "flâneur" originally means "stroller", "lounger", "saunterer", and "loafer". The concept of flâneur in Baudelaire’s mind represents a detached observer in the urban scene but is also someone with a key role in understanding and portraying the city. He defines flâneur as a "gentleman stroller of city streets".

Benjamin, on the other hand, describes the flâneur "as the essential figure of the modern urban spectator, an amateur detective and investigator of the city".
As a specific context to discuss the interstitiality, urban parasites and their relation to act of graffiti, the thesis studies the city of Berlin because the interstitiality within the urban structure of Berlin can be discussed both in relation to its trace post-war architectural history and context and in a comparison to the language of graffiti through this period—given that Berlin is one of the capitals of the act of graffiti. To determine the contemporary interstitial spaces in Berlin in relation to the unstable spatial and social contexts that interstices developed in, and to document the overlapping graffiti spots with interstices which showed to form an urban parasite located among former East Berlin; three layers of maps indicating interstices, graffiti spots, and overlapping territories of these two forming the urban parasite were produced. These maps were generated by personal observation of the author through following footsteps of Berliner graffiti artists in April 2013 and used in comparison to similar maps documenting the graffiti spots in Berlin in different time periods. Throughout the development process of maps on contemporary interstices of Berlin, the author represents the flaneur –the Berliner graffiti artist-; by walking among significant zones of Berlin, the footsteps of the graffiti artists are imitated to explore the city and recognize the interstices. Thus, the first map includes an analysis of the interstices in a larger scale; while the second map indicates contemporary graffiti spots in relation to landmarks and significant graffiti zones and the third map shows the overlapping existence of the interstices and graffiti spots. Using the data gained with personal observations on Berlin, and with the maps produced, the study presents an original statement about the interstitiality and urban parasites especially in Berlin context. This statement, however, achieved through scanning theoretical works produced on the historical and contextual development of interstitial space, as well as the original observations and products developed through personal experiences. To draw a theoretical framework, then, the study refers to the sources discussing the interstitiality of Berlin through major historical events from the city’s history.

When discussing post-war Berlin, Lebbeus Woods uses the term "Scar" to express the traces of war left in the architectural texture of the city. He states that the scar in urban texture is a deeper level of reconstruction of the war tissue and as a reminder the missing Scar should preserve its continuity through history. In this sense, the thesis evaluates the graffiti scene of Berlin as the "Scar" of the wall, which symbolizes the absence of the Berlin Wall as well as representing the survival of the urban fabric within different parts of the city. After analyzing the history of Berlin and the graffiti scene, the study determines and studies the present graffiti spots and their spatial configurations in terms of parasitic spaces. The thesis searches for interstitial spaces embedded in the urban fabric first on small scales from today's Mitte through Friedrichshain, as two important zones within former East Berlin, with details of tags and graffiti works. Contexts that contain high-density graffiti areas are determined and contextually and functionally analyzed. The graffiti implanted on these interstitial spaces is differentiated according to its contexts, which forms a continuous line of

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graffiti. This continuous line is discussed according to concepts mentioned in previous chapters ("Walking as a Method for Do-It-Yourself Architecture"\textsuperscript{19} and the theory of flâneur) in which graffiti artists render the city, explore the interstitial spaces in it, and implant parasites in those spaces so that they can spread.

After determining the high-density graffiti areas and connecting the nodes of interstitial spaces, the study focuses on two nodes of graffiti spots from two different contexts, how the architectural space around the graffiti nodes are reshaped (how a new form/function is implanted), and how a new context is shaped by graffiti. The continuous line starting from Kunsthaus Tacheles -the former art school and present exhibition space for alternative artworks- in Mitte and ending in Yaam –Young African Arts Market- in Friedrichshain is the main focus of these transformed areas. These two nodes, on two ends of the line, will be discussed according to the function and form of the architectural space they formed around the graffiti spots, the new functions they gained, and their spatial transformation. The aim is to search for the different uses of interstitial spaces both in different contexts, by comparing Mitte to Friedrichshain- as graffiti nodes and as a part of a continuous structure formed by the same language.

As a result, the thesis forms new mappings for visually documenting the parasitic spaces within the urban fabric by tracing graffiti artists’ footsteps in the city of Berlin in order to prove that graffiti zones create a continuous zone. By producing detailed plans and sections on high-density graffiti nodes—Kunsthaus and Yaam, the study develops a perspective on both building scale and urban scale and forms a broader framework about the context shaping graffiti works, graffiti works offering new functions, and the uses to the contexts that eventually reshape them.

CHAPTER 2

OF INTERSTITIAL SPACES

2.1. Conditions of Space: Placing the Place-less Individual in the Post-Modern City

A public space is not a plane of organization [plan d’organisation] of identities in an environment, but a plane of consistence [plan de consistence] where identities are problematized and situations become constantly re-definable.20

To define the space individuals live in, we need a larger definition of the social conditions in it, because the space itself is a social product. The social construction of space becomes observable when it is analyzed on a larger scale; the potentials and inner dynamics of the city space are readable when they are analyzed on an individual scale from the single habitant's eye. Thus, an architectural inquiry about the current condition of public space relates to a discussion with reference to time, identity of the individual, and the meanings attributed to the space, which as a totality create a series of situations shaping the space. In his article, “L’Architecture dans le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language”, Manfredo Tafuri discusses the modern city, which "has structurally become an enormous social machine".21 While questioning the current structure of urban space, Tafuri examines the norms of 20th century architecture, including a historical analysis of the transition from modern to post-modern and claims that the contemporary experience of the individual in the city can no longer be assumed as a linear form.

It presents itself to us as a plural, multiform, complex experience in which it is legitimate to cut sectional trajectories that run not only from top to bottom, from beginning to end, but also transversely, obliquely, and diagonally.22

Considering the plural relations forming the city space and its current rigid and stable structure, the place of the individual in the space should be discussed according to its potential for accommodating various means of communication amongst the individuals. While explaining the individual's experience of space, Fredric Jameson claims that both in public and private space, both inside and out, the individual is lost in a “placeless dissociation”, an “alarming disjunction between the body and the built environment”, as Edward Soja adds, that traps the individual in “the great global multinational and decentred communicational network in which we find ourselves caught as individual subjects.”

The reason for this disjunction between the built environment and the individual is caused by the creation of a mass culture, what Adorno calls a "culture industry". Adorno claims that the false consciousness created on the mind of the consumer by the corporate society forces the individual to disconnect from the reality s/he blended in as well as alienating the individual from the space, which is supposed to be a collective entity.

It proclaims: you shall conform, without instruction as to what; conform to that which exists anyway, and to that which everyone thinks anyway as a reflex of its power and omnipresence. The power of the culture industry's ideology is such that conformity has replaced consciousness.

Such conformity comes from indeterminacy in every aspect of social relations; the pseudo freedom caused by the commodification of space locks the individual into an ideal constitution of space. A hyperreality forms an abstract knowledge of space and a banalized taste. The current state of the public space, as well as public sphere, are now bounded to codes and what Jean Baudrillard calls "simulations", turning the city itself—the place of both production and consumption—into a series of representations. The ideal space is a space of indeterminacy, a hyperreality of the code and the simulation. "It is now a principle of simulation, and not of reality, that regulates social life." Relying on models and representations caused the post-modern society to lose awareness about the concept of inhabitance in a general sense, because the space imposed upon them is already utopic.

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26 On the first chapter "The Precession of Simulacra" of his book "Simulacra and Simulation", Jean Baudrillard defines the simulation as the representation that precedes and determines the real. While determining the orders of simulacra, he claims that the distinction “between reality and its representation have disappeared”; the only subject matter is simulacrum. "The finalities have disappeared; we are now engendered by models. It is no longer a question of imitation, nor duplication, nor even parody. It is a question of substituting the signs of the real for the real". Baudrillard, Jean. Symbolic Exchange and Death. (3 ed), SAGE Publications, London, 1994, p.40.
sense of inhabiting a utopic space creates loose individuals without a sense of boundary or territory. According to Baudrillard, what has happened in post-modern culture is the “lost contact with the map that precedes the idea of territory”\(^{28}\), thus the idea of identity. "The territory no longer precedes the map, nor does it survive it. It is nevertheless the map that precedes the territory—precession of simulacra—that engenders the territory".\(^{29}\) To lose the public identity leads to a public space belonging to the place-less individuals, which has eventually created a static society without any conflict or change. The stagnation of the society may appear as an achievement of a higher social order, but it is actually a constant maintenance of the status quo and its institutions. Any society relying on conformity tends to normalize current social practices in which the change is impossible. The static nature of a society is something that was created by a higher authority, which can be named as capital, any institution, or the mass media. To reverse the process of the de-personalization of public space requires further research on "how" such a counter-dynamic of sterility was created in space rather than "why". The discussion is directly related to the construction of public space since the space itself becomes the tool to stabilize and homogenize social relations.

Guy Debord claims that the cause of this stagnation is the creation of an image-dependent society. He defines this false image, the representation of the material, as "spectacle".\(^{30}\) In his book "Society of the Spectacle", Debord states that the spectacle is "the moment when the commodity has attained the total occupation of social life".\(^{31}\) The spectacle is a geographical layer in post-modern city; by emphasizing image, it manipulates the space by reducing it to mere appearance. The spectacle represents the dissolution of the public sphere and the possibility of participation in public space. By integrating a series of false images, it regulates public discourse through means of separation.

The logic of spectacle prescribes the production of separate, isolated, and introspective individuals. Therefore, the modern spectacle provides a tangled relationship between watching and being watched. It forms such a system that begins with the simple display of an image intended to achieve a sort of social control through the act of surveillance. On the notion of "watching and being watched", Michel Foucault gives a similar attitude to Debord's when he analyzes the concept of power. In his book "Discipline and Punish",\(^{32}\)

\(^{30}\) The Spectacle is "a social relation among people, mediated by images". It is an objective material relation resulting from the dominant mode of production, yet it is real only in its unreality. Debord, Guy. *Society of spectacle*. Zone Books, New York, 1995, p.32.
\(^{32}\) In Discipline & Punish, Foucault argues that the spectacles of the public executions were effective because they represented an enforcement of the governor’s body onto the body of the public. The spectacle of execution is a form of watching onto the public; by watching and judging the condemned, the ruler is making clear that he is watching the public, both symbolically and through his state apparatus. The watching and being watched of this process are certainly entangled. Roberts, Hal. *Two Spectacles*, 2008. Retrieved from http://blogs.law.harvard.edu/hroberts/2008/03/28/two-spectacles/.
Foucault discusses the use of public executions as a form for disciplining society and reviews the fact that the subjectively internalized idea of punishment forms a necessity for normalization and conformity among society in various layers of social activity. Foucault evaluates the public execution as a public spectacle enforced by various mechanisms of power, a series of civilizing institutes, and their various agents. What eventually replaced the spectacle of executions in the modern spectacle, Foucault argues, is the modern set of institutions, whose most important impact was to turn discipline into the social fabric itself rather than imposing discipline bodily through bloody spectacle. Like Foucault's conception of power, Debord's version of spectacle is integrated into the structure of society through the act of a central control.

The act of central control over society creates a notion of the necessity for order among individuals. Le Corbusier explains these phenomena as a need for the individual to sustain the state of conscious for the built environment.

\[ \text{The more the order is an exact one, the more happy he is, the more secure he feels. In his mind he sets up the framework of constructions base on the order, which is imposed upon him by his body, and so he creates. All the workman has achieved are an 'ordering'... As we move higher in the scale of creation, so we move towards a more perfect order.}\]

Such a strict order, however, causes the space to lose its identity, as Michael Sorkin claims in his book, "Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space". The public space is dead and space-less individuals create new forms of public space within private spaces. Paul Chatterton in his article “Squatting is still Legal, Necessary and Free: A Brief Intervention in the Corporate City” adds that ignoring the social quality of the public space leads to the creation of "scripted and homogeneous" urban spaces, which pushes the individual to be a passive body rather than an active creator or participant.

Space structures formal and informal communication as well as providing the grounds for exercising power. At this point, the study searches for the alternative uses of space by focusing on participatory exercises, individual interventions, and reactionary approaches towards the appropriation of space. The main concern here is to determine the alternatives against the sterility and homogeneity of architectural space. In this sense, Henri Lefebvre

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has been a key figure in the rethinking of everyday life and creativity in the city through his theory of space and society and what he called the “social production of space”. 37

The city is a place for desire, permanent equilibrium, and [the] seat of the dissolution of normalities and constrains, the moment of play and of the unpredictable. 38

By emphasizing the user’s ability to influence urban space and the constitution of urban space beyond its mere physicality, Lefebvre has developed a vision of space that is to be conceived socially. Urban space is not a static entity; it is actively produced within a social and ideological context. As Lefebvre points out, the initial aim is to search for examples in which space is not something we move in; we are dwellers “not so much in space as of space”. 39 As Lupo & Postiglione state in their article “Temporary Active - Actions as Urban re-appropriation strategies”:

The city is increasingly seen as an experiential field and the processes of reading, interpreting and implementing opportunities offered by the urban context have become more mature, more culturally aware, and sensitive. 40

The analysis of the current condition of public space and the search for the potentials of individuals to reconstruct it, lead to further investigation on the potential intervener, the various methods for individuals to intervene and to reshape social space, the specific examples of reconstructed contexts embedded in existing textures that disturbs the homogeneity of the sterile urban space, and a literature review of the existing architectural theories evaluating the reasons and results of the individual interventions. In later parts, the study will examine the theories of the re-appropriation of space and search for the potential contexts for creating alternative situations.

2.2. Intervention to Architectural Space: Re-Appropriating Urban Space

The study searches for the potential contexts within space that allow individual interventions in which the plural relations between the built environment and individual identities could be reshaped in a more complex schema. 41 To determine the specific situations in which the space becomes an "interacting system of multicultural communities, capable of expressing

38 Ibid, p.129.
different forms of urban life"\(^{42}\) is the initial aim, in this sense, and the social and physical fabric of the space should be re-evaluated as well as its coexistence with individual identities and public relationships. As a result, public space is a matter of a socially constructed realm of public interaction, a matter of the urban public scene as a composition, and a matter of the territory of shared attention.\(^{43}\)

When locating the individual in this space of public interaction, it is important to focus on the communication constituted between the individual body and the built environment. It certainly is a symbolic form of communication as well as a physical one. The urban margin does not only exist in the traditional physical urban condition, but in a number of social phenomena emerging in the social fabric of our everyday environment, outside the hierarchical organization of space. The communication of the individual to the space s/he inhibits can only be figured out by defining the potential intervener and specific practices s/he held to reinhabit the space. The study claims that the reactionary individual—the potential intervener—is the ordinary woman or man who uses common practices accommodated in the space. At this point, the study refers to Michel DeCerteau, one of the key figures to contextualize everyday life and to understand the communicative relation between "ordinary man" or woman to his/her environment. In his seminal book "The Practice of Everyday Life", DeCerteau states:

> The approach to culture begins when the ordinary man [or woman] becomes the narrator, when it is he [or she] who defines the common place of discourse and the anonymous space of its development.\(^{44}\)

DeCerteau claims that the urge to re-appropriate the space is caused by the urge of the habitant to escape the imaginary totalizations in space and to stand against the strangeness of everyday life. According to him, the desire of the individual to change what exists in the city comes from the need to satisfy it. The act, which should be held against the commodification of culture, should be formulated within situations triggering the individual creativity of the ordinary man/woman in space. According to Tafuri, the individual creativity can be conceptualized by demonstrating how urban space is divided, conquered, left over, and occupied again. The user becomes the creator in the space and the streets of the urban space are filled with "the sounds of thousands of small positive ways of reclaiming space."\(^{45}\) Jonathan Hill, in his book "The Illegal Architect", states: “Architecture is the gap between building and using, just as literature is the gap between writing and reading”.\(^{46}\) He suggests

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\(^{42}\) Pietromarchi, Benedetto. (2005), *The place is (not) common*, Art, public space and urban aesthetics in Europe. Barcelona, 2005, p.16.


that the users of an architectural space start to reconfigure the architectural definitions of the situation while they reclaim the space, which makes them "illegal architects".

The method used in the process of re-appropriating the built environment by the ordinary individual is an unordinary, architectural intervention, thus the method of intervention and the reconstructed space require new definitions within the framework of architectural discourse. The study evaluates the initiatives taken to reshape the sterile context as a "do-it-yourself" urbanism, and the space, which is formed as the outcome of a do-it-yourself urbanism, as a "minor geography".

2.2.1. DO-IT-YOURSELF URBANISM

The utilization of architectural space by the ordinary individuals, the occupation of the built environment, and the redefinition and modification of the common functions of public space should be questioned in terms of what Rem Koolhaas connotes as "a new urbanism". According to Koolhaas, the new urbanism should not be based on "order and omnipotence"; it will no longer be concerned with the static or permanent objects placed on space or with the strict organization of territories. The new urbanism is defined as the stage of uncertainty, the blurred territories with the potential to be changed or reshaped; the space does not aim for stable configurations but it searches for the recreation—redefinition—of the inflexible spaces that accommodate the definitive forms and precise functions.

It will no longer be about meticulous definition, the imposition of limits, but about expanding notions, denying boundaries, not about separating and identifying entities, but about discovering unnameable hybrids; it will no longer be obsessed with the city but with the manipulation of infrastructure for endless intensifications and diversifications, shortcuts and redistributions—the reinvention of psychological space.

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47 The term "do-it-yourself urbanism" is used by Kenny Cupers in his article "Walking as do-it-yourself urbanism". Cupers suggests that the radical interventions in space should be seen as a form of urbanism conceived as individual initiatives, which influence the perception of space rather than change the way space itself exists. This experiential change can be seen as “a series of more direct experiments in living which have an immediate aesthetic quality.” Cupers, Kenny. Walking as do-it-yourself urbanism. Goldsmiths Occasional Paper Series, London, 2005, p.12.

48 The concept of the "new urbanism" actually questions the role of the architect to reclaim the urban space by binding two disciplines: architecture and urbanism. In his article "Whatever Happened to Urbanism", Koolhaas refers to architects to display a reactionary response against the common order. He recognizes that universal urbanism could be understood as a symbolic aggregation of culturally constructed space. Koolhaas focuses on issues of reception, the constructed identities and appropriated signifiers in the city. For him, "the potential lies not in how artifacts are assembled together in space but rather in how the perceived differences are constructed and received." Gilbert, Mark. On Beyond Koolhaas: Identity, Sameness and the Crisis of City Planning., Umbau (20), Vienna, 2003, p.28.

Thus, creative individuals can consider the concept of new urbanism as a form of experiential transformation of the city space. This form of urbanism in which a personal or collective creativity reshaped the urban landscape could be called "do-it-yourself urbanism".

2.2.2. MINOR GEOGRAPHIES

As mentioned before, the need for radical intervention from the individual is caused by the need to communicate to the built environment. On this subject, in his book "The Structural Transformation of Public Sphere", Jurgen Habermas claims that public sphere is defined as the sphere of public communication.\(^{50}\)

Arising from the relationships constituted within space, these attempts at creativity precede the search for a meaning as well as of a communication. The study examines the individual attempts at creativity in terms of their physical and symbolic relation to the space they implanted, their aesthetic and representative features, as well as the motives of the individuals for the intervention. If each inhabitant has the ability to construct his/her own reality in the space, we can start to question the user's potential creativity in terms of the contextual and conceptual qualities of individual and collective images produced within the space. The collection of images constituted individually and collectively forms an overlapping structure within the urban fabric of what Lupo & Postiglione call the "minor geography".\(^{51}\)

The "minor geographies" drawn by the individual actions of occupation and appropriation within the urban fabric can be interpreted as the capability of bringing the visibility to an "insurgent" city. Rather than a temporary protest, it is intentionality collective. The individual interactions grow, spread, and form their own geography within the urban fabric, creating free zones within the common discourse of the social construction of urban space. Its minority comes from its urge to dig out the lost, deleted areas and abandoned places while bringing to the surface the lost identity and memory of the individuals of the city. According to Richard Sennett, communities “make uses of disorder” to trigger their personal identity in city life.\(^{52}\) The built environment can no longer be defined as a "secure and stable place of contemplation, but presents itself as a mobile device that is continually altered".\(^{53}\) This instability is actually caused by the minor geographies growing within the urban fabric; the spaces freed by the individuals form a strip of indefinite images, which gives the space

\(^{53}\) Ibid, p.50.
its needed mobility, flexibility, and fluctuation. The re-appropriated areas enable various practices of social reconstruction of the city as well as changing the strict form of architectural space.

The study focuses on these constructed minor geographies within the urban fabric in terms of their potential to reshape the architectural space. The term minor geography, however, should not be restricted with the empty areas where the dominant order loses control. This situation is due to the fact that the empty areas are often set up with inventive forces in an attempt to organize them and to form "breeding grounds" in which "the construction blueprints are already drawn".54

The definition of "minor geography" should be enlarged to find out the specific spaces lacking a fundamental identity, a definite form, and a given nature, which can be interpreted as "in-between" spaces. The study focuses on the in-between spaces, which are spaces without boundaries. They lack the notion of inside-outside, refuse to have a definite form, and by definition, are constituted in-between the urban fabric. The character of the in-between space appears as a moving and constantly-changing entity. As mentioned in the "minor geographies", the minority of these spaces comes from their instability and most importantly from their spreading character. Thus these spaces will be called "parasitic spaces", because they spread, they change, and they transform the built environment surrounding them.

2.3. Parasitic Spaces: A Reading of Interstitial Spaces for the Creation of Re-Appropriated Spaces in the Existing Architectural Fabric

Parasitic spaces can be defined as dismissed or forgotten spaces within the urban fabric. They can be either abandoned areas or undefined places trapped in the highly designed, built environment. The common feature of parasitic space is that they are "swamp-like places", not necessarily areas on the edge of the cities, but most assuredly ignored areas—outside of the refined zones of official maps filled with meaning, value, opportunities, and individual dynamic. They are the sites for "creative re-signification and appropriation by the city". Peter Eisenmann uses the term the “zone of undecidability”55 to emphasize the spaces where

54 The term "breeding ground" is mentioned in the article "Urban Cracks: Interstitial Spaces of City", originated from the concept of the appropriation of the reactionary artworks by the dominant order by Griet Verschelden. Verschelden, Griet. Positioning Community Art Practices in Urban Cracks, in International Journal of Lifelong Education (31), 2012, p.281.
the order between the edges get blurred as the new merges into old and the old merges into
the new. What Eisenmann refers to as "new and old" is not the common meaning of the
words but instead refers to the fluidity and the stagnation of the space.

A fluid body that takes on unprecedented levels of complexity in which
the “lack of discretion, the complexity, and the inelegance of such a
model is not a residue but an integral component of models of
assemblage, fusion, mutation, evolution, and fluidity.57

The issue of interstitial space in architecture is highly debatable and there has been a wide
swath of literature written and published about the discourse of the interstitial. Although
they can be defined in common words in most works, the interstitial spaces are referred to in
several concepts and named differently in several discourses58: “terrain vagues”,59 “dead
zones”,60 “parafunctional space”,61 “superfluous landscapes”,62 “spaces of uncertainty” and
“the margin”,63 “voids”,64 and “the urban interstices”.65 Discussed among a variety of terms,
unused areas will be mentioned in the study as “interstitial spaces”, and Figure 2.1 shows
the conceptual constitution of interstitial spaces in small scale.

From all of these concepts, the study focuses on three seminal works to be related with the
structure of the thesis: firstly, there is Slavoj Zizek's "Architectural Parallax", which re-
evaluates the potential of interstitial space to redefine the relation between form and
function; secondly, Gilles Deleuze's "The Fold", which conceptualizes the relation between
inside and outside over the building skin as a form of interstitial space; and thirdly, Michel
Foucault's "Heterotopia", which questions the grammar of the space and its organization via
the reconstruction of interstitial spaces as destabilizers within an urban environment in a
structuralist/semiological sense.

58 Originally derived from, Shaw, Pamela and Hudson, Joanne. The Qualities of Informal Space: (Re)
appropriation within the informal, interstitial spaces of the City, in Occupation: negotiations with
constructed space, Brighton, 2009, p.3.
60 Doron, Gil. The Dead Zone and the Architecture of Transgression, in City (4), 2000, p.250.
61 Papastergiadis, Nikos. Traces Left in Cities in Leon Van Schaik Poetics in Architecture, Wiley
62 Nielsen, Tom. The Return of the Excessive: Superfluous Landscapes, in Space and Culture (5),
63 Cupers, Kenny and Miessen. Markus. Spaces of Uncertainty, Verlag Muller and Busmann,
64 Armstrong, Helen. Time, Dereliction and Beauty; an argument for ‘Landscapes of Contempt’ The
65 Tonnelat, Stéphane. ‘Out of frame:’ The (in)visible life of urban interstice, in Ethnography (9), Sage
2.3.1. ARCHITECTURAL PARALLAX

The term parallax is defined as: "the apparent displacement of an object (the shift of its position against a background), caused by a change in observational position that provides a new line of sight." Originally meaning "alteration"–as shown in Figure 2.2, changing notion of moving body-, Slavoj Zizek refers to the concept of parallax as an architectural
entity in which “the interstitial spaces of tentative functions wrapped with buildings of precise functions can be defined.” He interprets the architectural parallax as the leftover space individuals rely on but also ignore. Zizek uses the example of the dark space between walls where the horrible threats lurk in horror movies to define the parallax, where no definite function could be assigned. Zizek claims that these spaces are to be designed as multi-functional equalitarian open spaces, but the access to this space is "invisibly filtered and privately controlled", which forms "cocooned, protected and filtered" areas. Tentative functions appeared in the interstitial spaces because they were designed as ideal places; this ideality prevents the space itself from having a definite function.

Thus, the architectural parallax is displayed as open—meaning transparent—and it is designed to be neutralized. The tension between the poles of precise and tentative begins to dissolve and the architectural qualities of the space-between are flattened. According to Zizek, the contradiction "loses its subversive edge". "In a space of globalized permissiveness, inconsistent standpoints cynically co-exist." While arguing the tension between form and function, Zizek uses the architectural parallax as the buffer zone between form and function. Referring to Lévi-Strauss, he claims that the interstitial is the empty signifier with no determinate meaning, and since it signifies only the presence of itself, it becomes an autonomous entity whose only function is a negative signalling: it counters the presence of the precise function with its absence. By doing that, the interstitial becomes the "zero-institution". To use a term coined by Deleuze:

A contemporary big city is a space of ‘disjunctive inclusion’: it has to include places whose existences are not part of its “ideal-ego”, which are disjoined from its idealized image of itself.

The broken link between form and function in the city space is reconstituted by the architectural parallax, not in the classical sense that form follows function and vice versa,

67 Ibid, p.16.
but as the reorganization of the whole structure of space. The interstitial space gains new functions—with the intervention of the user of space—and changes the strict organization of determinate form. What architectural parallax stands against is the generalized aestheticization of the built environment.

As an example of architectural parallax, Zizek uses "Kimmel Center for the Performing Arts in Philadelphia". Zizek explains the reason behind choosing a performance-art venue as the redoubling structure of such venues: "Why does a container itself have to be contained?" Given that they have several structural layers, performance centres have the potential to embody stranger structures; a new phenomenon emerges from the reclaiming of the gap between skin and structure: an unexpected interstitial space. Similarly, beneath the vault of Kimmel Center for the Performing Arts, in-between its skin and the interior, the gap forms a space between inside and outside, “creating a sheltered extension of the sidewalk outside, and blurring the distinct between the city and the outside.” This space formed is now a blurry area with new functions—full of cafes, free puppet shows—belonging to neither outside nor to inside. It is an open space within the building that is open to access.

### 2.3.2. THE FOLD

The concept of the fold is derived from the philosopher Gilles Deleuze. In his book "Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque", Deleuze questions the concept of fold by rethinking the relation between inside and outside, particularly in Baroque architecture. According to Deleuze, "the inside [is] conceptualized as a fold or de-formation of space created by the outside as a constitution of space". The importance of the concept of the fold lies in its ability to debilitate the uniformity of the built form and reclaim the relation between inside and outside by emphasizing the role of the building surface. The fold is the connotation of the building skin not as a separator but as a connector of the outside to the inside. Fold reintroduces the dynamics of outside, defined by the different uses of space formed by outside events, to the inside.

The outside is not a fixed limit but a moving matter animated by peristaltic movements, folds and foldings that together make up an inside: they are not something other than the outside, but precisely the inside of the outside.

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71 Ibid, p.18
Thus, the fold is the conceptualization of the interstitial space between inside and outside, where the linearity of the surface is interrupted. It is a formation of socially constituted space in-between, the interplay between order and disorder, a transformation of surface as a "passage where heterogeneous things intermingle and events unfold."\(^{74}\)

Deleuze proposes the fold is an interstitial space interrupting the planar linearity of the built environment as well as a social entity enabling individual identities to be reshaped beyond the dominating image. In his book "The Parasite", Michel Serres claims that the fold is actually a buffer zone where the order is reversed, the organization of inside/outside becomes more refined rather than destroyed.\(^{75}\) The fold conceives spaces where individual identities are reformed. As mentioned before, it is an interplay between order and disorder that creates the stage upon which one can question the necessity, direction, and bounds of individual identities. "Folds are places where laws and order are temporarily inverted (like Polanski’s Chinatown). Folds are zones of tolerance, intermingling, and silence."\(^{76}\) Deleuze uses baroque architecture and the language of Liebniz's buildings to question and exemplify the concept of the fold. The concept, however, can be suited to the simple organization of common buildings in which we can re-evaluate the relation between inside/outside and the role of the skin. The fold organizes the interface of the individual interaction differently; it forms a space where individuals can connect regardless of the common relation materialized in the order of space. It is the reorganization of the common interaction by the different interpretations of the inside/outside relationship. Thus, a fold can occur even in "a cafe", the meeting space, and conjunction point in space, "somewhere beyond the hierarchical orders that impose communication, where inside meets outside and the normal unfolding of time is interrupted."\(^{77}\)

### 2.3.3. HETEROTOPIAS

Foucault first mentioned the concept of heterotopia briefly in his book "Order of Things", and later developed the concept and published it in his article "Of Other Spaces".\(^{78}\) When defining the heterotopias, Foucault states:

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\(^{75}\) In his book "The Parasite", Michel Serres associates human relations with parasites to host the body. According to him, minor groups can become major players in public dialogue like parasites spreading to human body.


\(^{77}\) Ibid, p.84.

\(^{78}\) Foucault, Michel. *Of Other Spaces*, 1996, p.6. This text, entitled "Des Espaces Autres," and published by the French journal Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité in October, 1984, was the basis of a lecture given by Michel Foucault in March 1967.
"Real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are heterotopias."  

Heterotopias are not ideals in Foucault's mind, they are abnormal spaces. According to him, it is a search for the alternative challenge against the established order of things and words in a world of gaps filled with unity and homogeneity.

The heterotopic is formed where space is interrupted by an alternative order. The heterotopia is the conceived space where experimentation and intervention occurs; while explaining the very concept, Foucault states that heterotopias remould the space by questioning the grammar of the existing order. According to Foucault, the role of the heterotopia is to destabilize the structure of the existing grammar of the language of space, which is the precondition of reclaiming it. Heterotopias are substantive and disturbing at the same time in the sense that they reshape the structure of language—and also undermine it—by making it impossible to entitle common words and by dislocating common names.

They shatter or tangle common names, because they destroy “syntax” advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax which causes words and things—next to and also opposite one another—to hold together.

“Then what role can heterotopias have in spatial and organizational thinking? To understand the role of the heterotopias in spatial and organizational thinking, the methods of the organization of space can be related to the methods of the structure of grammar. In his book "The social psychology of organizing", Karl Weick claims that like grammar, the nature of organization reduces ambiguity in an attempt to control and enforce order upon space. Changing the structure of the sentence in this sense blurs the meaning, while it makes space for the complexities. The heterotopia brings out the potential of the gaps within the space by messing with their order. As Foucault says:

Heterotopias serve to desiccate speech, stop words in their tracks, contest the very possibility of grammar at its source; they dissolve our myths and sterilize the lyricism of our sentences.

82 Weick, Karl E. The social psychology of organizing, Addison Wesley, Reading, 1979, p.24.
The analysis about interstitial spaces from Zizek, Deleuze, and Foucault, referencing the interstitial in terms of form/function, inside/outside, and structural/semiological methods, will be mentioned in different parts of the study. Before that though, the communicative character of the parasitic space should be discussed. The main role of parasitic spaces is to communicate to individuals through formations of space, and this kind of communication can only be provided if the parasitic space drops out its fragmental character and becomes a continuous form implanted in the urban fabric. Philosopher Dirk van Weelden described these places as “manifestations against the inoperative city; an accumulation of disparate spatial experiences in a binding order, where form and void coincide.”

The interstitial space spreads and bounds, connects to the spaces of similar characters, because the re-appropriation of the interstice is fed from the communication of the individual to the space. The reconstructed interstice spreads through the same principle; the individual communicates to each and every in-between space within the urban fabric and transforms them and connects them, which is where the name "parasitic" comes from. Their unique character of communication and creating a continuous strip within the urban fabric will be analyzed with reference to a structuralist/semiological analysis, which defines space as a communication tool and as a textual entity.

2.4. Interconnections in Architectural Space: Binding Urban Parasites:  
A semiological search of urban parasites in the city space

In his book "The Ecstasy of Communication", Jean Baudrillard claims that the universe we live in is the universe of communication. Communication in the contemporary city, according to Baudrillard, is above the commodity of relations. "All functions abolished in a single dimension, that of communication. That's the ecstasy of communication. All secrets, spaces and scenes abolished in a single dimension of information." The role of communication on the formation and appropriation of space is remarkable, since the intervention to city space comes from a need to interact to it.

In his article "Semiology and the Urban", Roland Barthes questions the communicative character of the city by claiming that the city is a discourse of language. "The city speaks to its inhabitants; we speak our city, the city where we are, simply by living in it, by wandering

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through it, by looking at it.86 The study, however, searches for the methods to carry the discussion from a purely metaphorical level—the metaphor indicates the expression of 'the language of the city'—to a substantial analysis. What are the physical reflections of the communicative relations between the city and the individual on space?

The discourse of space as a language is derived from the claim to evaluate the space as "text", and this evaluation requires a "reading" of the physical and symbolic materials of the built environment. Although Foucault refers to heterotopia as a new form of "grammar" overthrowing the structure of the language of the city, in his article “Heterotopias and the History of Spaces”, George Teyssot claims that the analysis of the space as a text should not be regarded merely as:

...a collection of statements to be analyzed in terms of grammar or syntax. On the contrary, its fundamental aspect as “discourse” is logical and semantic.87

The readability of the space can only be discussed if the space is not reduced to fragments of 'words' or analyzed in direct reference to the methods of language. To analyze the city as a text, the whole discourse of the city should be regarded as a textual entity, as Teyssot calls it, as a "trans-linguistic apparatus", which is related to other texts within the city. These translinguistic areas in the city come together and shape the urban fabric. The text "produces" and embodies a form of productivity to create unified spaces with similar structure and tongue. The "space of texts" functions as an integrative parameter offering a kind of "point of intersection for what has been said in other texts", an intertextuality among similar spaces, which seeks to find common grounds and unifies them.88

Thus, the parasitic space forms a textile structure, as Jacques Derrida refers to in his article “Faxitexture”, which creates striated spaces connected through intense layers of overcodings—overcodings that are attributed to space by its inhabitants.89 The text in a parasitic space creates "unexpected intensities, peculiar sites of indifference", and provides "new connections" with other parasitic spaces; thus they generate an overall conceptual

transformation within the space they hacked, and they move beyond the existing structural and representational frameworks of the space.90

The parasitic space forms against discontinuity within the city. The fragments of the built environment are shattered by the continuous strip created by getting together each and every intervention implanted on the urban tissue. Cobarrubias and Pickles in their article "Spacing movements", state that the interstitial space challenges existing fragments of the power structure by “remapping boundaries and margins and developing new spatial imaginaries through their work, often produced as a visual text of some sort.”91 When observing the urban environment where parasitic spaces spread, the viewer engages in a form of "mapping urban space by connecting similar and repeated symbols, codes, and representations", particularly when the individual attempts to re-form the interstitial spaces as parasites bringing together a form of continuum "along alleys, up the sides of buildings, traveling around corners, and stretching high up to rooflines."92

Tracing back the continuity of the structure of parasitic spaces starts from the smaller scale in which the fragments of parasitic spaces shape the unity. Manfredo Tafuri calls the fragmatic spaces forming the parasitic fabric the "cell" of the structure.

2.4.1. THE CELL

In his article “L’Architecture dans le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language”, Manfredo Tafuri refers to Ludwig Hilberseimer when defining the cell as the constitutive element of the urban tissue on which the architecture of the city depends.93 Tafuri states that the elementary cell shapes the unitary organism of the city. His direct reference to the body cell gives a clue about the symbolic stand of the architectural cell. The interactive relation between the cell and the urban tissue is a kind of a lucid relation in which both parts feed and shape each other's structure.

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The cell is not only the first element in the continuous production line whose ultimate product is the city; it is also the element that determines the dynamics of building aggregations.\(^94\)

Tafuri exemplifies the concept of cell in small scale structures; firstly as the single room, as the constitutive element of the building, and secondly as the building itself, as the constitutive element of the urban fabric. According to Tafuri, the single building is not an object but a fragment of the whole—like the cell of the body. The cell is the initial place where the physical interaction is embodied. "As infinitely reproducible elements, these units conceptually embody the primary structures of a production"; the cell coordinates the urban fabric as a whole while becoming a part of it so "the city's structure may then alter, by dictating the rules of its assemblage, [and] the typology of the cell".\(^95\) The cell, in this case, forms what called as “minor geographies”, interstices which would eventually form parasitic spaces, as shown in Figure 2.3.

Thus, the parasitic space reframes the city and a method from the study to analyze the continuity and structure of the parasitic space is derived from Tafuri’s cell theory. The study starts to analyze the parasitic space in the small scale at first—as further investigation on the initiator of the re-appropriation of the whole—then re-evaluates the strip formed by parasitic spaces on a bigger scale. To trace back and forth between those scales, the study focuses on "walking" as a method for analyzing and collecting data, and also focuses on the "walker" both as an observer and intervener to the urban fabric, and as the creator of the parasitic spaces.

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\(^{95}\) Ibid, p. 40.
2.5. Walking as a Method for Do-It-Yourself Architecture: The New Role of the Flâneur as the Intervener

The study evaluates the parasitic space as a derivative of movement and the act of walking as a form of transformation shaping—re-appropriating—the contexts in which parasitic spaces can be constituted.

Spreading continuous parasitic spaces form dynamic and living layered spaces; the continuity of them hosts the movement through it. Providing a plurality of experiences, the layers and fragments of parasites creates a different order of movement within them, which makes the transition through space more notable. In his article "The Public Domain", Richard Sennett states that:

> The public space is an area to move through, not to be in....Translated; this means that the public space has become a derivative of movement.\(^{96}\)

### 2.5.1. THE ACT OF WALKING

The movement derived in space forms a trajectory among fragments of parasitic spaces, which makes the act of walking a form of spatial transformation. In his book "Practice of Everyday Life", Michel DeCerteau states that trajectory, with determinate points, suggests a path for movement through the space through which it passes, eventually creating a synchronic unity among the separate parts of the space.\(^{97}\) The path of movement he mentioned is the act of walking, which manipulates the strict organization of space, stretches its edges, and defines new paths. "It is neither foreign to" the space nor "in conformity with" it.\(^{98}\) Movement in DeCerteau's mind is a part of the form of space, but it cannot be defined only by the space and it does not gain identity with the space. The relation between the act of walking and the formation of space is co-dependent; the act of walking is a form of intervention to the space, thus it shapes the context. On the other hand, the context where the path of the walking is drawn determines the method of the act of walking; the character of the intervention is defined mutually.

> It creates shadows and ambiguities within them. It inserts its multitudinous references and citations into them (social models, cultural mores, personal factors). Within them it is itself the effect of successive


\(^{98}\) Ibid, p.77.
encounters and occasions that constantly alter it and make it the other's blazon. 99

The act of walking both explores and defines the boundaries of space as well as emphasizes the continuity of the structure of parasitic spaces. The method of walking is similar to the method of the formation of parasitic spaces; they both form different grammars apart from the common language of city, the basis on which their formation of rhetoric is created. While discussing the transformation of the city, Kenny Cupers questions the effects of different methods of exploring the space through the appropriation of it: "Can the city be transformed by using it, by looking at it, or by walking it?" 100 Besides being a participatory intervention, the act of walking stands against the "notion of authorship" in space. Cupers states that:

In the experience of walking, open yet personal spaces revealed themselves alongside the city’s designated living, working or meeting spaces. These alternative spaces were thought to function as potential chill-out spaces for the urban walker, and I called them 'breathing spaces'. 101

Compared to the act of actually using the space—as a purely physical intervention—and the act of looking at the space—as a purely symbolic intervention—the act of walking represents an in-between discourse, like the parasitic space represents for the city, because it constitutes an experiential transformation within the space through the presence of the moving body. While discussing walking as a tool for the transformation of the space, Cupers claims that the importance of the act of walking apart from any other experiential methods of exploring the space has caused the walker to develop "intensified perception" through movement. The act of walking can be evaluated as an act of interactive mapping, thus the subject of the act gains importance since s/he directs the act and transforms the space. In "Practice of Everyday Life", DeCertau defines the walker as the pedestrians in the city. He claims that pedestrians begin to transform the city with their footsteps; the intertwined paths of movement redefine the shape of the space:

He also moves them about and he invents others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege[s], transform[s], or abandon[s] spatial elements. 102

The need of the individual to experience the city through walking is caused by a lack of space. It is an ongoing process of being absent. The act of walking provides the walker the dynamic experience of constant displacement. To lack a place provides the individual a series of social experiences through movement, the need to experience the space through a moving act can be both caused by the lack of identity—to search for the identity, which makes the individual transform the space he transits—or caused by the need for a lack of identity—to experience the placelessness that makes the individual a pure observer. Cupers claims that the walker can be an observer as well as an intervener. In a third claim, the study evaluates the walker as the narrator who both explores and intervenes in the parasitic space, both an observer and intervener. To develop the concept of the walking individual as the intervener to the parasitic space, Walter Benjamin's concept of flâneur should be analyzed elaborately.

2.5.2. INTERVENER AS THE NEW FLÂNEUR

The concept of flâneur within the architectural discourse of Walter Benjamin is derived from Baudelaire's poems, "Flânerie". The role of the flâneur in the production and experiencing of architectural space has been a debate for researchers, but the study will evaluate the flâneur as a moving body within the space who uses the act of walking to explore, to define, and to transform the parasitic spaces.

The flâneur is the spectator and depicter of modern life, most specifically in relation to contemporary art and the sights of the city. The flâneur moves through space and among the people with a viscosity that both enables and privileges vision...The flâneur possesses a power, [s/he] walks at will, freely and seemingly without purpose, but simultaneously with an inquisitive wonder and an infinite capacity to absorb the activities of the collective—often formulated as ‘the crowd’.

Benjamin's flâneur is an observer, but John Rignall defines him in his article "Benjamin's Flâneur and the Problem of Realism" as an "anonymous face in the multitude" that leaves

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103 The term "flâneur" originally means "stroller", "lounger", "saunterer", and "loafer". The concept of flâneur in Baudelaire's mind represents a detached observer in the urban scene but is also someone with a key role in understanding and portraying the city. He defines flâneur as a "gentleman stroller of city streets".
Benjamin, on the other hand, describes the flâneur "as the essential figure of the modern urban spectator, an amateur detective and investigator of the city".

traces of experience to his/her surrounding that may be unnoticed by the others.\textsuperscript{105} The flâneur Benjamin foresees is a passive actor in space, a member of the crowd who was physically placed in the text of city, but as an observer was performing "a transient and aloof autonomy with a 'cool but curious eye' that studies the constantly-changing spectacle that parades before him [/her]", as Benjamin calls it in "The Arcades Project": parasite of the arcade.\textsuperscript{106} In this sense, Benjamin's flâneur reminds us of the voyeur who puts him/herself at a distance from the transformation of space, because as mentioned before, s/he is in the form of the walker who needs to be placeless. The study, however, approaches the concept of flâneur not just as an observer but as an intervener; the term flâneur in the study associates with a similar concept of Deleuze-Guattari's nomadic subjectivity.\textsuperscript{107}

The physical reflection of the notion of nomadic subjectivity is the act of walking. The flâneur, in this sense, becomes a form of narrator rather than the audience. As Tafuri explains, the potential of the flâneur is that s/he represents the individual who has the right and the dynamic to reshape the built environment.

The public had to be provoked. That was the only way people could be inserted actively into the universe of precision dominated by the laws of production. The passivity of Baudelaire’s flâneur must be overcome and translated into active participation in the urban scene.\textsuperscript{108}

The concept of flâneur, in the traditional sense, changes with the dynamics of space that forms the interventionist individual. The study traces the individual interferences to the space that forms parasitic spaces starting from a small scale and connects the individual parasitic spaces to shape a continuous strip on the larger scale. These traces should be analyzed starting from a building scale, and then further developing to an urban scale to find the strip parasitic spaces form via the method of the act of walking. Therefore, the first subject concerned is the initial element of the building, which forms the skin of intervention: the wall.


In her article "Difference, Diversity, and Nomadic Subjectivity", Rosi Braidotti defines the Deleuze-Guattari concept of nomadism as the "critical consciousness that resists settling into socially coded modes of thought and behavior", which represents a nomadic state deconstructing any sense of fixed identity rather than a literal act of traveling. Nomadic subjectivity is about constituting multi-layered identities in which the concept of nomadic mind, "what Foucault called counter-memory", can be formed.


CHAPTER 3

THE NOTION OF THE WALL:
WALLS FORMING PARASITIC SPACES

3.1. The Wall as an Architectural Element

A wall on which you sit and talk endlessly, a wall behind which you hide
a wall under which you rest in the shade. What is to design here? What is
it that we design?109

The process of the re-appropriation of space starts with a discussion about the elements that
constitute it. In this sense, the architectural wall is one of the most important features to be
re-appropriated and also to transform the space around it. The importance of the
architectural wall in terms of its potential to reconstruct the space lies behind its
characteristic to be redesigned. The wall, both as interior and as exterior, never stays the way
it is designed. The wall is not a fixed entity. The user reshapes/redesigns the wall and the
reformation of the wall includes various levels of intervention that include inside and outside
applications on it, from hanging pictures to painting murals on the wall. Considering both
the interior and the exterior wall, the user evaluates it as a face to be reconstructed, a board
of self-expression. The wall, as the face of an architectural construction, is a definer of
space, a separator between inside and outside, a transition connecting interior spaces to each
other and to the outside, a director and derivative of movement within space, and the
representation of the identity of inhabitant transforming the wall. Design of the wall is not
solely the outcome of the architect’s will, but it is the will of the user. The emphasis on the
wall is based on its character of being both a material and an immaterial entity. It is the
representation of the physical boundary—as a vertical surface in section and as a continuous
line in plan—the materiality of the wall comes from its physical configuration, which can be
read both from the sectional and planar view. On the other hand, the wall is an immaterial
entity that directs and constitutes social relationships in space, providing individual
interaction between the individuals and between the individual and space.

This study examines the architectural wall both in its materiality and immateriality and claims that the wall, due to its potential to be re-appropriated, is an urban parasite. The wall itself represents a constant circle of re-appropriation and can be redefined and redesigned again and again; each time gaining a different identity and speaking a different language, the wall represents the continual intervention and the continuity of urban parasites because it is a continuous boundary that pushes the intervener—the flâneur—to trace its continuity by directing and defining his/her movement in space. As well as being a parasite, the wall also constructs the parasitic space; it creates territories as well as boundaries in which the transformed wall forms an enclosed space, a node within the continuity of the linear wall creating a minor geography—a space to be breathed in and to be re-functioned by being reconstructed.

Before analyzing the interventions on the wall and its transformation, however, the situations that require the individual intervention should be analyzed. As studied in the construction and reconstruction of public space, the current condition of the wall and its dynamics should be sought out.

3.1.1. THE MATERIALITY OF THE WALL

The wall, which originated as a defensive entity in medieval architecture, today forms the physical structure of streets and buildings, defines boundaries, territories, transitions, and symbolically represents hierarchy within space by creating "psychogeographies".110

In his book "The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings", Gottfried Semper states that the primary motive of the wall is enclosure.

The wall is that architectural element that formally represents and makes visible the enclosed space as such, absolutely, as it were, without reference to secondary concepts...[thus] the wall should never be permitted to lose its original meaning as a spatial enclosure.111

Semper defines the wall as a "geometric authority".112 The wall, according to him, should be analyzed in terms of its geometrical configurations, which shape the structure of space. While examining the primary motive of the wall as an enclosure, he claims that a certain rhythm in the physical structure of the space is provided by the positioning of the wall. The geometry of the wall achieved peripheries in space. By fractioning the space, the wall is

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112 Ibid, p.127.
used to give proportions and directions within a built environment, which initially provides a structural hierarchy and gives the wall the authority to encircle the territory. Semper states that the authority the wall achieved over space by its geometrical construction is provided by the linear rhythm and claims that it can be called "eurythmy".\footnote{Originally means “beautiful or harmonious rhythm”, the term "eurythmy" was used in architecture to refer to the harmonious proportions of a design or building. Semper articulates the definition as: "Eurythmy consists in the sequencing of spatial internals displaying analogue configuration.” The concept of "eurythmy" for Semper deals with both "the principle of alternation”, which becomes "the rhythmic repetition of unequal parts" and interlacing sequences, which form unique textiles within space. Cache, Bernard. Digital Semper, in W. Braham & J. Hale (ed.), Rethinking Technology, Routledge, New York, 2007, p.385.}

Eurythmy is closed symmetry and stands in no direct relation to the observer, but peripherally its essence is enclosure. It expresses the absolute concept of encirclement symbolically, and therefore alludes to the encircled as the proper object, as the center of the eurythmic order.\footnote{Semper, Gottfried. The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings, trans. by Mallgrave, H. F. and Wolfgang Herrmann, W., Cambridge University Press, London, 1989, p.127.}

While Semper evaluates the wall as the achiever of hierarchical geometry within space, the wall can be questioned in terms of an articulation of boundary. In her master’s thesis "Architectural Built Form and Public Dialogue", Tuğba Güçlü states that the boundary in space forms patterns that construct the concrete structure of the city and the wall as the constitutive of the boundary shapes, the characteristics of public life. "They decide to separate or connect; invite or reject; isolate or attach; to remind or alienate; be public or private."\footnote{Güçlü, Tuğba. Architectural Built Form and Public Dialogue: An Evaluation of Public Wall in Its Communicative Role. (Master's thesis), 2006.} In a discussion of boundaries, and the position of the wall constituting those boundaries, the study refers to Georg Simmel. In his article "Bridge and Door", Georg Simmel focuses on the architectonic devices that simultaneously separate and connect. He examines wall and road as well as the bridge and door and states that in order to "designate two things as separate"\footnote{Simmel, Georg. Bridge and Door, in Theory, Culture & Society (11), 1994 [1909], p.7.} the human conscious has to relate them to each other first and says that: "We experience as connected only what we have previously isolated in some way."\footnote{Ibid, p.5.}

In a constant loop of separating the connected and connecting the separate, humans create the artefact of spatial configuration that is surrounded by borders to connect the artificially separated.

The finitude in which we find ourselves always borders in some place on the infinity of physical or metaphysical being. So the door becomes an image of the boundary point on which man endures or may endure.\footnote{Ibid, p.7.}
Simmel evaluates the spatiality of the physical formation of walls as opposed to doors and claims that the wall is a "mute" entity while a door speaks. According to him, the wall forms finite units by limiting space, and this physical limitation comes from its deaf geometrical form. The wall limits "the possibility of continuity and mutual exchange"\(^{119}\) whereas the door connects the separate by constituting voids on the mute surface of the wall. Andre Brighenti claims that the analysis of Simmel is caused by what walls physically represent in space. In his article "Walled Urbs to Urban Walls and Return?" Brighenti claims that as symbols of "segregation, containment, division, securitisation", the stories of walls are always the "stories of hate and fear of others", which is evidence of "the immediate relevance of architectonic artifacts to social life".\(^{120}\)

### 3.1.2. THE GOVERNMENTALITY OF THE WALL

Thus, the study searches for the symbolic value of walls as well as their physical reflections on the construction of the architectural surfaces and how they shape the social relationships beyond a general symbolism of separation and exclusion. To be able to analyze the situational intervention on walls, the study questions the different uses of walls and especially the current physical configuration of the urban surface within the current physical structure of the city. According to Foucault, walls are built as governmental objects within the urban spatial political economy. In his article "Governmentality", Foucault describes governmentality as composed of three elements: "a set of institutions and procedures for the exercise of power over a population, the emergent historical configuration of such governmental savoirs, and the application of these tools to political institutions, in particular the administrative state".\(^{121}\) According to this description, the study claims that walls are planned as a part of a strategy to control people by controlling spatial displacement. The effectiveness of the wall arises from its direct impact on individual bodies, both materially and immaterially.

Boundaries act upon bodily movements, hampering some trajectories and facilitating others. This explains why walls are still among the most effective and direct devices for the government of populations around the world.\(^{122}\)

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The method for the displacement of the individual via the urban surface is achieved by creating a false image, a false consciousness—the spectacle as Guy Debord calls it—to prevent any individual expression on the urban surface and to alienate the individual within the built environment. Lorenzo Tripodi, in his article "Space of Exposure", states that the contemporary city becomes the space of exposure in which the attention of the individual is achieved and misdirected via visibility, and the urban surface becomes the means of commerce to the point that the strict boundaries of the horizontal surface loses its importance to vertical ones; the spatial configuration moves from fields to frames.123

3.1.3. THE WALL AS AN ENTITY FOR INDIVIDUAL CONFRONTATION

We face the emergence of a discipline aimed at organising the visual perception of an urban palimpsest, constituted by an essentially vertical succession of frames. This new perspective calls for fundamental issues about who are the actors producing, regulating and controlling such visual articulation that is becoming a substantial expression of contemporary social space.124

Within this context, the individual subject becomes an entity that the overexposed surface influenced and forced a false consciousness on concerning the possession of space. In his book "Ecstasy of Communication", Baudrillard claims that the current space is an overexposed and transparent entity in which the subject becomes the means of "instantaneous images and information" and a "pure screen[,] a pure absorption and re-absorption surface of the influent[ial] networks".125

Against the intense layers of images forced upon urban surfaces, the users developed oppositional tactics and strategic lines to redefine the notion of the wall and to reconstruct the urban surface to take over space by situational interactions. These situational interactions constantly modify and reshape the significance, impact, and meaning of walls. Against the stabilization and naturalization of the notion of the surface in the establishment of space, intervener tactics re-thematize the concept of the architectural surface to achieve new foregrounds.

From the tactical perspective, the most remarkable feature of walls is that they offer a visible surface, which becomes a surface of inscription for stratified, criss-crossing and overlapping traces. Such traces are highly

visible interventions that define a type of social interaction at a distance.\textsuperscript{126}

The wall, in providing direct interaction between people, also becomes a mediator of the interaction of the user to the space s/he appropriated through the situational intervention the habitant initiates. The study of the wall should include a definition more than just a derivative of enclosure. It should include elements of fixtures, interstices, and all sorts of mediated interaction. The study, thus, will evaluate the wall as a parasite itself that spreads to the interiors and divests its placeness while forming parasitic spaces by defining and transforming the spaces it surrounds.

3.2. The Wall as the Interstice

To discuss the ability of the wall to transform the space around it, the study first assumes the wall is a transformable entity. The wall, as mentioned before, is a surface for intervention. The methods for this intervention will be discussed in later parts of the study but in order to analyze the wall as a parasite itself, this study research its surfaceality and the effect of this surfaceality on both vertical and horizontal planes in relation to the built environment. The wall, as both a horizontal and a vertical line, has a limiting and interacting relation with both the interior and exterior space that it separates. Thus the parasitic wall should be analyzed according to its function as a separator between inside and outside, as a building skin transforming both inside and outside while being transformed, as well as a connector between two entities form a surface of inscription for both sides. At this point, the study refers to the Deleuzian concept of fold again, while examining the wall as a fold between inside and outside, carrying characteristics of both and gaining new functions and new foregrounds by connecting, separating, and transforming.

Walls are open to individual intervention, which is partly caused by their visibility. Physically speaking, walls are surfaces constructed in between people and between the built environments. They constitute a horizon that forms surfaces of projection. The visible wall represents a physical existence forming in-between contexts within the built environment. The horizontality of the wall draws lines between the seen and unseen, the reachable and the sacred, the public and the private. In her master’s thesis "Architectural Built Form and Public Dialogue: An Evaluation of Public Wall in Its Communicative Role", Tuğba Güçlü claims that the boundary wall constructed in the horizontal form makes “an interface between the built form and the open public space that configures the urban wall”.\textsuperscript{127} The communicative role that the horizon creates between the building and the open space forms the visible surface of individual interaction. The visibility the horizon constitutes should not


be evaluated solely as a line drawn in plain view, but should be analyzed in the vertical space the wall forms in terms of the surface of communication. When relating to the visibility of the wall in terms of the physical arrangement of the surface in the space to the social life of the individual, Andrea Brighenti refers to Lorenzo Tripodi’s study of the social life of the wall and claims that what Tripodi calls the "politics of verticality"\textsuperscript{128} should be understood as a politics of visibility in which the wall symbolizes "an exclusionary and containment device".\textsuperscript{129}

A politics of visibility is crucial to appreciate the stakes of the social life of walls: corresponding to every definition of a field of visibility are demands and tensions which endeavour to establish a connection between the possible and the proper, between what can be seen and what should or should not be seen, between who can and who cannot see others. Thus, the symbolism of the wall...can be better understood as a single specific arrangement in a wider field of the politics of visibilities.\textsuperscript{130}

The study analyzes the wall in the second meaning of verticality, surfaceality, and according to the visibility the wall constitutes in social life in which people are "meaningful, not only [because of] what they separate or hide, but also in themselves"\textsuperscript{131}. In that case, the architectural form and space gains importance in terms of the relativity of the form and space to the configuration of the horizontal and vertical surface. The walls, in that sense, are not only boundaries between territories but are themselves territories in-between. The notion of the wall, like in-betweenness, makes the building skin and the inside/outside relationship that skin constructs a subject of inquiry.

### 3.2.1. THE WALL AND THE RELATION OF INSIDE/OUTSIDE

In his book "Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture", Robert Venturi notes that:

Designing from the outside in, as well as the inside out, creates necessary tensions, which help make architecture. Since the inside is different from the outside, the wall—the point of change—becomes an architectural

\textsuperscript{128} Tripodi, Lorenzo. *Space of exposure* in lo Squaderno (8), 2008, p.12.
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid, p.66.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid, p.68.
event. Architecture occurs at the meeting of interior and exterior forces of use and space.\textsuperscript{132}

When analyzing the surface as a physical entity standing between inside and outside, the study first draws attention to the notion of inside and outside. When Michel DeCerteau states that "the city is a huge monastery", he references the image of the walled city and analyzes the wall as a boundary of inclusion and exclusion. According to DeCerteau, the pre-modern notions of “intramuros and extramuros”\textsuperscript{133} refer to the materiality and symbolic representation of the wall as constituted of zones of authority and hierarchies between individual identities.

Similarly, in “Production of Space”, Lefebvre states: “The whole history of life has been characterized by an incessant diversification and intensification of the interaction between inside and outside”.\textsuperscript{134} The wall, as an element of security, creates the difference between an enclosed inside in which the individual subjects gain a feeling of security and creates an idea of a chaotic outside. The pre-modern notion of the wall, which excludes the outside, has been the most basic way of organizing the space until present times, by creating an idea of an alienated and excluded outside opposed by an idea of inside that generates an effect of depth, of interiority, and of domesticity. At this point, the study focuses on the notion of outside, the exterior that initiates the construction of a boundary, of the surface between the public and the private just as the boundary between the self and the other subjects exists, a boundary that is transgressed and diffused by re-appropriating the wall: the surface in-between. The study also emphasizes the importance of the wall in the process of re-thematizing the notion of outside from exclusion, the place of the other, to a space of the public, of the shared.

In his article "The Order of Things", Michel Foucault focuses on the notion of outside and estranged on a reading of subjectivity and exclusion. Foucault uses the term “outside” to define "unthought" and "other".\textsuperscript{135} Foucault defines the relation of the human body to the outside as a relation of thought to the unthought, which is the absolute relation and the non-relation, because the human body defines the outside as estranged. The reason for the use of the wall as a cocoon to separate the body from the outside is that governmentally, outside has the potential power to transform the individual body via the use of the wall as an interface. In Foucault's writings, "the outside is not a fixed limit but a moving matter animated by peristaltic movements, folds and foldings that altogether make up an inside: they are not something other than the outside, but precisely the inside of an outside".\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{136} Deleuze, Gilles. \textit{Foucault}, trans. Sean Hand, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1988, p.112.
3.2.2. THE WALL AS THE FOLD

At this point of the inquiry, the study refers to the Deleuzian concept of fold to analyze the relation of the architectural surface as a transformer of both the inside and outside. The concept of fold, referred to as a form of intervened interstitial space in previous parts of the study, is now used to analyze the wall. The wall, which is evaluated as a territory itself, is considered as the fold in the study, the connector and separator between inside and outside and defined as "the general topology of thought" that evaluates the "inside space topologically in contact with the ‘outside’ space and brings the two into confrontation at the limit of the living present". In his writings, Deleuze refers to Foucault when he uses outside, the unthought, and the exterior to define the surface, the fold that is mentioned as a way to resist presumed identities.

The outside or exterior is the node to initiate the resistance of territorialization and is against deterritorialization. The fold forms a flow from outside to inside "where neither is fixed but rather [is] in constant exchange".

The fold is a groundless depth from which irrupts something that creates its own space and time. It is not the line that is between two points, but the point that is at the intersection of several lines.

Thus the study evaluates the building not just as a space but also as an entity formed of many spaces folded into many sites by the vertical and horizontal movement of the wall, which also forms a space in-between the form articulation of the space. The parasitic wall is conceived where there is a folding of space into other spaces. The complexity of the fold occurs where the edge of the building no longer exists and the surface takes over the space. An architectural perception of the spatial conception of the fold evolves and the individual interaction constitutes the parasitic wall where the wall forms space in-between foldings. In-between the foldings and within the space of wall forms, a multiplicity of space interaction now can be read and reread by the intervener. The space within the walls creates an intense movement between inside and outside, and in terms of understanding the spatial configuration of the wall achieves in especially the vertical plane; from the subjective perspective of the user, the inquiry on the building skin per se should be developed.

139 Ibid, p.120.
3.2.3. THE BUILDING SKIN

In his article "Overexposed City", Paul Virilio defines the building skin as "the boundary"\textsuperscript{140} that initiates change in the notion of limitation. The building skin organizes the necessary crossings, the flow of the movement between inside and outside, while forming the transit of a constant activity of social exchange that becomes the commuting mechanism within space rather than being a mere separator.

What used to be the boundary of a material has become an entryway hidden in the most imperceptible entity. From here on, the appearance of surfaces and superficies conceals a secret transparency, a thickness without thickness, a volume without volume, an imperceptible quantity.\textsuperscript{141}

The building skin, while dividing the space as interior and exterior, also forms the notion of a face of a building and a broader notion of the face of the public space while creating both a material and immaterial outside, which can be analyzed as both spatial and non-spatial. The wall as the building skin makes the concepts of surfaceality, flatness, dynamism, and movement a subject of inquiry while forming a territory in itself and around itself against the stasis or the sedentary configuration of urban space. The skin determines the character of the inside while shaping the character of the outside. The tension between inside and outside resolves in “the folding of the building skin”, which poses either openness and invitation, or

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid, p.30.
closure and rejection. In both ways, the building skin becomes a space of individual interference, and while creating a surface for interaction, it also forms a territory on and around itself.

3.3. The Wall Forming the Interstice

In his article "The Parallax View", Zizek claims that the interstitial space is formed when the skin and the structure of the building disconnects. This interstitial space can either be the void in-between the skin and structure or the leftover space the skin constitutes between itself and the outside space. Zizek claims that the interstitial space constructed in-between offers "not only exciting viewing areas of inside and outside, but also hidden corners to stroll or rest",142 or as the subject of the study, to interrupt and transform, which eventually forms a utopian space: a heterotopia. Zizek states that the interstice formed between two sides of the building structure is "the proper place for exaptation".143

The struggle is open here—the struggle for who will appropriate them. These “interstitial spaces” are thus the proper place for utopian dreaming—they remind us of architecture’s great politico-ethical responsibility: much more is at stake in design than it may appear.144

3.3.1. TERRITORIES

After discussing the wall as a territory itself to be transformed by the user in order to gain new functions by reshaping the spaces in-between foldings, the study analyzes the wall as the boundary to constitute alternative territories around it, just as the fold constructs the lines producing contexts in-between and the breaking points and nodes on that line create minor geographies. Considering the fold forming continuous lines, the wall itself is the territory of constant activities, as Paul Virilio states that:

Each surface is an interface between two environments that is ruled by a constant activity in the form of an exchange between the two substances placed in contact with one another.145

The territoriality of the wall is as important as the territories it forms on both sides of its foldings. The wall is the element that has the potential to be transformed when changing the

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143 Ibid, p.8.
144 Ibid, p.9.
balance of formal relations between inside and outside by reconstructing them. It is the characteristic of the wall to create the urban parasite out of the leftover space by allowing individual intervention through various formal configurations. In this sense, Figure 3.2 shows a drawing by Paolo Portoghesi representing the wall –building surface- generating both inside and outside by creating foldings, and forming territories within these folds.

When stating the skin is the reason for the focus on the "incommensurability between outside and inside", Zizek refers to the dynamic surface in-between, which changes the dominancy between inside and outside on behalf of the outside space and creates unique territories for developing a variety of individual experiences by supporting the dominancy of outside space against minimally spectral and enclosed interior space, providing the interaction to individuals "solely through [a] window." Zizek claims that in order to achieve interstitiality in public space, the achievement of the dominancy of the outside against inside, via the articulation of the skin, is a priori. Thus, the study analyzes the wall as a boundary to be transgressed in which the territories are formed, and with the articulation of the wall, where the outside space of interstice is formed. On this subject, the notion of boundary and the territories that boundary encircles should be questioned.

In her article "Walled Urbs to Urban Walls and Return?" Andrea Brighenti claims that the study of the wall is the study of territoriology, "attentive to the interweaving of material and social relations".

Walls manage space, command attention, and define mobility fluxes that impose conduct, but they are also constantly challenged because of the meaning they assume: they can be reassuring as well as oppressive, they can be irritating as well as inspiring. The territorological study of walls investigates the convergence of the socio-technical and the legal-political.

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147 Ibid, p.7.
149 Ibid, p.73.
Given that the articulation of the wall affects the social characteristic of the territory, the study focuses on both the physical aspects of the wall and the social role of the boundary it forms on the lives of individuals. The wall itself is both a material and an immaterial entity, so the territory it creates has a mixed identity that is affected by the physical deterrence and potential transformability of the wall. The wall is the source of both alternative activism and collective passivism. While setting up perceptual limitations for the user, the wall also becomes a part of the "here and there" relation of a given environment, which is the basic relation of a boundary. Tuğba Güçlü, in her thesis "Architectural Built Form and Public Dialogue: An Evaluation of Public Wall in Its Communicative Role", states that the here and there relation is a kind of experience individuals share in an urban environment when they confront a boundary, especially a boundary of a building skin that privatizes the interior, hides it from the gazing eye. Güçlü calls it both a "psychological and physical"150 obstacle in space that creates awareness about the existence of “here” and “there” in the user's mind. Depending on the physical configuration of the wall in space, the distinction between here and there—between inside and outside, between open and enclosed, between the seen and unseen, between near and far—changes in relation to the physical limitation of space, the different social contexts formed, and the physical features of territories differentiated according to the social contexts. As well as shaping social relations, the study of the wall should focus on developing a relational view on territories in terms of the wall's physical

extension and location affecting the creation of interstitial spaces. While the articulation of
the wall influences the boundaries of built forms and the physical configuration of open
public space—especially of interstitial space derived from leftover and in-between areas—
the spatial relations within public space influence the physical and social formations of the
wall.

In terms of developing an inquiry about the space in-between, the physical configuration and
the contours of the building forming vertical and horizontal lines gain importance. In that
sense, the study searches for the overlapping frames created around the built structures and
the void between them by focusing on the surface constructing that frame with vertical and
horizontal lines and by referring to the discussion of the figure and ground relationship and
the continuous line theory of Gilles Deleuze and Peter Eisenman.

3.3.2. THE FIGURE AND THE GROUND FRAME/
THE CONTINUITY OF THE LINE

Peter Eisenman, in his article "Unfolding events: Frankfurt Rebstock and the possibility of a
new urbanism", discusses the effect of fold on the construction of space and defines the fold
as a new way of looking at the relation of architecture to the built environment by stating:
"architecture can propose some kind of event in which interpretation of the environment is
problematized". When analyzing the interaction of the building to its spatial context
Eisenman especially discusses the concept of fold within the lines of communication and
transport, entrances, urban spaces, and boundaries. Eisenman claims that the architectural
surface is the entity that determines the relativity of the building to the built environment.
Discussing the idea of the fold and its contextuality—its compatibility to the built
environment, because the wall does not only relate inside to outside, individual to building,
but relates the building to the environment as well—Eisenman refers to figure/ground
contextualism, which assumes "a reversible and interactive relationship between the building
blocks and the void between them". To analyze the relationship of the wall to the voids
in-between buildings is crucial in order to understand the construction of interstitial spaces
and the process of re-appropriation of the interstice. The figure within the figure/ground
relationship can be understood both ways. Firstly, the figure can be the building mass
framed by the wall, and the ground can be the voids in-between. In that case, frames around
the building masses form fragmented lines broken by the voids. Secondly, the ground can be
the continuous line framing both the building surface and the voids in-between, and the
figure can be the individual subject standing in front of the continuous ground composition.

151 Eisenman, Peter. Unfolding events: Frankfurt Rebstock and the possibility of a new urbanism, in
152 Ibid, p.60.
Discussing the first notion of figure/ground relation, Eisenman claims that it does not "explain...the true complexity of [the] phenomena". He questions the phenomena of relating the building and the void according to their position against each other and states that the isolation of building—and the positioning of the wall only in relation to wall, "leaves its inhabitance detached from a ground that becomes barren". In that case, the individual disconnects from the built structures that the wall frames and the in-between space that the wall forms; as a consequence of this, the demand for community in the urban structure fails. The fold in the Deleuzian sense explains the phenomena by not separating building and void from each other, but by connecting them by folding the frame capturing both outside and inside. The fold then becomes a line forming space and determines the contours of a continuous articulation of inside and outside together in creating the ground.

In the idea of the fold, form is seen as continuous but also as articulating a possible new relationship between vertical and horizontal, figure and ground. The new object for Deleuze is no longer concerned with the framing of space, but rather a temporal modulation that implies a continual variation of matter.

In that case, the fold forms an ever-changing context where a continuous and reversible dialogue can occur. The folding across lines creates uncertainty between boundaries when forming the ground instead of defining the boundary as an entity of separation. These uncertainties create a multiplicity of individual interactions to folding and unfolding that bring into question the role and position of the individual as "the figure" that connects and transforms "the ground" of the architectural structure of the city.

3.4. The Body and the Wall

Research concerning individual interaction to the urban surface in the process of re-appropriating space requires a background study about the physical relationship of the human body to the architectural surface on both the human scale and city scale. As mentioned before, the relations of the individual body to an architectural structure—in this case to the architectural surface: the wall—can be compared to the relation of figure and ground. As "the figure" in this relationship, the body physically interacts to the surface when interrupting and reconstructing it. This physical interaction should be analyzed in terms of subjectivity, spatiality, and temporality. Reasons for this analysis are various and partly related to each other since the means of interaction have an individual subject and architectural surface in common. Firstly, any interaction of the body to architectural surface is initiated by the cross-sectional element standing between them that is the wall.

154 Ibid, p.61.
Additionally, the bodily interaction, as mentioned in previous parts of the study, is a form of self-expression that can be implemented both materially and immaterially to the wall. This kind of physical intervention always carries a degree of subjectivity that is necessary to develop a unique identity of space and reshape the identities of its inhabitants. Secondly, the degree and method of self-expression changes, transforms, and reconstructs the spatiality of public space. Given that public space represents what belongs to every individual, any physical interaction performed in an urban space tends to change its physical structure, which means to redefine the spatiality of space, to redesign its physical features through the demands of users by the hand of users. Finally, a bodily interaction to the wall is a temporal act. As mentioned before, the study analyzes the intervener as "the subject in movement", a passer-by, and a flâneur. Thus, transformations made on the wall by the intervener, methods of which will be discussed in later parts, are not performed to be lasting, but are done to create an awareness for each individual who is also passing-by in the urban space.

Therefore, the interaction of the body to the surface is temporal, both when the individual is the intervener who transforms the surface and when s/he is the observer who experiences spatial transformations through the surface. Both the act of transforming and experiencing include a certain degree of temporality because intervention to the architectural surface carries dynamics of flows from the individual passing-by; the surface becomes a momentary gaze, a sneak-peak. Moreover, the temporality of the intervention is caused by its repeatability and replaceability; the architectural wall becomes a multi-layered intervention of surface, each of which by re-performing the act, affects the spatiality of the urban space differently. Thus, the study will discuss the relationship between the individual body and the architectural surface with respect to given concepts: spatiality, subjectivity, and temporality—including a comparison of the body scale to that of the surface, and the movements and flows in space organized by the surface in terms of temporality.

3.4.1. THE RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL BODY TO THE ARCHITECTURAL SURFACE

In her article "Lived Spatiality: The Spaces of Corporeal Desire", Elizabeth Grosz defines the social and physical interaction of the individual to the surface as "constitute[d of] concretely and socially determinate[d] modes of relations", which is called "corporeality".155 Analyzing the subject in constantly changing, multi-layered relations to the urban surface, Grosz claims that the individual body and its concrete bodily relations to architectural elements transform the surface into a "corporeal surface", and affects individual bodies by

transforming "impossible shapes and illegible spaces"\textsuperscript{156} and defining movements and positions of other individual bodies against the architectural surfaces.

All the effects of depth, of interiority, of the inside, all the effects of consciousness and the unconscious, can be thought in terms of corporeal surfaces, in terms of the rotations, convolutions, inflections, and torsions of the body itself.\textsuperscript{157}

In her article "Walled Urbs to Urban Walls and Return?" Andrea Brighenti states that the relationship between bodies and their environment forms "convergence zones"\textsuperscript{158} in which an in-between form is constituted that is an architectural surface, organizing both material and immaterial relations, affecting the speeds and mobility of individuals bodies by repositioning and redirecting them against other surfaces. Thus, the wall in urban space not only constructs new positions for individuals, but it also controls and organizes flows and movements within the urban space, which is important in order to understand the gaze of the flâneur who experiences space in movement. In "Overexposed City", Paul Virilio evaluates new foregrounds the individual body gains and the new physical and social positions of users against the new verticality of the city. He claims that because a new notion of verticality arises, the distinction between body and surface increases and the difference between positions of subjects in space blurs so that the definite notion of "physical obstacles or significant time distances"\textsuperscript{159} begins to fade away, and the distinction between "here and there" loses its meaning.

The surface places and directs the individual within the space and loses its strength to an electronic topology—constructed as spectacles or false images upon existing the architectural fabric of the city—"where framing of the point of view and scanlines of numerical images give new form to the practice of urban mapping".\textsuperscript{160}

According to Virilio, the overexposure of city space destroys the distinction between "habitation and circulation, near and far",\textsuperscript{161} which had co-existed until the emergence of the spectacle of urban screens replaced the architectural surface, which allows for self-expression and the enrichment of the views of individuals.

With the screen interface the surface of inscription—until now devoid of depth—comes into existence as “distance”, as a depth of field of a new representation, a visibility without direct confrontation, without a face-a-


\textsuperscript{157} Ibid, p.40.


\textsuperscript{160} Ibid, p.92.

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid, p.90.
face, in which the old vis-a-vis of streets and avenues is effaced and disappears.\textsuperscript{162}

### 3.4.2. THE WALL AS THE DERIVATIVE OF MOVEMENT

To overcome the effects of spectacle, to prevent architectural surface from turning into an urban screen; the urban surface should be redefined from the eyes of the intervener, the self-expressing individual, passer-by of the city space, who is positioned, repositioned, and directed by surfaces. The intervener would reach the surface s/he wants to transform first by gazing and evaluating the transformability of a wall while s/he is in movement; thus, the individual perception of the urban surface must be analyzed from a mobile eye that positions itself according to the physical configurations of a wall, like any other individual in space. (This positioning in space eventually determines the space in-between where the individual perceives himself/herself as dis-positioned and has an urge to reposition.) In her thesis "Architectural Built Form and Public Dialogue: An Evaluation of Public Wall in Its Communicative Role", Tuğba Güçlü states:

> In the urban sense, our everyday experiences depend on temporary image-shots as we are passers-by. Thus, we notice the buildings as images that are products of their formal arrangement. Consequently, for the passers-by, the language of a built form skin provides spontaneous perception of its character.\textsuperscript{163}

Thus, in order to focus on the architectural surfaces that are open to self-expression, the study analyzes the wall as a derivative of movement and definer of flow within space. For this kind of inquiry, an analysis of the wall as the boundary for positioning the individual should be developed as well as the bodily relation of the individual within those positions. As mentioned in previous parts, the verticality of the wall creates certain "impediments", which were called boundaries in the study, and by forming vertical surfaces, walls constrain people’s flows, transforming, as Brighenti calls, a "smooth space into a striated one".\textsuperscript{164} What Andrea Brighenti states as a striated space is not an inquiry of the wall's surfaceality but of its immaterial traces within the urban space. The wall, in that sense, controls the movement by increasing individual perception about its spatial features by pushing the individual to intervention. In his article "Everywhere You Want to Be: Introduction to Fear", Brian Massumi states that the notion of boundary is less fixed and rigid than the community

understands; the reason for its relative flexibility is that there is another side to the term boundary that bounds it together.

Boundaries are only produced in the process of passage: boundaries do not so much define the routes of passage; it is movement that defines and constitutes boundaries.\(^\text{165}\)

### 3.4.3. THE WALL AS THE DETERMINANT OF FLOW AND CONTINUITY

At this point, the study refers to Georg Simmel and his analysis of the bridge and door again. According to Simmel, the door "speaks" while the wall is "mute",\(^\text{166}\) and individual experience about connections and distinctions within space can only be gained by the agent of the door. It is important to emphasize, however, that there is an apparent relativity between doors and walls when constructing physical configurations of urban faces. As mentioned before, when rethinking relationship of inside to outside widely from the perspective of foldings; walls, just like doors, spatially and socially "reframe the building's core and pose a new question of dis/order, flexibility, movement, and design".\(^\text{167}\)

Just like doors, walls "demarcate a within and beyond", but unlike doors, by forming boundaries, they also "define flows of circulation, set paths and trajectories for people and determine possibilities and impossibilities of encounters".\(^\text{168}\)

Thus the history of the city is a history of boundaries as well as a history of flows. Those boundaries are the source of the limiting and controlling of movement. The wall, as a derivative and definer of movement, forms dynamic spaces and creates interactive relations among individuals. To provide communication between individuals and building structures, dynamic spaces, which the wall forms, create the in-between space that interrupt and disturb fixed identities and fixed relations of public space. As Henri Bergson mentions in his book "Matter and Memory":

> Instead of conceiving of relations between fixed identities, between entities or things that are only externally bound, the in-between is the only space of movement, of development or becoming: the in-between

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defines the space of certain virtuality, a potential that always threatens to disrupt the operations of the identities that constitute it.169

3.5. The Wall as a Tool for Communication

Before discussing methods of bodily interaction to walls and to interstitial spaces in general, a discussion evaluating the wall as a text and tool for communication within the semiological context should be pursued. In that sense, the surfaceality of the wall gains importance, because analyzing the wall as a surface for inscription is the initial idea of semiological-architectural theory. This theory claims that the wall is a type of canvas of self-expression and inscriptions of the wall are a representation and reflection a public work of art, which is performed on the streets rather than in private art galleries.170

At this point, a discussion about the reliability of analyzing the wall as just a two-dimensional entity, a one-sided surface without any spatial features that is not affecting the space around it and whose only contribution to spatial context is its surfaceality used for the presentation should be discussed. Analyzing the wall as a two-dimensional artefact with its inability to transform the space around it instead of evaluating the wall as a space in itself folding through the inside and outside while reconstructing both sides, means that the idea of reducing it to a mere frame to hold a picture inside is a barren argument. Reducing the notion of wall to a frame as discussed before, disconnects it from "the figure" in space. For developing a larger perspective on the communicative role of the wall, the notion of the wall should be analyzed not as a smooth but as a striated entity, articulated on different levels in order to materially and immaterially communicate to the individual body. All those discussions about surfaceality, boundaries, transitions, and foldings together contribute to the semiotics of the wall in different contexts by creating different situations for interventions. Thus the study states that communication of the architectural built environment to users can be achieved through articulation of the urban wall and the analysis of communication should be made according to given theories about the wall (surfaceality, boundaries, and transitions).


170 In his articles "Aesthetics, Architecture and Graffiti" and "Street Art: Inner Voice Of the City", Efe Korkut Kurt discusses the problems and effects of evaluating interventions of the wall as a method to carry "gallery art" to the streets by using the wall as a canvas through the act of graffiti. Referencing Tom Huhn's seminal article, "Kant, Adorno, and Social Opacity of Aesthetics", Kurt discusses the notion of public art in relation to whether art for public use exists or not with reference to the works of Kant and Adorno, and questions the physical features of the wall and its capacity to be used as a mere canvas. The discussion of public art through an urban surface will be made in later parts of study. Kurt, Efe. Aesthetics, architecture and graffiti, in Alanistanbul: Contemporary Art Space, 2010. Retrieved from http://alanistanbul.com/turkce/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/177.pdf
In her master thesis "Architectural Built Form and Public Dialogue: An Evaluation of Public Wall in Its Communicative Role", Güçlü states that the urban wall is a communicative element and that through articulation, "it becomes a space of representation and exchange".171

To discuss how the wall speaks to people, the study refers to Manfredo Tafuri who questions the broken connection between life and architecture in terms of the language between them that "has lost its ground of meaning".172 What he calls "the mortal silence of the sign"173 in his article "L’Architecture dans le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language" is the ability of pure language to "reflect the paradox of modern life in its muteness".174

The forms and spaces that constitute the public domain must be coordinated and based on an understanding of how they “speak” to people. Indeed, the city is perceived and interpreted as a kind of silent language. It expresses ideas that suggest and affect the way we use it on a day-to-day basis.175

These daily collected interpretations form the unity of experiences and public memory. What language is capable of representing, according to Tafuri, is a parallel view to Aldo Rossi’s claims of keeping the memory of society alive. Aldo Rossi, in evaluating the language of the architectural building as an entity to preserve and sustain the collective memory of society, states that language creates unity in space, which helps to rebuild the connection of the individual to the history and the memory of space that has lost its unifying ground.176

In a similar perspective to Rossi, in his article "The Work on the Street: Street Art and Visual Culture", Martin Irvine refers to the seminal article of Antoni Tàpies', "Communication on the Wall", and states that by evaluating walls as not only physical barriers, but also as " mediums for public marks of human struggle, presence, mortality, and collective memory",177 Tàpies forms an inscribed surface by replacing the external wall with

173 Ibid, 150.
what is internal in order to create a space of "symbols and mediation"\textsuperscript{178} on the outside. Irvine states that the wall is the direct sign of human presence and a representation of traces of history and memory; thus, the wall is a physical entity on which traces of collective memory are materially implanted. The intervention on the wall for him is a direct mark rather than an "illusionistic image which can only be [a] signifier for absence"\textsuperscript{179}

Tafuri, Rossi, and Irvine evaluate the language of space as a formal and representational unity of the architectural built environment. In spite of being a legitimate theory for the disconnected urban space of the post-modern era, to relate the language of a building solely to other built structures and evaluate the notion of language only in terms of form relations in a given context means isolating the notion of language from architecture according to Eisenman.

3.5.1. TRANSFORMING THE MUTE SURFACE INTO A SPACE OF INSCRIPTION

In his essay "Architecture and the Problem of Rhetorical Figure", Eisenman notes that taking the language of space as a condition for communication both isolates language and the individual in the space. As mentioned before in this study, Eisenman states that space is an entity to be experienced, and "experienced space" is "more than a concept or perception, a process, a way of practicing space, an event".\textsuperscript{180} To evaluate space as a proposer of events problematizes the notion of habitance that would give a larger perspective to research the notion of language as a source of this problematization and an agent for connecting the user to the built form by increasing the perception of the user and reconstructing the identity of built form. What Eisenman claims is that the language of space is an event rather than a representational memory of the city; language is capable of actively transforming the built environment when it is developed by the individual, and it is capable of constructing individual identities when it is developed by architectural form. Thus as an agent of communication, the architectural wall offers not only a visible surface but also a folded space to the user for "stratified, crisscrossing, and overlapping traces"\textsuperscript{181}.


\textsuperscript{181} Brighenti, Andrea. At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain, Space and Culture (13), 2010, p.322.
The event Eisenman believes is embedded into individual interventions performed on wall, so besides being a boundary between inside and outside, the wall becomes an interface that is creating those events. The transformed wall is not a static barrier but a transitory element reflecting the language of space developed by user and spreads that language by firstly redefining its context and then reconstructing interstitial spaces into parasitic spaces.

While explaining the role of surface on developing a common language, in his book "The Architectural Uncanny", Antony Vidler refers to Colin Rowe who explains the phenomena of the wall as a representation of a building and an "existential interface between eye and idea".182

Wall is a metaphorical plane of intersection between the eyes of the observer and what one may dare to call the ‘soul’ of the building.183

3.5.2. METHODS FOR COMMUNICATING TO THE SURFACE

The wall is the source of conflict and resistance as well as the agent of public speaking. Communication achieved through the wall is the outcome of the capacity of the user to reconstruct the identity of space by first transforming its surfaces with the urge for self-expression. Becoming a dynamic entity, the wall forms a spatial language, spreading with the determinacy of the user when s/he explores/transforms the forgotten spaces embedded in the urban fabric.

So far, the study developed a comparative perspective of the different uses of walls and their potential for allowing situational interventions. By questioning notions of enclosure, privatization, exclusion, inside/outside, boundaries, transitions, and movement, the study explores the material effects of situational interventions on walls. The making of the wall is an ever-changing and developing process articulated and inscribed by the hands of the user who defines the visibilities, invisibilities, surfacealities, communicability, and intractability of the wall. The wall, evaluated as a territory itself that can be analyzed as an interstice, is also a vertical surface shaping/defining other interstices within the urban fabric. Defining interstices around the means not to enclose them but to transform them by performing physical interventions to the wall is a singular focus. At this point, the study discusses a unique way of intervening with the wall and a debatable method for re-appropriating the interstices in space: the act of graffiti.

CHAPTER 4

REDEFINING THE INTERSTICE THROUGH THE ACT OF GRAFFITI: ON TAGS AND URBAN PARASITES

4.1. Graffiti’s Genealogy

Society has been completely urbanized...The street is a place to play and learn. The street is disorder...This disorder is alive. It informs. It surprises...The urban space of the street is a place for talk, given over as much to the exchange of words and signs as it is to the exchange of things. A place where speech becomes writing. A place where speech can become 'savage' and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls.184

The role of the wall in public space remains important as long as there is a struggle going on for self-expression on the physical surfaces of the city. In his article, “Metropolis and Mental Life”, Georg Simmel claims that any alternative change in the “social sphere” and any significant physical response to the structure of the public space should be analyzed in terms of “structuring subjectivity” and developing a specific attitude towards the right of self-expression of the individual by “being and acting”.185 Thus the physical intervention in the public space can be further analyzed by evaluating the wall as a cultural artefact and as a physical interface on streets where an ongoing battle of diverging views, different ideologies, and conflicting messages are located. As Andrea Brighenti claims in her article “At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain”, the wall—and eventually the street—can be shaped by the self-expressing individual, who creates a new visual realm and a place of visibility and display, standing between the “political and aesthetic dimensions” of urban space where individual manifestations and collective will can be represented.186 The study, in this sense, focuses on the act of graffiti since it occupies a radical position in urban space and public discourse socially and politically, while, as an

aesthetic phenomenon, it offers new spatial configurations by producing new visualities upon urban surfaces.

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“‘The way I look at the landscape is forever changed because of street art.’”

The act of graffiti is actually an individual manifestation inscribed on walls. Through various visual representations, ordinary individuals produce and reproduce place-specific identities, re-evaluate and reclaim forgotten spaces of city, and “configure their familiar world by giving it a meaning”. The identity individuals create in space shapes the unique territories embedded in the urban fabric. In her speech for the “Indivisible Cities” project, graffiti artist Swoon states:

Creating itself out of the margins of our cities is a community of people, more precisely it is a community of actions, a floating world of ephemera and physical markings made by people who have decided to become active citizens in creating their visual landscape. Every time someone reappropriates a billboard for his or her own needs, scrawls their alias across a highway overpass, or uses city walls as a sounding board for their thoughts and images for messages that need realization, they are participating in this community. They are circumscribing a link to every other person who believes that the vitality of our public spaces is directly related to the public participating in the incessant creation and re-creation of those spaces. Graffiti is a form of active citizenship that resists attempts at containment...I think that the persistence of graffiti and street art in cities all over the world is evidence of a common need for citizens to take a role in their environments.

Thus, the act of graffiti not only helps the individual to be an active participant in the process of reconstructing the interstices of the city, but also develops a sense of “environmental reclamation, marking out zones for an alternative visibility”.

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the study analyzes graffiti not only as a surface inscription but as a marking that is shaping and is shaped by contexts that require examination in-situ, as a surface signifier that is part of the visual culture of the city, and as an alternative visual realm providing interface between the aesthetics and politics of urban space. Around all of these arguments, the study evaluates the graffiti artist as both an intervener and observer who explores and reconstructs the interstice.

4.1.1. The History of Graffiti

The term “graffiti”, in general, is used to describe “writings or drawings that have been scribbled, scratched, or sprayed illicitly on a wall or other surface in urban space”.\(^{191}\) As a broader definition, Özgün Tanglay states that:

Graffiti can be explained, on a common ground, as pieces on [a] surface ranging from simple stickers to giant wall paintings in public space that were not designed by agents of authority, and show characteristics of practices of illegal nature and underground culture. Roads, walls, rocks, road signs, subway cars, garage doors can become [the] canvas for street artists. Any surface can be transformed into a platform to be re-designed and redefined, because graffiti art refuses [the] standardized order of public space.\(^{192}\)

Although the archive regarding the genealogy of post-graffiti is rich, well-documented, and identified properly, the concept of graffiti is not a new phenomenon. Its beginnings date back to markings made on surfaces in 20,000 BC to Ancient Rome. Kurt Iveson, in his book “Publics and the City”, states that the concept of modern graffiti can be said to have begun in 1970s in the United States — especially in New York and Philadelphia, which saw graffiti as initiated by a postman called “TAKI 183”, who, as a local form of art, tagged his name on mailboxes around his route, “providing instant notoriety for both himself and other associated writers.”\(^{193}\) In the mid-1970s, graffiti works took over New York City and Philadelphia, especially with pieces performed in the subway system. Graffiti artists developed a sense of “all-cities” instead of “all-city”\(^{194}\) when they were able to carry the visibility of their pieces with the help of subway cars that travelled around different cities.


The concept of “all-cities”, on the other hand, is the opportunity for the graffiti artist to carry his/her works to different cities by using moving canvas, namely subway cars.
Becoming a famous movement among talented young people, graffiti works of the 1970s developed phenomenal perspective on the visual vocabulary of the city, which lead to the present concepts and methods of graffiti works of the 1990s, which are called “post-graffiti”\(^{195}\), which were being displayed in galleries on one hand, and becoming an important part of illegal political manifestations on the other.

By the early 1990s, the act of graffiti became a visually conscious art and intervention movement. In New York and Los Angeles in the US, and in Berlin, London, and Paris of Europe, street artists were fighting against sterilization and standardization of the urban space, “visually predatory codes of advertising”, and the rules of the dominant political system by redefining the practice of graffiti as a major part of the contemporary visual culture. Graffiti pieces of the 90s were then an accepted part of the spatial appearance even though they were evaluated as vandalism by certain critics.

Street art synthesizes and circulates a visual vocabulary and set of stylistic registers that have become instantly recognizable throughout mass culture.\(^{196}\)

With collaborations of a new generation of art-school educated artists, in the 2000s, the graffiti movement became a common ground for young people from different backgrounds who were aware of the spatial features and visual vocabulary of the city. Within the long history of graffiti, the present place the movement has reached in terms of raising awareness about different architectural configurations of space is promising to reclaim the city space.

Writing any form of graffiti, whether it be political, personal, or gang-related, responds to a variety of social needs. Expression through words, symbols and figures on city walls can be a reaction against oppression, a mode of protest, an anonymous way to be heard, an act of personal or group empowerment, or a secret language.\(^{197}\)

After a brief summary about the history of graffiti, the study analyzes characteristics of the act of graffiti that has remarkable physical and social effects on the reconstruction of interstices in the city. The role of the graffiti piece in transforming the space in which it is implanted should be questioned not only because of its stand between aesthetic and political dimensions, but also due to its visibility and accessibility by observers. In that sense, the study analyzes this visibility in the formation of an interface between aesthetic and political discussions about space and in the constitution of communication through users by forming new visual territories.


\(^{196}\) Ibid, p. 242.

4.1.2. Politicality of Graffiti

An analysis of the act of graffiti requires an inquiry about the nature of the act that is evaluated as a criminal act by certain critics in society. The contexts where graffiti pieces are applied, which will be analyzed elaborately in relation to the spatial composition and visual characteristics of the piece, are defined as “sites of resistance against hegemonic discourses” in Ulrich Best and Anke Strüver’s article, “The Politics of Place: Critical of Spatial Identities and Critical Spatial Identities”.

In his article “Graffiti and Urban Space”, James Tierney discusses the illegal nature of graffiti while claiming that the act of graffiti creates counter-sites against indifferent streetscapes. By referring to Michel Foucault and his concept of “heterotopia”, Tierney states that graffiti’s attitude towards space requires a necessary criminality because of what graffiti creates:

[P]laces that do exist—which are something like counter sites, an effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality.

Graffiti, by its very presence, stands against the harmonious urban discourse that shapes the city as a “universal subject, a concept space with an urge [for] ongoing purification practices”. Thus graffiti develops ways for disrupting sterility by bringing into question the notion of the right of individuals to the space. A reading of graffiti works in terms of their illegality then, should be done according to the ideology the act of graffiti stands for. The birth and spread of graffiti was based on a radical attitude towards mainstream codes and rules of society, standardized spatial configurations of urban space, and ordinary individuals who lost their pervasiveness within the consumer culture. The act of graffiti forms a subculture that becomes a part of society, but also stands apart. Thus, the illegality of the act is a subject of discussion even for the graffiti artist, with some artists stating “its illegality and sense of mystery are empowering and make writing more pleasurable”, and claiming that as a subversive act, graffiti should retain its ties to society in a controlled

manner in order to “position and define itself beyond the parameters of dominant order”. What the graffiti artist achieved by reconstructing forgotten places, and by redefining the undefined areas is to form graffiti pieces that give the observer a sense of intimacy by developing familiar visualities that are generally evaluated as “kitsch” in terms of their aestheticity, which will be discussed in later parts, while giving the intervener a sense of power over space. While “political tensions remain extreme on the issue of graffiti, and urban communities worldwide are conflicted about the reception of street art”, among all debates of vandalism and “broken windows” theories, the attitude of the act of graffiti towards the reconstruction of urban space contains a necessary radicality and alternative perceptions about rules and regulations.

In her master thesis, “Psychogeographical Displacement: Responses to Exploitation of Urban Space in the Visual Art”, Irina Nersessova relates graffiti to the Situational International movement and its concept of derive. She, by referencing Simon Sadler’s book “The Situationist City”, states that the concept of drift (derive) can be used as a method to understand the ways graffiti interrogates and interacts with the city by searching for valuable elements in space “which are not degraded by capitalism”; graffiti, in this sense, is related to “derive” in that it creates situations in which the graffiti artist wanders around the city following a spontaneously determined path and intervenes in the city. The concepts of situations for intervention created by individuals remind graffiti artists who are re-evaluating space to find valuable elements to emphasize on the surfaces.

Playful constructive behavior that should not be confused with classical notions of the journey and the stroll; drifters were people alert to the

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204 The broken windows theory is a criminological theory of the norm-setting and signaling effect of urban disorder and vandalism on additional crime and anti-social behavior. The theory states that maintaining and monitoring urban environments in a well-ordered condition may stop further vandalism and escalation into more serious crime. The seminal argument about "disorder" and crime was stated in, Kelling, George and Wilson, James. *Broken Windows: The police and neighborhood safety*, The Atlantic, 1982, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1982/03/broken-windows/4465/;
The application of this theory on graffiti policy in New York City has been well-examined by Joe Austin in, Austin, Joe. *Taking the Train: How Graffiti Art Became an Urban Crisis in New York City*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2001, p.267.
205 The Situationist International was a radical international organization of revolutionaries with an exclusive membership made up of avant-garde artists, intellectuals, and political theorists, active from its formation in 1957 to 1972. Situationist theorist Guy Debord defines the term "situation" as "a moment of life concretely and deliberately constructed by the collective organization of a unitary ambiance and a game of events" and the process as "the concrete construction of momentary ambiguities of life and their transformation into a superior passional quality."
attractions of the terrain and the encounters they find there, capable as a group of agreeing upon distinct, spontaneous preferences for routes through the city.207

4.1.3. Aestheticity of Graffiti

Street art was the ghost in the urban machine becoming self-aware and projecting its repressed dreams and fantasies onto walls and vertical architecture, as if the visible city were the skin or exoskeleton of something experienced like a life form in need of aesthetic intervention.208

The graffiti piece, creating a subjective image on the urban surface, is often related to inquiries about art and the aesthetics of space. Thus, the discussion about the changing image of space, which eventually transforms the interstices, should be developed according to three aspects in terms of its aesthetic dimension; firstly, the graffiti piece should be questioned in terms of whether it can be evaluated as public art or not. Secondly, the aestheticity of the graffiti piece should be discussed in terms of its effects on the image of space, and thirdly, the displayability of the graffiti piece should be questioned in relation to its similarities and contradictions to art gallery pieces and art institutions.

If public art is defined as visual interventions of individuals on space in an aesthetically designed way that functions as a place-shaping tool and an engagement to reconstructing city space, the graffiti piece can be evaluated as a part of the public art application because graffiti is a method for designing city space. In her book “Graffiti and Street Art”, Anna Wacklawek states that:

Contemporary public art projects and street art can both be playful, critical explorations of the cultural structures of a city. Both models are conceived and contextualized within a city—a complex realm that can be understood as a set of relationships between objects, places, people and time.209

This statement about the playfulness and exploratory characteristics of graffiti art is the reason for a possible relation of graffiti art to both public applications and the Situationism movement. Like Situationists, graffiti artists view the piece as an act, event, performance, and intervention rather than a stable entity. The concept of detournement—rerouting,

207 Nersessova, Irina. Psychogeographical displacement: Responses to exploitation of urban space in the visual art. (Master's thesis), 2010.
displacing, and misappropriating cultural norms—is very similar to the scenes graffiti pieces form that bond individuals to space by creating alternative fragments embedded in the urban fabric, which is composed of unique images. In that sense, graffiti pieces are more likely to be related to radical installations rather than commissioned art projects that are limited to a specified site and aims that enlarge the visual publicity of space. Thus the majority of public art installations aim to attract the viewer in order to transform the space into an area of display, while graffiti pieces encourage individual interaction in a context-aware manner. After comparing the graffiti piece to public art installations, the study analyzes the imagery featured in graffiti works in terms of their aesthetic theories. Graffiti pieces are generally figurative and when compared to post-modern art pieces, they are evaluated as “kitsch”, as direct image references without any form of symbolism or abstraction. Even though the stylistic language of graffiti pieces started to change when art-school educated artists started to perform graffiti, the majority of pieces are still inspired from high-pop culture. In his article “The Work on the Street: Street Art and Visual Culture”, Martin Irvine states that:

Street art became the next step in [the] transformative logic of Pop: a redirected act of transubstantiation that converts the raw and non-art-differentiated space of public streets into new territories of visual engagement, anti-art performative acts that result in a new art category. Like Pop, street art de-aestheticizes “high art” as one of many types of source material, and goes further by aestheticizing zones formerly outside culturally recognized art space.\textsuperscript{210}

Instead of producing singularly positioned objects that are designed out of context and in reference to similar artworks, the graffiti piece is implanted with a concern to form an integration between the piece and space. For this reason, the act of graffiti stands close to aesthetic theories of Adorno, rather than to pieces of high art. In his article “Culture Industry Reconsidered”, Theodor Adorno remarks that images produced by the culture industry rely on an extra-artistic technique that demands an aesthetic autonomy for the image, but the image only.\textsuperscript{211} According to Adorno, however, the role of aesthetics is to provide residual communication because it is a social phenomenon. In his article, “Adorno’s Notion of Art and Protest”, Emre Zeytinoglu interprets that for Adorno the problem for art today is the lack of relation it creates between reality of society. It is the reality of the artwork that makes these two entities detached from each other.

For Adorno, [the] most important problem is that there is a lack of reflection of physical experiences of individuals on high art images. That


is the reason [for] the lack of communication between [the] individual body and [the] art work.\textsuperscript{212}

Thus, the aesthetic dimension of graffiti, in this sense, provides the necessary interaction between body and image. In her article “Framing [Con]text: Graffiti and Place”, Ella Chmielewska states:

The widespread attraction to the subversive aura of graffiti and its radical aesthetics may be an impediment to the critical examination of the phenomenon by privileging a celebration of the visual rebellion rather than engaging in a substantive analysis of the visual practice.\textsuperscript{213}

That is one of the reasons the majority of graffiti artists claim that graffiti art cannot be institutionalized, because when it is detached from the context it is implanted in, it loses its aura physically and symbolically. When the anonymity of the piece is lost, the aim of the piece in marking public space in order to emphasize its potential to change is gone.

No longer does a transformation of the urban environment, nor a subversive addition to the cultural landscape of signage [exist]: a writer’s name on canvas simply [does] not have the same socio-cultural, personal or political weight.\textsuperscript{214}

The act of graffiti embodies an anti-institutional character but the visual perception of the viewer is as important as the graffiti piece in providing communication to individual to space.

4.1.4. Visibility of Graffiti: Piece as a Communication Tool

Street art inserts itself in the material city as an argument about visuality, the social and political structure of being visible. Street art works by being confrontationally material and location-specific while also participating in the global, networked, Web-distributable cultural encyclopedia.\textsuperscript{215}

\textsuperscript{212} Zeytinoğlu, Emre. \textit{Adorno’s notion of art and protest}. Cogito (36), 2003, p76.
In terms of the subject “visibility”, the act of graffiti becomes a connecting node for multiple domains intended to question the notion of public space, including educated artists and punks, the constituted space and locality of art, the role of cultural institutions on visibility within the urban space, and the general sense of urban appropriations. As Jacques Rancière states in his article “The Politics Of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible”, through visibility, graffiti subcultures develop a counter-practice\(^\text{216}\) that can be interpreted as “navigating” through fragments of city,\(^\text{217}\) with an aim of “appropriation of public space”.\(^\text{218}\) By producing highly perceptible images, the graffiti artist creates an alternative notion of visibility that reflects as a radical statement upon the contemporary visual culture of the city. Graffiti artist Fairey Shepard remarks that by dematerializing the existing visual culture of urban space, the graffiti artist composes an alternative visibility that allows him/her to take control over the space. Additionally, by creating a disturbance on the existing image, the artist shows “there can be other images coexisting with advertising”.\(^\text{219}\) The most important role of initiating a new visibility is that it transforms the space for the individual into a competitive space of mural messaging. Walls and non-neutral spaces have the potential to bear messages through marks, signs, and images appearing as an initiator of scenes for the graffiti artist to express himself/herself. As Swoon stated in 2003 on the methods of her Brooklyn collective, “we scour the city for the ways that we are spoken to, and we speak back...Once you start listening, the walls don’t shut up.”\(^\text{220}\)

The graffiti piece is a simultaneous relation of the word and image; by revealing singularities of urban areas, it shifts the visual landscape and creates unique encounters. The communication graffiti has achieved can be analyzed in two different aspects: it can either be an emphasis on the unique spatial characteristics of the site in providing interaction between ordinary people to the space or it can be a subjective expression of the artist by giving personal messages to draw attention.

For the first aspect, the graffiti piece constitutes relationships between viewers and urban space through making individuals a subject of the message and a part of it. As an example, the works of South African graffiti artist “Faith47” can be given. The artist’s works create a sense of collectivity by speaking of, to, and with people. Interested in a direct dialogue to people, Faith47’s pieces are performed in a style interacting with the surface it embodies, with scenes aiming to confront people within the socio-political reality of their contexts. His works give a sense of contextuality that bonds people to the material condition of the space.

\(^\text{218}\) Lefebvre, Henri. Production of Space. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1993, p.120.
as well as to its social conditions. **Figure 4.1** shows an example of Faith47’s works, presenting significant synonymy with its contexts in terms of both its material and symbolic composition.

Another aspect of communication through visibility in space is the motive of the artist to express his/her own identity, subculture, or simply personal messages. This kind of communication usually implies a subjective interpretation of the graffiti’s context in a personal manner in which the artist proposes new foregrounds, different functions, and new visualities through his/her signature graffiti.

As an example for personal markings on space, the works of German graffiti artists “Hera” and “Akut”—performing together under the tag of “Herakut”—can be analyzed. Appearing as narratives within space, the works of Herakut’s design narrative scenes embodies unique portraits on human-animal hybrids that are collaborated with texts that reflect the demand of artist for a direct dialogue with his/her viewers.

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 4.1:** “All shall be equal before the law”, Cape Town, South Africa, by Faith47


Part of the appeal of individuals and figurative groupings portrayed in these scenes lies in their apparent indifference. Often they seem to make eye contact with the viewer but nonchalantly follow through with their activity. As voyeurs of their world, the public is drawn into a situation that, whether light-hearted or sorrowful, is engrossing by virtue of the narrative it embodies.221

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The visual dialogue those pieces provide to the viewer is achieved through both interactions between characters—usually repeated to develop a common language, a signature—and the inner conversation of the piece provided by the simultaneity of text and image. Figure 4.2 shows one of voyeurs of Herakut, presenting a narration of a highly debatable subject which is strengthened with the stance of the figure.

Whatever the aim is, communication achieved through visibility proves that the act of graffiti is a practice of writing. Its language, involving “graphic marks, formed letters, composed words and skilful using of surfaces”, indicates that graffiti is becoming a powerful figure standing against the existing visual language of space. Martin Irvine states:

Street art is a direct engagement with a city’s messaging system, a direct hit on the unconscious, accepted, seemingly natural spaces in which visual messages can appear. Street artists intervene with a counter-imagery, acts of displacement in an ongoing generative “semeiocracy,” the politics of meaning-making through images and writing in contexts that bring the contest over visibility into the open. Walls and structures can be de-purposed, repurposed, de-faced, refaced, de-made, remade.222

Figure 4.2: “Art Doesn’t Help People, People Help People”, Lüneburg, Germany, by Herakut

http://notes.hapke.de/education/graffiti-in-lueburg-art-and-people/

4.2. Graffiti’s Interstitiality

All of the characteristics discussed in previous sections set guidelines for the study to develop a proposal about the interstitiality of graffiti and its ability to form unique territories—parasitic spaces—out of interstices within the city’s fabric. To draw outlines of the reconstruction of parasitic spaces and to trace their continuity, the study begins a reverse analysis in a smaller scale by developing a statement on the relationship between the graffiti piece and the urban surface. Then the study will search how the graffiti piece reconstructs interstices on the building’s scale and analyze the fragmental spaces shaped by the graffiti piece, which eventually connects them to each other and shapes parasitic zones.

4.2.1. Graffiti and its Surface

The wall as the primary signifying space of the human built environment, the picturing plane par excellence, a kind of deep structure in the generative grammar of visuality, part of a centuries-long cultural unconscious. We can’t get over the wall.223

As a form of situational intervention, the act of graffiti constantly “modifies and reshapes the significance, impact and meaning”224 of surfaces. In order to analyze graffiti’s relation to a surface, the study remarks on various interactions between pieces and the surfaces on which they redefine and develop patterns of spaces. Although the urban surface is analyzed and mostly interpreted on walls, examples of graffiti’s different surface inscriptions should be overviewed for developing a larger frame about spatial configurations of transformed space. The urban surface initially indicates a larger definition, more than just walls. While the boundary and transition of walls offer a richer variety of spatial features that better serve the visibility of graffiti pieces, different applications on the alternative urban surfaces would help us to understand the unique spatial perception of graffiti artists. As an example, the works of Canadian graffiti artist Roadsworth can be given. Roadsworth performs his pieces on roads that he defines as having a unique status apart from their sole purpose of transition. In this sense, “it is not a location at all but an anti-location, an intermediary between points A and B”.225 The aim for his works is to interpret the road as an alternative spatial element;

224 Brighenti, Andrea. At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain, Space and Culture (13), 2010, p.319.
by redesigning the markings on the road—usually by reinterpreting design features of roads—he forms a new variety of mappings that point out alternative functions, uses, and spatial formations to users. The road, in this sense, becomes an upside down wall directing, positioning individuals to develop new perspectives about space. Figure 4.3 shows “Domino” project by Roadsworth in which the initial aim is to create perspectal varieties on roads to re-form its traditional notion of surfaceality.

The most important feature of the graffiti piece is that it repositions individuals within space. That is the reason for the importance of relation between graffiti and its surface. The wall, in order to be chosen as the subject of inquiry, must draw the necessary framework of boundaries, transitions, and spatial definitions in terms of graffiti work’s visibility, which gives new perspectives about reading space. In this case, the study analyzes the relation of the graffiti piece to the surface in two aspects; firstly, in terms of the wall’s surfaceality, which provides boundaries in the vertical and horizontal plane, provides transitions between here and there, defines territories in which the interstice is shaped, and positions the individual “figure” by forming a “ground”. Secondly, before analyzing the graffiti piece’s relation to the interstice and the interstice’s context, the graffiti piece is analyzed in terms of its relation to the wall as a separator between inside and outside, which should be evaluated within the definition of context, and the effects of the graffiti piece’s intervention on the spatiality of the inside.
Figure 4.3: “Domino Project” in Montreal, Canada, by Roadsworth

http://www.urbanartcore.eu/new-street-art-by-roadsworth/

The surfaceality of the wall is an important feature for the graffiti piece not only in providing visibility, but also for the wall’s role in shaping spatial configurations. Martin Irvine defines the effect of the materiality of the wall on the graffiti piece, by referring to the formation of the notion of the wall in the history of graffiti, as:

What emerged in the 1950s-60s as a formal argument about painting “degree-zero,” a reduction of means to the baseline materiality of surfaces, a reduction down to the bare walls as a minimal signifying unit of plane space, was converted into a material practice by street artists in the 1980s-90s.226

The change in the perception of the wall with the interference of the act of graffiti produced different forms of surface, configurations of pieces that are changing in appearance according to the role of the wall in space. Thus, the piece becomes the facade when the wall is the boundary; it can be a directing sign, positioning the individual or it can be a ground before the standing point to read perspective space. The graffiti work by integrating the material support—in this case of the wall—“dictates a composition”227 that is able to give new meanings to space while making them readable by the viewer. With several examples, the works of Portuguese artist Alexandre Farto and Spanish artist Nuria Mora are researched in terms of their different perspectives interpreting the materiality of the surface. Spanish artist Nuria Mora constructs her works by playing with pre-existing frames of surface, using lines and strictly geometrical patterns. While explaining her works she states: “I start with a pre-defined geometrical structure that has infinite possible shapes because this sign adopts to the surface chosen through a dialogue with the architecture that supports it. My objective is to give value to the surface.” By defining human scale in geometrical forms, Mora forms fragments on the linear surface by creating various ground configurations that reposition the individual. While Mora redefines the boundary of surface by framing it and layering the surface with new pieces, Farto “uncovers the formal lines of a chosen site by unveiling a wall’s surface history to expose the complexity of urbanity”.228 The pieces, like the “biography of wall” emphasizes the meaning attributed to a specific space by revealing the layers of surface. Thus, the artist states that purer spatial relations can be achieved by exposing layers of elements that define space. Figure 4.4 shows, how Farto re-reads the

227 Retrieved from an interview from the artist, Mora, Nuria. Interview with Mora, 2007.
228 Retrieved from the introductory statement of the interview with artist, Farto, Alexandre. Interview with Alexandre Farto (aka. vhils), 2011.


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histories and stories embedded in walls with a remarkable reference to the materiality of surrounding context.

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On the other hand, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the wall is a fold that forms in-between spaces of inside and outside. Thus, any intervention performed on the wall is an intervention to inside space as well as outside space. The study analyzes this notion in terms of the unique territories the graffiti piece shapes. As will be discussed in later parts, the study analyzes the graffiti piece according to territories it forms—by reconstructing interstitial space—and the context that shapes it. In a multi-layered relation, the graffiti piece affects the context by being affected by it. In this sense, the graffiti piece changed the inside space by reshaping the identity of context surrounding it. In between the foldings of the wall, the inside space, which was designed and protected as a sterilized environment, has a direct interaction with the graffiti’s situational intervention. This can either result in suppressing the sterilized inside space by surrounding it with fragments of the graffiti piece or it can result in the reconstructing and colouring of the inside space while reshaping the exterior. Either way graffiti’s interaction to the wall shapes new contexts for both outside and inside, but the character of the graffiti piece is not shaped by the inside space because the context of the inside also indicates a “non-context” since it estranges unique identities by domesticating and sterilizing the sense of space.

In both aspects, graffiti pieces point out the importance of the surface. Roy Harris states in his article “Signs of writing”:

> When we substantially engage with the materiality of graffiti—its graphic surface and [the] specificity of its articulation—concepts of indexing and indicating reveal their nuanced difference in directionality, scope, and the mode of gestural specificity: Whereas pointing, designating the here, implicates specifying location with its particularity of material context as well as modes of the sign-object’s attachment, bonding or affixing, to the particular site, the procedure of indexing relates the sign-object to its surroundings in ways that specify categories and points of references with the focus of pointing elsewhere.

Thus the positions of the subject gain importance as well as the positioning sign—the graffiti piece—and how that sign indexes the data it collects from the context, how it merges and designs the surface, and how the intervened surface can change, direct, and reconstruct the identity of the context.

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4.2.2. Graffiti Shaping Contexts

Graffiti inscriptions show a variety of presence within space, representing both the vulnerable positions on the surface that are replaced and written over and the solid stands that are supported by the surface and the context of the piece that is appropriately adapted. Either way, the individual gesture of marking space—permanent or temporal—requires a sense of the context that the piece will be displayed in. Ella Chmielewska in her article “Writing on the Ruins or, Graffiti as a Design Gesture” states that:

Graffiti is site-specific even if its placement may seem arbitrary; it attaches itself parasitically to the particular site at the very moment it appears. The choice of location is deliberate, governed by numerous
criteria of visibility, accessibility and the related danger and fame potential associated with the act.\textsuperscript{231}

Moreover, Michael Keith in his book “After the Cosmopolitan” states that the design of a graffiti image requires both a physical and sociological awareness about the notion of context influencing the meaning, position, and application of the image.\textsuperscript{232} To analyze the relation of the graffiti piece to its context, the study forms a frame that involves the visible and lingual changes of the graffiti works according to different contexts. Ella Chmielewska, in her article “Framing [Con]texts: Graffiti and Place”, claims that graffiti in-situ requires an inquiry of a broader context: of localities and identities.\textsuperscript{233} The act of graffiti is an important representative of local culture, local architectural features, and identity of space that should be interpreted by questioning certain physical and symbolic characteristics of graffiti images. According to Chmielewska:

Looking at one specific piece of signature graffiti, can we tell its place of origin? And does it matter for the meaning of graffiti if the canvas of the wall has a different history? If it comes out of different urban or historical processes shaping the public spaces, does it matter if the graphic practice of public contestation is driven by dissimilar forces or carries a dramatically different penalty, a disparate history of consequences? Can we even talk of graffiti as a singular phenomenon, or could we say that different forms of graphic marking interact with their urban contexts in ways that are shaped by their linguistic, iconic, and territorial significations and, in turn, inflect their specific context with different meanings?\textsuperscript{234}

While taking over space, the graffiti piece shows awareness about its spatial entities mainly because once a graffiti work is implanted on surface, it becomes the representative of the character and the story of the wall—especially within historical context: “a mark that is inherently specific and fused with the surface, becomes a generic image and portable implement of selective memory”.\textsuperscript{235} The history and spatial features of context reflect upon the aesthetic gesture of the graffiti piece and the physical position of the graffiti piece within the space it occupies. It also reflects upon symbolic references—sometimes with radical touches against the harmonious language of space, which often in a sarcastic way tells and reminds the viewer of the history of the context and language of the space. Thus, the piece, whether it represents the aesthetic features of context: the scales, colours, shapes, lines, and

\textsuperscript{231} Chmielewska, Ella. \textit{Writing on the Ruins or, Graffiti as a Design Gesture}, in A. Brighenti (ed.), The Wall and the City, Professional Dreamers, Trento, 2009, p.48.


\textsuperscript{233} Chmielewska, Ella. \textit{Framing [con]text: Graffiti and place}. Space and Culture (10), 2010, p.152.

\textsuperscript{234} Ibid, p.152.

\textsuperscript{235} Chmielewska, Ella. \textit{Writing on the Ruins or, Graffiti as a Design Gesture}, in A. Brighenti (ed.), The Wall and the City, Professional Dreamers, Trento, 2009, p.50.
figures that show a complete physical fusion and a physical adaptation with the space by filling voids or emphasizing solids, which Chmielewska expresses as becoming part of the “compositional plane of architectural palimpsest”, or it represents the personal statement of the graffiti artist about the history and language of contexts that include an authentic and autonomic representation, an abstract sign—personal mark—of a personal history that symbolizes the context, in this case, the graffiti piece shows a connection to the context in a pure abstract way, providing any physical similarities or relation to the space in ways other than simply by attaching to it.

For the first aspect, Beatrice Fraenkel in her article, “Acts of Writing”, emphasizes that the graffiti piece is inseparable from the place, and place-representations, by developing physical similarities, direct references to the material surface and the context. It can achieve this by either articulating built forms, defining voids, and emphasizing solids or imitating urban scale, building morphology, and the texture of exterior walls; thus the graffiti piece shows a form of locality. The locality of the graffiti not only represents the physical features of the space—by sustaining the physical form, the graffiti piece pressures the language of context—but also records it by forming a collective on the viewers’ minds. In this case, what acts the graffiti achieves serve to emphasize and highlight the historical and geographical specificities of the urban context that has been forgotten by the viewer because of the imagery chaos in urban space. The graffiti piece is a reminder of historical value and refines the visibilities of the contexts once had and were aimed to have against commercial image bulks that “idealized” the city space.

An example of a graffiti piece that is physically integrated into language of space can be shown through the work of graffiti artist Swoon. The uniqueness of Swoon’s works is related to the “originally suited” graffiti pieces that have a “material complexity of urban landscape”. The works provide ever-changing physical interactions to the viewer, especially by being implanted on the edges of the city space, the peripheries, abandoned buildings in which the viewer’s encounters are nearly impossible. By playing with surface texture and distorting spaces with new perspectives—highlighting the edges in space—Swoon forms portraits of ordinary people by creating mirrors on walls to provide communication to individuals and creating a sense of familiarity—Figure 4.5—.

For the second aspect, in which the graffiti piece is influenced not by direct physical references of context but through the production of symbolic references attributed to the context, the character of the graffiti piece should be reinterpreted. These symbolic references

236 Chmielewska, Ella. Writing on theRuins or, Graffiti as a Design Gesture, in A. Brighenti (ed.), The Wall and the City, Professional Dreamers, Trento, 2009, p.51.
are not generally influenced by the physical features of space but by its local culture. The act of graffiti is a means of visibility as well as identity and within the case of symbolic attribution, the artefact created on the urban fabric contains a degree of subjective expression, an evaluation of history, culture, and the identity of the space. Thus the image produced is not solely an outcome of the stylistic/artistic expression of the graffiti artist, but it also an outcome of the artist’s interpretation of the culture and identity of space; the message given in the graffiti piece represents a subjective history of its context.

As an example of this situation, the works of Australian graffiti artist Vexta can be given. Vexta’s works, says Anna Wacklaweck, “reveals the fruitful intersection between authorship and anonymity in the process of identity formulation in [the] city space.”239 The images she produces contain both personal views and local concerns—mostly political. By usually creating negative forms and colours on surfaces, and creating contradictory forms suppressing the outline of surface, the artist redefines the notion of identity as a mutual construct of space within the surface inscriptions; for Vexta, urbanity’s coldness can be suppressed by revealing the identities and cultural landscapes on walls. –Figure 4.6- When analyzing the post-war graffiti works in Warsaw, Chmielewska explains the relationship between graffiti and context as:

> The urban surface seems inseparable from the graphic and linguistic form of the sign. In Warsaw the brick wall is...representative of a highly charged symbolic urban surface. It references the raw texture of urban wounds, exposed substrate of war-damaged buildings—here, the brick wall designates the ruins on which the political roots of graffiti are set in the wartime trauma of the city and the history of occupation and resistance.240

The symbolic and material form of the city shapes the visibility and identity of graffiti works. As a form of radical intervention, however, the graffiti piece also shapes the material form and the identity of its contexts. The graffiti piece not only attaches to the surface, it occupies it and spreads through territories; by redefining them, the piece takes over the interstices within the urban fabric and constructs its own contexts.

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The places chosen as graffiti spots vary according to certain aspects of the site: visibility, interactability, materiality of the surface, and especially the symbolic value of the site—
meaning its physical and social relevancy, availability, and coherence with the message and composition of the graffiti piece. Since the act of graffiti is an overall movement of radical highlights of missing and forgotten parts of a space by reconstructing, fulfilling, and redesigning fragments of contexts that eventually form a unified zone situated in the urban fabric, the study of interstice with its association of graffiti works is important at this point, because the interstice in the city is one of the main subject matters of graffiti.

4.2.3. Graffiti’s Interstices

To further develop the search about graffiti sites and the zones they create, the study firstly analyzes the relation of the interstice to space by pointing out reasons for graffiti artists to choose the interstitial space as a subject of interest. The graffiti piece’s coherence with the site is generally the main motive for artist to choose the spot, thus, the interstice appropriates the graffiti piece because the act of graffiti itself carries a degree of interstitiality, in-betweenness. The interstitiality of the graffiti can be observed through its disciplinary relation to other fields, its representational relation to artistic expressions, and its constantly-changing physical relation to material surfaces, namely, temporalities. The act of graffiti in terms of its characteristics is situated in-between fields of politics and aesthetics; in terms of its style of expression, it is located between drawing and writing, which makes it harder to place it in any broader definition, in any disciplinary area of study. Andrea Brighenti, in her article “At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain”, states that:

Graffiti writing is a field whose definition is problematic for a number of reasons. To begin with, it is difficult to identify its boundaries. Writing interacts and often overlaps and interweaves with the fields of other practices. It cannot always be clearly separated from a number of other practices, including art and design, criminal law, politics, and market. Because no official and universally agreed-on definitions of all these boundaries exist, writing appears as an interstitial practice. 241

These interstitialities, however, give anonymity and autonomy to the act of graffiti and the lack of disciplinary definitions and disciplinary boundaries provide graffiti an act of capability to perform its radical interventions. Compositional reflection of that disciplinary in-betweenness comes in its illegal marks, authentic styles, and temporal pieces. The subject of temporality is a key point for studying graffiti’s interstitiality because interstitial space—meaning a space having no fixed identity, no boundary, and referred to as “non-urban

241 Brighenti, Andrea. At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain, Space and Culture (13), 2010, p.320.
spaces” as a result of their “temporary absence of attributed function” — is also a form of the temporal; it is available for any intervention and any function and its instability gives the space an ever-changing appearance that creates an appropriate ground for temporary inventions to constantly define new spatial identities. In their article “Temporary Active - Actions as Urban re-appropriation strategies”, Lupo and Postiglione state that:

The concept of temporary is conceived as a positive idea of improvisation and approximation in which the values and characteristics of lightness, transience, mobility and instability reflect a condition of freedom for experimentation and cultural cohabitation. A city centered on humans and set up at a human scale.

By taking over space, the graffiti piece marks itself through a temporary personal trace that intervenes in the spatial configuration of the interstitial space by exposing itself to re-intervention in order to be written over. Thus, the temporality of the graffiti piece not only provides a changing visibility for the interstice but also intervenes in the material surfaces in a way that preserves the instability of the interstitial space. The intervention to the material surface of the interstice prevents graffiti piece from taking a stable appearance because the graffiti piece generally is painted away by the authorities and then painted over by graffiti artists, which eventually protects the characteristics of “non-place” with no fixed identities and appearance. The original piece marking the interstice, however, provides passing information among graffiti artists that tags the interstitial space as a graffiti spot, a territory of graffiti works that can give the interstice a degree of identity. The transformation of interstitial space does not only form new spatialities, defines new functions, and creates new foregrounds for the use and reuse of space, it also forms a defined territory for an undefined space. By tagging it, the graffiti space adopts the interstice and rescue the area to be filled with new visibilities to provide the individual interactions that it necessitates. Lupo and Postiglione state that in-between space requires not a single but a set of practices and interventions that are often “empirical acts—precarious, situational or playful capable of performing and conforming to space”. A unity of temporary acts, according to Lupo and Postiglione, forms a degree of “bond and commitment” to the interstice by marking it as a territory in which the artist initiates the process of transformation of the interstice. For transforming the interstitial spaces of the city, Efe Korkut Kurt in his article “Aethetics, Architecture and Graffiti” states that:

The act of graffiti, whether consciously or not stands against the idea of controlling architectural space despite and against the contribution of [the] individual. Graffiti artists emphasize the undefined territories, areas

243 Ibid, p.5.
244 Ibid, p.6.
outside of mappings by architectural, environmental and artistic expressions.246

The transformation of the interstice, in this sense, is a starting point of a broader mapping. The method piece that transforms the interstitial space differs according to the subjective perception of spatial features, varying functions that are attributed to the interstice and that are intended as messages given through interstitial space. By redesigning the interstitial space, the graffiti artist encourages different ways of individual interactions, either by changing the space’s visibility or function. Although there are plenty of examples about the transformation of the interstitial space through the graffiti space, the study focuses on certain examples that are, by the positioning individuals and by the creation of the pieces to become a part of a larger composition, to be seen not only by the viewer but also by other artists to contribute to the rendering of the environment and the focusing of the architectural qualities to be emphasized in forming the territories. The pieces are perfectly positioned within the interstitial space and create narratives about history, context, and the potential function of space.

To exemplify this point, a series of works by the graffiti artist “M-City” and JR can be given. Producing a series of graffiti pieces among the city’s interstitial spaces, M-City forms narratives developing new perspectives for the viewer to spatially read the interstice. By creating urban fronts and backgrounds for interstices, M-City emphasizes either the visibility and presence or function of the space. In a similar attitude, JR works on portraits and facial expressions to define a specific identity for the interstice. Perceived differently from various angles and distances, JR’s pieces generally cover a large area, forming a territory in and of itself. Connecting separate architectural elements together, the artist shows that the interstice can be defined as an alternative territory and a visible coherence when a common language is applied to its fragments. Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8 show the difference on the approaches of M-City and JR toward the constitution of urban fronts; while M-City forming boundaries discovering the backgrounds, JR creates depth for emphasizing the voids in-between those fronts.

These examples, having different methods for the intervening interstice, together with other graffiti works not mentioned in the study, develop a common ground on which the graffiti pieces complete the missing architectural language of the interstitial space and unify it to form a territory. The characteristic of territory changes according to the individual expressions of the graffiti artist, however, and as mentioned before, the territory does not indicate a “turf”, as Brighenti states:

Figure 4.7: A mural by M-City, Bogotá, Colombia


Figure 4.8: “Women” by JR, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

http://www.farang-mag.com/?tag=graffiti
Graffiti is territorial not only in the sense that it marks a territory as a turf—if it does at all—but primarily in the sense that it is a territory in itself. Although usually territories are conceived “horizontally,” the prototypical image of horizontal territory being the land, or region; writers practice a type of “vertical” territoriality.  

In this sense, graffiti not only defines and draws the boundaries of an area, but it also forms a territory in itself with its inner relationships. These relationships are constituted by various graffiti artists to mark the territories to create a uniform context that contains unique individual works with common references.

The piece reveals a chaotic visual poetry, a consecration of nonsense and surrealism, [a] product of different scripts played by separate actors on the same stage. Different minds and hands, working in separate times and spaces, contribute to the production of an intersubjective work. Its outcome is paradoxical and enigmatic, it plays with unexpected articulations causing the surprise of passers-by. In this patchwork of pictures, we find sketches of distinguished media characters together with anonymous figures and stylized drawings that seem to tell a story.

Thus, the territory formed by graffiti pieces contains individual marks that eventually create a uniform zone, a context for itself containing but not separate from the unified fragments of graffiti. The writer’s tag is a territorial marker but the territory’s uniformity comes from the character of the graffiti act to stand against “crossing other artists’ work.” Instead of painting over each other, graffiti artists form a continuous work by bonding interstitial spaces in the city. This continuity requires more than the artists’ intention to create a respectful environment where no graffiti piece is crossed, and instead arises from a motive to form a familiar context, a continuous parasitic zone embedded into the urban fabric where any individual encounter, any spatial configuration is possible, where endless possibility of encounters occur, where the space is reconstructed to create its own perspectives, vistas, visibilities, and interactions.

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247 About the use notion of “verticality”, Brighenti states: “Here, I use ‘vertical’ in a quite physical sense, which is different from the distinction introduced by David Delaney (2005, p. 31) between ‘vertical’, hierarchical mapping of territories through different scales and ‘horizontal’, same-scale two-dimensional mapping.”
Brighenti, Andrea. At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain, Space and Culture (13), 2010, p.322.
249 Brighenti, Andrea. At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain, Space and Culture (13), 2010, p.327.
By not taking contexts individually, graffiti artists develop a sense of interaction firstly among each other so that their pieces physically and symbolically bind and touch, and then among the viewers. The parasitic contexts graffiti works form, by spreading and bonding, is a form of producing spatial terrains that invades every edge of the city; they multiply and create new opportunities to take over the rest of the city. Anna Wacklaweck evaluated this phenomenon as:

The invasion, carefully detailed on city maps, [is] the most part less spontaneous than one might imagine. When viewed on a map, specific sites chosen for a set of pieces, sometimes together form an image of one massive space invader.\(^{250}\)

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Thus graffiti works produce contexts that were created by graffiti artists who are mapping their own movements by forming a “practiced place”, as DeCerteau defines, “a space created by lived experience and daily relationships”.\(^{251}\) Instead of simply appropriating the space in fragments, graffiti artists create “breeding grounds”\(^{252}\) and “breathing spaces”\(^{253}\) to form a unified zone of “non-places”. At this point, the study analyzes the graffiti artist in order to develop a pattern for how parasitic spaces are shaped. By following the footsteps of the graffiti artist, the study aims to explore the urban fabric that determines the individual and personal relation of the graffiti artist who chooses graffiti spots as well as researching the methods for choosing spots, re-evaluating the spatial configuration of the interstice both as intervener and as a viewer. As mentioned before, the study analyzes the act of the exploration of interstices, in terms of recognizing solids and voids, designed and undesigned areas, through the method of walking; whether it is the observer or the intervener exploring the urban fabric, the act of walking is an important method both to observe from a distance as a stranger and to get to know the subject concerned—the interstice—for an appropriate intervention. Thus, starting from the eye of the graffiti artist and ending with the eye of observer, the study will develop the pattern of exploring, choosing, recognizing, transforming, and observing interstitial contexts.

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252 The term "breeding ground" is mentioned in the article "Urban Cracks: Interstitial Spaces of City", originated from the concept of the appropriation of the reactionary artworks by the dominant order by Griet Verschelden.
4.3. The Graffiti Artist and the Interstitial Space

Graffiti artists, by mapping urban spaces in their own way, form a sense of an alternative context, a parasitic territory within the urban fabric. Throughout the appropriation of interstitial spaces, the sensitivity of the graffiti artist develops differently from other individuals who are experiencing space. In “Space, Difference and Everyday Life”, Liette Gilbert states that the interveners’ perspective is different because of their motive about space:

Instead of adapting to them and living in them “passively,” they decided that as far as possible they were going to live “actively.” In doing so they showed what living in a house really is: an activity. They took what had been offered to them and worked it, converted it, added to it. What did they add? Their needs. They created distinctions. They introduced personal qualities. They built a differentiated social cluster.

Graffiti artists perceive space and surfaces in different ways, prescribing them not just physical structures but fragmentary territories that should be decomposed—deteriorialized—in order to form new territories. As Brighenti states, the graffiti artists’ gaze is significant because “it operates a relative deteriorialization of conventional boundaries, thus shifting the thresholds of visibility of the public domain”.254 This deteriorialization requires a redefinition of architectural elements within space. Since the subject of concern for study is the interstice, in detail, the graffiti artist’s recognition of architectural elements within the interstice is important because they are generally out-of-design, leftover spaces. For the graffiti artist, the wall, which is usually evaluated as a separator between inside and outside, “within and beyond”,255 not only separates but also connects; the surface connects the graffiti pieces to each other and shapes a parasitic zone for the graffiti’s own so that the wall joins “here to there”256 within the continuity of graffiti pieces. The graffiti artist does not evaluate the wall as a limit or an “impassé”, but the surface in a potential boundary and definer of the path and trajectories. The perception of the wall for the graffiti artist, in this sense, is remarkable because s/he sees the surface “longitudinal[ly] rather than orthogonal[ly]”, meaning the wall is not an interface separating spaces but a continuous form to create paths for defining contexts. Since the graffiti artist perceives the wall not as a fragment but a continuous entity, as a definer of context, a parasitic zone composed of graffiti marks can only be understood by analyzing the larger composition rather than a particular tag or piece.

It is a syntagmatic, rather than paradigmatic view. For a writer, the present, actual wall is an affordance and an invitation, but in itself remains only a part of a larger, virtual wall—it is just a sentence in a continuing conversation. And it is the act of joining your sentences into an ongoing conversation, which implies the presence of several voices, that leads you to question the qualities and the properties of this shared, common domain, the public. Materially, this aim leads you into a reconnaissance of urban public territories: that is why writers—and especially “bombers” or taggers—are, in the first place, walkers.257

What Brighenti means is that graffiti artists’ aim is to develop an overall composition constituted with individual pieces and various personal messages results in a continuous zone embedded in the city that is constructed and experienced through the act of walking. The bodily interaction of the graffiti artist to the surface is provided by the act of walking; for the graffiti artist, walking is the method to explore and observe space, and especially it is a method for him/her to choose graffiti spots, a process that should be analyzed not only in the method of walking but also as the method of perceiving space and in order to be a part of a collective language—a fragment for continuity. Choosing a spot is important for the graffiti artist because it does not only represent the way of recognizing spatial features of the interstice, it also becomes the method of mapping the urban space and forming visual compositions for viewers to trace the continuity of graffiti works that are embedded into the urban fabric. Thus the study analyzes the process of choosing spots for graffiti artists through an inquiry about the role of the act of walking on the recognition of space and composition of the graffiti piece.

4.3.1. Choosing Spots

For the graffiti artist, for Martin Irvine, the city space is “an information engine”:

The daily flows of people for work, leisure, and consumption are information; the invisible communications network infrastructure not only transmits information but its very density is itself information; streets, alleys, the built environment is information; the presence or absence of buildings are information; the commercial messaging systems in signs, advertising, logos, billboards, and giant light panels both transmit and are themselves information. Some of the information

becomes communication, addressable messages to passers-by, advertising hailing us all to look and receive.258

Through all the entities, all the information the city space provide, the graffiti artist has to choose the best method to represent the messages of the city language for the viewers within an appropriate space of display that is the graffiti spot. Graffiti spots show characteristics of not only personal interpretations and the character of the graffiti artist, but they should also be in good dialogue with other graffiti spots and with viewers in terms of visibility; furthermore, they should be in harmony with other social contexts of other graffiti pieces in order to provide communication. Thus the process of choosing spots is a process of exploring the city, identifying other graffiti works and their communication to the observers of city.

This process of exploration certainly includes the act of walking. In his article “Walking as do-it-yourself urbanism”, Kenny Cupers states that the urge of the intervener to collect data for overlapping informational layers of the city endows the individual with a desire, “a desire to be elsewhere, of which the result is to be at more than one place at the same time.”259 This desire can be evaluated in terms of the “the nomadic character”260 of the intervener. Choosing spots, in other words, is an alternative way of belonging to more than a one space at the same time; it is an alternative way to develop connections with potential transformation sites of the city. Through the process of choosing spots, the graffiti artist constitutes the “temporal, fleeting and ephemeral experience and connect[s] them to an alternate way of knowing movement”.261 Movement for the graffiti artist—and for the act of graffiti—symbolizes temporality, fluidity, and illegality, the lasting of the piece, the duration of the graffiti work, and the time interval for display of the work, hence, the visibility of it, all depends on the graffiti artist’s movement and speed; that is one of the reasons for the artist’s nomadity. The act of walking, however, contains a broader meaning for artists than a time span for the hunt/caught equation. Instead of getting his/her way out, the graffiti artist is on a constant search to enrich the graffiti zone in the city. This is the reason why the act of walking is significant to understand for the method of choosing spots. Cupers states:

The city is regulated through the activity of walking: the city, discontinuous at a static look, becomes a fluid urban landscape only in the experience of walking.262

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260 Ibid, p.4.
According to him, in the course of walk the “city becomes a second nature” that is experienced through both accepting its cultural artefacts and exploring its “breathing spaces”, thus, “the walker experiences this nature as one of desiring flow and intensity”. The “breathing spaces”, Cupers states are interstices, spaces that are eventually chosen by graffiti artists as spots. The graffiti spots should reflect the artist’s desires and intentions, and it should represent the spatial features of context that are forgotten and should be reminded. It should symbolize the social and political concerns of the inhabitants about the spatial configuration of the city space, and it should provide a certain degree of visibility for communicating to the inhabitants of city before the piece is removed. Keeping all of this background information in mind, the artist walks through the city to scan potential interstices for intervention. Thus, the “physical mobility of writers aids in their social mobility” as Michaela Evans states in “Becoming a local to the train-line wallpaper: Graffiti and questions of ‘non-place’”, instead of creating an alternative belonging to space that includes more of an observation rather than intervention, as nomads, graffiti artists participate in the construction of the urban space. By developing images of narratives of the city, they create situations in which the viewer experiences a fragment of the city from the eye of the graffiti artist. The graffiti artist, then, is the new flâneur of the urban space who explores and spectates the space; by gazing upon the interstices, the graffiti artist reconstitutes the stable features of space.

The concept of flâneur was discussed in a previous chapter of this study in relation to the concept of nomadic subjectivity of Deleuze and Guattari, and the study analyzes the new flâneur in its theoretical relativity to the methods of the intervener. Instead of defining the “flâneur” in Baudelarian terms as a detached observer, the study uses John Rignall’s definition as “an anonymous face in the multitude” that leaves traces of experience to his surroundings.

Chris Jencks, in his article “Watching your step: The history and practice of the flâneur”, defines the flâneur as an “urban spectator” who develops an attitude and knowledge about social contexts through explorations and narrations of space through wanderings.

The flâneur sees and walks, and, as we have shown, is not fearful of (his) tread. One ‘seen’ chronology of his labyrinthine route expresses an
interest or ‘vision’ that is perpetually fresh, or indeed, infantile in its perceptions. The flâneur experiences downward mobility. 267

Instead of merely mingling with the crowd, the flâneur becomes an interactor, a spectator, and an interver; the gaze of the flâneur and his/her ability to read the space makes him/her apart from the rest of the crowd. What Jencks mentions as the “vision” of the flâneur is one of the significant points of relating him/her to the graffiti artist. Just like graffiti artist, Chris Jencks’ concept of the post-modern flâneur “shakes off the blasé attitude” 268 — meaning the “unimpressed or indifferent [attitude] to something because one has experienced or seen it so often before”— and instead of passively accepting the current conditions of space, the flâneur becomes the constituter of new situations. Rather than being a stranger to society, the post-modern flâneur is the blaster for society to take a stand. What the graffiti artist, as the new flâneur, achieves in space is to define new routes for viewers; by leaving traces, s/he maps territories, constructs routes, and redefines contexts. The method of this reconstruction is walking, the source of exploration is the narration of the city, and the tool for constituting new routes is the graffiti piece. Thus the graffiti artist, as a situationist once claimed, forms situations to shape psychogeographies for the inhabitants of the city; to create new perspectives of the city space on individual minds, the graffiti artist manipulates the space and changes the perception of the city for new explorers.

A psycho-geography, then, derives from the subsequent ‘mapping’ of an unrouted route which, like primitive cartography, reveals not so much randomness and chance as spatial intentionalty. It uncovers compulsive currents within the city along with unprescribed boundaries of exclusion and unconstructed gateways of opportunity. The city begins, without fantasy or exaggeration, to take on the characteristics of a map of the mind. The legend of such a mental map highlights projections and repressions in the form of ‘go’ and ‘no-go’ space. These positive and negative locational responses claim a symbolic significance in the orientation of space. Such an understanding propels the flâneur towards an investigation of the exclusions and invitations that the city seems to present. 269

4.3.2. Scenes

The Graffiti artist develops an expressive form of communication by creating psychogeographies within the interstice in which a degree of relationship between the

268 Ibid, p.147.
269 Ibid, p.150.
producers of pieces and the audience is shaped. Graffiti artists are aware of the audience, thus they structure the content and composition of their graffiti pieces accordingly so that audiences become graphic witnesses to the work. The presence of audience matters for the graffiti artist not only because s/he demands a certain degree of appreciation, but also because the graffiti artist develops and designs imagery compositions as scenes in which audiences can perform interactively with the space. These scenes are composed firstly by the bodily interactions of the graffiti writer to surface and then by the bodily interaction of the observer to the space. Thus, the study analyzes the exploration of graffiti spots—from the point of view of the graffiti artist who chooses it to the point that individuals encounter it—both from the eyes of the graffiti artist and of the viewer because the reception of the piece is as important as the concern surrounding its production. Andrea Brighenti claims that the territoriality of graffiti begins with the interaction of the writer’s bodily encounter to the surface and continues with the bodily interaction of his/her work to viewer.\(^{270}\) The graffiti piece as a “technique of body” is the initial entity to compose a scene, because it is developed by “the movement of [the] graffiti artist’s body through space”\(^{271}\); through the imprinting of space within the graffiti piece, the graffiti artist composes a scene that has “a loud assertion of a personal voice against the strict rules of public space to make its cry linger after its author has left the scene”.\(^{272}\)

Although the reception of the graffiti piece differs according to every individual, the scene as a unified entity in itself and its relation to other graffiti works in forming continuity is perceptible amongst all graphic witnesses. Tuğba Güçlü, in her thesis “Architectural Built Form and Public Dialogue: An Evaluation of Public Wall in Its Communicative Role”, states that “spontaneous perception of a built form does not turn into image until the outsider examines the built form. After noticing its spatial formation, it becomes a composition offering a scene for a certain function[s].”\(^{273}\) The scene is a reinterpretation of spatial configurations offering new functions and foregrounds. According to Brighenti, the urge to create scenes for observers to perform in arises from the need of the graffiti artist to form unique fields that are “territorial ensemble[s] of actors dislocated in positions”.\(^{274}\)

Within the scenes, the graffiti artist locates, dislocates, and relocates individuals. By developing various positions, s/he offers different perspectives and various perceptions of space. As a specific and successful example, the works of Brazilian artist Alexandre Orion, especially his “Metabiotics” project, can be given. Designing works with black and white images, Orion creates scenes that become “participatory narratives [that] came to life...”

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\(^{270}\) Brighenti, Andrea. At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain, Space and Culture (13), 2010, p.330.


\(^{272}\) Ibid, p.27


\(^{274}\) Brighenti, Andrea. At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain, Space and Culture (13), 2010, p.331.
through performance, through the participation of passers-by. Orion uses ordinary individuals and their navigations in the city to complete the composition of his scenes. In a perfect synchronization with context and the habitance of space, the pieces of the artist not only display uniformity with the character, appearance, and movement of the daily user of city, but they also show remarkable signs and interpretations about the context of their physical and social built environment. Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10 present remarkable examples of “Metabiotics” project creating unique scenes from the eyes of graffiti artist.

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The analysis of a built environment through graffiti works and from the perspective of the graffiti artist provides the study significant information not only about the physical and social structure of the contexts graffiti pieces are embedded in, but also about the transformation and spread of interstices through the fabric of the city. For further research on how interstices are shaped, how they are transformed, and how they transform the context they take over, the study develops and enriches the research on contextual graffiti and graffiti’s contexts in a significant and special context concerning both graffiti and the replanning of interstitial spaces: Berlin.

Figure 4.9: “Metabiotics” series by Alexandre Orion
Figure 4.10: “Metabiotics” series by Alexandre Orion

CHAPTER 5

REDEFINING THE INTERSTICES OF BERLIN:
AN EVALUATION OF BERLIN’S GRAFFITI
SCENE
ON
KUNSTHAUS TACHELES AND YAAM

The analysis of Berlin not only for its graffiti heritage but also for its interstitial spaces requires detailed research about its history because the history of the Berlin contains information on both subjects that this thesis is concerned about. In his article “The Voids of Berlin”, Andreas Huyssen states:

There is perhaps no other major Western city that bears the marks of twentieth-century history as intensely and self-consciously as Berlin. This city-text has been written, erased, and rewritten throughout this violent century, and its legibility relies as much on visible markers of built space as on images and memories repressed and ruptured by traumatic events.  

In this respect, the study analyzes graffiti in terms of two aspects that intertwine with the city’s history and architectural structure; firstly, an analysis of Berlin’s interstitial spaces should coincide with one of the major structural entities of Berlin and the Western history of politics and architecture: the Berlin Wall. The interstices constructed within Berlin are analyzed in terms of both the in-between spaces the Wall constituted—the identity and architectural structure of spaces formed around the Wall—reflections of the fall of the Wall, and the reunification of East and West Berlin -by focusing especially on the formation of the relations between Mitte and Friedrichshain after unification- on the contemporary formation of interstitial spaces in the city. As shown in Figure 5.1, firstly a research on traces of Berlin Wall in relation the the physical settlement of Mitte and Friedrichshain is developed, then the study searches the history of Berlin to find traces about how contemporary interstitial spaces are shaped. A discussion about the interstitial spaces of Berlin requires a detailed analysis of the Berlin Wall and physical and social reflections of the Wall on the contemporary structure of the city, because as Daniel Libeskind mentions in his article “Traces of the Unborn”, the Berlin Wall was a crucial component of the city in shaping the

collective memory by creating different identities for people sharing the same city. The Berlin Wall not only shaped interstices, but it also made the city itself an interstice that was segmented between different identities, trapped between the past and the future:

The need to resist the erasure of history, the need to respond to history, the need to open the future: that is, to delineate the invisible on the basis of the visible. It is this reflexive relationship with the past and the ambiguous relationship with the future that best characterises Berlin’s situation today.277

Secondly, as a method of interaction to interstitial spaces, the graffiti heritage of Berlin is discussed in relation to the first examples seen in the Berlin context, which is the Berlin Wall graffiti. The thesis analyzes Berlin graffiti as a reaction born against the repressive architectural conditions created by the building of the Berlin Wall; the Wall for Berliner graffiti artist became not only an object of visibility, a canvas for displaying a graffiti piece, but also a spatial boundary. In this case, graffiti works implanted on the Wall do not only form a reactionary alternative for the interstices the Wall constituted, they also form a visual heritage that contemporary graffiti artists refer to as a method for preserving history and forming the collective memory among the people of Berlin. Thus, the analysis of the Berlin graffiti scene will include a discussion of Wall graffiti in terms of its characteristics, shaped by their context and their effects on contemporary graffiti pieces, in terms of both imagery, and symbolically, as well as an inquiry about the interstices graffiti pieces reshape with the new functions and foregrounds of the contexts the graffiti works shape. Thus, the analysis of Berlin starts with an analysis of interstices within the city, from the Berlin Wall to the present, which will include an identification of the interstitial spaces embedded in urban fabric, with their changing characteristics through the history of city—before and after the Wall—and with a detailed inquiry about the spatial features of those interstices.

5.1. The Interstices of Berlin

The discussion about the interstices of Berlin is important mainly because the changing identity of the city reflects directly upon its architectural structure; Berlin itself had been an interstice not only politically but also physically for over 60 years, which encourages the study to search for the interstitial structure not only in contemporary buildings but in building histories in order to develop a pattern for the interstitial zones of Berlin and the heritage of the in-betweenness of the city.

In her article “Berlin as a Conduit for the Creation of German National Identity at the End of the Twentieth Century”, Gittus states that the reason Berlin has remarkable projections of representation, identity, and collective memory on the architecture to form in relation to spatial uncannies is that the link between the city’s past and present is blurred like its spaces:

Berlin is susceptible to an analysis of the link between past, present and place in identity formation for several reasons: first, the resonance of German history can be found in buildings all over the city; secondly, the city, at last, was host to two opposing regimes, which attempted to create competing realities in one divided city space; and thirdly, the major physical legacy of the 20th century has bequeathed an unprecedented
amount of free inner-city land to Government, developers and investors.\textsuperscript{278}

These three aspects prove that the interstitiality of Berlin in terms of the blurry relations of the history of the city to its present and of the two divided parts to each other should be discussed according to the effect of the Berlin Wall and its unification on both East and West sides of the city, comparing them to the contemporary architectural and social conditions of each side; the roots of interstices should be sought within the history of division and reunification of Berlin, thus, the study begins with a discussion developing an inquiry about the history of the Berlin Wall and its effects on interstices in the city.

### 5.1.1. Interstices of Berlin Wall

When describing his experiences of Berlin, Stephen Spender interprets Berlin as “a great city, a kind of labyrinth within which every moment of the day the most hidden wishes are performed by people who devote their whole existence to this and nothing else, and the hidden life of forbidden wishes exists in extravagant nakedness behind mazes of walls”.\textsuperscript{279}

The Berlin Wall, as the representative of Germany’s Cold War borders, began to be constructed in 1961 and fell in 1989 after GDR\textsuperscript{280} lost authority; although the boundary the Wall casts is long gone and East and West Berlin fused over 20 years ago, the ex-Wall’s remnants, lines, traces, and its imagery settlement still mark the city of Berlin. The importance of the Wall in shaping the physical and social structure of the city should be analyzed as well as its singular physical presence as a surface that divides a unified city. The interstices the Wall constitutes, in that sense, can be questioned firstly, in terms of its physical presence as a surface and a boundary shaping the interstices around itself, and secondly, as a dividing line between two zones of the city that initiates the formation of different spatial and social identities in both zones by making the zones themselves

\textsuperscript{278} Gittus, E.J. \textit{Berlin as a conduit for the creation of German national identity at the end of the twentieth century}, in \textit{Space & Polity} (6), 2002, p.100.

\textsuperscript{279} Wilson, Elizabeth. \textit{The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women}, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991, p.36

\textsuperscript{280} The Berlin Wall is a symbol of Cold War tension between the US and Soviet Union; after WWII, Berlin—as well as Germany—was divided into four sections, each one controlled by one of the four occupying Allied powers: the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union. Planned to be a unified city, Berlin eventually divided into two sectors: the non-Soviet zone of West Berlin and East Berlin, under the governance of the German Democratic Republic administrated by Walter Ulbricht. As a result of rising disagreements between the two sectors and increasing numbers of immigrants from East to West Berlin, in 1962, GDR declared the decision of rising The Berlin Wall, which was officially referred to as the "Anti-Fascist Protection Rampart" by GDR authorities, implying that neighbouring West Germany had not been fully de-Nazified, while West Berlin referred to the Wall as the “Wall of Shame”.

interstices—in-between identities of an incomplete composition of a unified city. In order to
develop an understanding of the physical effect of the Wall on Berlin, and the spread of
interstices the Wall created in city scale, Figure 5.2 shows the path of the Wall with voids
formed around it.

When discussing the surfaceality of the Berlin Wall, it is important to note that the vertical
surface the Wall presented shaped different spatialities and created different interstices for
East and West Berlin. Since the role of the Wall for Berlin was to keep East Berliners inside
rather than West Berliners outside, spatial formations and surface articulations developed
differently on the Eastern and Western sides of the Wall. This dual physicality the Berlin
Wall gained gave the surface changing characteristics in different zones of city; as Janet
Ward states in her book “Post-Wall Berlin: Borders, Space and Identity”:

> The Wall in its various lives is increasingly emerging, in fact, in a
> seemingly perverse role: as a barrier that was both hard and soft, both
> imposed on people from above and yet maintained by people from
> below, as a door and passageway like Kafka’s Law “made only for you”,
> Berlin.  

It was the characteristics of the Wall absorbing textures on one side, while creating
breathing spaces on the other that forms this duality of spatialities. The perception of the
Wall developed differently on its East and West sides because the Wall was a living entity,
providing as Rem Koolhaas mentions, “it was more a situation, a permanent, slow-motion
evolution” improving the ability to close-off and separate. Figure 5.3 indicates the
different spatialities formed around the Wall regarding to boundaries Wall shaped on both
sides, on a drawing produced for the project “Understanding Berlin”.

Thus, the border it formed for West Berlin was a surface of inscription, a surface to be
redesigned as a part of the city’s facades; while in East Berlin, the Wall created a material
form operated on both horizontally and vertically. The Eastern side of the Wall constituted
terrains and territories rather than lines, as Koolhaas mentions, it “started as a line and ended
as a zone”. For East Berlin, construction of the Wall included various stages that started as
a surface and ended in circles of zones behind the Wall for preventing individual interaction.

In its primitive stages the wall is decision, applied with absolute
architectural minimalism: concrete blocks surrounded with bricked-in
windows and doors. In the next permutation, a second wall—this time of
rough concrete slabs hurriedly piled on top of each other—is planned just
behind the first wall. Sometimes, adding insult to injury, the street

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281 Ward, Jane. *The agency at the wall*, in Ward, Jane (ed.), Post-Wall Berlin: Borders, Space and
283 Ibid, p.220.
level—a portico, forever-empty shop windows, the striped poles of nonexistent barbers—is left as a kind of decorative pre-wall. Topped by an endless row of hollow concrete cylinders, it is impossible to grip for those who might want to escape.\(^{284}\)

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The space between the inner zones and the building structures form the interstitial spaces in East Berlin. The Wall does not only create full closure but also blocks off the window and facades of existing buildings; by pushing individuals to outer zones, it creates abandoned areas and forms spaces in between the abandoned zones and the inhabited areas. When analyzing the spatiality the Berlin Wall creates, Lebbeus Woods emphasizes the role of “voided spaces” and claims that the embodiment of the voided spaces would determine the role of the Wall in the city. The inhabitability of the voided space forms the characteristics of walls whether they constitute suppressive geographies or unique urban developments. In his demonstrations of the Wall, however, Woods creates a one-sided spatial development in which West Berlin forms spatial configurations against a horizontal surface, while East Berlin develops more complex spatial constructions within the articulations of the Wall.

Either way, as Neil Leach stated, “the Wall remained a grotesque denial of urban architecture, as well as a symbolic zipper that both joined and separated the city of Berlin”. The identity as a consequence of the spatial configuration of the Wall, however, developed differently for both East and West Berliners. In his book “Wall Jumper”, Peter Schneider tells the story of an Eastern Berliner who engaged with the “wrong side of the wall” while interpreting the social and physical conditions the Berlin Wall created from a subjective eye. In his novel, Schneider claims that East Berliners developed a negative identity defined to be “non-Western” and the Wall became the source of this negative identity in the sense that “jumping the wall” became the interpretation of a “personal odyssey of becoming who one needed to be” for East Berliners.

For Germans in the West, the Wall became a mirror that told them, day by day, who was the fairest one of all. But East German state acquired an identity in opposition to [the] other half. Precisely as a divided city, Berlin is a reminder of the lost German whole.

Thus the identity of East Berlin developed as an interstice just as its spatial configurations. The in-betweenness of East Berliners, which was formed by the construction of the Wall, continued to grow and reflect upon spatial articulations on the Eastern Zones even after the Wall fell and the two zones of Berlin were unified.

288 Ibid, p.25.
Rather, defined as an embodiment, the reunification of East and West Berlin should be analyzed in terms of the spatial marks and interstices formed on traces of Wall and in terms of the new interstices within the inner zones of old East Berlin after unification. Thus, the
study questions the reunification of Berlin in terms of its effects on East Berlin’s spatial changes.

5.1.2. Interstices of East Berlin:
The Role of Reunification on Mitte’s Spatial Configuration

Dividing the city for nearly 30 years, the Berlin Wall fell in 1989 while bringing up questions about the physical and social reunification of East and West Berlin with it. The destruction of the Wall was, however, much more difficult than the elimination of any other physical barrier because the Berlin Wall was not a mere boundary but a separate spatial entity that had formed its own interstices around it and developed two separate identities on each side of it. Formed already as an interstice, East Berlin had become a selective memory of Germany’s spatial and political history, which became more apparent after the reunification; East Berlin was rather s embodied by the Western side.

Berlin’s history is marked by a lack of continuity both architecturally and socially, so the reunification of city, in this sense, gave a new perspective to this lack of continuity by forcing a unity upon differently-shaped parts of the city. In her article “The Future of Nostalgia”, Svetlana Boym refers to Vladimir Nabakov who describes the city of Berlin in the aftermath of the Wall as:

...an oblivion, without distinct markers and with infinite corners wherein to lose oneself. The transitory quality of Berlin allows for a romantically gross number of possibilities, yet evades descriptions of a single moment or of a collective history. Oblivion describes a quality of the city that cannot be denied, yet fails to illustrate the substance of Berlin.289

Thus, the spatial reconfiguration of East Berlin in aftermath of the Wall reflects the lack of discontinuity of Berlin’s history; for former East Berlin, the fall of the Berlin Wall meant a disconnection from the central control of resources and architectural development that were authorized by the Western part. Figure 5.4 shows the renovations after reunification of Berlin, especially on Mitte and Friedrichshain to develop an understanding on the formation of discontinuity in former East Berlin. After the reunification of East and West Berlin, in 1989 the Berlin Senate, the executive governing body of Berlin, developed a critical reconstruction plan that was “designed to re-create and strengthen relationships between the two city centres, to re-expose a common history and future, and to assist the further development of these city centre identities”.290 Although the initial aim of the plan was to develop new architectural perspectives to bring together both parts of the divided city under

a common language that would reflect the architectural history and elements from both parts; the result was rather ambiguous and criticized for being “a direct challenge to the urbanistic design of East Berlin”. In the process of determining the preservation and reconstruction sites, the Berlin Senate decided that the ground plan of the city would not be reinvented or renovated but because of the retainment of already destroyed sites of East Berlin, the deconstruction of Constructivist buildings inherited from the Eastern block, and the lack of renovations, the reconstruction plan transformed the Eastern side of the city into an abandoned zone, an interstitial area.

This critical reconstruction is a false continuity with pre-war national past. It rather marks a shift from modernist city-scapes and concepts to post-modern nostalgic urbanism. Will this nostalgic reconstruction, however, be able to contribute to the reconstruction of a collective identity in reunified Berlin? As a romantic image of an idealised past and particular architectonical aesthetics will it be able to support a common identification for the East Germans and foreign population of Berlin?291

While the social and architectural roles shifted within unified Berlin, former Eastern zones gained different characteristics after the intervention of the reconstruction plan. Within this composition, the old Eastern Berlin centre of Mitte gained importance since the reconstruction plan interpreted it as the new centre of unified Berlin. The discussion of the in-between spatial configuration of East Berlin after reunification is, thus, developed with an inquiry into the reconstruction plan as well as the new role of the former Eastern Berlin centre, Mitte. Mitte is important for analyzing interstitial spaces for two aspects: firstly, because it represents the East Berlin heritage and is the centre where the event of the fall of the Berlin Wall took place, and secondly, because it became the centre of reunified Berlin and has gone through several architectural and social changes that shifted its identity. The changes Mitte has gone through caused former Eastern Berlin zones to disconnect from the old centre, thus from the rest of city; the interstitial spaces of Berlin, then, should be sought out in the transformed areas of Mitte as well as the outer disconnected zones, which became spaces of decay. When Lebbeus Woods questions the transformation of the identity of Mitte in relation to former East Berlin zones, he states that the extreme make-overs on the architectural structure of Mitte changed the character of it while de-characterizing the zones that developed identities upon their connections to Mitte.

The gaps are being closed. The cracks plastered over. Where will the artists, impoverished as ever, go? The renegades? Where will the empty, haunted, elegiac spaces be in the super-controlled New Berlin? The nightclubs, afterhours’ bars, the underworlds and overworlds that make a city vital, creative, dangerous, exciting, and potential?292

According to Woods, within the over-designed fabric of Mitte, “freespaces” are formed; developing as interstitial spaces within urban fabric, these freespaces are created within “functionally ambiguous and conceptually open spaces” and formed beyond the control of the authorities. Formed within the urban fabric, Woods’ freespaces, without any predetermined function of their purpose, formed within the existing architectural structures of Mitte and spread through the outer zones like parasites, which were disconnected from Mitte, to create a dynamic city. In her doctoral thesis “Architecture as Canvas”, Monika Blazenovic interprets Woods’ freespaces as the in-between spaces that would be developed solely by individual will and interaction, and the identity of those spaces formed encourages the individuals, who are de-characterized, divided in their identity like the city of Berlin itself, to be a part of the city fabric.

Woods experimented with ideas of inserting ‘freespace’ into existing buildings in the city’s center to house hidden cities within which the unwanted individuals, those who are both directly and indirectly being forced out of the city center, could continue to exist.293

Thus, the study analyzes interstitial spaces of contemporary Berlin according to the disconnections and trials of reconnections of the outer zones to Mitte and makes inquiries about the liminal spaces of Mitte and ways to connect Mitte to former East Berlin zones through the liminal spaces formed within them. In this way, the study develops methods for the formation of the urban parasites of Berlin and ways of appropriating those parasites.

5.1.3. Interstices of Contemporary Berlin:
Binding Mitte to East Berlin through Urban Parasites

In the analysis of the interstitial spaces of Berlin, the study focuses on the tension and discontinuity between the city’s past and present as well as the former zones still marking the differences between the East and the West. The complexity of Berlin’s inner relations between its zones provide an ever-changing image while making a part of the city an interstice against the whole, which actually distinguishes Berlin from other cities that are concerned with the subject of this study. While discussing contemporary spaces and how interstices are shaped within those spaces, it should be emphasized that the heterogenic and hybrid structure of the city enable it to become a space for the appropriation and interaction, as discussed in study before, individuals in the city forming their own zones within the urban fabric where they are defined as forgotten, un-designed, or overly-designed. In this sense, the study focuses on Mitte as the centre of both the former East Berlin and unified Berlin

and its relation to Friedrichshain, one of the important zones of former East Berlin, which carries traces from both the heritage of East Berlin and the radical changes that occurred after unification. Bonded to Mitte through the Spree’s riverbank, which symbolized the border between East and West Berlin together with the Berlin Wall, the analysis of interstitial spaces and their spread through the urban fabric will be discussed according to the physical and social relations between Mitte and Friedrichshain as both of the areas have been exposed to individual interactions and appropriations by Berliners. To be able to provide a familiarity, Figure 5.5 indicates a conceptual drawing showing the interstices of contemporary Berlin.

Friedrichshain and its inner structural development, in this aspect, is utterly important for the study in order to determine and analyze the in-between spaces that are trapped between the historical and contemporary zones—formed of undefined industrial buildings—and are not connected to either zones. Friedrichshain’s interstitality lies beneath both the lack of continuity between its historical background and its contemporary fabric, both of which stand as two different entities showing their physical and representative differences in terms of the buildings’ architectural language; beneath the interstitial areas placed around Karl-Marx Allee are areas that are unable to fuse either one of the architectural fabrics and form lines that physically separate inner zones of Friedrichshain by forming a symbolic border amongst the contemporary and historical fabric. In a similar attitude, in his article “A Small History of Photography”, Walter Benjamin analyzes Berlin as a unity of disconnected fragments in-between both past and present and in relation to each other; in this sense, Friedrichshain represents the discontinuity of the history of Berlin by becoming a “dislodged fragment”.

These gaps in the spatial dis-continuum of the city also exist as gaps in the historical dis-continuum of the city. By being both spatially dislocated from the city, and displaced from its administrative structures, these indeterminate territories are the spaces where fragments of the city fall out of the illusion of historical continuity. These spaces of indeterminacy, by existing as gaps or cracks in the hegemonic forces of the city, escape the processes of identification and incorporation that tend

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294 Friedrichshain is a part of Berlin's individual zones, referred together with Kreuzberg, since these two zones were occupied by GDR as industrialized and housing zones of the former East side. Friedrichshain has been preserving its unique character, standing across the bank of Spree as a border zone of the former East side and standing as a liminal space against trials of gentrification after the reunification of Berlin. Still having traces of East Berlin architectural heritage, contemporary Friedrichshain forms an interstice between existing Eastern block buildings and contemporary high-tech centres; as an in-between space representing the discontinuity of Berlin’s architectural history, Friedrichshain is also important to analyze since the largest remains of the Berlin Wall—East Side Gallery—are located in the area.

Moreover, the former physical and symbolic connection of Mitte to Friedrichshain is analyzed according to same aspects; the broken connection of Mitte to Friedrichshain is caused by the radical changes within the architectural fabric and the reconstruction of the majority of buildings of Mitte, which broke the communication between the two zones by shifting the architectural language on one side and forming a buffer zone composed of historical buildings in Friedrichshain on the other. Thus, in the larger perspective, Mitte forming the new centre of unified Berlin, reconstructed a new identity with extreme makeovers while Friedrichshain gained a dual character divided into two: existing historical buildings close to its border with Mitte on one side and contemporary industrial buildings attached to the historical area on the other.

In that sense, the study searches for the in-between areas that were not fused into neither the historical fabric nor the contemporary fabric in both Mitte and Friedrichshain to be able to develop a pattern of how liminal spaces are located within the city’s fabric and how they are bound when constructing urban parasites through individual intervention.

Here, the riverbank of Spree gains importance as a connection point between Mitte and Friedrichshain and a former border zone between East and West Berlin. Since the two zones mentioned in the study have lost connection with their inner parts, the study focuses on the riverfronts of the riverbank of Spree, which form an apparent physical and symbolic connection between Mitte and Friedrichshain, and searches for the liminal places located on Spree’s riverfronts where individual interactions occur. By analyzing the interstitial spaces among the riverbank, Spree’s riverfront is binding Mitte to Friedrichshain, the study develops patterns to find continuity in the urban structure. The riverbank of Spree and its riverfronts are remarkable for the study for two reasons; firstly, because of its character of being apart from the rest of the urban fabric that forms a discontinuity—both between Mitte and Friedrichshain, and between historical and contemporary buildings within the inner zones of Friedrichshain—Spree’s riverbank forms a unique division in-between Mitte and Friedrichshain as a pure interstitial space intervening in both zones. Secondly, the urban riverfronts of the Spree allow for individual interaction and develop and redefine its interstices with that individual interaction.

Figure 5.4: Reconstruction in Reunified Berlin, Mitte and Friedrichshain by Laura McLean, “Understanding Berlin Project”, London Metropolitan University

http://unit7research.com/index.php?/project/13-laura-mclean/
Figure 5.5: Current Interstitial Spaces of Berlin
Based on personal observation
Thus, the study determines and analyzes the interstices of Spree’s urban riverfronts, which form “spaces that are already a fertile ground for the apparently chaotic generation of temporary activities that actually stem from active involvement of the dwellers recapturing their own city”. In their article “Temporary Active: Actions as Urban Re-Appropriation Strategies”, Lupo & Postiglione define those spaces as “temporary intervention zones” that need to be redefined by user activity.

They just catch the eye by their apparent ‘non-existence’, caused by destruction or non-construction. Such spatial particles are spread out in a capillary manner, and each of the different scattered spaces has a lot in common. They lack functionality, being made up of raw material that can be identified in their simple structure or skeleton and they have an immediate visual impact and therefore a potentially direct accessibility. They serve no purpose, as non-built grounds, abandoned places, dismissed spaces or simply temporary pauses between building phases.

The spaces concerned here are specified and limited among Spree’s riverbanks and riverfronts within a context where the owners do not attain any function and the users initiate temporary and ever-changing functions. The study, thus, develops maps of locations of urban interstices that would remain unexploited without the intervention of individuals and searches for their alternative uses and potentials. The method of those interventions, as mentioned before, is the act of graffiti. This thesis searches for continuous graffiti zones that emerged from Mitte and Friedrichshain, binding these two zones together along the strip of land formed on riverfronts of the Spree.

5.2. Berlin’s Graffiti Heritage

An analysis of the interstices and their continuity within Berlin’s urban fabric through the placement of graffiti works requires a framework of Berlin’s graffiti history and the characteristics of the graffiti pieces, which are, as mentioned in the previous chapter, shaped by context as well as actively shaping it. The graffiti heritage of Berlin is remarkable for the city, especially because it is formed and developed synchronically with significant events of Berlin’s history. Berlin’s graffiti heritage, in this sense, is representative of the city’s history as well as its collective memory. Thus, an analysis of graffiti pieces of Berlin will be an analysis of the different contexts shaped within Berlin in different periods of history; it will also be an analysis of political, aesthetical, and architectural statements of the graffiti pieces in relation to these contexts and remarks on the historical events of spatial configurations of the city.

In this sense, the study refers to the Berlin Wall once again since the Berlin Wall is the source and trigger of remarkable physical and social changes. The Wall itself also represents a starting point for Berlin’s graffiti heritage, not only because it initiated individual reactions against the city’s political and social conditions in the form of graffiti pieces, but also because the Wall provided a unique context for graffiti pieces to develop in relation to each other apart from the ever-changing spatial configurations of Cold War Berlin. This was achieved through its surfaceality, which developed not only a horizontal line but also a vertical one that reflected physically and symbolically on the configuration of the graffiti pieces of the era. Therefore, in order to relate the contemporary graffiti works to their contexts through the appropriations of interstices, it is necessary to analyze the roots of those graffiti works in regard to the history and development of certain contexts in which the mentioned interstices are formed. Thus, the study analyzes the history of graffiti in relation to the development and spread of interstices in the city for mapping the continuous graffiti zones in Berlin. The study develops a research upon this coincidings with a detailed analysis on graffiti heritage and contemporary structure of Berlin graffiti regarding their references to significant contexts they implanted in.

5.2.1. Berlin Wall Graffiti:
The Roots of Berlin’s Graffiti Heritage in Relation to a Unique Context

“A wall has always been the best place to publish your work.”

The rise and fall of the Berlin Wall initiated significant changes in the spatial and socio-political structure of the city while creating individual reactions on both sides of the Wall. Graffiti, at this point, emerged not as a movement but as a subculture in Berlin that was motivated by the denial of the Wall, which was evaluated as a forced separator upon each side. Graffiti developed and grew like other ethical, social, or political subcultures of Berlin with the exception of the radical and reactionary stand throughout the city’s history. The Berlin Wall, which was evaluated as a starting point of Berlin’s graffiti act, in this respect, had a remarkable role in shaping the characteristics and physical configurations of the graffiti pieces. The effects of the Wall on the formation and development of the graffiti pieces are analyzed in terms of two aspects; firstly, defining the Wall as a subject of inquiry for both the East and West sides of Berlin, which formed the reactionary response of denying the presence of individuals by using the method of graffiti as a tool for making statements. Thus in this first aspect, graffiti pieces on the Berlin Wall should be analyzed in terms of the statements they made and the reactionary stands they took against the presence of the Wall through an inquiry that was political in its nature. Secondly, the Berlin Wall should be analyzed as a context in and of itself, since it forms an interstitial zone within the

urban fabric, and the graffiti pieces implanted on the Wall should be questioned and evaluated for their relation to this unique context.

As mentioned in previous parts of this study, the physical effects of the Berlin Wall developed differently for East and West Berlin, since the initial aim of the wall was to keep East Berliners in rather than West Berliners out. Under those conditions, the development of graffiti had a different process for the two sides because the acceptance of graffiti pieces occurred at different times of the history in the different zones of Berlin. The Wall for West Berliners was a surface of inscription and a face to be redesigned, while for East Berliners it was a forbidden area. Figure 5.6 indicates an overall view of Berlin Wall graffiti showing the radical difference between East and West side of the Wall.

Figure 5.6: Berlin Wall Graffiti


Thus, the reception of the wall was held differently on both sides, just as was the formation of the act of graffiti, because in West Berlin the act of graffiti was accepted as a part of individual interaction to the Wall that was also accepted as a part of the city’s spatial features, while in East Berlin the act of graffiti was a prevented act since it represented a reactionary stand against the existing authority. In the former East Berlin, performing graffiti on the Wall was strictly forbidden. With respect to this forced silence on the East, West Berliner individuals developed a reactionary response on the Wall on behalf of both East and West Berlin; although the border between East and West Berlin separated the two zones physically, graffiti artists of West Berlin developed a common language on the Wall via graffiti pieces. Thus, the graffiti pieces became not only a tool for self-expression for West Berlin graffiti artists, but also a symbolic voice against the muteness of the potential graffiti
artists of East Berlin. In his doctoral thesis “A Fragment of the Berlin Wall in the ‘Centre de Commerce mondial de Montréal’: Notes Toward a Theory of the Public Artefact at the ‘End of History’”, Marc James Léger, by referring to Peter Sloterdijk, claims that West side graffiti works on the Berlin Wall can be identified as an ideology critique, \(^{300}\) illustrated as "inscription on the other's defence", while forming a rhetoric “to proclaim the freedom of expression allowed in the West”\(^{301}\) for individuals of the East side.

Graffiti played a significant role in the public reception of Berlin Wall fragments and in the construction of a dichotomy between East and West embodied in the material duality of a Wall bearing signs of individual expression on the one side, and an officially maintained "absence" of expression on the other. Wall artefacts on display give attention to the object, that is, pieces of the Western face of the wall bearing graffiti, coded in terms of freedom of expression. Such displays place in abeyance the voices and actions of the East Germans whose demands for socialist reform made the wall an anachronism even before it was dismantled. \(^{302}\)

The graffiti works on the West side of the Wall, thus, represent a political stand in a two-fold manner: firstly, by questioning the legitimacy of the Wall and denying its physical limitations on individual behavior; and secondly, by providing communication between the two sides of Berlin through symbolic images against the restrictions and trials of separation.

In this respect, the Wall graffiti is developed on the Wall, but still stands against it. When analyzing the Wall’s contextuality, it is important to note that the graffiti works were developed against the presence of Wall, although they were formed physically according to the Wall’s unique contextuality. In his article “Playing at the Segregation Wall: Banksy and His Concrete Canvas”, Mihai Lucaciu analyzes how graffiti pieces are shaped according to specific contexts and states:

> An important element in graffiti art is location, where the stencil is made. From this point of view, graffiti can be seen as a complex work of art, as installation, where the wall itself and what it stands for is part of the piece together with the physical location of it. \(^{303}\)

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\(^{301}\) Léger, Marc James. *A fragment of the berlin wall in the centre de commerce mondial de Montréal*: notes toward a theory of the public artefact at the "end of history". (Doctoral dissertation), 1997.

\(^{302}\) Ibid.

\(^{303}\) Lucaciu, Mihai. *Playing at the segregation wall: Banksy and his concrete canvas*, published in Central European University, Gender Studies Department, 2007, p.72.
Lucaciu claims that the graffiti artist draws attention to the physical background that the piece is constituted by showing a smooth relation between the physical features of the surface and the graffiti piece. In an analysis of the Berlin Wall as a context for graffiti pieces, however, there emerges a contradiction between the imagery composition of the graffiti piece and its symbolic message. Graffiti pieces of the Berlin Wall appeared depending on their surroundings, which they were initially standing against, since they were formed by referencing its frame, and the graffiti artist defined unique identities for each piece by also adapting them to the surface. There emerges the paradox of graffiti works on the Berlin Wall and their context: while denying the Wall, the signature graffiti pieces transformed it into a more visible and autonomous entity; and while aiming to break the strict horizontality of the Wall by disturbing its homogeneity, the graffiti pieces defined a continuous zone by binding to each other since they found a common ground of resistance against the presence of the Wall. As Lucaciu states: “The signature gives distinctiveness to the work but also reveals what’s underneath it, the life of the wall.”

As a result, graffiti works implanted on the Berlin Wall developed according to the physical limitations and physical features of their frame; although they were performed aiming to stand against the Wall’s distinctive boundary, they formed a continuous strip on the Wall that eventually supported its autonomy and enriched its visuality. The placement and representations of graffiti works on the Berlin Wall, then, should be analyzed in terms of not only the effects of the graffiti works on the perception of the Wall, but also the effects of the Berlin Wall on the development of graffiti heritage in Berlin, both during its presence and through its fall. The surfaceality the Berlin Wall offers developed a certain perception about the notion of the Wall among Berlin graffiti artists so much so that even after the Wall fell—and even in contemporary Berlin—graffiti pieces of Berlin developed in reference to the Wall both in their physical appearance and their symbolic stands. Thus, the study analyzes graffiti works of Berlin in the aftermath of the Berlin Wall in terms of how they shaped new territories by attributing to the Wall graffiti pieces to preserve the memory of the city and in terms of how they are shaped by new territories that formed after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

5.2.2. Aftermath of Berlin Wall:
Development of the Act of Graffiti in the Interstices of East Berlin

In one context, graffiti is seen as a symptom of the end of civilization, of anarchy and decaying moral values, and in another it is a sign of a free spirit closing the curtain on the stifling bureaucracy of Communist authoritarianism.

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304 Lucaciu, Mihai. Playing at the segregation wall: Banksy and his concrete canvas, published in Central European University, Gender Studies Department, 2007, p.76.
The fall of the Berlin Wall had remarkable physical and symbolic effects on the formation and perception of the act of graffiti since the reunification of East and West Berlin gave East Berliners their desired right to interact with the surfaces of city, and with destruction of the Wall there emerged interstitial spaces to be reconstructed mostly in East Berlin. In his article “The Heritage Of Berlin Street Art And Graffiti Scene”, Simon Arms states that the collapse of the Berlin Wall allowed West Berlin graffiti artists to interact with the East side, while encouraging East Berliners to meet and intervene with the surfaces of the city.

Mitte, Friedrichshain, Prenzlauer Berg—all of the areas that the military had occupied became a new playground for the Western artists and became a new world for the Eastern artists who joined them. Few claimed that the East Germans’ work was weightier, because they could express—with authority—the one concept close to the hearts of all people now living in the city: what it meant to be free.306

The early stages of the process of reappropriating the interstices in East Berlin after reunification developed differently for graffiti artists from both sides; for East Berliners, the intervention became rather an appropriation of a familiar space by pointing out missing parts and flows of the spatial configuration from the eyes of the inhabitants, while for West Berliners, the process developed more similarly to that of the Baudelairian flâneurs who explored and intervened in a strange, unfamiliar context. Thus, the reunification of Berlin brought to the city a variety of languages in terms of graffiti works and new contexts that were shaped according to these different languages that were formed by West and East Berlin graffiti writers. Tim Cresswell evaluates this process as a “necessary and desired disorder”307 in which different interstitial zones are reconstructed by graffiti works in a unique and isolated manner where they are disconnected to each other, which creates a variety of subjective visibilities within appropriated interstices that were constructed by former West Berlin graffiti artists in Mitte—and in the upper sides of Mitte, which was a part of gentrification plan of reunified Berlin—and East Berlin graffiti artists in Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg, which were part of the central organization of the former East Berlin.

This discontinuity of graffiti works among isolated areas of former East Berlin and displaying a visible disjunction between each other, however, is claimed to have a common ground since they had references to the history of the separated Berlin and the presence of the Berlin Wall. Although graffiti artists used different methods and compositions for pieces in Mitte and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, they all had a part of the city’s collective memory.

because graffiti artists of unified Berlin used the pieces as a tool for reminding them of the past in order to connect it to present. In this sense, the study refers to Lebbeus Woods who claims that the concept of “freespaces” can be further developed as spaces of collective memory. What Woods mentioned as “Scar Construction” both transforms interstices into remnants of significant historical entities—war and the Wall—and transforms the war-damaged urban fabric into “freespaces” to be emphasized and reshaped by individuals. According to Woods, spatial reconstructions play an important role in the aftermath of the Wall in reminding and preserving the memory of Berlin. In her article “Architecture as Canvas”, Monika Blazenovic discusses the notion of “Scar” in relation to the concept of “freespaces” and claims that Woods found the war’s remnants to be “an influence for a new way of thinking and shaping space”. Reconstruction and the makeover of the historical fabric, in that way, were meant to erase “the memories of tragedy and loss”. Figure 5.7 shows sketches of Lebbeus Woods for the concept of “Scar” regarding the evaluation of aftermath of the Wall.

![Figure 5.7: “Scars” after fall of Berlin Wall](image)


In Woods’ strategies, the idea arises that the remnants of war do not need to be completely erased and replaced. The character, the site, and incomplete structure have developed are strong cues of how architecture can in fact serve to develop new forms of living. The character also allows for further development of ideal programmatic aspects. 309

The graffiti works in the aftermath of the Wall, in this sense, were agents transforming remnants of the Wall and separated Berlin into spaces of collective memory; these spaces

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309 Ibid.
became both a Scar, since they were preserved areas and a part of the city’s urban fabric, and a freespace, since they were appropriated spaces gained through individual intervention where estranged individuals could continue to exist. Thus, although graffiti works implanted in the former East Berlin after the fall of the Berlin Wall were affected by the spatial differentiations between Mitte and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, they were constituted according to the varying contexts present in East Berlin and formed apart from each other. All of the works had the same references as they became remnants of history and representatives of the political and social background of Berlin. Emerging from different contexts but the same political background, the graffiti pieces produced in the aftermath of reunification showed different spatial and compositional configurations, but also had similar concerns about the methods of appropriation of space and the messages given via spatial reconstructions. Thus the heritage formed in the aftermath of reunification amongst the graffiti pieces—and graffiti artists—by displaying different contextual compositions and also binding them through spatial concerns, influenced the contemporary graffiti works of Berlin to be apart while connecting to each other. The graffiti zones of contemporary Berlin, which will be elaborated, are formed as continuous strips of graffiti spots connected to each other by a constituting line of “freespaces” within the urban fabric while each of the pieces are performed according to their given textural frames of context.

Thus, the study determines and analyzes these graffiti zones that were constructed through Mitte and Friedrichshain that were mentioned to be connected via interstices among the riverbank of Spree. The graffiti pieces in Berlin became agents to appropriate the mentioned interstitial spaces, and the graffiti artists—mentioned as the new flâneurs—who redefined the city by walking in it, connected different contexts to each other by forming a parasitic zone among the riverbank of Spree by first exploring and determining and then redefining and reconstructing the interstices among the riverbank, which eventually provided a common language for both Mitte and Friedrichshain.

5.3. Urban Parasites of Berlin

An analysis of the symbolic and physical perception of contemporary graffiti pieces by the individuals of Berlin requires an inquiry about the place of the act of graffiti in the formation of the city’s history. Since graffiti for Berlin represents more than an alternative visibility and instead is an agent of preserving collective memory and re-appropriating urban space, the study claims that contemporary graffiti for Berlin is a subculture for the city rather than an act. In his article “The Space of Subculture in the City: Getting Specific about Berlin’s Indeterminate Territories”, Dougal Sheridan defines the notion of subculturality as
representative of a “marginalized edge of cultural change”\textsuperscript{310} in which alternative unities are evolved out of social and material experiences of tradition.

Subcultures are characterised by situations in which cultural norms and traditions do not match lived experience. Each subcultural instance represents a solution to a specific set of circumstances, to particular problems which explains the rapid evolution of subcultural groups when social, economic, cultural, and demographic conditions begin to change. The specificities defining subcultures are borne out of their attempts to resolve collectively experienced problems arising from contradictions in the social structure.\textsuperscript{311}

Emphasizing this definition of subculture, this thesis defines the graffiti act as a subculture of Berlin’s identity, since the graffiti pieces are formed at the edge of its cultural and social changes as a result of the collective will and since the graffiti artists defined themselves separately from the identity of other individuals in society. Similar to other subcultural activities, Berlin’s graffiti requires spatial reflections on the architectural fabric of the city in defining itself out of the boundaries of society and reflects its separate identity upon specific privatized areas that are being defined in the study as “graffiti spots”. As mentioned before, choosing and binding graffiti spots forms a key point for the study to develop a map of continuous graffiti zones, especially in Berlin’s case since the study searches for connections between the divided zones of Berlin, namely, Mitte and Friedrichshain.

When analyzing contemporary graffiti spots and determining the routes on which these graffiti spots are transformed into fragments of a continuous urban parasite, the study evaluates the process on two stages; firstly, by following footsteps of graffiti artists, the study determines and develops maps of the routes of connecting graffiti spots from Mitte through Friedrichshain. By developing such maps, the study analyzes both the changing characteristics of graffiti pieces in different contexts—by emphasizing the spatial and textural differences between Mitte and Friedrichshain—and determines and documents graffiti spots that are reconstructing interstitial spaces using the riverfronts of the Spree as a base, again aiming to connect Mitte to Friedrichshain. At this point, the study returns to the notion of the new flâneur, namely, the Berlin graffiti artist, as an explorer and speculator of interstices within the urban fabric. Since Berlin’s graffiti artists choose their graffiti spots through the act of walking, the study follows those footsteps on a human scale and scans through the mentioned sites to determine reconstructed interstices as graffiti spots. Figure 5.8 shows the overlapping structure of interstices and graffiti spots of Berlin which form an urban parasite. This map is produced by personal observations of the author by following footsteps of Berliner graffiti artists from Mitte through Friedrichshain which indicates the distribution and scale of graffiti works in two zones. The points specifically indicated show

\textsuperscript{310} Sheridan, Dougal. The space of subculture in the city: Getting specific about Berlin’s indeterminate territories, Field (1), 2010, p.18.

\textsuperscript{311} Ibid, p.19.
important spots constituted on the continuous strip and their details can be find in Appendix A.

To trace the process of choosing graffiti spots and how graffiti artists perceive the space, the study refers to Georg Simmel who interprets the process of recognizing the city from the eyes of the walking individual, which could be referred to here as the new flâneur, the graffiti artist. In his article “The City, the Cinema: Modern Spaces”, James Donald refers to the analysis of Georg Simmel and his article “The Metropolis and Mental Life “to analyze the notion of the walking individual and states:

It is this uneasy space between the physical and the imaginary that Simmel explored in ‘The Metropolis and Mental Life’. We only know that he has Berlin in mind when he muses about what would happen if all its clocks stopped at once. His city is an overwhelming series of events and impressions, but above all it is the individual’s psychic reaction as these events and impressions bear down on him. The city has been rendered down to a man—a body and a consciousness—walking through the city. This man, as characterised by Simmel, has two main aspects to his personality. One is defensive: the blasé, intellectualising self that provides some protection against the shock of exorbitant stimuli. The other aspect is more expressive: it identifies a form of conduct, or an exercise of liberty, that manifests itself in an aesthetic of self-creation.312

Thus, the individual George Simmel refers to, provides the necessary information about the in-between spaces of city through a unique exploration by defending and expressing himself/herself through rendering the spatial organization of the urban fabric and intervening in it. The study focuses on the spatial perceptions of that individual—the graffiti artist—in tracing and documenting the reconstructions embedded in the interstices of Berlin.

Figure 5.8: Overlapping Interstices with Graffiti Spots

Based on personal observation.
5.3.1. Mapping Graffiti Routes from Mitte to Friedrichshain: Graffiti Pieces Shaped by Context

To document the graffiti route starting in Mitte and ending in Friedrichshain, the study accepts the graffiti artist as the new flâneur and follows his/her footsteps. Such a documentary requires a two-staged analysis that first determines the interstitial spaces that are transformed into graffiti spots and then analyzes the material and symbolic relations of the graffiti pieces to their material surface and physical context of implantation.

An analysis of the zones connected by Spree’s riverbank shows that the graffiti spots coinciding with the interstitial spaces of Mitte and Friedrichshain reveal a continuous entity within the urban fabric. In Figure 5.8, graffiti spots of Berlin in April 2013 are shown. The map is produced by the author based on personal experiences. Graffiti artists choose backyards, underpasses, and spaces of infrastructure, abandoned buildings, and left over spaces that are evaluated in the study as interstitial spaces as the main sites for their pieces. These interstices are transformed into graffiti spots through different scales of implantations and even installations, which emphasize the spatial features of the sites in some cases while developing as a reactionary response against the radical spatial changes in other cases. Friedrichshain, as mentioned before, is mainly composed of small-scale industrial buildings constituting the renovated sites, and in-between these industrial buildings the area is cut through an axis of historical buildings that were estranged by renovated architectural structures. Spree’s riverbank in this case defines the edges of the area while being crucial for touching both the renovated structures and historical buildings, thereby defining their borders. The architectural formation of Spree’s riverbank has been subjected to radical changes, thus it contains several interstices that construct voids in between both the industrial buildings and destroyed historical structures. Starting an analysis from the edge of the Spree defining Friedrichshain, the study shows that the interstices constituted among Spree’s riverbank all the way through to the centre of Mitte show differences in terms of their spatial appearance and their scale, since the spatial configuration of Mitte is denser, more sterile, and hugely-scaled compared to Friedrichshain. Thus, the graffiti works covering this interstices are shaped according to the given spatial appearance and scale of the contexts. Here, the study claims that graffiti works are formed according to their contexts not only because they aim to emphasize the spatial configuration of the interstice rather than merely changing it, but also because they follow the continuity of the interstices within Berlin by adapting the graffiti spots according to the structural continuity of the interstices, which initially created a continuous graffiti zone within the city. The contextuality of the graffiti works lies behind the material and symbolic reflections of the context on the graffiti pieces as well as the adaptation of the graffiti spots to the ever-changing interstices in the city.

The graffiti spots’ contextuality also come from their temporality; as graffiti works themselves, the interstices within the city are not stable. They are agents of a constantly-changing spatial appearance of the city. The temporality of graffiti works, in this sense,
Figure 5.9: Contemporary Graffiti Route of Berlin, based on author's personal observation.
however, serves the perception and re-emphasization of new interstitial spaces since they are changing along with the spots by adapting to new interstitial sites. Similarly, in Berlin’s case, when the changing graffiti spots are analyzed, the study proves both that the new spots are chosen to emphasize the presence of new interstitial spaces and new graffiti spots. Figure 5.10 indicates a re-interpretation of three graffiti maps derived from different sources, developed in different time periods. The map is produced with the data derived from three sources: Adidas Urban Art Guide, Berlin Art Guide, grafrank: Global Graffiti Statistics. –The original maps and the sources can be found in the Appendix B- . This map of overlaps shows significant similarities to the map which was generated by personal observations of author, since both examples indicates the same route placed between Mitte and Friedrichshain. Thus, the Berliner graffiti artists perform their pieces with the awareness of the existence of the interstices in the context, and compose the graffiti route covering those interstices. Even though the pieces are temporal, every new graffiti piece is performed on a spot placed on the same route. Given that the act of graffiti is a temporal act, the process of choosing spots is an unremitting process where they are still chosen on the continuous strip defined by the interstitial spaces, which actually shows that the graffiti artist has a unique spatial perception in that s/he can define the zones of voids within the city to be filed. This act of tracing interstices can be named as site-specific. On the other hand, graffiti pieces themselves are also site-specific because they reflect or remind us of the material features, textures, and spatial configurations of the contexts in which they are embedded. The examples of that contextuality can be clearly observed in the visible compositions of different graffiti pieces from Mitte and Friedrichshain.

As interpreted in this study, the spatial configuration, density, and scale of the built environment display the differences between Mitte and Friedrichshain, as well as the texture of their surfaces. Thus, all of these entities reflect on the composition and placement of the graffiti pieces since the act of graffiti is a method to reconstruct the space. In that sense, graffiti works of Friedrichshain are composed in small scales, displaying the material textures of small-scale buildings that are mostly formed of similar materials, which are concrete and brick, and contain mostly social messages addressed to middle-class inhabitants since the neighbourhood itself belongs to individuals of medium income. Figure 5.11 indicates an example of graffiti implanted on an abandoned building, presenting significant similarity with the texture of its surface and context.

While walking through Mitte, on the other hand, graffiti pieces becomes large-scale political messages covering the big scale facades and forming mostly political and historical messages. Figure 5.12 presents an example of a Mitte graffiti piece implanted on a building covering whole surface among the bank of Spree; the work represents an alternative stand against the built environment. Thus, the graffiti pieces of Friedrichshain develop as fragments of facades defining the existing environment by emphasizing the existing textures of surfaces while pieces in Mitte, which are formed as a reaction to the excessive scales and proportions of the renovated buildings of Mitte, become individual artworks covering up the whole surface and focusing on reconstructing the strictly built, sterile environment. They serve as requiems for historic spatial configuration of the former centre of East Berlin.
Figure 5.10: Re-interpreted Graffiti Map of Berlin

- Adidas Urban Art Guide
- Berlin Art Guide
- Grafrank: Global Graffiti Statistics / Berlin
Figure 5.11: Graffiti Works from Friedricshain, by Michael E.  
http://www.flickr.com/photos/michael-e/8466173334/

Figure 5.12: A Graffiti Work in Mitte

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As a result, graffiti pieces of these continuous zones are developed according to the contexts in which they are embedded, but this development either becomes a glorification of the existing spaces and surfaces or an ignorance of it. Even when ignoring the spatial features, and when reacting to them, graffiti pieces show synonymous compositions with the site; thus, in either way, graffiti pieces are site-specific.

The composition and placement of graffiti pieces within the continuous graffiti zone, however, are shaped by contexts, while also shaping the context when the interstices form seemingly larger areas that require new functions to be habited on this continuous zone. Thus, the study searches for the unique nodes, composed of interstices within the continuous zone between Mitte and Friedrichshain, that gain new functions and foregrounds with the intervention of graffiti artists. Instead of shaping the graffiti pieces, this time they are shaped by them.

5.3.2. Redefining the Interstitial Nodes of Mitte and Friedrichshain: An Analysis of Kunsthaus Tacheles and Yaam

The continuous interstitial zones within the urban fabric are analyzed in the study in terms of several aspects: they form alternative contexts within the urban fabric with a unique language that is analyzed as formative of alternative geographies for the act of graffiti to be filled, they form a continuous strip among the cityscape for an alternative analysis in terms of reading different materials according to surfaces that was one of the main objectives of the study, and they also form areas among those strips that can be named as nodes, which are seemingly large contexts that have a unique potential to be defined with alternative functions besides the traditional land used to make mappings of the city. These nodes usually offer individuals within the city a chance to define the alternative functions formed out of the city’s determinate frames for spatial use and occupation. With individual interaction, they develop new spatial arrangements for providing alternative uses for the inhabitants, and these new functions and the methods of defining the new uses for the nodes is evaluated according to the potential of the act of graffiti to shape new contexts.

Thus, the study claims that a continuous strip of interstices also forms nodes within its route, and these nodes should be evaluated according to new the functions and foregrounds that they gain after the intervention of graffiti. The intervention of the graffiti artist to the mentioned nodes interprets a concern of reconstructing the context, as a result of which the nodes are transformed into redefined contexts. As mentioned before, graffiti pieces are not only shaped by contexts, but they also shape them; in this sense, the nodes formed within the interstitial strip form significant examples; through the interaction of the graffiti, the interstitial zone becomes an urban parasite not only with its own unique spatial formations but also with alternative functions that it offers the city space. As interpreted in previous parts, new functions of the graffiti works indicate the redefined contexts that share a common concern, forming “freespaces” in which the alienated individuals can continue to
exist. The specific functions attributed to each and every node, however, vary and are composed of meeting places, exhibition areas, performance spaces, and even bike parks, each of which offers individuals spaces that are not planned to exist in the traditional, sterile city space.

In Berlin’s case, the nodes on the continuous interstitial strip have a unique formation. When analyzing the interstitial strip in Berlin, the study determines two nodes shaped in different zones of the city, one in Mitte and one in Friedrichshain, which are reconstructed by graffiti artists. They are redefined as minor geographies with alternative functions and contain unique pieces of graffiti works. Thus, these nodes are analyzed in terms of their larger contexts—namely, in Mitte and Friedrichshain—and how the newly-attributed functions of the nodes fit into these contexts. Such a discussion requires an analysis of both the contextuality and compositional appearance of the graffiti pieces shaping these nodes because the graffiti works are inspired by the larger context. Additionally, the perception of these new functions by Mitte and Friedrichshain, together with their spatial reaction to the alternative functions of nodes, is important to note. Furthermore, detailed research on the new functions and identity of the nodes in relation to the potential user is worth further evaluation since the identity of the individuals using the space is a method that can be used to define its function, and in relation to the graffiti pieces, their material and symbolic compositions initiate the formation of new contexts. Thus, the analysis of the nodes has two aspects; firstly, by noting these nodes are a part of the larger contexts in city, the study analyzes the spatial and symbolic effects of Mitte and Friedrichshain on the formation of nodes and the formation of graffiti pieces, including a discussion about whether these new geographies are alienated by their contexts or not. Secondly, by analyzing every node in and of itself, the study questions the specific functions attributed to each node and the relation of these specific functions to the graffiti pieces in forming space.

As a result, the study determines the nodes of the interstitial strip to be the Kunsthaus Tacheles of Mitte and the Yaam of Friedrichshain, which should be elaborately analyzed with references to their history and nature to develop a pattern for their relational contexts, alternative uses, and graffiti pieces according to the aspects given above.

5.3.2.1. Kunsthaus Tacheles

Tacheles developed when Berlin was a place in which there were always new cracks in the asphalt, and out of them the past grows luxuriantly, but instead encouraged the present to grow and thicken.  

Meaning “Art House Tacheles” in German, Kunsthau Tacheles is a historical building located on Oranienburger Straße in the district of Mitte; it was designed as a department store in the Jewish quarter of Berlin in 1907. An astonishing building with a huge passageway opening to its backyard, Tacheles was used as a Nazi Prison during WWII and partially destroyed through the end of the war. During the rule of the GDR, the building was mostly neglected and preserved its original structure without any renovation. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, however, Tacheles was noticed and occupied by artists from both East and West Berlin. Tacheles became the symbol of the destruction of the city and its divided identities; it was transformed into an art centre, later to be called “Kunsthaus Tacheles”. Figure 5.13 shows the formations Tacheles had through a chronological illustration.

At the time of the unification of East and West Berlin, Kunsthau Tacheles had become a structure of decay and was partially-destroyed building that became an interstice itself; given its physical conditions, it was declared to be inhabitable. The building was representative of a huge part of the city’s history and became a symbol of the remnants of war and the Wall, the destruction and failed reconstruction of Berlin. The spatial and functional transformation of Kunsthau Tacheles was initiated by graffiti artists of East and West Berlin, who, by covering all its the surfaces with remarkable graffiti pieces, redefined the building as a new foreground for artists to come together, a meeting place for individuals who have the urge to interact with the history of the city by preserving its remnants. The reunification of Berlin, as mentioned before, had different effects on the graffiti artists from East and West Berlin, however, the artists determined Kunsthau Tacheles to be a common ground whose spatiality was to be redefined only by graffiti pieces. In her article “The Gesamtkunstwerk of a Reunifying Metropolis: Berlin’s Kunsthau Tacheles”, Emma Camille Scheidt interprets this process as:

> The layers of graffiti that coat the interior and exterior walls of Kunsthau Tacheles answered the questions of the unsure urban growth in the decade following the fall of the Berlin Wall faster than urban planners and government officials were able. The graffiti was a way for the artists to proactively normalize their surrounding environment. The art created a sense of community in an eclectic group residing in a partially bombed out, partially demolished historical landmark in the middle of a city that was trying to find its cultural footing.  

Thus, Kunsthau Tacheles was transformed into an art house, developed and redefined as a connection point for artists. While analyzing the contemporary spatial structure and reuse of the material surfaces of Kunsthau Tacheles, it is important to note that the identity of the building together with the function it was given has been preserved. Although the spatial configurations of the art house changed over the years, the symbolic character it gained was

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preserved by individuals occupying it. In his article “Tacheles: Alltag im Chaos”, Andreas Rost refers to Leo Kondeyne, one of the founders of Tacheles, who describes Tacheles as “a site of magic” in which “the artists built a community in a ruined building that they radically and quickly transformed functionally and aesthetically”.

Containing studios and workshops, a nightclub, and a cinema, Kunsthaus Tacheles was declared to be closed in order to be deconstructed in 2012; individuals occupying Tacheles that were motivated by graffiti artists, however, started a process of reconstruction within the backyard of the building. This process of transformation made Kunsthaus Tacheles an interstitial space since the interstices connected to the building through its remarkable passageway needed to be redefined and redesigned by enlarging its field of reconstruction and redefining the forgotten open space attached to the building. Figure 5.14 shows the contemporary plan view of Kunsthaus Tacheles with the interstices, graffiti walls and exhibition area surrounding it.

Enlarging through public space, Kunsthaus Tacheles becomes both an in-between area covering both the inside and outside while emphasizing the interstices of the site and constitutes a defined interstitial node within the continuous strip between Mitte and Friedrichshain by attaining new functions to open public spaces. The transformation of the backyard of Tacheles should be analyzed in terms of two aspects: firstly, according to the functions the interstitial space gained and the physical and symbolic effects of its larger contexts on the formation of these functions as well as reactions to them in relation to the historical and reactionary character of Kunsthaus Tacheles; and secondly, in terms of the character of the graffiti pieces that are shaping the context, transforming Kunsthaus Tacheles.

Kunsthaus Tacheles develops a physical and symbolic reflection to the outside interstitial space when the building is closed. The interstitial space in the backyard is used as an exhibition space for alternative artworks to be displayed, so by preserving and retaining the function of Kunsthaus Tacheles, the outside interstice represents the symbolic stand of the building as well as Mitte. Moreover, the functions attained in the outside interstice transform the built environment by showing a reactionist response to the sterile development of its concepts.

The transformed interstice built a unique culture and identity for Kunsthaus Tacheles, as mentioned by Christoph Tannert, “the chaos was descriptive of the larger cultural scene in Berlin, within the microcosm of Tacheles”. By redefining the functions of the outside, graffiti artists transformed Kunsthaus Tacheles into an autonomous culture of the contemporary generation of Berlin in which the cultural values of the city is preserved while

a reactionary perspective is developed against the spatial and cultural order of the city. Tacheles becomes the reflection of the forgotten identity of Mitte, which Tannert calls “renitente Kultur”:

Figure 5.13: Chronological Development of Tacheles
...an unruly culture that is never at rest, but is a constantly re-configuring ebb and flow of different tendencies, genres, and styles. This art culture of Berlin separates its goals from endorsing what is cool or hip, but has goals of symbolic intervention. Individuals are able to find emancipation through art in a renitente Kultur and are able to articulate their individual statements outwardly to reach society. ³¹⁷

Thus, preserving the symbolic values of city, retaining the reactionary stand of Kunsthaus Tacheles, and forming a radical culture by bringing new functions to the interstices of the outside space, means that the interstice of Kunsthaus Tacheles becomes an urban parasite that spreads and transforms the spaces around it by diffusing into the sterile urban fabric. The effect of Tacheles on its surrounding context is both material and symbolic; as Oranienberger Straße itself became a dense graffiti area after the reconstruction of the outside interstitial space of Tacheles, the near context of the interstitial node became a zone for displaying radical artworks to be admired by the inhabitants of Mitte and even outsiders. **Figure 5.15** shows a partial view from backyard of Tacheles through its passageway, further visuals of Tacheles can be find in Appendix C.

The ethos of Tacheles was further defined by the site’s location and its surrounding context on the street. While walking down Oranienberger Straße, one couldn’t help but be struck by the grand archway of the old shopping arcade, which was embellished with coats of intricate and bold graffiti and impressive metal sculptures at its entrance.\footnote{Scheidt, Emma C. \textit{The Gesamtkunstwerk of a Reunifying Metropolis: Berlin’s Kunsthaus Tacheles}, 2012, p.36, in Scripps Senior Theses. Paper 54. in http://scholarship.claremont.edu/scripps_theses/54}

The impressive presence of Kunsthaus Tacheles is mainly achieved by its significant graffiti pieces that are implanted on and around the surfaces of Tacheles. The most important features of these pieces is, firstly, their scale; similar to the other graffiti pieces of Mitte, Tacheles’ graffiti is performed in huge scales, covering the whole surface and containing symbolic messages narrating the history of Tacheles and Berlin’s history. One of the most notable pieces stands on the side of Tacheles covering a large white wall and standing apart from other colourful graffiti pieces. The piece says: “How Long is Now”. This statement emphasizes both the temporality and fluidity of time and the lightness of the notion of

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image1.png}
\caption{Exhibition Area in the Backyard of Tacheles}
\end{figure}
history, as Emma Camille Scheidt states: “The fact that the complex statement remains solitary reflects the group’s collected investment in the principle of ‘now’.”

Secondly, the fabric and composition of the graffiti pieces show the radical contradictions to the fabric of Mitte but they form their own contexts within the interstice by providing a material continuity between the graffiti pieces and the artworks. By doing that, the interstice of Kunsthaus Tacheles becomes a unified territory in and of itself while displaying a radical contradiction with its context in terms of materiality, representation, and defined functions.

![Figure 5.16: “How Long Is Now”](image)

**5.3.2.2. Yaam**

Back in 1994 a group of artists, musicians, and sports fanatics took over a deserted bus garage in Berlin; the venue became a unique project for Berlin, going under the name of the Young African Arts Market. The construction of Yaam, namely the “Young African Arts Market”, was started in 1994 on Spree’s riverbank in Ostbahnhof, Friedrichshain. Designed as an arts and crafts initiative, Yaam quickly became a popular meeting place for different subcultural groups of Berlin. The project was internalized by individuals from different

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backgrounds and became a connecting point for graffiti artists as well; the intervention of graffiti pieces changed the perception of the space, which is located in a highly-dense industrial context. The graffiti pieces present a synonymous composition with the East Side Gallery—the biggest remnant of the Berlin Wall—which is adjacent to Yaam.

The discussion of the use and development of Yaam should be developed both in terms of the context it is built in and the similarities and contradictions of the functions Yaam offers to the surrounding environment, in relation and comparison to the discussions made for Kunsthaus Tacheles. When analyzing the identity and history of Berlin, Yaam can be defined as a non-Berliner entity since the space it forms has a contradictory character not only in terms of the scale of Friedrichshain or the former East zones, but also in the whole of Berlin. Standing within a highly-industrial zone, the spatial formation of Yaam shows both physical and symbolic contradictions to its context. Containing concert areas, food trucks, and even an artificial beach, Yaam seems to be a temporary and experimental installation within Friedrichshain. To be able to understand that contradiction, one should observe the location and material features of Yaam in comparison to its adjacent structures. Yaam is located on the riverfronts of the Spree on one side, Ostbahnof station on the other side. Standing against Ostbahnof, which is one of the biggest high-tech buildings of renovated Friedrichshain, has been a big challenge for the reformation of the Yaam site since it was aimed to form an alternative habitat within a complex industrial zone and create a “freespace” for different subculture to live in. In response to this, Yaam has isolated itself from Ostbahnof and turned its face to Spree’s riverbank. When looking on the street side, Yaam seems like nothing but a barrier, a blank, concrete extension of the East Side Gallery wall. At this point, the spatial development of Yaam gains importance since it becomes an interstice between the street and the riverbank by setting a boundary between these two entities to form an isolated space opening to Spree’s riverbank. The surrounding context for Yaam becomes stranger; like former East Berlin, it isolates the inside from what is perceived as the outside with a barrier by leaving non-freespaces out. The physical relation of Yaam to its context is different than Kunsthaus Tacheles’, while Tacheles displays a symbolic stand against the sterile structure of its context by emphasizing and preserving a building that once belonged to that context, Yaam presents a formal and symbolic opposition to its context by creating an alien structure so that in that context it forms a different language. While Tacheles had interstices embedded in the urban fabric that transformed it, Yaam itself is an interstice isolated from its surrounding and develops an identity in and of itself.

The relationship of Yaam to the adjacent East Side Gallery, however, should be discussed apart from other contextual features, because as one of the few remains of the Berlin Wall, the East Side Gallery has also became an interstice in this context; it is the one feature in the surrounding context that Yaam is constructed with a reference to.

The East Side Gallery is the largest remaining portion of the Berlin Wall. It became a significant symbol of Berlin’s history since it is the only piece of the Wall that has graffiti pieces on the East side; these were performed after the reunification by East Berlin graffiti artists, representing East Berliners who broke their boundaries after reunification. Sustained
for over 20 years, the East Side Gallery was an important part of the history of city as well as a unique definer of the context since the spatial formation of the former East Berlin was shaped according to the placement of the Wall. In contemporary Friedrichshain, however, which has gone through remarkable make-overs and renovations, the Wall piece stands as an interstice itself with no spatial or symbolic reference to the surrounding environment. Under these circumstances, the relation of Yaam to the East Side Gallery should be discussed in terms of its forming of an interstice in reference to an existing interstitial structure and as the development and spread of the East Side Gallery in the form of a subculture market. The relation of Yaam to the East Side Gallery is not only symbolic since both of the structures represent the concerns of forming a breathing space. While the East Side Gallery is a symbol of the emerging individual’s interaction with Berlin, Yaam forms an alternative space for providing interactions for individuals from Berlin’s varying subcultures. This space is also a physical one since the act of graffiti had a significant role in the formation of both interstices. The graffiti pieces of Yaam, in this sense, both form the spatial and material connection to the East Side Gallery by creating a synonymous interstice adjacent to the remaining Wall and define new functions and foregrounds for this formerly decaying area.

These new functions are analyzed in the study according to the new identity Yaam has gained and in terms of the characteristics of the graffiti pieces in comparison to the pieces of Tacheles. -Figure 5.15 indicates the contemporary settlement of Yaam, in relation to East Side Gallery and Ostbahnof.- The graffiti pieces of Yaam show similarities to other works in Friedrichshain in terms of their scale and compositional features. Yaam’s graffiti pieces are mostly performed in small scales. Adapting to the scale and texture of the environment, they emphasize the materiality of surface by implanting partial images not covering the whole surface. They are mostly distorted portraits and colourful compositions. The functions attained by Yaam coincide with the characteristics of the graffiti pieces, because the graffiti works of Yaam remind us of the pop images of 1970s, which actually define the atmosphere of Yaam appropriately, especially when coming together with bohemian music and the artificial beach, which seems like a utopian environment in the centre of the city. Unlike Kunsthaus Tacheles, whose graffiti works display a political stand against the architectural formation of the surroundings and create appropriate responses to the spatial demands of its contexts by performing restorations of the surface, Yaam’s graffiti works create a decorated environment displaying a radical contradiction to the surrounding that seems like an installation implanted in the urban fabric. These different characteristics, created by the same method, which is the act of graffiti, prove that even in the process of transformation, an environment as an urban parasite shows resistance to the context. The characteristics of graffiti pieces are inspired by the material and symbolic structure of their contexts. Figure 5.16 and Figure 5.17 give clues about identity, character, physical and symbolic structure of Yaam, for a detailed analysis on visuals Appendix C can be seen.

In Berlin’s case, these inspirations reflected differently upon the reconstruction of interstitial nodes as in Mitte, the Kunsthaus Tacheles emerged as a graffiti restoration of an historic building and the interstices around it, while in Friedrichshain, Yaam was formed as a
Figure 5.17: Contemporary Settlemen of Yaam

reference to another remnant of history as well as an interstitial structure, the East Side Gallery. Although the spatial formations differ according to the contexts they were reconstructed in, both cases display a similarity about their initial concern to create radical contexts among a continuous strip that eventually binds these two structures together. The Berlin case shows the remarkable features and potentials of interstitial spaces in the process of reconstructing a continuous strip within the city’s fabric, which can eventually become a parasite, as a starting point of an overall transformation of the sterile city space. Within this process, the Berlin case also shows that the act of graffiti is not only a method for transforming the interstices but is also an autonomous entity, a subculture that has the potential to create its own context when the interstitial strip forms appropriate nodes that require new functions. Thus, Kunsthaus Tacheles and Yaam stand as examples of how a continuous strip for individual interaction is shaped in a divided city like Berlin, and the graffiti artists, in this sense, become the speculators of the unification of this divided city upon a parasitic zone that was created by the subjective intervention of the habitants of Berlin.
Figure 5.18: Yaam, Artificial Beach
Figure 5.17: Yaam, Entrance
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. Overview

The study aimed to develop a different perspective on development of parasitic spaces in city. Parasitic spaces are assumed to be formed as a result of individual intervention to city space, and evaluated in the study as potential breathing spaces embedded in urban fabric. The study claimed that, the act of graffiti can be evaluated as a form of parasitic entity since performing graffiti represents a stand against the sterility of city space. In this sense, the act of graffiti is claimed to offer alternative contexts against the strict, sterile architectural environment, and presents spatial positions within the neglected spaces of city which are referred as interstitial spaces.

Defined in the study as “dismissed or forgotten spaces, abandoned or undefined areas embedded in highly designed, sterile built environment”, interstitial spaces are evaluated as agents providing individual interaction to city space and also as potential spectators motivating individual creativity to re-design architectural environment. To develop a theoretical framework about the notion of interstitial space in architecture, thesis referred to seminal works of Gilles Deleuze, Slavoj Zizek and Michel Foucault who evaluate the notion in their own methods. In that sense, Deleuzian’s concept of “Fold”, Zizek’s concept of “Parallax”, and Foucault’s concept of “Heterotopia” the study discusses the effect of governmentality on formation of interstitial spaces, changing relations between inside and outside space relating to reconstruction of interstitial spaces, and the effect of individual initiatives on architectural constitution of architectural space.

The analysis of the theories of formation of interstitial spaces and their effects on reconstruction of built environment indicated that interstitial spaces have remarkable potential to be re-appropriated by individuals of the city. The study claims that these re-appropriations form a connection through fragmented interstices of the city each of which is individually intervened. These individual interventions, according to study, form a continuous zone within the city, which is constructed by re-appropriation of interstices, and referred to as “urban parasites” in this study. Thus, the individual interaction to interstitial spaces creates a uniform structure formed with fragments of interstices which were referred to as “breathing spaces”.

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While tracing back the structural configurations of urban parasites and the interstices forming them, the study searched the continuity of the form in a detailed analysis on the potentials of the wall. The notion of the wall was evaluated as both an architectural element forming interstices by emphasizing the wall’s space-defining character –the wall, in this sense, is evaluated as a folding element which forms interior and exterior spaces at different levels- and as the agent to be redesigned by individuals by emphasizing the surfaceality of wall –both as a boundary defining spatial character and as a surface of inscription-. The role of the wall on reconstruction of interstices in the city was searched in terms of both the variety of spatial configurations as the initial element forming interstices, and the relations it provides between individuals and interstices as an agent of communication.

Thus, as an architectural entity providing potential faces of inscriptions, the wall is evaluated as a remarkable agent in the process of formation of urban parasites; and the study discusses a unique method for re-appropriating the wall as an agent for reconstructing interstices: the act of graffiti. This thesis evaluates the act of graffiti as a method for emphasizing and using the potentials of the walls to define, reshape and contour the territories which eventually reconstruct the spaces in-between. And the graffiti artist, in this process, is evaluated as the new flâneur who explores the interstitial space by walking around the city and binding them by forming a common visual and spatial language among interstices. The method graffiti artists use to explore and intervene the city space is walking which emerges in the process of choosing graffiti spots. The process of choosing spots for the graffiti artist is a remarkable way of exploring and experiencing the space; and the methods graffiti artists use for choosing graffiti spots converge with the methods of the flâneur as both subjects use the act of walking for recognizing city and intervening city space.

Providing continuity among interstices and creating urban parasites by forming visibly and spatially connected graffiti spots, the act of graffiti is one of the remarkable entities for reconstructing interstices, and forming a continuous zone of urban parasites within city. In this sense, this thesis develops a further research on the city of Berlin which forms a remarkable example since the city has gone through significant historical changes providing an important framework for discussing interstitiality and interstitial spaces –especially by relating the issue to the rise and fall of the Berlin Wall and the effects of reunification on contemporary Berlin-, and Berlin also forms a remarkable example for observing graffiti scenes, documenting graffiti heritage, and analyzing the development and spread of graffiti spots as well as their effects on historical and contemporary spatial formation of interstices in the city. In that sense, the study not only analyzes the historicity and formation of graffiti works developing parallel to major changes in Berlin’s history but also the development and spread of graffiti spots among interstices of contemporary Berlin. While examining the formation of a continuous graffiti strip transformed into an urban parasite, the study also analyzes the graffiti nodes constituted on that continuous strip in terms of defining new contexts the act of graffiti creates. In that sense, while analyzing graffiti spots constituted among different contexts of Berlin, new contexts formed in that different zones –Kunsthaus Tacheles in West Berlin, and Yaam in East Berlin- by the intervention of graffiti is also evaluated.
6.2. Findings and Conclusion

Both the theoretical framework studied, and the experiences gained from the personal observations on Berlin case indicate that the interstices are formed as a result of physical and social discontinuities within the strict order of sterile post-modern city space, hence they are called as potential “breathing spaces”. These structural breaks shaped within the urban fabric form remarkable foregrounds for spatial reconstructions by individual initiatives. In terms of the character and the method of individual interactions, in a uniquely structured manner, Berlin case showed that the interstitial spaces do no only form their own context by constituting territories, but they are also shaped by their contexts even when they are constructed as a reaction to them. Thus, the study analyzed the relation of interstices to the contexts they formed, as well as the contexts they are growing parallel to by focusing on the history of Berlin, as well as the history of interstitiality in Berlin.

The Berlin case is a remarkable context for observing the development of interstices through the rise and fall of the Berlin Wall, and analyzing the formations of the interstices after the unification of the city regarding the development of new contexts both in the East and West side. Berlin case also forms a significant case for examining the changes in graffiti works in relation and comparison to historical and contextual changes in both the East and West side of Berlin. The study shows that, Berlin’s interstitial spaces should be analyzed in relation to one of the major structural entities of Berlin and the Western history of politics and architecture: the Berlin Wall. This thesis is interested not only the interstices formed during the presence of the Wall, but also on the aftermath of it. Since the Berlin Wall gave Berlin a unique identity to be a divided city, an analysis of the interstices of city should not be restricted to the new contexts and spaces formed by the presence of the Wall, but should also include the changing contexts after reunification of Berlin since the city still presents the remarks of two different zones of Berlin. The Berlin Wall not only shaped interstices, but it also transformed the spaces among its boundaries into interstices, thus, the reunified Berlin became a segmented entity divided between different identities, trapped between the past and the future. To understand and follow the development of interstitial spaces in this divided city, the study analyzed the location and spatial configuration of interstitial spaces in Berlin in a relation and comparison to location of graffiti spots and visual and immaterial compositions of graffiti pieces in these spots. Throughout this process, Berlin graffiti scene has shown remarkable similarities to the formations of interstices, as mentioned in the study, the graffiti heritage of Berlin developed differently for two sides of Berlin. Starting from the rise of Berlin Wall and developed through the unification of East and West Berlin, the graffiti pieces of Berlin, which were emerged in the west side of the Wall as a reaction against the division of city and the restrictions against any individual interactions to city space in East Berlin, marked the interstitial spaces around the Wall then among former East side in re-unified Berlin, while supporting the reconstruction of them. When analyzed parallel to the development of interstices, Berlin graffiti pieces emphasized both remarks of interstitiality of former East Berlin, since the act of graffiti started as an illegal movement in former East side; the pieces also indicated a path among former East Berlin forming an
The contemporary reflections of this duality especially on former East Berlin can also be traced by analyzing visual and symbolic appearance of interstices as well as their contextual relationships. In that sense, to determine the contemporary interstitial spaces in former East Berlin while analyzing the changing spatial and social contexts of different zones, and to document the overlapping graffiti spots with interstices which form a parasitic zone placed among former East Berlin; three layers of maps indicating interstices, graffiti spots, and overlapping territories of these two were produced. These maps were generated by personal observation of the author through following footsteps of Berliner graffiti artists in April 2013. Throughout the development process of maps on contemporary interstices of Berlin, the author represents the flaneur –the Berliner graffiti artist;- by walking among two significant zones of former East Berlin, namely Mitte and Friedrichshain, the footsteps of the graffiti artists are imitated to explore the city and recognize the interstices. Thus, the first map includes an analysis of the interstices in a larger scale, At this point; the study develops the second map indicating contemporary graffiti spots in relation to landmarks and significant graffiti zones to develop a comparative approach to trace the reconstructed interstices by individual intervention. Developing a framework about the graffiti heritage of Berlin since it is formed and developed synchronically with significant events of Berlin’s history -and is also visibly and symbolically affected by them-; in the third map, the study examines the continuity of interstices of contemporary Berlin by coinciding graffiti spots to existing interstitial spaces for tracing back the continuity of interstices which presents a potential to form an urban parasite. This analysis shows that graffiti spots are shaped accordingly with the divided contexts of Berlin and are formed among a continuous path constituted through Mitte and Friedrichshain. Thus, the graffiti spots not only form a strange territory within the city, but they are also shaped in relation to the contexts they are implanted. This duality gives the urban parasite a unique identity to be divided but in a uniformity at the same time, thus, the graffiti spots among the path shape nodes in which new functions are merged, but with a symbolic reference to their contexts.

As examples of these nodes, the study analyzes Kunsthaus Tacheles in Mitte, the center of former East Berlin, and Yaam in Friedrichshain, the housing district of former East Berlin. Both nodes are remarkable examples for interstitial spaces which gained new functions with the intervention of graffiti artists. When analyzing these interventions through personal observation, different spatial configurations and symbolic roles the nodes gain were determined in relation to the newly-developed contexts of the nodes after reunification, which indicates that while Tacheles and Yaam are constituted on the same continuous strip against the sterile built environment by using the same method, they present spatial differences by developing references –both similar and oppositional references- to their contexts. By examining Kunsthaus Tacheles and Yaam in terms of their spatial and
functional formations, the study claims that, these two nodes present remarkable physical and social references to their contexts, while representing an alternative stand against the social and physical structure of the society and the sterile architectural language of city. Both of the examples present a level of awareness and a degree of inspiration of their surroundings, although the process of formation for each example and the method for graffiti pieces to be constructed differ according to the unique features of each context –East and West Berlin. The influence of the context –both physically and symbolically- reflected differently upon the reconstruction of interstitial nodes; as in Mitte, the Kunsthaus Tacheles emerged as a graffiti restoration of an historic building and the interstices around it, while in Friedrichshain, Yaam was formed as a reference to another remnant of history as well as an interstitial structure, the East Side Gallery. Having different spatial compositions and different concerns about the representation of their contexts, both Tacheles and Yaam display a similarity about their initial concern to create alternative territories among a continuous strip that eventually binds these two structures together.

In an overall view, the Berlin case presents significant potentials in terms of development and re-appropriation of interstitial spaces within the city’s fabric, and in terms of the methods used for reconstructing a continuous strip out of those interstitial spaces, which can eventually become a parasite, as a starting point of an overall transformation of the sterile city space. When discussing the methods of this transformation, the Berlin case shows that the act of graffiti does not only become a method for reconstructing the interstices but is also an autonomous entity, a subculture in Berlin that has the potential to form its own contexts in certain cases where the interstitial strip creates nodes to be attained as new functions. Thus, Kunsthaus Tacheles and Yaam stand as examples of how new foregrounds are formed and how a continuous strip for individual interaction is shaped in a divided city like Berlin; and the graffiti artists, in this sense, become the speculators for the re-unification of this divided city upon a parasitic zone that was created by the initiative of the habitants of Berlin.

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The analysis gained from as well as the materials prepared for the Berlin case together with theoretical research made on the subject, the study develops a unique perspective on both the architectural transformation of the interstices and new foregrounds for architectural research through the use of graffiti. The character of graffiti intervened areas has been a subject of inquiry for especially cultural and social sciences, but the aim of this study is to search specific situations in which the act of graffiti could become a spatial inquiry. This thesis claimed that the act of graffiti, as a form of urban parasites, can be evaluated as a method out of traditional design knowledge for re-forming architectural environment. To understand the reactionary nature of the graffiti would allow the emergence of new perspectives for shaping space, and in that sense, architectural analysis and maps produced within this process show that the graffiti piece should be studied as an alternative way of architectural design.
An architectural research on the graffiti and the contexts it transforms especially gain importance when evaluated in city scale, as mentioned in the study. Searching for the continuity of graffiti spots, even when they are not evaluated as parasites but a part of city’s visual language, would encourage the emergence of new theories, wider perspectives and a larger knowledge not only on the individually transformed areas, but also on the changing architectural environment in a larger scale. In this sense, a study about graffiti would show remarkable clues for alternative methods for re-making the architectural space, and provide an alternative information about their contexts, since the graffiti piece is performed by physically and symbolically referencing to texture and spatial configuration of its environment, even when it develops against it. Thus, the graffiti piece provides knowledge about the specific contexts it is implanted, as well as presenting methods for architectural interventions. Although Berlin city was chosen as a remarkable exampe in the study, these two characteristics of the act of graffiti make it a universal as well as a local practice, meaning it can both be found in varying contexts in almost every city as a reactionary architectural respons to built environment, and be studied in relation to each context as a site-specific entity providing knowledge about the space around it. Berlin case forms an important example in the process for understanding and determining urban parasites, however, new studies should be developed for understanding the cultural and spatial effects of the act of graffiti within different contexts both to understand the cultural conditions and spatial configurations graffiti develops as a reaction to, as a newly developing design method.
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A.

NOTABLE GRAFFITI SPOTS OF BERLIN

Pin 1 - Pin 2. Wall Remainings at Bernauer Straße

Pin 3. Luisenstraße, Mitte
Pin 4. Burgstraße, Mitte

Pin 5. – Pin 6. Holzmarktstraße, Friedrichshain

Maria Shankle, http://www.flickr.com/photos/shankle/3932227915/
Pin 7. Yaam, Friedrichshain

Pin 8. East Side Gallery
Pin 9. - Pin 10. Oberbaum Bridge/ River Spree

Pin 11. Kunsthau Tacheles
B.

BERLIN GRAFFITI MAPS

Source: Adidas Urban Art Guide,

Source: grafrank: Global Graffiti Statistics
http://www.graf frank.com/berlinindex.html
Source: Berlin Art Guide
https://itunes.apple.com/de/app/street-art-berlin/id566611117?mt=8
C.

KUNSTHAUS TACHELES AND YAAM

Kunsthaus Tacheles

Source: http://www.kunsthaus-tacheles.de/institution/history/photoarchive/
Yaam

Source: Antonio Rino Gastaldi
http://www.flickr.com/photos/31546787@N08/5517786802/in/photolist-9pA6Md